

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Santa Barbara**

**An Ecological Reference Grammar
of
Sölring North Frisian**

**A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Linguistics

by

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Committee in charge:

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December 1998

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Preface and Acknowledgments

The present study seeks to draw as accurate and objective a picture as possible of the people and language of the island of Söl (Ger. Sylt). It has been written with great gratitude to the people of Söl who so kindly gave me access to their language and through it, to their lives – for if one principle has guided the writing of this reference grammar, it is that language is a vital part of the lives of people, both individually and collectively, in their past, present, and future. In this sense, it is my conviction that, just as no thorough ethnographic study could ignore the language of a people, no thorough treatment of a language can rightfully ignore ethnography.

I would like to express my deep appreciation to a large number of people and organizations for their furtherance of the project that has resulted in this book: to the Department of Linguistics at the University of California Santa Barbara (UCSB); to the chair of my dissertation committee, Wallace Chafe, and all its members: Marianne Mithun, Sandra Thompson, Dorothy Chun, and Peter Tiersma, for their unstinting advice throughout the project and critiques of numerous drafts; to the Graduate Division, the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center, and the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Council at UCSB for funding support; and to the staff of the Davidson Library at UCSB, and particularly the staff of its Interlibrary Loan department, without whose cheerful and efficient service the extensive bibliographic resources for the study would not have been obtainable.

There has previously been no full grammatical treatment of Sölring or of any of the varieties of North Frisian – the most recent grammar of any type of Frisian being Peter Tiersma's 1985 *Frisian Reference Grammar* for Westerland (western) Frisian – and it is owing to a fortunate happenstance that more books in and about North Frisian were available to me – and thus served as my impetus for focusing on this language – than would have been readily available for research in most of Europe. This happenstance was the purchase, in the 1930's, of the library of the German philologist Otto Bremer by the University of California. Most of the older editions of works in and about North Frisian which I have been able to consult were Bremer's own, many of them having been sent him by the authors themselves and bearing Bremer's meticulous marginal notes and corrigenda.

There are literally dozens of people in Europe to whom I owe thanks – and this study its inspiration and completion: first of all, chronologically, to Hilda and Fiete Scheer of Süssarep on Oomram (Ger. Süddorf/Amrum), who introduced me, first as a tourist and later as a researcher, to North Frisia and the splendor of their native Öömrang; to Nils and Ritva Århammar, Bräist/Bredstedt; to the late Dr. Frederik Paulsen and his wife Eva, Jakob Tholund, and Volker Faltings of Feer/Föhr; to Ommo Wilts and Dirk Willkommen in Kiel, and, on Söl itself, to the following people who served as language consultants during my fieldwork in July 1993, August 1994, and Septemeber 1995 (listed by place of residence at the time):

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 †Mainhard Bohn
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Of these Sölring, my particular gratitude goes to Hans Hoeg (and his wife Irmgard), who has spared no pains in helping me to become acquainted with the language of Söl, and to the late Uwe Holst, Brunhilde Hagge, Willy and Anna Schröder, Lütje and Lisa Thaysen, Erk-Uwe Schrahé, Alwin Pflüger, and Torvald Hansen, all of whom have offered assistance both tangible and intangible.

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One of the most encouraging aspects of the current campaign for the support of the Frisian language is its supraregional character, encompassing the interests Frisians in west, east, and north. Kindly introduced to Tseard de Graaf of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen by Peter Tiersma in the spring of 1996, I was then fortunate to have been able to present a paper at the 14th Frysk Filologekongres in Ljouwert/Leeuwarden, Fryslân, in October of that year, and on that occasion to have met a great number of Frisians from each of its three regions. Among those I met at that time, I would particularly like to thank Dr. and Nynke de Graaf, Paterswolde; Jehannes and Janneke Ytsma, Wergea;

Oebele Vries, Weestergeest, and Siebren Dyk, Ljouwert, for once and future collegiality and kindness.

Many years before this study was completed, my interest in linguistics was quickened by Profs. Dr. Helmut Gneuss, Leonhard Lipka, Karlheinz Hecht, and Harald Weinrich at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, for whose teaching and inspiration I would also like to express my gratitude.

Finally, but in the beginning, my thanks to my wife Dorothea, my guide and companion in all things, whose inspiration is vast and whose goodness knows no bounds.

September 1998

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The Monasteries and Convents of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad. 1924 to 1984: Sixty Years of Exile, by Gernot Seide (1992), Munich: St. Job of Pochaev Press. (translation)

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ABSTRACT

An Ecological Reference Grammar of Sölring North Frisian

by

Steven Theophilus Lasswell

Sölring is one of the varieties of North Frisian, spoken on the islands and along the northwestern coast of the modern administrative district of Nordfriesland in the German *Bundesland* of Schleswig-Holstein. This reference grammar, the first comprehensive linguistic treatment of any type of North Frisian, presents a description of the autochthonous language of the island of Söl (Ger. Sylt) against the background of an extensive ethnography of its speakers. Since their putative immigration from the Frisian homeland on the southern coast of the North Sea, northern Frisians have been faced with constant struggles in an inhospitable environment that, over the centuries, has fragmented the region territorially and ravaged its inhabitants as the result of recurrent storm tides (Ger. *Sturmfluten*). Along with their struggle against the sea, they have long found themselves at the center of power-seeking forces converging from outside, and as a result of their position “in the middle”, Frisian interests in promoting their language and culture have been curtailed time and again.

After suffering the effects of two World Wars and dramatic demographic changes immediately following the second, North Frisia is now an integrated part of the German state. Söl in particular has borne the brunt of the changes wrought by the development of popular resort tourism, and much of its traditional culture has been lost in the wake of its inundation by outsiders.

One cultural artifact in danger of being lost completely is Sölring itself, which – as the rest of Frisian – bears a close genetic relationship to English. In past centuries, North Frisian was strongly influenced by Danish, Low Saxon (Low German), and Dutch, while in recent years, contact influence has almost exclusively been exerted by (High) German. A campaign to maintain and revitalize North Frisian is underway, but one of the difficulties in counteracting attrition lies in the relative lack of structural development that is needed for (potential) speakers to be able to cope with certain aspects of modern life. The dissertation considers some of the complex factors involved in revitalization, and anticipates the positives that can arise from Pan-Frisian confrontation of minority language issues.

An Ecological Reference Grammar of Sölring North Frisian

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CODES AND ABBREVIATIONS

For those examples in the text that are taken from written sources, their source may be identified by the alphanumeric code that will generally be found across from the top of the three lines, e.g.

- | | | |
|------|--|-------|
| (45) | Hat wiar wes en kraftig lit.
it was surely a strong eatINF1
'That really was hearty food/a hearty meal' | MK143 |
|------|--|-------|

In this instance, the code "MK143" means that this example was excerpted on page 143 of the work by a native speaker whose initials were *MK* – Meinert Kamp, as will be found in the list below, along with the name of the written source itself (in this case, the story "MS Annemarie KEI 1").

<u>code</u>	<u>source</u>	<u>bibliogr. ref.</u>
BH	Brunhilde Hagge, <i>Di hingst Kaimpi en sin gur frinjer</i>	(Hagge 1993)
BHL	Brunhilde Hagge, <i>Liirbok II</i>	(Hagge 1978)
BPM	Boy Peter Möller, <i>Söl'ring Leesbok</i>	(Möller 1909)
EUS	Erk-Uwe Schrahé, <i>Di wit Meerelstreek</i>	(Schrahé 1993)
FSL5272	Fuar Söl'ring Lir, number 5, 1927, pg. 2	(Fuar Söl'ring Lir)
GWHS	Söl'ring Spreekuurter [...]	(Wielandt/Schmidt 1966)
JMH	Jens Mungard, <i>Fuar di min hart heer slain</i> , ed. Hans Hoeg	(Mungard 1985)
JPHBPM	Jap Peter Hansen, <i>Di gitshals</i> [...], ed. Boy P. Möller	(Hansen 1918)
LL	Lilly Lehr, <i>Wat broket Rail üt en Jungenstir</i> [...]	(Lehr 1993)
MK	Meinert Kamp, <i>MS Annemarie KEI 1</i>	(Kamp 1993a)
TTWS	Tiin Tialen, in a selection translated by Willy Schröder	(Jørgensen 1985)
WS	Willy Siemens, <i>Staatjis</i>	(Siemens 1982)

Abbreviations of linguistic features in the second line of glossed examples are those more or less standard in English-language linguistics, e.g.; those not common in standard usage are explained when they are introduced in the text and thereafter may be readily recognized:

INF	Infinitive	INF1	Infinitive 1	INF2	Infinitive 2
PPL(E)	Participle	PRPPL	Pres. Participle	PSTPPL	Past Participle
1SG.	1st singular	2DU.	2nd dual	3PL.	3rd plural
REFL	reflexive	POSS	possessive	ADJ	Adjective

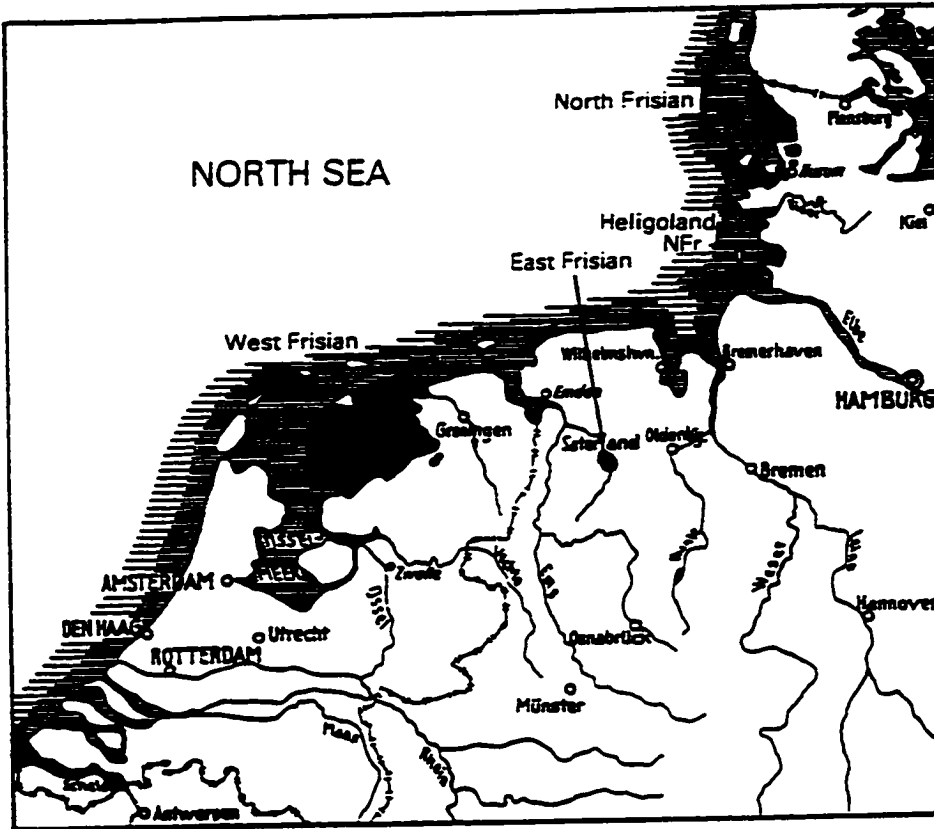
Occasionally, particular words are glossed as themselves, such as HEN for *hen* (an adverbial particle) and MAN for the discourse marker *man*. The gloss GER means that the morpheme in question seems not be organic to Sölring but parallels a morpheme in German.



Map 1 Past and present Frisian language areas.

source: Robinson (1992)

Map 2: The Frisian Speech Area



Source: N. Arhammar, 'Friesische Dialektologie'. in: *Festschrift für Walther Mizka* (ZMF, Beihefte, Neue Folge 5/1), Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 265.

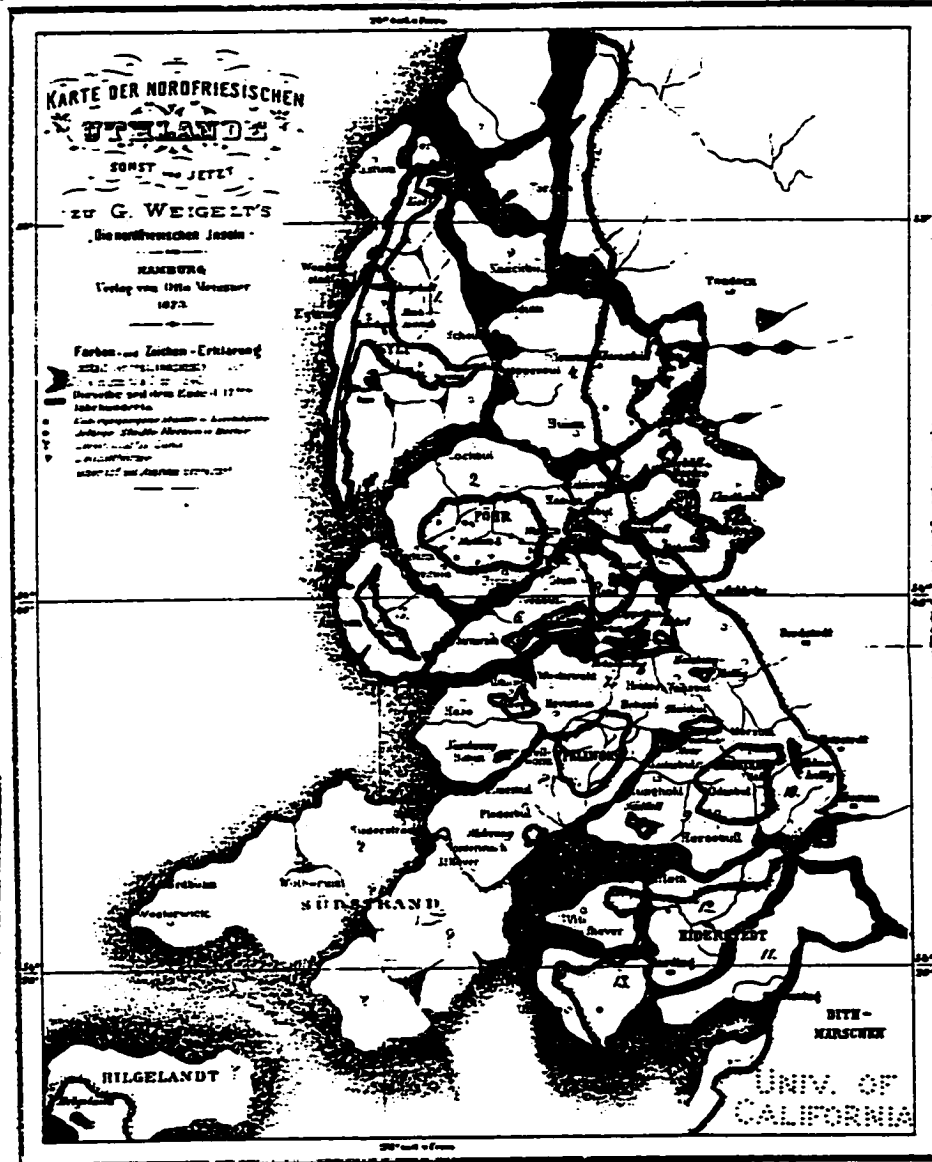
adaptation taken from Walker (1990)

MAP 3



source: Steensen (1994b)

MAP 4

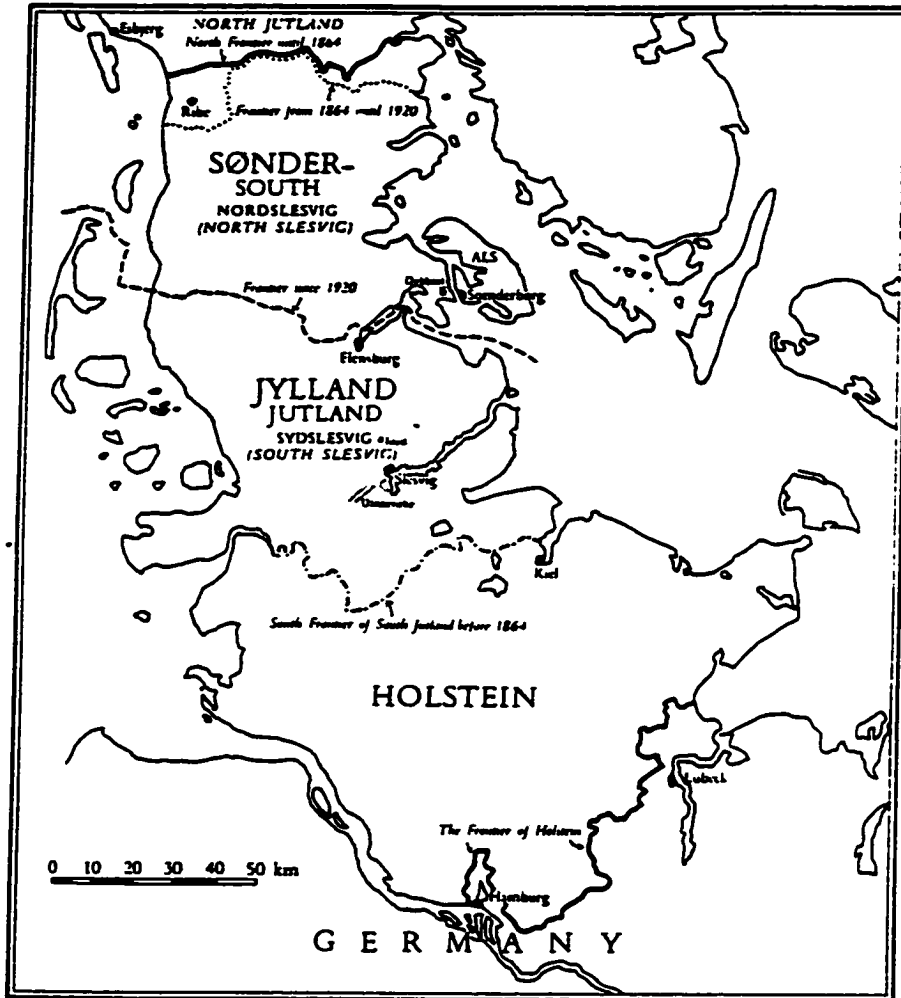


EINTHEILUNG DES ALTEN NORDFRIESLANDES

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| I. DIE INSELN | II. DIE MARSCHEN | III. DER NORDSTRAND (Die Fiedern) | IV. DIE SCHIFFWÄRDEN (Güter) |
| 1. Nordseeinsel (Sylt)
2. Ostseeinsel (Föhr)
3. Westseeinsel (Rügen) | 4. Westseeinsel (Wiedingharde)
5. Ostseeinsel (Bith-Marsch) | 6. Westseeinsel
7. Ostseeinsel
8. Landstrich | 9. Westseeinsel (Güter)
10. Ostseeinsel (Güter)
11. Westseeinsel (Güter) |

source: G. Weigelt (1873), Die nordfriesischen Inseln, Hamburg: Meissner

MAP 5







Map of South Jutland (100 km = 62.14 miles)

Holstein more or less united to Denmark since the Middle Ages, as a rule with the Danish King as Duke. Wrenched from Denmark 1864 and incorporated into Germany. Slesvig originally Danish soil, administered since the early Middle Ages as an independent duchy, during recent centuries with the Danish King as both King and Duke, but closely bound up with Holstein. Conquered by Germany i 1864. In 1920, after a plebiscite, divided into North and South Slesvig; the former re-incorporated in Denmark, the latter in Germany.

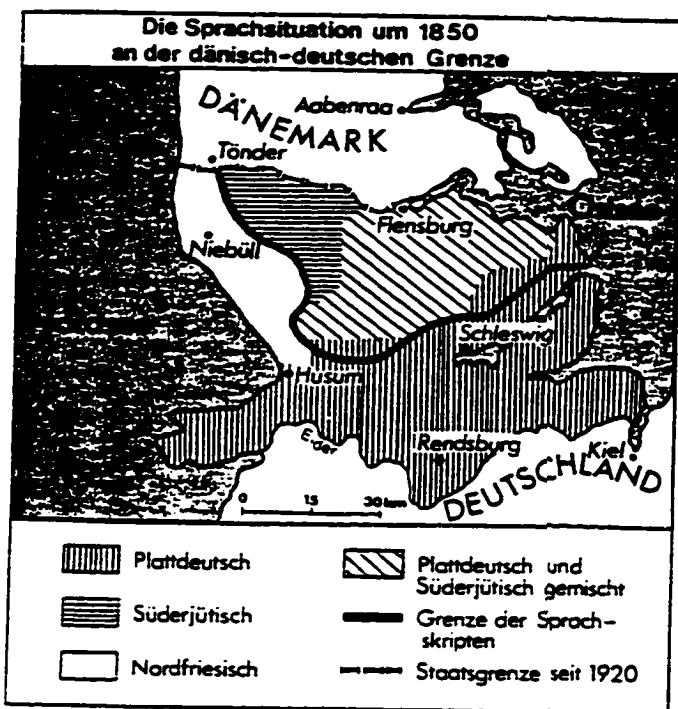
source: Lauring (1968 [1960])









MAP 6a

-  Plattdeutsch
-  Nordfriesisch
-  Süderjütisch
-  Staatsgrenze seit 1920

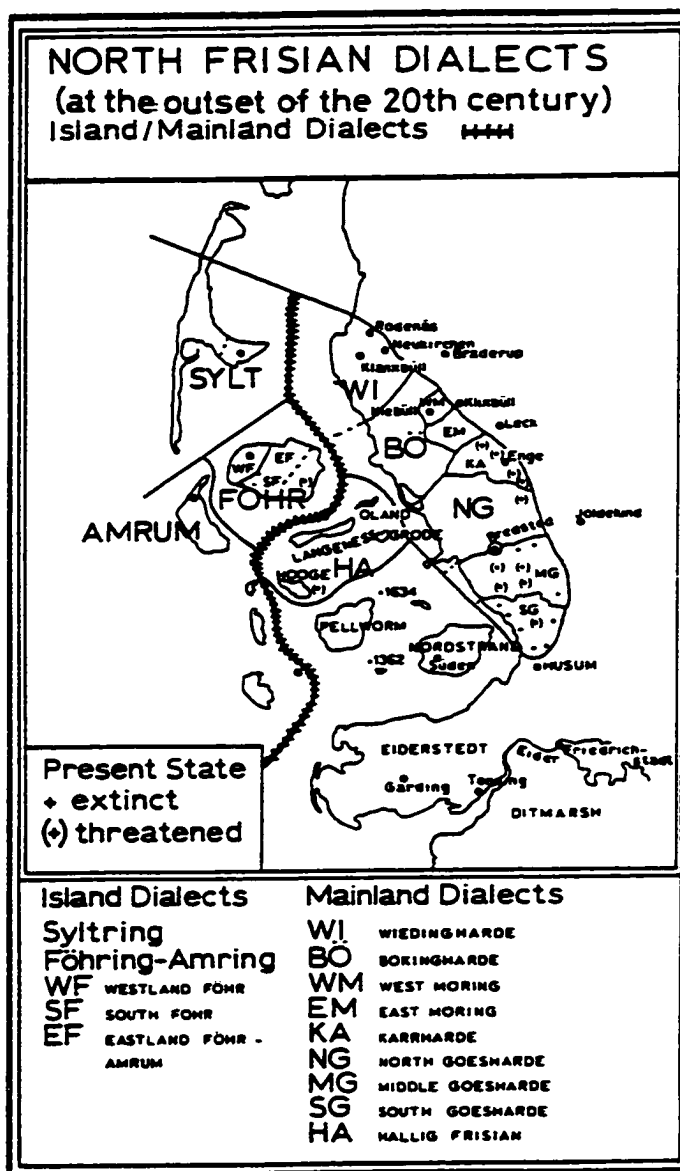
source: Brent Søndergaard (1980), Vom Sprachenkampf zur sprachlichen Koexistenz im deutsch-dänischen Grenzraum, in: Peter Hans Nelde, ed. Sprachkontakt und Sprachkonflikt, Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik, Beiheft 32, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.



MAP 6b

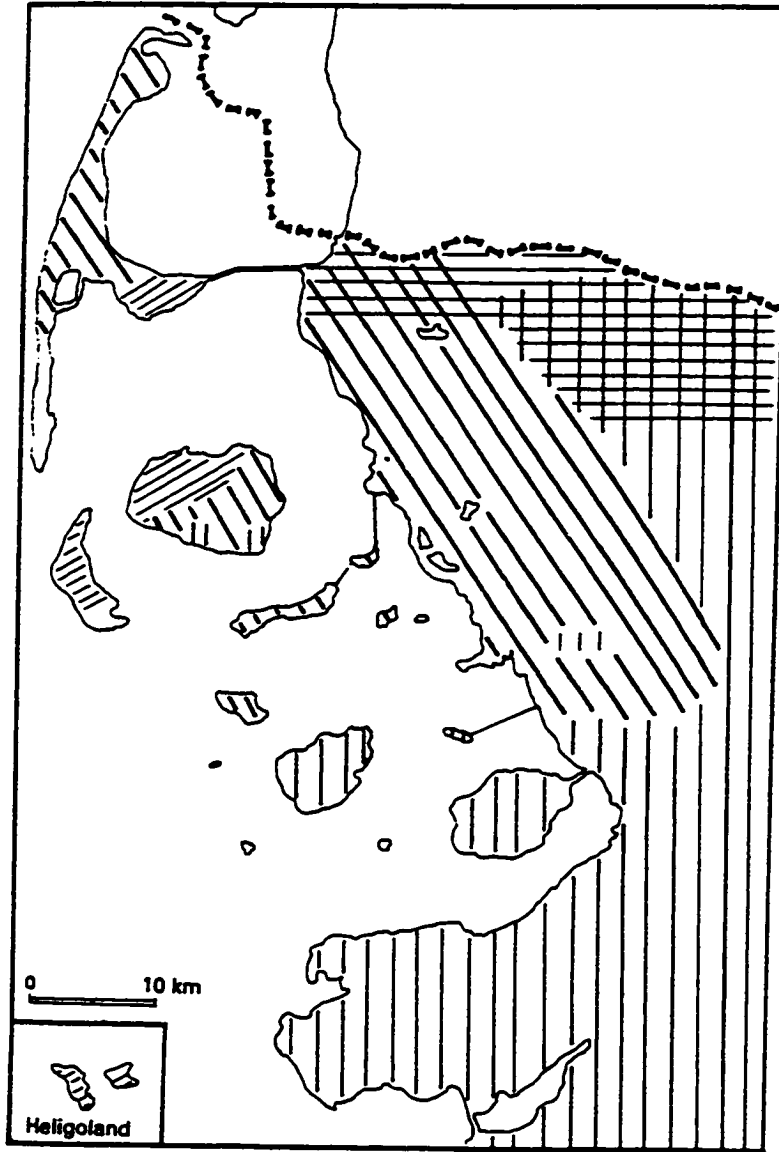
-  Plattdeutsch
-  Süderjütisch
-  Nordfriesisch
-  Plattdeutsch und Süderjütisch gemischt
-  Grenze der Sprachskripten
-  Staatsgrenze seit 1920

MAP 7:
North Frisian Dialects



source: Markey (1981)

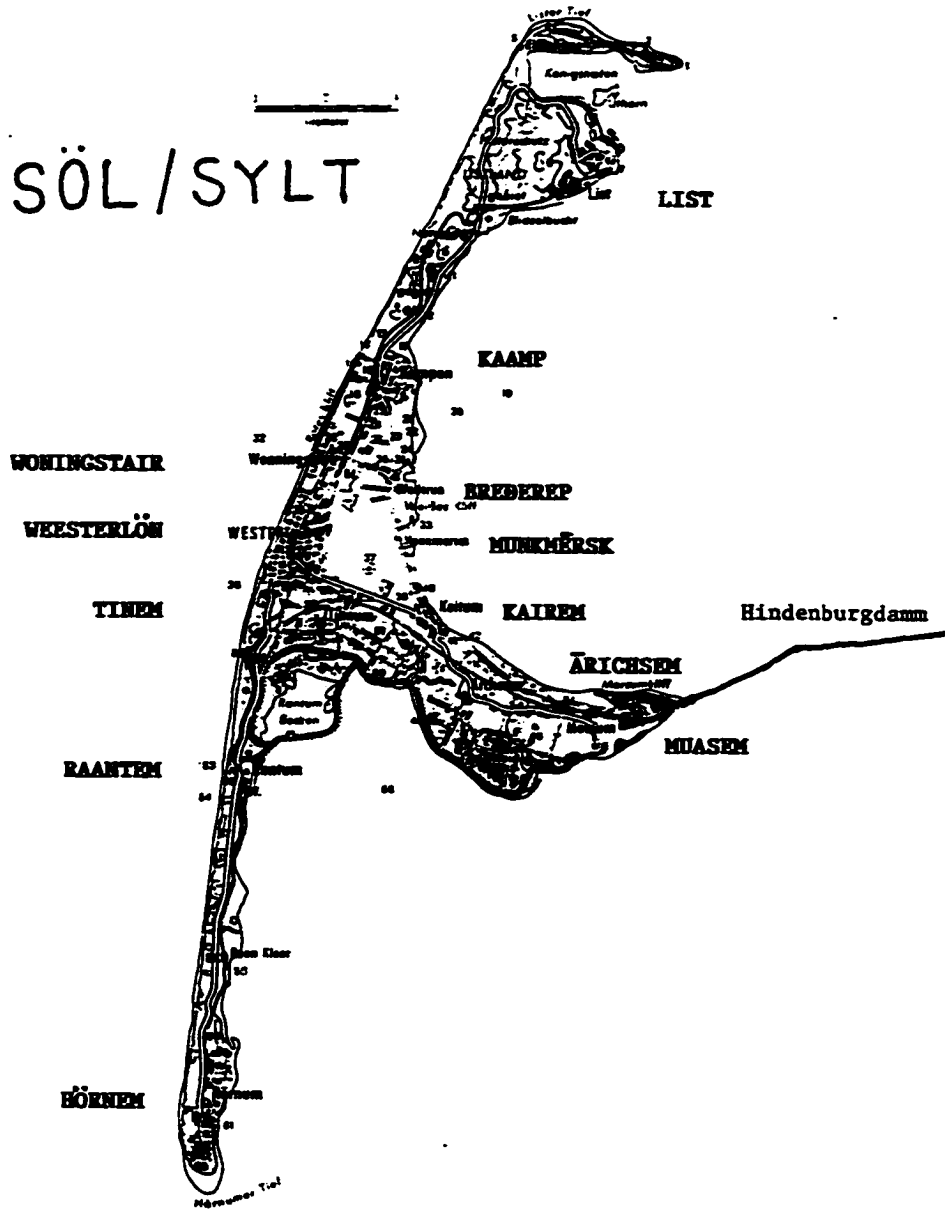
Map 8 : North Frisian Multilingualism



- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------|
| Frisian, Low German, Jutish | Frisian |
| Frisian, Low German | Low German |
| Jutish, Low German | Jutish |

High German is spoken throughout the area
 source: Walker (1990)

MAP 9 source: Koehn (1963)



Fuar Söl'ring Lir¹⁵

Numer 12



Bilmaf, wat dā heest,
dā wusst ek,
wat dā wederfairst!



Dezember 1970

Bilaag tō di „Sylter Rundschau“

**Jöðwensk | Wü, diar me des litj Bleed tō dōn haa, wenski al üüs
Löns'lir üp Söl' en ðn di Fräimer en sün' en lekelk Jöðl!**

Jöðlir

Was-t lungem üp Jöðl üping, da jaer-t
Jemelk Dagen en Weeten, Fuar Gōs Jun-
gen kēm da di Tir, hur wā mal frā wils
maast: sur Kröppenhair waar jaa di Jöðl-
man fortalt, en da kör-t wils, dat et nēnt
tō Jöðl jaer. En wat her unkr dach malsal
wensket: en Dampmaskin hur min Brö-
der, nī Bekar, en en wāren Soumtj, en
ik salev her en hol' en nī Pop her me
nīl Poptjēch en uk en Popenwein. Dier-
fuar komet et hēm al, frā tō wilsen. Man
uk hī Gōs Aaf'ern gūng-t alen en Jemelk
tō. Ja anaket was dierfāt, dat di Jöðlman
al jens hī Gōs wesen her, om hōk Seaten
of-tō-dēn, sur dat hī ek lungem alen jee
hōm oostē stipi kōr. Hur hī dīl noch fer-
stat her? Dīl her ik dach tō hol' wensī En
joo gur Inj. Ge wat al ðn Bēde lekr, kör
ik-t fuar Nīngeligher ek meer hartet in.
Ik stōn' wader ip en gūng sur Thal tō
Kōv. Jir stōn' en gart Skap. Meeten
wier dier wat en, herstat ik herket jens
oostē, man alen wier stōl. En da hne
ik-t waaget: Ik maaket di Skapstōr
lipen, en da bleew nīl bīnē dīl Hart
summen. Hī Hīndēde kīngelk dīl dīl hōk
dach man bīnē di Jöðlman wils. Man ik
fing di Skapstōr waker wader tūm-
ket, üp ðn Jankens sur Thal tō Sīkne-
mer en fang tō Bēde. Üs, wat kīngelk
min Hart! Des Stōn' hne ik-t lōwet, dat
ik of'er stīngelk en hīl frā wils wīl.
Was bīnē di Jöðlman nēnt merket her!
En da wiar di Jöðl dier. Fander,
Moeder, min Bröder en ik her Gōs gur
Sendelstjēch Gatain. En nī stōn' wā fuar
fuar Kōvpedōter en heret dierfāt, wat
wā üngung kōr. Man da nēnt Gōs Fander:

„Nann, hat hne ek üngung! Nū hne ik
dach merket. Gōs Swin tō funderin. Dīl
stōl ik nī jir just gur dōl“

„Aa, Fander“, meent wā, „hur kōret
uk nī! Hat en dach arkt Jaer dīl salev me
dī! Wat stōl wā dach maaki, was di
Engelkīn kīngelk, en dīl best ek dier?“

Man Fander let hēm ek tōbeek hne!
hī gūng. En eader en Strōf, wiar-t jēt
da, Ge wā al nēnt her: di Engelkīn kīn-
gelk, en Fander wiar ek dier. Ik wiar hīl
bīnēnt en trampelt fūr joo Fut üp di
dōr. (Māning Jaeren herter was ik, her-
sur Fander lungem di Swin funderin dier):
hī gūng joo di Gōr dīr hī tō Kōv. (Jent
di Lāchter üp di Jöðlman en en kīn-
gelk da) – Man nī hīn Fander: „Kun
waker! Kun waker!“ rōp ik, „wā meent
al hī tō Kōv. En Moeder her nēnt, ik
meent da jent“

„Da man tōt“ wensket Fander. „let Gōs
en Jöðl dīr üping, en da meent di Jöðl-
dōr lipen“.

Man üp jommal wiar min hōk fer-
wōden' en. Mānen wiar dier jir en Engelkīn
bānen, en wat stōl ik da dach maaki?
„Gung dīl lower Ge just hī, Paul, ik waaget
ekt“

En min Bröder waaget, hī wiar joo ek
al hōk Jaeren in'er Ge ik. Ik gīdret jens
en di Huk, man dier wiar nīl nīn Jöðl-
man of Engelkīn meent tō sen, en dat ik
stōn' üngelk üngung kōr. En hōk dier,
hat lekr alen dōr di Jöðlman, wat was
unkr wensket her: di Dampmaskin, nīl
Bekar, en wāren Soumtj, en fuar nī en
nīl Pop me nīl Poptjēch en en Popen-
wein. Da her di Jöðlman dach nēnt mer-
ket!
E. H.

**Niijaarswensk - Ark Söl'ring Mensk en sün' nīl Jaer
Me fuul Tōfredenhair en Lek,
Dit wenski wā juu truu en waar!
Auriit Jun Mooderspraak uk ek! E. Schmidt**

"Map" 10b - the final issue of 'Fuar Sol'ring Lir'

source: Hans Hoeg (1990), Dokumentation Gedenksteinweiheung
Hermann Schmidt (privately printed)

1. Introduction

As a primary artifact of human culture, the language spoken by generations of a people through the centuries undergoes continuous development, a development intimately affected by a host of factors. Chief internal factors affecting language are human cognition, will, and emotion; external factors include those things in speakers' environments that bear on their ways of thinking and feeling -- in short, everything around them. Among these external factors are the physical setting in which the language is spoken and the socio-cultural events that affect its speakers. As background for appreciating the linguistic development of Sölring North Frisian, accordingly, the first part of the present chapter will address those factors that are open to observation and objective documentation: the ethnographic setting of Sölring as one variety of North Frisian. The second part of the introduction will discuss the background of the current study. The information in both sections will provide background for an understanding of two of the main characteristics of the linguistic setting in which Sölring and the other varieties of North Frisian are situated, namely diversity and fragmentation.

1.1. Ethnographic Setting

The present section will address four interrelated factors that have formed and continue to form the ethnographic character of the region: geography, history, culture, and political life. Among many relevant sources of information, Kööp (1992) stands as an invaluable compendium of primary documents and secondary research, both historical and contemporary, concerning the topics of present interest, and the contributions in Bantelmann et al. (1996) provide excellent outlines of the major historical developments in North Frisia.

1.1.1. Physical Geography (Kööp 1992, Bantelmann 1996)

From the beginning, patterns of life on Söl and in North Frisia as a whole have been determined by the sea. This constant of life in the region has been dramatically inconstant through the centuries. On the one hand, the sea has afforded North Frisians an opportunity for various livelihoods, but on the other has also represented inexorable peril and has destroyed much of the life that it has helped nurture. Proverbial in German is the observation "Nordsee ist Mordsee" (the North Sea is murderous), and part of why the North Sea, in the eastern basin of which North Frisia is situated, became so treacherous lies in the geologic character of the region.

The glaciers of the last Ice Age (120,000 - 20,000 BC) stopped just short of what would become North Frisia. They left vast terminal moraines before them, moraines that were to form the basis for sandspits and sediment that ultimately formed into unstable land masses off the coast of southern Jutland. As the glaciers melted, the meltwater cut through the moraines and ultimately the islands appeared, with moors slowly taking shape on marshland between the islands and the higher-lying coastal lands. Rising temperatures resulted in an expansion of the North Sea, with the English Channel forming as waters broke through the strait from the west into the basin extending to the Jutland peninsula (4000-2000 BC). Around 1000 AD, the sea broke through the outer wall of sandspit resulting from morainic deposits, and the moorland behind the islands filled up with silt.

This set the stage for the ravaging effects of storm tides (Ger. *Sturmfluten*), raging floods that, over

the centuries, have dealt one catastrophe after another to the people and places of North Frisia. Of present-day topography, Söl/Sylt and its two neighboring islands, Feer/Föhr and Oomram/Amrum, are for the most part products of the moraines; the silted-up former moorland between the islands and the coast are today's tidal mudflats (Sölr. heef, OE hæf, LSax. haff, HGer. Watt). The Halligen, small tidal islets just south of the islands, evolved more recently from the accretion of millenia of marine deposits. Completely vulnerable to the sea, many of the Halligen -- those that have not disappeared completely -- have gradually moved eastwards while diminishing in size. The three characteristic topographic forms in the region are thus the higher-lying sandy areas (HGer. Geest), fertile lower-lying marshland shading off into moors, and the unique expanse of the tidal flatlands, at high tide covered by water and at low tide a vast expanse of mud traversed by myriad tideways.

Inspection of cartographic renderings from different periods of time gives modern observers an idea of the major role the North Sea has played in shaping the North Frisian environment during the historical period (Map No.3). Mejer's map of the area in 1240 shows the North Frisian mainland, crossed by numerous watercourses, extending far westward of its present-day shore. Although modern archeological research suggests possibly significant inaccuracies in Mejer's rendering (Panten 1996a), the evidence of inundated churches and domestic appurtenances found in the tidal flats is eloquent testimony to settlements taken over by the sea. Möller (1879) describes the first half of the fourteenth century as a period in which a series of over half a dozen storm tides together claimed tens of thousands of human lives throughout North Frisia.

The first of these disasters, in January 1300, inundated what was the most prosperous commercial center of North Frisia of the time, the town of Rungholt, reputedly in a single night; at the same time, Söl lost its oldest church, that in Aidem, along with seven parishes. Reeling from this decimation caused by the first in a series of natural catastrophes, North Frisia was struck by the Black Death at mid-century. As to its effects on Söl, Möller (1879) reports the disappearance of one entire settlement and the survival of only a fifth of the inhabitants of Muasem; the presence of a special burial site for plague victims in the cemetery in Kairem is mute testimony to the ravages of the disease in the main community of the island. Survivors were hard put to rebuild protective dikes, with the result that the storm tides of 1354 and 1362, referred to respectively as the Mandränke and Grote Mandränke, were particularly disastrous. In the latter, Söl lost two villages, and the Hörnem Deep (or *Vorrapp-Tief*) at the southern tip of the island separating Söl from Oomram and Feer was widened considerably. Perhaps most portentous of all for North Frisia, however, was the storm tide of October 1634, in which the prosperous island of Strand, the "Pearl of North Frisia" off which Rungholt had been situated, was ripped apart into two smaller islands (today's Nordstrand and Pellworm), with some seventy percent (10,000-15,000) of its inhabitants drowning.

The recurrent storm tides in North Frisia have wreaked havoc beyond the tragic loss of human life. In addition to the demographic fragmentation caused by such prodigious loss of life, the geographically-determined fragmentation was exacerbated: such territorial integrity as North Frisia had diminished, with accessibility among districts lessened and insularity heightened. Not only were whole settlements covered over by the sea, but again and again, shattered remnants of surviving communities were forced to relocate; resettled by speakers of Low Saxon (like Eiderstedt,

Pellworm, and Nordstrand) or Dutch (Friedrichstadt), vast tracts of territory were stripped of their Frisian character virtually overnight. Appreciable resettlement of survivors within North Frisia, as from the Halligen to Feer, entailed a mixing of varieties of Frisian low in mutual intelligibility (1.3.1.) or even a switch from the local variety of Frisian to Low Saxon as a common tongue. All of these developments furthered the divergence of the local vernaculars. Exacerbated in their effects by the inhabitants' debilitation from recurrent disasters and the plague, the storm tides' destructive potential was also heightened by the morainal fundament for many of their settlements, such as Rungholt:

Es rächte sich fürchterlich, daß die Menschen nichtsahnend über einem eiszeitlichen Moränental gesiedelt hatten, das von der See im Laufe der Jahrtausende mit Sedimentmaterial angefüllt worden war und nun in kürzester Zeit wieder ausgeräumt werden wurde. (Panten 1996: 11-12)

(Terrible consequences derived from the fact that the people had unwittingly settled on top of an Ice Age moraine valley that, in the course of millenia, had been filled by the sea with sediment and now within a very short time was to be emptied out again.)

As well, the practice of cutting out chunks of mud from the tidal flats in order to produce salt (discussed further in Section 1.1.3.), widespread during the Middle Ages, also contributed to the impact of storm tides on the islands (Jessel 1984:27).

On Söl, the loss of wide tracts of land to the sea resulted in the formation of sand dunes on a large scale up and down the western front of the island. Möller (1879) describes the ambivalent status of the dunes as both friend and foe to the people of Söl. At that time, the dunes in the extreme north and the extreme south of the island – in List and Hörnem – were massive formations reaching heights of up to 150 feet. They took two characteristic forms, one elongated and a more massive type that was taller and more compact, the *wanerdünemer* (wandering dunes). Although the dunes formed a buffer between the settled land and the sea – the island's "silver ring" – the *wanerdünemer* would move up to several meters a year and constantly imperiled near-lying settlements: borne by the ever-present wind, their sand would bury arable fields and encroach on the settlements themselves. Möller lists at least four villages on Söl – Wardün, Vliedem, Ribolem, and Steidem – that had been covered over by sand through the centuries; remains of earlier settlements, such as horseshoes and foundations, could sometimes be seen at low tide and in shifting sands (1879:100; Ottsen 1909:13). The inhabitants of Raantem, in particular, have fought a battle with sand and sea for generations. The village has been destroyed again and again by the elements, and ultimately rebuilt. In the second half of the seventeenth century, its church twice had to be moved eastward but was finally taken over by sand in 1801, after the dwindling number of people had been forced to move north to Weesterlön. This was also the new home of the surviving inhabitants of Aidem when that village was flooded a second time, in 1436, and had to be abandoned. Mager (1927:113) estimates that, since 1648, the central body of the island had lost as much as 46% of its land mass. One view of the topographic evolution of Söl over the time will be seen in Maps 3 and 4.

During the last century and a half, modern techniques of abating erosion have been relatively effective in fighting the incessant forces that, dictated by its geographic environment, have long made life in North Frisia a battle with nature. Due largely to the advanced state of diking techniques, heavy storm tides in modern times have been incomparably less destructive than their predecessors. The dunes have been planted with innumerable deep-rooting beachgrasses that promote stability and lessen the danger from sand displacement. The newest measures to arrest loss of land to the sea, the construction of long jetties and the embankment of large masses of sand along the coastline, have complemented reliance on modern techniques in dikebuilding to diminish the danger from the sea. As always, however, such measures are not without their drawbacks, since sand embankment is a costly process that has to be repeated again and again.

Present-day Söl (Maps 7 - 9) comprises an area of some ninety-nine square kilometers (40 sq. mi.). Situated with its long edge aligned almost flush to the west, it faces the brunt of the North Sea head-on. Sand dunes range across the entire western front; thickly concentrated in the north and south, where, as nesting grounds to a vast array of waterfowl and home to various other types of fauna, they are protected in ecological preserves, the dunes thin out toward the middle of the north-south axis, where Weesterlön, now a city of some 10,000 inhabitants, is located. Twelve communities now dot the island (names given are Sölring/German):¹

North-south axis

List

Kaamp/Kampen

Weesterlön/Westerland

Woningstair/Wenningstedt

Raantem/Rantum

Hömem/Hörmum

West-east axis

Tinem/Tinum

Braðerep/Braderup

Kairem/Keitum

Munkmärsk/Munkmarsch

Ärichsem/Archsum

Muasem/Morsum

Prior to the growth of Weesterlön as a resort center during the latter half of the 19th century (1.1.3.2.2.), Kairem was the most populous village and the hub of cultural activity on Söl. Ärichsem and Muasem are situated on the most arable part of the island, and have accordingly been its chief agricultural centers. The tidal flats, home to a wide variety of marine life, are part of the extensive ecological sanctuary *Naturschutzgebiet Wattenmeer* created in 1985; the extensive duneland of the northern part of the island was declared a natural preserve in 1923, and altogether some 35% of the island is devoted to natural preservation (Wedemeyer 1991:146).

The neighboring islands of Oomram and Feer are supposed to have once been readily accessible by foot at low tide, and as late as 1300, the town of Hoyer/Höjjer could reportedly be reached by wagon at low tide (Möller 1879). Today, the stillness of the tidal flats is broken by the eleven kilometers of the Hindenburgdamm rail causeway to the mainland, completed in 1927 (1.1.3.3.). The loss of Söl's insularity in terms of physical geography has had far-reaching consequences for the vitality and ultimate survival of its traditional culture, language, and customs. Situated as Söl is between the tidal flats and the open sea, the air (as throughout the region) is brisk, fresh, and

¹ Traditionally, Kaamp, Braðerep, and Woningstair are grouped together in island geography as the *Nuurðterper* or "north villages" — a grouping that cuts across the axial classifications made here.

invigorating, a factor that, together with an extremely heavy surf arising from currents converging in the eastern North Sea basin (Koehn 1963:30-31), accounts for the island's particular popularity as a spa, both for beachgoers and for those seeking relief from respiratory ailments.

1.1.2. Early History

North Frisian history goes back to the Frisian homeland on the southern shore of the North Sea. A good deal of circumstantial evidence places the homeland of the undifferentiated Indo-European people in the area between the southern Baltic region and the Ukraine, and runic evidence indicates that southern Scandinavia and northern Jutland were the home territory of the Germanic peoples after the Indo-Europeans had begun dispersing. A people identified in classical writings as Frisians (*Frisii*) can historically be situated between the estuaries of the Rhine and Weser rivers (Maps 1, 2), straddling the modern German-Dutch border, before the birth of Christ; archeological evidence dates early Frisian dwelling places atop earthen mounds or "terps" from the third pre-Christian century (Kööp 1992:8).

1.1.2.1. The Frisian Homeland

The earliest recorded reference to *Frisii* occurs in the account by the Greek historian Dio Cassius of the Germanic campaign led by the Roman general Drusus during the year 12 BC, where it is noted they rendered military aid to the Romans in a confrontation with the Chaukians, a neighboring Germanic tribe (Kööp 1992:11). References to Frisians also appear in the works of the Roman historian Tacitus. In his *Annales*, Book IV, he recounts the revolt of *Frisii* in the year 28 AD when, unable or unwilling to pay the tribute required of them, they crucified the Roman soldiers who had come to exact payment. In Book XXXIV of *Germania*, Tacitus observes the following about them:

maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. utraeque nationes
usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et
Romanis classibus navigatos.

The greater and the lesser Frisians are thus called according to their strength; together, both tribes border the Rhine down to the ocean and also fringe the expansive lakes which the fleets of Rome have navigated.²

A second Frisian revolt against the Romans is recorded for 68 AD, and although the Frisians were forced to submit to some degree of Roman authority, they were still able to retain a measure of independence. With the contraction of the Roman Empire, the Frisians succeeding in expanding their territory west to the river Zwin (formerly *Sincfâl*) in Flanders and in the east all the way to the Weser.

During the Germanic migrations (Ger. *Völkerwanderung*) of the late-fourth to mid-sixth centuries, Frisians in uncertain numbers took part in the voyages to Britain from about 450. In one of the best-known passages of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Beda Venerabilis designates

² Cited from the Loeb Classical Library edition (182, 184), where it is noted that "The Zuyder Zee formed from these lakes by an inundation near the end of the 13c."

Angles, Saxons, and Jutes as the chief respondents to the Britons' summons for defensive aid against the Picts and Scots, but other classical references as well as onomastic evidence indicate that there was indeed an appreciable Frisian presence in the Germanic incursion and settlement of the island (1.4.1.). Kent was the center of Jutish settlement on the island, and Möller (1879:20) reports the similarities in Kent to Frisian architecture, law, customs, language, and place-names to be both striking and pervasive. (For a consideration of the possibility of overlapping Frisian-Jutish-Saxon identity in early history, see Seebold 1995.)

Kings and princes among the Frisians are documented from the sixth century, and although a hereditary social class was known during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Frisian society apparently did not develop a nobility or the structures of feudalism as such. From the reign of Redbad/Radbod (?690-719), Frisians were confronted with the expansion of the Saxons under Charlemagne. Lost in this confrontation were the territories west of the Zuider Zee – the top of the Dutch province of Noord Holland is still known as West-Friesland – and in 734 that between the rivers Flie and Lauwers (Map No. 1).³ By 785, Charlemagne had succeeded in subjugating the territory all the way east to the Weser and incorporating it into the Saxon empire. Early attempts at Christianizing the Frisians, first undertaken by monks from Ireland and Scotland during the seventh century and followed by missions from the south that were perhaps associated with Saxon expansionism, met with widespread resistance. Following the work of his predecessor, St. Willibrord of England, who had spread the gospel among the Frisians in the late seventh century, St. Boniface, traveling up the Rhine from his see in Mainz, was martyred near Dokkum in 754.

Between the sixth and the eighth centuries, Frisian coastal trade grew into a virtual monopoly on commercial sailing to Scandinavia. Ellmers (1990:91) asserts that none of the archeological finds of foreign origin in Scandinavia for two centuries prior to the Viking Age had been brought there independent of Frisian commerce; Frisian boats transported cargo from the Merovingian empire along the lower Rhine and from England to Jutland (Haithabu and Ribe), where the cargo could be sent on to Bergen or be taken overland and loaded on vessels waiting to cross the Baltic on their way up to Birka in present-day Sweden. As well, beach markets were established at the mouth of the Rhine, as in Dorestad south of Utrecht, where there was a settlement of Frisian merchants. References to Frisians in written sources are frequent during this period, e.g. by Bede, who mentions a Frisian merchant in London buying slaves in 679, and in the entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 896, in which Frisians and English are found fighting Danish sailors along the English coast.

³ The present-day province of Fryslân/Friesland in the Netherlands is bounded in the west by the IJsselmeer (Zuider Zee) and in the east by the Lauwers. Terminologically, however, "West Frisian" and "East Frisian" as counterparts to "North Frisian" are rather problematic, because of the fact that *West-Friesland* denotes (in the Netherlands) a part of what is no longer Frisian-speaking territory, and *Ostfriesland* denotes (in Germany) a region in which Frisian has all but disappeared. In both areas, however, Frisian forms a substrate of the languages by which it has been supplanted. The local designations for what might be referred to in English as western and eastern Frisian are *Westerlauwers Frysk* (or *Westerlauwers*) and *Seeltersk*, respectively. North (or "northern") Frisian is known locally by a variety of names; see 1.3.1.

The Frisian trade monopoly in the North Sea region effectively ended with the opening of alternative trade routes from Scandinavia toward the end of the eighth century, but one indication of the significance of Frisian maritime commerce is the persistence of "Frisian" as a generic term or attribute for things involved in such activity (Lebecq 1990). A document from 829 confirming concessions to the Bishop of Worms refers to tolls levied on *negatiatores, artifices et Frisones* – local merchants, craftsmen, and international traders (Worms being a major Rhenish wine market), and in the West Saxon Book of Exeter from the late tenth century, "the Frisian sailor became the literary archetype of the long-distance seaman" (1990:87). The North Sea was apparently also identified as the Frisian Sea – variously *Mare Frenessicum* and *Mare Fresicum* (*Historia Brittonum*, mid-ninth c.), *oceanum Fresonicum* (Adam of Bremen, 11th c.), and *mare Fresonum* (Nicholas of Liège, 12th c.).

In the course of their coastal trading, Frisian merchants had settled in Ribe on Jutland and in Haithabu near Schleswig as centers from which to manage the expedition of goods on their Scandinavian routes. In the seventh and eighth centuries, likely in response to Saxon pressure and perhaps also driven by storm tides, Frisians in larger numbers migrated to the western side of the lower Jutish peninsula in an area from Eiderstedt to Söl (Maps 5 - 7). From archeological and onomastic evidence, earlier inhabitants of this region had themselves emigrated in large numbers prior to the arrival of Frisians immigrants (1.1.2.2.).

Although part of the Saxon empire from the late eighth century, Frisians seem to have been able to maintain a considerable measure of independence. Charlemagne is reputed to have granted them freedom from thralldom and foreign domination, placing them directly under imperial jurisdiction; although there is no extant record for it – a corresponding document from the thirteenth century proved to be a fabrication –, the dispensation became legendary, and the privileges named in the putative original were confirmed by emperors in 1417 and again in 1493 (Kööp 1992: 9, 17).

1.1.2.2. Northern Frisia

Archeological finds point to human habitation in North Frisia during the Middle Stone Age (8000-4000 BC) and to settlement during the New Stone Age. The presence of monolithic burial grounds suggests an increase in settlement in the period after the advance of the North Sea and, from the witness of metal weapons in burial mounds, during the Bronze Age (1500-600 BC). On Söl, such burial mounds were situated near present-day Weesterlön and Kaamp in the west, and in Årichsem in the east, the remains of a large grouped settlement indicate that, around the birth of Christ, the higher-lying area of the island was settled at maximum density. Surrounded by undrained marshland, the settlers there would have had nowhere to expand their agrarian and herding activities, and the result seems to have been a certain degree of overpopulation that would ultimately have resulted in emigration.

Place names from Iron Age settlements in northern Frisia commonly ended in cognates of (Mod. Ger.) *-ing* and *-stedt* (as in earlier Rantring, Brekeling – now Rantrum, Breklum – and the present-day towns of Bredstedt, Hattstedt, Ramstedt; on Söl: Woningstair/Wenningstedt). Common on the mainland, these place names appear with new settlements only into the sixth century. Evidence of settlements dating from the early ninth century, thought to be continuations of the cultures of the erstwhile settlers, strongly suggests that the immediate pre-Frisian peoples never abandoned the

islands entirely and had even started increasing in numbers once again. By contrast, place names ending in cognates of (Mod. Ger.) *-um* and *-büll* witness to settlement during and after the arrival of Frisians from their original homeland, the former suffix being cognate with Engl. *-ham*, Ger. *-heim* and the latter an adaptation of Danish *-bøll/-bel*, all meaning 'settlement'. The names of half the villages on Söl correspond to *-um* – Kairem, Arichsem, Muasem, Hörnem, Raantem, and Tinem; that of Bregerep, testifies to Danish influence at about the same period of settlement.

Occurrence and distribution of such onomastic evidence further indicate that, although it was chiefly the North Frisian islands that were settled in the early waves of Frisian immigration, there was some habitation of the moors and marshland to the east (Kööp 1992: 47, 60-61) as well. However, concerted Frisian settlement on the mainland did not take place until the eleventh and twelfth centuries. There, the very common ending of *-um* cognates on place names is not identical to earlier *-um*, corresponding instead to a dative plural ending, e.g. Struckum 'in the shrubs'. This 350-400-year difference in migration to and settlement of North Frisia accounts for the marked linguistic differences between insular and mainland dialects of North Frisian (see 1.3.1.).

Early scholarship on North Frisians, noting the non-Frisian character of some words in insular vocabulary – the names of the islands are themselves not Frisian – raised a question as to whether the islands had indeed been settled by ethnic Frisians. However, theories of non-Frisian settlement of the islands during the historical period are relativized by the distribution and character of place names as discussed above, as well as by insights afforded from archeology:

Überblickt man das aus den Gräbern stammende Fundmaterial, so läßt die Mehrzahl der Funde ... enge Verbindung zu den südlichen Küstengebieten der Nordsee zwischen Rhein- und Wesermündung erkennen. Ein kleiner Teil des Fundmaterials aber stammt ebenso eindeutig aus dem Norden.... Durch die Tatsache, da die nordfriesischen *-heim* [i.e., *-um*] Namen als ersten Bestandteil einen Personennamen erhalten, unterscheiden sie sich von den nordeuropäischen Namen auf *-heim* und stellen sich ganz zu den sehr zahlreichen *-heim* Namen ähnlicher Bildung von der Südküste der Nordsee.... man wird ... die Arbeitshypothese aufstellen dürfen, da es sich bei der archäologisch erschlossenen Zuwanderung des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts aus dem Südwesten um die Einwanderung oder doch Zuwanderung von Friesen handelt, die sich dann auf den Inseln ... mit Bevölkerungsgruppen aus dem Norden gemischt haben.
(Jankuhn 1958:86, cited in Kööp 1992:54)

(Considering the items from the grave sites as a whole, one sees that the majority of the finds reveal close connections to the southern coastal areas of the North Sea between the estuaries of the Rhine and the Weser. Yet a small portion of the finds just as clearly has its origin in the north. The fact that North Frisian place names ending in *-um* have names of persons as their first element distinguishes them from the northern European place names ending in *-um* and situates them entirely in the context of the very numerous place names with *-um* of similar formation on the southern coast of the North Sea. We can thus formulate the working hypothesis that the migration of the 7th and 8th centuries from the southwest, for which strong archeological evidence exists, was an immigration of new or additional Frisians that

on the islands then mixed with groups of peoples from the north.)

The earliest written references to northern Frisians date from the late twelfth century. Helmold von Bosau, in his *Chronicle of the Slavs* (1170), mentions Frisian inhabitants of Jutland and a Frisian bodyguard of the Danish king Cnut as well as Frisian troops. In the fourteenth book of the *Gesta Danorum* (ca. 1180) by the Danish scholar Saxo Grammaticus, direct reference is made to the inhabitants of a geographically new "lesser Frisia", and their mode of living is described:

Attached to Jutland is Lesser Frisia [...] which is very fertile due to the flooding of the ocean. But it is uncertain whether the powerful tides of the ocean are more beneficial or harmful to the inhabitants of the land, because a heavy storm often breaks through the dikes that have been built to keep the sea at bay, and then such a tremendous rainstorm breaks over the flat land that it sometimes floods not only the cultivated fields but also the houses along with the people. [...] The inhabitants are wild by nature, physically adroit, and have no use for heavy, restricting armor, using only small shields and fighting with projectiles. They surround their fields with ditches, [over which] they vault with small poles. They build their houses on artificial earthen mounds. Their descent from the Frisians is shown by the same name and the same language; when the latter were looking for new places to live, they found this land by coincidence; at first it was too swampy and wet, [but] with considerable toil they have drained it off. (cited in Kōöp 1992:63; transl.)

The earliest extant mention of Söl and other individual areas of North Frisia is found in the revenue lists of the Danish king Waldemar II for the Duchy of Slesvig in 1231 (Kōöp 1992: 81-85). Söl appears as one of nine *hardes* (Map XXX), or administrative districts, that together composed the King's "uthland" of outlying territory. From the level of the revenues collected in the individual districts, it is apparent that the North Frisian *hardes* were comparatively affluent. Along with farming and livestock breeding, the chief source of this relative affluence was the production of "Frisian salt" derived from the salt peat that the *uthlanders* would cut out of the tidal flats at low tide, a practice made more feasible by dike-building in the 11th-12th centuries, and by success in drainage techniques. As noted earlier (1.1.1.), however, the process by which the salt peat was obtained, entailing as it did a ravaging of the flats, ultimately contributed to the destructiveness of the storm tides (Kōöp 1992: 87, 121; Jessel 1984:27).

When successors of Waldemar II later sought to raise even more revenue, the burden on the Frisians, faced with high costs for dike-building and drainage, eventually became too onerous. This circumstance and, presumably, a desire to preserve a measure of their traditional independence, led the Frisians to rise up in rebellion against the levies. After a resounding defeat in battle in 1151, Frisians won a military confrontation in 1252 that ended with the death of King Abel. Over the centuries, this victory became legendary as a moment of North Frisian unification in the face of tyranny, though from a critical analysis of the historical sources that are available, it appears that the encounter involved Frisians from only three of their sixteen *hardes* (Kōöp 1992: 92ff.).

1.1.3. Culture

Discussed in this section will be organizational structures, economic pursuits, transportation, writing systems, and literature.

1.1.3.1. Organizational Structures

Characteristic of traditional Frisian culture throughout the centuries has been a pervasive desire for freedom and unencumbrance from outside control. Such is reflected in the Sölring motto *Lewer duar iis slaav*, lit. rather dead than slave, and – a desire for one's own freedom logically implying respect of others' liberty and an openness toward them – *Riim hart, klaar kîming*, lit. wide heart, clear horizon. K  p (1992:9) asserts that the ideals of Charlemagne's dispensation had been advanced in Frisians' opposition to King Abel's demands for increased taxation, and presumably the revolt of the Frisii against Roman authority in 28 AD had a similar motivation (1.1.2.).⁴ From the fourteenth century, administrators of the Danish king (and later of the Duke of Slesvig) were dispatched to the various districts of North Frisia to collect taxes and in some cases to act in a judicial capacity (later also to maintain civil order). Accounts of occasional violence directed toward such administrators, and the fact that (as e.g. on Feer, Oomram, and Eiderstedt) these administrators found it necessary to arrange fortification in order to conduct their duties, are evidence that such outside influence was not always welcomed (K  p 1992:101).

During the Middle Ages, a triad of oak trees known as the *Upstalsboom* near Aurich in eastern Frisia was the traditional meeting place for representatives of the free Frisias, the so-called "Seven Sealands" that formed the districts of legal jurisdiction of the region. (In 1955, representatives from western, eastern, and northern Frisia would meet on the same spot to proclaim the "Frisian Manifesto", 1.2.2.) The meetings were held to discuss matters of common import and to elect individuals who would revise and promulgate laws (K  p 1992:20). The documentation of these laws and legal judgments in western and eastern Frisia, extant from about 1300, are the earliest Frisian texts that have been preserved and together form the corpus of what is known as Old Frisian (1.3.1.).

Preserved orally for generations in northern Frisia, these laws were not written down there until 1426, in the so-called Seven Districts' Statute (*Siebenhardenbeliebung*), when, after the catastrophes of the fourteenth century (1.1.1.), Frisian resistance to encroachment by the Danish king led them to seek regional aid from the Duke of Slesvig and receive codification of their traditional legal status. Up to that point,

only in the heathland *Hardes* Karrharde, North Goesharde and South Goesharde – inhabited by Frisians only in the west – was the Danish *Jydske Lov*, the Jutish legal code, in force. The 13 *Uthlande Hardes* were subject to Frisian law. These were: Sylt, Osterland-F  hr [eastern Feer], Westerland-F  hr [western Feer] with Amrum (since 1411/35 an Imperial Danish enclave), Wiedingharde (formerly Horsb  llharde), B  kingharde, the five *Hardes* of Alt-Nordstrand, namely

⁴ Indeed, the ideal of Frisian liberty has no doubt been mythologized over the centuries. Interpolating from Tholund (1993:53), Steensen (1994:17) suggests that an apt paraphrase of the traditional Frisian motto might be "Rather dead than pay taxes."

Wirichsharde, Pellwormharde, Edomsharde, Beltringharde and Lundenbergharde,
as well as the so-called *Dreilande* (three-land) of Utholm, Everschop and Eiderstedt.
(Steenen 1994:6; transl.)

One result of the Frisian request for codification was the legal incorporation of the *uthland* into the Duchy of Slesvig, where – except for on the northernmost tip of Söl, which also came under direct jurisdiction of the Danish king – a degree of autonomy could nevertheless be preserved. This arrangement, by which the North Frisian *uthland* thence formally had a legal code different from that of neighboring Frisians, Jutes, and Danes, was significant in that it established the special status of the *uthland* within the Duchy (Kööp 1992: 129f.).

Although the Seven Districts' Statute was significant as a symbol of early regional identity among North Frisians, since it was attained by the collaboration of men in seven distinct districts, the effects of such regional identity were nonetheless short-lived. A treaty signed at Wordingborg in 1435 effectively negated the gains made by the Seven-District Frisians just nine years previously, ending the "independent political history of the North Frisians" (Hans Christian Nickelsen and Rudolf Muuß, cited in Kööp 1992: 133; transl.).

Locally in the *uthland*, legal judgments and votes on matters affecting an entire community were originally held at periodic assemblies called *things* (Söl. *ting*, *tingen*), common in ancient Germanic society. Before the advent of Christianity on Söl around 1300 (Möller 1879), *things* were held in conjunction with pagan sacrifices in the individual settlements, but later took place in Kairem three times a year: on February 22, June 29, October 26 (Möller 1909:69). The sacrificial bonfire (*biiki* < Gmc. **baukna-*, cogn. Engl. *beacon*) that had accompanied the *ping* of pre-Christian times now became an expression of community, and the *thing* itself was held the following day. Except during times of war, the spring *biiki* has been held continuously in the various villages of Söl and across North Frisia on the night of February 21, with the traditional *thing* the next day gradually evolving into a general meeting-day with socializing for young and old. In the traditional church calendar observed in the region, February 22 is a feast commemorating St. Peter, so the day following the spring *biiki* became known as *Pietersdei*, lit. (St.) Peter's Day. Over the centuries, this *biiki* took on significance as a communal event that took place toward the end of the long winter with its peril of storm tides, and came to herald the imminent departure of the seagoing populace.⁵

Historically, North Frisians' traditionally high valuation of freedom undoubtedly contributed to the lack of development of a regional identity sufficient to engender a politicization that would have made North Frisia more capable of withstanding the hegemonial incursions of non-Frisians throughout the centuries – pirates, knights, the Danish king and dukes, German dukes, and finally the Prussian and German states. Along with the increasing fragmentation of topography in the region due to recurrent storm tides (1.1.1.), preference for maintaining local freedom ultimately promoted a lack of enduring political cohesion throughout the region, spelling increased vulnerability to cultural as well as political influences from outside. Linguistically, cohesion might

⁵ In western Frisia, a traditional bonfire is made only in the village of Grou/Grouw. For a discussion of the historical background of the *biiki* in North Frisia, see *Nordfriesland* 105 and 122.

have had the effect of fostering convergence among the various North Frisian dialects, but instead, the exacerbated fragmentation rendered moot the possible issue of standardization. In the absence of an overarching standard, North Frisians have regularly used a lingua franca – earlier Low Saxon, doubtlessly Danish to some extent, and in more recent times High German – in their inter-North Frisian contacts, such as at sea and at cattle markets on the mainland, with Sölring being reputed to be the dialect least readily understood by other North Frisians.

Much as a propensity for frequent code-switching has been one mechanism for lexical enrichment of the individual dialects (1.4.2.; 4.1.), it has had an even more lasting effect in conditioning generations of North Frisians to resort to other languages in effecting communication outside their more immediate locales – a practice that has in turn provided a disincentive for the development of terminology for non-immediate realms of communication and consequently entailed a relegation of the North Frisian mother tongue to strictly vernacular function and status. The one result, that of lexical underdevelopment, threatens the viability of a language as an autonomous instrument of self-expression, while the other, regard as a vernacular, inhibits its own standardization and degrades it in the eyes of non-users and some of its users – a devolution (in this case, to the status of "a mere dialect of German") that is one of the surest precursors of ultimate abandonment, attrition, and shift.

Today, the German administrative district (*Landkreis*) *Nordfriesland* within the province (*Bundesland*) of *Schleswig-Holstein* comprises an area of 2,041 sq. km. (785 sq. mi.); of its inhabitants, an estimated 8,000–10,000 now speak Frisian (1.2.1.).

1.1.3.2. Economic Pursuits

Occupational life on Söl and the rest of North Frisia has quite naturally been influenced by topographical conditions, for which the division into *Geesr*, marsh, tidal flats, and the sea have been determining factors (1.1.1.). The earliest basis for subsistence was the hunting of game, but this activity died out early on the islands. Agriculture was practiced to varying degrees throughout North Frisia; fertile marshland is plenteous on the mainland, but on the islands, only Feer today has a preponderance of farming land. The sandy western coast of present-day Söl is succeeded by *Geesr*, and marshland is only found on the south-central part of the island, although in earlier centuries, the proportion of arable land must have been considerably greater. At the beginning of the 14th century, Hans Kielholt reports of an agricultural cornucopia "in earlier times" (Möller 1897:46), with potatoes, rye, barley, oats, wheat, buckwheat, peas, and beans in excess. The tidal flats could be and were used for salt production, fateful as this use proved to be (1.1.2.). The beachfront – along with its sea breezes – was made into a source of economic gain only during the past 150 years, but on the whole, it is the sea itself that has been the major factor in the inhabitants' efforts toward making a living in their environment.

1.1.3.2.1. Seafaring

Particularly for the island populations, fishing has always been a natural activity, but the disastrous storm tides of the fourteenth century, washing away whole tracts of land as on Strand, the breadbasket of North Frisia, appear to have been the impetus for an intensification of fishing. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with Dëat Lun as their starting point, islanders sailed out for herring and shellfish, bounty that grew scarce toward the end of the 16th c. From that point, which

coincided with the discovery of large whale populations in the Arctic Ocean, and especially following the terrific losses in the storm tide of 1634 (1.1.1.), increasing numbers of North Frisians from Söl, Feer, and Oomram sought their livelihood in whaling. This activity came to engage almost entire able-bodied male populations on the islands for some two hundred years, and brought unprecedented affluence to the inhabitants of the islands.

Known as "Grönlandfahrten" (Greenland voyages), the whaling expeditions actually guided their vessels toward the Spitzbergen archipelago east of Greenland. The expeditions generally lasted six months, from around early March to September – the interval during which passage through the Arctic ice could (in principle) be negotiated. Amsterdam and Hamburg were the main ports of departure, but whaling ships also sailed from Copenhagen and London as well as from smaller harbors in the Netherlands and Slesvig. Males as young as eleven and as old as in their seventies made the trips as cabin boys and sailors on up to officers, captains, and commanders, as the captains of whaling ships were called. So esteemed were North Frisians on these expeditions that they often comprised a large proportion of entire crews. Jensen (1891) reports that in the early eighteenth century, a third of all Hamburg ships were commanded by Sölring and a third of the Dutch whaling fleet by Fering, and further that between 1725 and 1727, the twenty-five ships of the London South-Sea Company were manned entirely by Fering. Menke (1997:121) puts the total of whalers from the islands at close to eighty percent of all males.

Navigation schools where, during the winter months, experienced seamen would train boys and younger men in the various aspects of their trade, were founded on both Feer and Söl. These schools were instrumental in solidifying a tradition of North Frisian mastery in the maritime trades. Christian Peter Hansen, long-time schoolteacher and chronicler of Söl, thus characterized the native system of education (see also 1.2.2.1.):

Da buchstabirten und lasen die jüngern Knaben, geleitet und beaufsichtigt von einigen ältern, selber nebenbei im Schreiben und Rechnen sich übenden Schülern. Die Erwachsenen übten sich in der Mathematik, namentlich in der Steuermannskunde nach [...] einem Lehrbuche der Navigation, zeichneten und berechneten Figuren, Coursen und Distanzen auf Tafeln oder auf Seekarten durch Hülfe von Zirkeln [...]; sie observirten die Höhe der Sonne, des Mondes und der Sterne vermittelst dazu geeigneter Instrumente, z.B. der "Octanten" und berechneten daraus die Breite eines Ortes u.s.w. [...] Die Bildung der Inselfriesen wurde mithin, so lange ihre Schulen freie Volksinstitute waren, vorzugsweise eine seemännische, eine mathematische, geographische und astronomische. (1879:4)

(The younger boys would practice their spelling and reading, prompted and supervised by some of the older students as these worked at their writing and reckoning. The adults applied themselves in mathematics, specifically in that which a helmsman has to know according to ... a textbook on navigation, and drew and measured geometric figures, courses, and distances on slates or sea charts using compasses ...; using appropriate instruments such as the octant, they observed the height of the sun, the moon, and the stars, and from this calculated the latitude of a given spot etc. ... In this way, the education of the island Frisians came to be, as

long as their schools were unfettered institutions of the people, essentially a seafarer's, focusing on mathematics, geography, and astronomy.)

With the intensity of whaling, however, whale populations were rapidly being depleted, and although Fering continued to sail into Arctic waters throughout the 18th century, Sölring gradually shifted from whaling to trading voyages. In contrast to the Arctic expeditions, trading voyages lasted up to three years at a time. Like the former, however, these commercial ventures also brought material affluence, and the period 1775-1807 has been called the Golden Age of Sölring seafaring (Jensen 1891:134). The village of Kairem on Söl saw a concentration of the fruits of this affluence, many of the houses being built by commanders and sea captains who also brought home choice artifacts, such as samovars and Delft tiles, from far-flung regions of the globe to form part of their domestic inventory.

In terms of language development, contact with other cultures via seafaring spelled a very considerable enrichment of the native patterns of communication. Just as seagoing men brought foreign artifacts back home, so too did they return to their native soil with new linguistic resources (4.1.2.). Working in close contact with speakers of other languages over the course of long voyages, year in and year out, promoted (if not demanded) at least a degree of proficiency in those other languages – particularly e.g. for those captaining foreign ships – and widespread multilingualism was one result. Jap Peter Hansen (died 1855), known as the father of North Frisian literature (1.1.3.4.), was fluent enough in foreign languages to alternate Sölring, Danish, and High German in verse (and also use Low Saxon and Jutish), and Nann Mungard (died 1935), also spoke English, Chinese, Japanese, and Malay (Mungard/Hoeg 1989:1) (1.1.3.4.). Although some of the returnees' foreignisms were doubtlessly affected, even what originally might have been affectations could over time become part of the language, as Århammar (1984a) has demonstrated with respect to the *om ... tō + INF.* construction for resultative clauses in North Frisian during the days of extensive whaling aboard Dutch vessels. At the same time, however, the incidence of multilingualism and the exigencies of their work among non-Frisians will have established a certain predilection for switching codes that would be carried over into their home environment.

In addition to its material and linguistic significance, seafaring also had effects on the character of the people. One of these was a confirmation of the North Frisian attitude of openness and tolerance as expressed in the motto *rüm hart, klaar kiming*: exposure to cultures and peoples around the world could only heighten traditional appreciation of liberty and tolerance (1.1.3.1.). Summing up the overall effects on the islanders of the rhythm of the seagoing life, often undertaken from the age of eleven and twelve, Christian Jensen (1891:132; transl.) of Feer asserted that:

Communal life during the winter, the absence of one's relatives during the summer, the circumstance that the boys were taken along to sea early on and there raised up properly; simplicity of custom and a frugal way of life as a bulwark of virtue, as well as the esteem accorded those who excelled in their work and by their uprightness of conduct – these influences were of enduring benefit to the character of the island inhabitants. Love of homeland and affection for one's own, and thus sincerest empathy with the fortunes of those living next to one – this was the first result, and a quest for proficiency in all dealings demanded of them by their

occupation, the second. The third was a high degree of uprightness, fidelity, and decisiveness, because only these qualities could ensure compensation for their labors and the continued progress of those who would follow.

One of the manifestations of the perception of liberty and basic equality that attended these perceptions was an apparent lack of presumption based on social rank. C.P. Hansen, son of Jap Peter Hansen, observed that:

Not only did the hiring of so many Sölring as ship's officers have economic benefits for the people of the island, but also the good effect that a general love of honor was awakened in them. In fact, as soon as a Sölring crew returned to their native shores upon completion of an expedition, the distinctions in rank that had been made on board as being necessary for operations at sea were immediately dissolved, making way for the trusting familiarity known from old and still found today, as well as the greatest possible legal equality and equality of class; ... (cited in Jensen 1891:133; transl.)

One consequence of this perceived social equality was the non-establishment of a deferential form of the second person pronoun such as had become fashionable in other European languages. Although the 2PL pronoun I (cognate with English ye) could be used in addressing those to whom particular respect was considered appropriate (and can still be), 2SG dū was nonetheless used for those of the same ethnic group; the 2PL pronoun seems to have been common in addressing certain outsiders who had settled down locally, such as the village pastor (see also 1.3.2.).

Once again, however, negative influences were also to be found. C.P. Hansen, after referring to various positives in social life deriving from seagoing pursuits, observed that, paradoxically, a lamentable indifference toward the old rights and liberties of the homeland had also insidiously taken hold (cited in Jensen 1891: 133-134). Jensen himself found that, as the Fering turned more and more to commercial shipping, with its longer voyages entailing considerably greater absences from the homeland, much of the simplicity and wholesomeness of traditional life was being lost. Even more tangible were the losses of life at sea due to shipwreck, the capsizing of coastal vessels transporting seafarers to ports of departure, and the ravages of disease (especially tropical diseases contracted during trading voyages). Whaling, in particular, was fraught with dangers. Often, ships were smashed to pieces or locked in by Arctic ice, stranding entire crews in icy wastelands; once sighted, whales were pursued in tiny rowboats attempting to maneuver into position for a cast of the harpoon – a maneuver not infrequently ending in death for the whalers.

Henry Koehn, a more recent chronicler of the North Frisian islands, like Hansen and Jensen addressed the issue of character in his perspective on the perils:

Storm, fog, snow, ocean currents, ice floes and icebergs, cold, wet, hunger, and disease, finally death itself were ever-present dangers. Confronting these dangers took character in men that were self-reliant, people who had their own inner freedom and self-discipline, who fully embraced responsibility and were ready and willing at every moment to give an account of themselves before God and the

world. Such a nature was the Frisians'. The sea, the stuff of life in their homeland,
had prepared and formed them for this. (1961:158; transl.)

Nonetheless, the incidence of disaster was high, and the attendant loss of life – given the proportions of the populations that engaged in whaling – was as sorely felt in entire communities as in individual families. Hansen (1879:17) reports that, in 1744, eighty-nine Sölring drowned at sea; with the village of Kairem losing almost 25% of its seafaring total.

Although fishing in coastal waters would continue to be a minor economic activity, seafaring as a way of North Frisian life diminished drastically during the nineteenth century. In 1806/1807, an English blockade of the Continent during war against Napoleon put an end to whalers' Arctic expeditions, and although there was some recovery after that, the number of whaling expeditions and trading voyages diminished further by the third decade of the century (Jensen 1891:135). By 1870, following a series of political and military events that resulted in the transfer of North Frisia from Danish to Prussian administration (1.1.4.), the private navigation schools on the islands had been dissolved and, with the introduction of new Prussian/German regulations for maritime examination and qualification, a desire on the part of young North Frisians to pursue the traditional occupation of their seagoing forefathers would have necessitated their leaving home – in itself financially infeasible for many North Frisians at the time – to study in German cities for relatively long periods, as well as an obligation to gain experience at sea under conditions logistically much more difficult than in their fathers' days. As a result, most young islanders instead chose other occupations or went abroad, often to America or Australia (Jensen 1891:136-137).

1.1.3.2.2. Agriculture and the Rise of Resort Tourism

From the accounts by Hans Kielholt in the early 14th century (1.1.3.2.), Söl during the 13th century appears to have been rich in grains, including rye, barley, wheat, and buckwheat (as well as wood), while Möller (1879) notes contemporary production of little grain and no wood. During the seafaring era of the 17th and 18th centuries, the long absences of the able-bodied male populace left the women of the island to do most of the agricultural work, not uncommonly with the help of Jutish migrant workers. Crop cultivation and animal husbandry were communal undertakings, and C.P. Hansen observed a number of practices that kept the yields low:

There were many horses and few cows; the arable land was plowed year in, year out, and sowed continuously, and the yield was all the lower because seaweed was the main fertilizer while manure was used for starting fires. (cited in Jensen 1891:139; transl.)

Because most of the arable land was used communally – and at low efficiency –, little farmland was owned individually, and crops were inadequate for producing enough grain to feed large families. When seafaring activity began diminishing early in the 19th century, reforms in the organization and methods of cultivation – among them distributing communal fields for individual use, alternating plantings from year to year, introducing and cultivating the potato, keeping fewer horses and more milk cows – made agricultural activity on Söl much more productive (Jensen 1891: 139-140).

Grain yields increased dramatically, with the result that barley as well as sheep and cattle, which had earlier had to be brought in, could now be exported. The high number of sheep – over 7,000 in 1873, for instance – made possible a cottage industry for the production of woolen goods, thousands of which could then be sold through markets on the mainland. Carding, spinning, and weaving were carried out at home, knitting while tending the herds by day and during *āpseten* (lit. up-sitting) in the evening. Such neighborly convocations (as well as occasions of women's schooling: Hansen 1879:5) became traditional venues for the relating of local myths and legends, many of which were written down subsequently by C.P. Hansen (1.1.3.4.).

On Söl and the rest of North Frisia, as throughout much of the world, social transformations have wrought significant changes in cultural patterns. In modern times, much of the social change has derived from the introduction of technology, but although technological advances are generally embraced in the interest of greater material returns, technology seldom spells unmitigated progress for a people. The harvesting methods once accomplished by sickle and then by scythe became more efficient and incalculably less laborious with the introduction of the combine harvester around the middle of the 19th century (Kööp 1992:287), but a large displacement of agricultural workers was a secondary result. When more fully automated means of processing wool, and processing it on a larger scale, became possible, production in the cottage industry lost its significance – with the side effect that the oral tradition preserved in the custom of *āpseten* became obsolescent; in the latter half of the twentieth century, this custom has virtually disappeared altogether, chiefly under the influence of evening television. Yet such technological innovations as the combine harvester and tractor as well as the industrial processing of wool have made it possible for the people of North Frisia to subsist, in times of particular need, and in others even to rise above the level of bare subsistence. Still earlier in North Frisia, as noted earlier (1.1.1.), techniques of cutting peat from the tidal flats yielded exportable salt, but at the unsuspected price of endangering the very homeland of the exporters. In retrospect, each of these instances of cultural loss and existential jeopardy arising from social transformation can be seen as harbingers of developments that would arise from the establishment of tourist resorts throughout the region.

For many reasons, North Frisia and particularly the islands are naturally attractive as locales for physical and psychological regeneration, an attribute heightened by the region's inclusion in a nation like Germany, where a large population has only limited access to the sea. The air is refreshing and pure, the sea currents invigorating: few places in north-central Europe offer such a salutary natural environment. The first German resorts were established in the late eighteenth century, on Heiligendamm (1794) and on Norderney (1797). Their example was followed with similar arrangements on both the Baltic and the North Sea coasts, including on Feer in 1819 and Dēat Lun seven years later. Söl was "unlocked" for tourism in 1856 on the initiative of a medical doctor from Altona (near Hamburg) who had witnessed the effect of seaside spas in England and enlisted the support of a small group of citizens of Weesterlön. At that time a village of 101 dwellings, Weesterlön was to quintuple in size within the next six decades, easily overtaking Kairem as the largest community on the island (Steenen 1996a:279). The following statistics, compiled from Jensen (1891:90ff) and Steenen(1996a:280) and representing numbers of tourists in Weesterlön, show the trend of growth:

1856	~100	1880	~2,000	1889	7,184
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1857	~470	1885	~3,500	1895	9,979
1863	566	1886	~4,200	1901	16,251
(..)		1887	5,226	1906	24,627
1875	~1,500	1888	5,383	1911	32,545

As late as 1879, Möller held the quiet and simplicity of Söl to be a safeguard against the island's development into a magnet for outsiders:

Ein Modebad ist Sylt nicht und wird es auch niemals werden. Die fashionable Welt würde sich auf diesem unwirthbaren Eiland entsetzlich ennuyiren; die *jeunesse dorée*, hierher verschlagen, möchte glauben, zu irgend einer unwillkommenen Robisonade verurtheilt zu sein. Wer aber Genesung sucht für den siechen Körper, Erholung nach dem Drang der Geschäfte und wohlthätige Ruhe nach ernster Geistesarbeit, der gehe nach Sylt, und er wird befriedigt werden. (1879:9-10)

(Söl is not a vogueish resort and never will be. The fashionable world would be bored to death on this inhospitable isle; finding itself here, our gilded youth would think itself condemned to Robinson Crusoe's island. But anyone seeking relief from sickness, regeneration after the turmoil of business affairs, and soothing quiet after serious intellectual labor – let them go to Söl, and there they will find fulfillment.)

Six years later, in 1885, councillors on neighboring Oomram, rejecting a proposal to establish a resort on their island, gave clear reasons for their decision:

Under current conditions on Oomram, there are neither rich people nor poor. ... If a resort were to be established here the situation would change, and it is debatable whether there would be any advantages to it from a financial standpoint. A few capitalists and entrepreneurs, who would of course be outsiders, would perhaps make money, yet would induce the modestly-living inhabitants to spend the money they have been able to save up through industry and thrift to go into debt in order to make their own houses into tourist accommodations so that they might live in seeming comfort. Luxury would increase, daily work be neglected and for some the result would be poverty rather than affluence. [...] Especially with regard to morals would the disadvantages that a resort would have for the populace far outweigh any advantages that might accrue. Morals here are so satisfactory that, as statistics show, only every ten years in the last half-century has an illegitimate child been born here among 600-700 people. Nor is it customary for residents of the island to drink heavily. All of this would change, to the chagrin of some families, as ample evidence from our neighbors in Wik [Feer] and Weesterlön [Söl] shows. In general, our good customs and simple way of life would be eroded by new trends and fashions and increasing demands of living. [...] Quite possibly, doings and dealings would increase – to the profit of some individuals – but that would bear no relation to the aforementioned damages and perils for the well-being of the whole; for which reason it is our conviction that a resort would not be an enduring blessing for the island. (Kööp 1992:291; transl.)

Many of the councillors' reservations have since proved to be well-founded. The tide of tourism on the islands – Oomram's inevitable resort industry was established in 1890 – and the community of Witdün/Wittdün today bears a striking resemblance to Wik and Weesterlön –, firmly-rooted in the intervening 110+ years, has indeed led to a widespread loss of traditions and culture, the abandonment of the native language being only one aspect of this loss. Often, young people from Frisian families have themselves become Möller's *jeunesse dorée* – and with devastating cultural effects: for many, the status and materialism of the tourist are what are coveted, leaving no room for interest in traditions (Joachim Wöffler, pers. comm.). Over the years, Frisian has increasingly come to be perceived as backward and "old-timey", a thing to be repudiated in the interest of modernity.

Tourism has certainly become the single most significant factor in regional economics, particularly on the islands, but intimately connected to it is the transformation of earlier agrarian structures and the replacement of agriculture by service-oriented occupations. At the same time, the region is much less developed industrially than the rest of Schleswig-Holstein (and far less than the rest of Germany); the figures below index degrees of industrialization as reflected by the numbers of employees in manufacturing per thousand inhabitants, in plants with ten or more employees (Kööp 1992: 297):

	1951	1960	1970	1989
Nordfriesland	11	20	19	21
Schleswig-Holstein	47	70	77	66
Germany	113	138	119	116

In recent generations, the low level of industrial development together with the displacement of labor by modern farm technology have added up to offer relatively few opportunities for employment within the region. Added to these factors is the circumstance that many native islanders have gradually sold off property to outsiders; price speculation has driven property values to exorbitant levels, with the result that many young people are ultimately forced to leave the island. Summing up developments, Kööp (1992:282) finds that "Die dörfliche und ländliche Struktur des naturnahen nordfriesischen Erholungsraumes wurde auch durch den Fremdenverkehr verändert und gefährdet" (The tourist trade has contributed to a transformation and imperilment of the traditional infrastructure of village and countryside in the unspoiled North Frisian region).

1.1.3.3. Transportation

Into the twentieth century, the region of North Frisia was for the most part topographically impassable. On the mainland, the marshes were a deterrent to movement from place to place, and the islands could be reached only by boat. Söl was an island both geographically and, to an extent modified only by the traditional *rüm hart* attitude and the expansive journeys of those who plied the high seas, psychologically. Kielholt's early-14th century accounts mention that the mainland town of Højer (now in Denmark) could be reached in a day's journey by wagon, apparently by passing through ebbing seawater; from all later historical accounts, it is clear that such a passage had been rendered impossible by the deepening and widening of the channel off List. In the mid-19th century, the first waves of tourists were transported by boat from Møgeltønder/Mögeltønder

(now in Denmark) to Munkmarsk on the eastern side of the island near Kairem, and thence by wagon to Weesterlön or Woningstair. A small-gauge railroad was built to connect Munkmarsk to Weesterlön in 1888, and a second rail connection was established 1903-1908 along the western edge of Söl from List down to Hömem.

Revolutionary as these innovations must have been at the time, they were but faint precursors of what was to come: linkage to the mainland via the Hindenburgdamm, a rail causeway cutting through the tidal mudflats. Such linkage had long been under discussion before finally being undertaken. C.P. Hansen had brought it up as early as 1856, and in 1879, Möller noted that "The plan, first roundly dismissed as utopian, of linking the island to the marshes of the mainland via a raised rail connection, is now attracting more and more adherents" (1879: 72; transl.). Approved in principle in 1910, construction was begun in 1923 but was interrupted during World War I. Resumed thereafter, the completed project was dedicated by German Chancellor von Hindenburg on June 1, 1927 (Wedemeyer 1991:85). The rail connection provided fast and easy access to and from the island, and was welcomed by many Sölring both for its potential to facilitate their own movement as well as to increase the flow of visitors. Two Sölring for whom the "Damm" represented the key to an uncertain future, however, were Hermann Schmidt and Friedrich Runge, editors of the newspaper supplement *Fuar Söl'ring Lir* (For Sölring People) (1.1.3.4.). In the supplement's third issue, Schmidt warned in an editorial entitled "Di 1. Jüüni 1927, en suurt of en læcht Dai fuar Söl?" (June 1, 1927, a black or bright day for Söl?) against the effects of an unreflected adoption of values from outside. On the occasion of the inauguration of the Damm, a parade surveying historical developments on the island had been organized:

Wü wel üüs di Fraag fuar-lii: "Hoken es't, diar Juu dit Skelt föört?" Dit sen, sön'er üüs tō striren, tō-miüst Söl'ring. Man hoken sen dit, diar dit Skelt üt-maaket en tōrocht-maaket haa. Dit sen Frēmern. En diar liit, sa düüdelk, üs wü dit ek aaft sen haa, üüs gurt Ünlek.

(Let's ask ourselves the question, "Who is it that's showing you this picture [in the parade]?" Quite clearly, for the most part Sölring. But who is it that painted the picture and got it ready to be shown? Outsiders. And there lies, clear to see as seldom before, our great peril.)

But the danger of outside influence lay ultimately in how circumspectly Sölring themselves would live in the changed circumstances:

Di Skilj diar-ön liit ek bi di Frēmern, di haa wü bi üüs salev tō sjuken. Hat es dach sa, dat en Söl'ring fan en Lön's-man nönt ön-nem wel, dat hi meent, wat hi weet, weet ik uk. En sa es't sken', dat di Frēmern lecht Spöl her haa.

Sa fiir es't nū me üüs kemen ön en Tir fan 70 Jaaren. Wü wel jir ek auriit, wat er üt üüs Spraak en üt üüs Weten uuren es. En wan wü nū bitǵnk, dat di Nii Wai muar en muar frēmer Aart en Wiis bringt, da se wü, dat des Dai waar-aftig en suurt Dai uur ken en wes en seker uur, wan wü üüs ek üp üüs salev bidǵigi. Let üüs tǵnk om dit stolt Uurt: Lewer duad üs Slaav!

(It's not the outsiders who are at fault in this; it's our own. The way it is, is that a Sölring doesn't want to accept anything from a countryman, that he thinks: what he knows, I know just as well. And in this way, outsiders have had an easy time with us.

So far has it come with us in 70 years [since the beginning of tourism on the island]. We shouldn't forget what's become of our language and our customs. And when we now consider that the New Way is going to bring in more and more foreign ways and customs, we can see that this day surely can become a black day [in our history] and without question will if we don't reflect carefully on things. Let us ponder the proud saying: Better dead than slave!

(Though east-west rail service between Munkmørsk and Weesterlön was discontinued with the opening of the Hindenburgdamm, the north-south connection from List to Hörnem operated until 1970.) After decades of improvement and enlargement, the Damm currently carries up to hundreds of passengers and scores of cars onto the island hourly. The rail connection enables fast and easy access to Söl from the farthest reaches of Germany (and with it, from all over Europe) as part of the Intercity rail network. Weesterlön is now very similar in aspect to a German city in miniature, with an all-German infrastructure. As tourism increased, accommodations were created in other villages – often, as the Oomrang councillors had foreseen, as a conversion of residents' own homes –, and now tourists or baarelir (lit. bathing-people) can be found over the entire island. Kairem, the once-idyllic village of sea captains' homes and shady, tree-lined lanes, has become a maelstrom of car exhaust and almost perpetually jammed traffic. Many trees have long since been felled to make way for streets, and a steady stream of vehicles races across what farmland remains between Kairem, Tinem, and Weesterlön.

Once a phenomenon restricted largely to the height of summer, tourism on Söl has gradually expanded in duration as well as in intensity. More and more visitors have been attracted to the island for longer and longer periods of time, and "the season" has grown to include all but two months of the year, November and January. Hundreds of non-Frisians, attracted not least by the region's relatively low tax burden, have established second or third residences on Söl, and the residential population of the 99 sq.km./40 sq. mi. island has reached some 25,000. At any time during the season (i.e. ten months of the year), there are some 125,000 to 150,000 people on the island. During 1997 in Weesterlön alone, there were 278,402 registered tourists accounting for 2,719,894 overnight stays, with another 188,780 day visitors (www.westerland.de/tourinfo/-statgast.html). The grimly ironic remark among Sölring today is that, when the last train makes its way back across the Damm in late October, the island, freed at last from its burden, rises perceptibly in the water (Uwe Holst, pers. comm.):

Under market conditions of supply and demand, property values on Söl have risen astronomically, and most portentous of all from a Frisian standpoint is that real estate speculation has inflated land prices to the point that young Frisians have virtually no possibility of buying property in order to remain in their ancestral homeland. Although the dunes with their fragile ecosystems have been designated nature sanctuaries since as far back as 1923 (in List), non-observance of the status is common, and particular damage is done by the day-trippers (Brunhilde Voss, pers. comm.) brought by touring coach across the Damm for a few hours of "*Sylt-Erlebnis*" (experience of Söl), which

has been made into a marketing symbol of great attraction.

Transportation on the mainland portion of North Frisia was made more feasible by the drainage of the marshes in the early decades of the 20th century and subsequent construction of *Autobahnen* and other roads, and some resort tourism has developed there also, particularly on the peninsula of Eiderstedt. The other North Frisian islands, however, have not been linked to the mainland by rail, and although they do have resorts – that of Wik on Feer is some forty years older than that on Weesterlön – nothing like the volume of tourism on Söl has developed on either Feer or Oomram.

As with the technological advances in agricultural methods, innovations in transportation have brought both advantages and disadvantages to Söl and the rest of North Frisia. On the one hand connecting the islanders to the outside world and thus facilitating useful contacts, the Hindenburgdamm and its legacy have also irrevocably altered the character of the island. Sölring culture and the Sölring language have become, for many, relics of the seafaring days and are in great jeopardy of being swallowed up in the overweening mass of non-Frisianness, a presence that at times borders on anti-Frisianness, as when flora and dunes – but also customs and language – are crassly disrespected and even impugned (Matthiesen 1990). The incessant hordes of tourists mean that the native islanders effectively cannot escape the tide of outside influence: unlike in earlier centuries, when contact with non-Sölring occurred largely at sea, contact is now endogenous to Söl (a phenomenon heightened by universal proficiency in German among Sölring). Infrastructures that are almost wholly non-Frisian make even ambient contact with Sölring exceptional. The structural integrity of a village like the erstwhile cultural hub of Söl, Kairem, where exclusive boutiques catering, in practice, to non-Frisians now have supplanted older homes, is a thing of the past. In Weesterlön and other communities, speakers of Sölring can be located only with diligence, while still to be found in some villages are pockets of those who still use the traditional language of the island (Muasem and Arichsem having the greatest concentrations of speakers). With the loss of geographical insularity, a psychological dependence on German as the language of livelihood has arisen, and in successive generations of families, Sölring has increasingly not been transmitted to the young (1.2.1.). Whereas young adults were formerly obliged to leave Söl in order to pursue higher education or specialized professional training, they are now simply being priced out of existence in the homeland of their forefathers.

1.1.3.4. Literature (Schmidt 1961, Arhammar 1975)

Throughout history, the various dialects of North Frisian have been an almost exclusively oral medium of communication. For reasons of low mutual intelligibility, deriving in part from the different periods of migration (1.1.2.), in part from increasing geographically (1.1.1.) and politically (1.1.4.) determined fragmentation of the region, North Frisians from different districts have traditionally used Danish, Low Saxon, or High German as a lingua franca in communicating among themselves – a practice that itself served to hamper attempts at inter-dialectal understanding and to reinforce a perception of the vernacularism of the native variety of Frisian. The medium of "official" public exchange, even within a district, has historically been one of those used as a lingua franca: there is no record of a local North Frisian language having been used extensively (if at all) for administration, church services, or schooling. This environment of the vernacular use of Frisian coexisting with the official use of non-Frisian is also reflected in North Frisian literacy. Until the most recent decades, North Frisian was in general not taught in schools, with the result

that the great majority of speakers, never having had occasion to use their own mother tongue in writing, have been unable to read or write it. Under these circumstances, it might be considered surprising that a literature developed at all.

With Frisian in the old homeland of the present-day Netherlands, the situation has been quite different. There, many times the number of speakers and far less fragmentation – much greater homogeneity among dialects, intactness of the speech community as a whole, little political rancor - - are factors that proved conducive to the development of both a standard language and a long tradition of literary activity going back to Gysbert Japicx, the "Frisian Shakespeare", and earlier. Of more recent and less direct but nonetheless real significance in the development of literature in Fryslân has been the politicization of the *Fryske beweging*, one of the accomplishments of which has been the requirement of Frisian lessons in all schools in the province (Ytsma and de Jong 1993).

Nonetheless, there are a number of North Frisians who have written in their native language, and of all the dialects, Sölring has historically been the one with by far the greatest literary production. The literary history of Söl and indeed of all of North Frisia began with the seafarer, teacher, and sexton Jap Peter Hansen (1767-1855), whose five-act play *Di Gidshals of di Söl'ring Pid'ersdei* (The Miser or the Sölring Peter's Day) was written during voyages at sea 1788-1792. Although the basic plot is very reminiscent of Molière's *L'avare* and the dramatic development suggests that Hansen was taking the comedies of Ludvig Holberg as a model (Hofmann 1989: 200ff.), *Di Gidshals* is a well-crafted play in its own right. Portraying with fine detail the merits and demerits of Sölring society in the late 18th century, it was performed on stage on Söl many times over the years to enthusiastic audiences. First published in 1809, it appeared in a second edition in 1833 and was reprinted in 1896, with an abridged edition for use in schools (prepared by Boy Peter Möller) being issued in 1918. Included in the first edition were a number of original songs, and after 1809, Hansen added a novella (*Di lekkeik Stjürman* - The Lucky Helmsman), riddles, and numerous poems in which Sölring, Danish, and High German were not uncommonly alternated in verse.

Jap Peter Hansen's achievement as an author was immense, particularly because he first had to devise an orthography for the language. In his preface to the 1896 printing of the *Pijersdaibok*, as it came to be known locally, he set down the principles followed in arriving at his system of spelling, chief among which was the maxim "Nicht zu viel und nicht zu wenig" (Not too much and not too little), i.e. provide enough in the way of spelling to reflect sound, but no more. Details of Hansen's orthographic rationale will be discussed in the following Section (1.1.3.5.); with refinements made by Hansen himself and later writers, the system he devised to commit the language to writing has served as the basis for Sölring orthography ever since.

Jap Peter's son Christian Peter Hansen (1803-1879), by occupation a teacher and sexton, made a major contribution to Sölring literature by collecting and revising the legends of the island as they were being preserved orally from generation to generation, most particularly through the custom of *äpseten* (1.1.3.2.). Many of these appeared in his *Uald Söl'ring Tialen* (Old Sölring Tales), published in Møgeltønder in 1858. Along with his efforts in collecting legends and anecdotal material, C.P. Hansen was a prolific author (in High German) of regional historical studies and chronicles of Söl's past, pursuing in all of his writing the aim of educating his compatriots about

their common heritage – in Nils Århammar's words "Er wollte dem kleinen und zersplitterten, vom Untergange bedrohten Volke der Friesen 'das Bewußtsein seiner Abkunft und Nationalität erhalten und stärken'" (1975:23) (He wanted to preserve and strengthen for the small and fragmented Frisian people, threatened by extinction, 'the consciousness of its origins and nationality').

A translation of the New Testament and Psalms was completed by the pastor Peter Michael Clemens (1804-1870) shortly before his death – the first such achievement in any of the varieties of Frisian, including Westerlauwers Frysk (Brouwer 1997). However, Clemens' efforts to get the work published (in western Frisia) proved unsuccessful, and except for excerpts printed over the years, chiefly in *Fuar Söl'ring Lir*, the translation still exists only in manuscript form. A discussion of Clemens' lexical choices in rendering various theological concepts will be found in 4.2.2.

During the European Romantic period of the late 19th century, what is now termed "Die friesische Bewegung" (The Frisian Movement) (Steensen 1986) developed as a focus of ethnic consciousness and concerns. If Clemens' translation was a precursor of this movement, it was followed up by a flurry of literary output in subsequent decades. Erich Johannsen (1862-1938) of Kairem, by trade a carpenter and an avid participant in community theater, wrote more than twenty plays, two of which, *Di Friier fan Muasem* (The Courter of Muasem) and *Söl'ring Halevjunken-Dreenger* (Suitors of Söl), were published in 1898 in a system of phonetic transcription by the Germanist philology professor in Breslau, Theodor Siebs, as a bilingual edition along with a glossary (Sölring-German) entitled *Sylter Lustspiele*. Johannsen's plays were enthusiastically received by audiences on Söl, but none besides the two in Siebs' edition have been published. Johannsen also wrote the lyrics to many songs and a large body of poetry, much of which has appeared in songbooks and newspapers over the years.

Nann Mungard (1849-1935) was a many-faceted man whose greatest literary contributions to Söl included the first dictionary of the island's language and fatherhood of its most esteemed poet, Jens Mungard. During a twelve-year career at sea, plying the world's oceans from Argentina to Hong Kong, Nann Mungard became proficient in a number of foreign languages, including Chinese, Japanese, and Malay. Steeped in world literature, he retired to a life at the family homestead in Kairem in 1883 and began to note down words for inclusion in a dictionary, which he published in 1909 as *For Söl'ring Spraak en Wiis* (For Sölring Language and Ways). After this, Mungard began work on a tabulation of insular North Frisian correspondences, but the project was curtailed by World War I. The first volume of his *Ein inselnordfriesisches Wörterbuch* did not appear until 1974; no further volumes have been published. He maintained close relations with western Frisians, particularly Pieter de Clercq, who gave new impetus to the cause of Frisian social position in Germany. In the campaign leading up to the plebiscite on the region's political allegiance following the War (1.1.4.), Mungard passionately advocated North Frisian inclusion into Denmark on the grounds that the native *spraak en wiis* would be better served in a small state than in a large one. With emotions running high, Mungard's position evoked strong antipathy from the majority of his neighbors, and after the family homestead went up in flames one night shortly after the plebiscite, he left Söl for good to live out the rest of his years in Toghale and Møgeltonder in Denmark. Mungard's autobiography, written in the third person and edited by Hans Hoeg of

Kairem, was published as *Der Friese Jan* in 1989.

The same year Nann Mungard's dictionary appeared (1909) also saw the publication of the *Söl'ring Leesbok* (Sölring Reader) by Boy Peter Möller (1843-1922) shortly after his retirement from teaching and school administration in Hamburg. Thirty years earlier, Möller had published *Meerumrauscht*, a short book of ethnographic observations in German dedicated to his teacher C.P. Hansen, and had begun writing in Sölring. A compilation of local history, legends, stories, anecdotes, songs, and poetry, both original and translated, the *Leesbok* was intended primarily for use in schools, but it also represented at the time the chief body of published Sölring prose. The system of spelling employed in it, a refinement of J.P. Hansen's system that had first appeared a century earlier, has ever since formed the basis for spelling in Sölring (1.1.3.5.). In Århammar's assessment (1975:26), the *Leesbok* was of inestimable significance in evoking among the young people of Söl a positive attitude to their own language and literature. The readings are introduced by a short account of spelling and pronunciation followed by an outline grammar (see also 1.6.).

Möller also published a booklet of Sölring songs, the *Söl'ring Leedjibok* (1910), and shortly before his death an abridgment of J.P. Hansen's *Gidshals* for use in schools (1918). His greatest contribution, however, was the authorship of the *Söl'ring Uurterbok* (Sölring Dictionary), published in 1916. The second lexicographic treatment of the language, the *Uurterbok* has become the standard dictionary of Sölring. Before being published, it was redacted in the Germanistic Seminar at the university in Hamburg by such scholars as Conrad Borchling, Agathe Lasch, and Ernst Selmer. Prefacing the dictionary proper is a detailed phonetic-phonemic account of the contemporary language that was reviewed by the Germanist Otto Bremer of Halle before the book's publication (1.6.).

The impetus to Möller's efforts on behalf of his native tongue had been given by businessman Andreas Hübbe (1865-1941), whose commercial dealings often took him to South America, but who had grown up in Kairem. Hübbe worked tirelessly for the maintenance and promotion of Sölring, also editing a book of poetry and songs (many of them his own), *Söl'ring Dechtings en Leedjis* (1911), that was twice reprinted. Prose pieces as well as most of his poems appeared over the years in *Fuar Söl'ring Lir*.

What has become the time-honored anthem of Söl, *Üüs Söl'ring Lön'* (Our Sölring Land), was one of many stately poetic and lyrical creations of Christian Christiansen (1855-1922):

Üüs Söl'ring Lön', dü best üüs helig;
Dü blefst üüs-ain, dü best üüs-Lek!
Din Wiis tō hual'en sen wü welig;
Di Söl'ring Spraak auriit wü ek.
Wü bliiv me di ark Tir forbün'en,
Sa lung üs wü üp Wärel' sen.
Ük diar jaar Uuning bütlön' fün'en,
Ja læng dach altert tō di hen.
(Refrain) Kumt Riin,
Kumt Senenskiin,

Our Sölring land, thou art to us holy;
Thou art our own, thou art our joy!
To keep thy ways we are all willing;
The Sölring tongue we won't forget.
We will ever remain bound to thee,
As long as we are in the world.
And those who found their dwelling abroad,
They always yearn for thee.
(Refrain) Come rain,
Come sunshine,

Kum junk of lekelk Tiren,
Tō Söl' wū hual'
Aural;
Wū bliiv truu Söl'ring Liren!

Come dark or happy times,
To Söl we'll keep,
Everywhere,
We remain true Sölring people!

Since his death at the age of fifty-five, Jens Mungard (1885-1940), Nann's younger son, has come to be regarded as the foremost of all Sölring poets. This posthumous renown:

is grounded on the range and depth of his poetry as well as on his expressiveness and command of poetic devices. The basis and most important impetus for his art were, on the one hand, the impressions and impulses imparted to him at home, where he made contact with Grundtvigean Romanticism and pan-Frisian activism, and where he was weaned on the love of *Sölring Spraak en Wiis* and the nature of Söl, and on the other hand, the tensions of a complex personality and an indomitable love of freedom.
(Århammar 1975:27; transl.)

In an oeuvre that includes poetry, ballads, plays, and prose, Jens Mungard addressed a wide variety of topics: legends and myths, historical and contemporary events, personal and philosophical reflections, observations on the natural beauty of his native land. A number of his works appeared in *Fuar Söl'ring Lir* beginning in 1929. Repeatedly placed under "protective custody" from 1935 and forbidden to write by the National Socialists in 1938, he was finally consigned to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he died in 1940 (1.1.4.3.). A collection of a part of Mungard's poetry was published in 1962 in western Frisia with the title *Dit Leewent en broket Kraans* (Life a Colorful Wreath), and in 1985, Hans Hoeg brought out a volume of his poetry and prose entitled *Fuar di min hart heer slain* (For you my heart has beat). A complete edition of his poetry, *Ströntistel en dünemruusen* (Sea holly and dune roses [*Rosa pimpinellifolia* D.C.]), was prepared by Hoeg and published in 1996.

Publication entirely in Sölring of a monthly supplement to the local newspaper from 1926-1939 and again 1953-1970 was the monumental achievement of the school director Hermann Schmidt (1901-1979) of Woningstair. *Fuar Söl'ring Lir* (For Sölring People) appeared in a total of 304 issues (136 to 1939, 168 from 1953; "Maps" 10^{3/4}), each being a selection of writing in Sölring, both contemporary and from the past, in a wide variety of genres. Included are fiction and non-fiction, translations and editorials, anecdotes, reminiscences, poetry, songs, and riddles from the pens of over one hundred different authors. Complete translations of two novels, *Der Sylter Hahn* and *Moiken Peter Ohm*, as well as of one book-length family chronicle, *Die Lassens von Sylt*, each of them dealing with historical figures of the seafaring era, were printed in installments. (An invaluable aid to working with the issues is the cross-referencing index, prepared by Hans Hoeg, of all the pieces printed in *FSL* over the years.) Schmidt's primary aim in publishing the supplement was to appeal to readers'/speakers' pride in the traditional language and culture of Söl so that these might be strengthened.

In addition to work on *Fuar Söl'ring Lir*, the main focus of his literary efforts, Hermann Schmidt was active as a poet, translator, and editor of diverse publications. This activity is represented by a revision of C.P. Hansen's treatment of traditional legends in *Ual' Söl'ring Tialen* (1928); an

extensive collection of songs and melodies in the *Söl'ring Leedjibok* (1930); a full collection of Sölring proverbs and sayings, *Söl'ring Spreekuurter en wat Söl'ring Snak* (1966) and a selection of rhymed verses entitled *Söl'ring Steken üp Rümen I* (1966), both in conjunction with Gonet Wielandt; a number of poetry collections and anthologies, translations of plays, and various booklets for use in schools.

During the last decade of his life, Max Bossen (1888-1958) of Muasem, like Erich Johannsen a carpenter by trade, authored a large number of plays and poems. Directing productions of the plays to enthusiastic audiences across Söl and reciting his verse at monthly cultural meetings in Muasem, Bossen evoked wide participation in his artistic use of the native language.

Wilhelm Siemens (1897-1984) of Braderep specialized in lyrical poetry and a series of folk anecdotes that demonstrate many Sölring traits, the latter published as *Staatjis* under the editorship of Hans Hoeg in 1982. (Two of these *staatjis* will be found in 6.1.3.)

In addition to extensive editorial activity, including on works by Siemens and both Jens and Nann Mungard, and the indexing of the contents of *Fuar Söl'ring Lir*, Hans Hoeg of Kairem (born 1917) has authored a steady stream of articles, stories, poems, and songs in recent decades. Another of his activities has been the organization and documentation of ceremonies at which *teenkstiinen*, hewn stones of commemoration, are dedicated to honor literary (and non-literary) contributors to Sölring culture, e.g. Hermann Schmidt (in 1990), Jap Peter Hansen (1992), Wilhelm Siemens (1994), and Swen Hans Jensen (1995) and to keep alive in his compatriots the memory of their contributions.

Annemarie Winger of Kairem has written many stories and poems that have appeared in local publications, and her translations of various plays have provided the material for a number of stage productions in recent years. Brunhilde Hagge of Kairem (born 1923) is the author of children's books, pedagogical booklets, and a compendium of childhood vignettes. In addition to compiling a very useful German-Sölring index to Boy Peter Möller's *Söl'ring Uurterbok*, Erk-Uwe Schrahé of Raantern (born 1931), has written extensive poetry, made translations (as of Antoine de St. Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince*), and put together yearly calendars replete with proverbs and information in Sölring, calling it "*Fuar Söl'ring Lir*" in homage to the newspaper supplement of the same name.

In honor of the foremost chronicler of Söl, the *C.P. Hansen Preis* is awarded annually by the Söl'ring Foriining (Sölring Association) to one of the island's sons or daughters in recognition of outstanding efforts to promote the culture on Söl. Among recent recipients of the award have been Hermann Schmidt and Hans Hoeg.

Literary production on Söl and the rest of North Frisia has been spurred in recent years by prose and drama competitions sponsored by the Verein Nordfriesisches Institut (1.2.3.). The results of the prose competition, *Schriiw frasch/Skriiw fresk/Skriiw friisk*, published in 1993, comprise an anthology of some 240 pages and seventy-three submissions from forty-eight different authors.

1.1.3.5. Writing System

Among all the dialects of North Frisian, Sölring has the longest tradition of writing, one circumstance -

- as asserted in Wilts (1987) – to which it owes its position as the variety of North Frisian with the longest and most productive literary history. A continuous line of authors (1.1.3.4.), from Jap Peter Hansen to the writers of today, has employed the system of writing that was first devised by the "father of North Frisian literature" for the publication of his *Pidersdaibok* around the turn of the 18th century and has been refined over the course of succeeding generations. This development will be discussed in the present section, using as a basis Wilts (1987), Kellner (1997), and Willkommen (1997), and also making reference to principles given in the works of various authors themselves, many of whose literary and educational accomplishments are considered in the preceding Section and in 1.5. (For a brief summary of current orthographical practice, see 2.1.)

In composing *Di Gidhals of di Söl'ring Pidersdei*, Jap Peter Hansen was faced with the task of first creating an orthography for his native language. His principles in doing so are presented in the introduction to the second edition of the play (1833; first edition 1809) and elaborated in a imagined colloquy entitled "En Stek Snak twesken J. en H. bi H. ön Hüs", which appeared in *Fuar Söl'ring Lir* in four installments (October 1929-January 1930). Hansen followed two guiding principles: first, spelling should reflect the sound of actual speech, leaving out of consideration extraneous factors such as historical word derivation, and second, the writing system should embody a one-to-one correspondence between sound and symbol – meaning, in effect, that the system was conceived as both phonemic and maximally economical. In this regard, the new system of writing was independent of any existing orthography; unlike the systems of near-contemporaries Bende Bendsen of the Bökingharde and Christian Johansen of Oomram (both of whom wrote grammatical treatises on their native tongues), Hansen's patterning was not modelled on contemporary Standard German. Proceeding in accordance with his orthographic motto "Nicht zu viel und nicht zu wenig" (Not too much, and not too little), he sought to represent the sounds and words of Sölring adequately but with no excess or ambiguity, citing the anomalies of German spelling in instances like

- 1) 'Sey gesellig und gefällig, wende jedoch Mund und Hände immer zum ewigen Frieden';
- 2) 'Jugend spare für die Jahre der grauen Haare'; and
- 3) 'Groß ist das Loos und der Lohn des auf dem Thron sitzenden guten Fürsten',

in each of which various letters (here boldfaced) stand for identical vowel qualities (all short in 1 and all long in 2 and 3), Hansen opted for a consistent pattern for indicating vowel length: unlike in German, long vowel sounds would always be represented by doubled vowel letters, meaning that vowels written singly would correspond to short vowel sounds. This independence from German, however, was pragmatic rather than dogmatic – as evidenced by a readiness to have his orthography coincide in some points with that of German. Addressing the issue of punctuation and capitalization, Hansen wrote:

Diar bliiv wü bi dit dütsk Rochtskriiwing. Wat wü ek bidüüdent forbeeteri ken, dit mai lewer ünforan'ert bliiv. Üüs Rochtskriiwing mut alüning üp en forbeetert Gurhair en ek me üp Ainhaurethair grün'et wüs. (...)

(There we stay with the German orthography. What we can't improve upon appreciably should just remain the way it is. Our orthography must be based solely on

improvement, and not on idiosyncrasy as well.)

Esteemed throughout Söl both for its content and its author's monumental accomplishment in committing the language to writing, the *Pidersdaibok* in its orthography formed the basis for succeeding generations of writers. Not everyone followed the elder Hansen's conventions completely, however – among them Jap's son C.P. Hansen (Willkommen 1991:41).

Later in the 19th century, Theodor Siebs, professor of German philology at Breslau, devised a phonetics-based representation of contemporary speech based on his fieldwork on Söl. This representation, published in 1898 in a bilingual Sölring-German edition of two plays by Erich Johannsen of Kairem, however, was far too cumbersome for general use and never made any inroads on the popularity of Hansen's orthography, which by then was widely accepted throughout Söl by those who were literate in Sölring.

With two major publications in Sölring, the year 1909 ushered in alternative modifications to the orthographical system then in use. The spelling in Nann Mungard's *For Söl'ring Spraak en Wiis* reflected contemporary speech (especially in Kairem) by writing <r> instead of Hansen's <d> for a consonant that was then in the process of losing its dentality. Mungard also made an internally random spelling change in order to avoid the homography of the prefix pairs be-/bi- and fer-/for-/fuor-, as being "der Verständlichkeit wegen dringend nötig geworden" (having become urgently needed in the interest in comprehensibility) by referring to the German cognates of the prefixes, namely be- (vs. bei-) and ver- (vs. für- and vor-). (For examples of present-day homography with respect to these prefixes, see 3.3.21.) With explicit reference to English practice (1909:18), he also dropped the convention of capitalizing all written nouns, which was standard in both German and Danish at the time. Categorically, consonants were not doubled, not even to indicate that the preceding vowel was short (a pattern in e.g. German), since with the consistent doubling of vowels to indicate length, orthographic marking of shortness in vowels was rendered superfluous. (This superfluity was something that Jap Peter Hansen had himself realized but had failed to avoid consistently; Willkommen 1997:178). The only exceptions Mungard allowed for this practice were cases of compounding and prefixation, e.g. of.fal 'fall off/away', üt.tiarig 'consumption', and fuor.rogt 'privilege'.

Boy Peter Möller's *Söl'ring Leesbok*, by contrast, which was designed for use in schools, retained noun capitalization and built more closely on Jap Peter Hansen's orthographical practices. As in Möller's *Söl'ring Uurterbok*, which appeared seven years later and codified, as it were, the refinements to Hansen's system, Möller – like Mungard – reflected in his work developments in pronunciation that had taken place in the century since the publication of the *Pidersdaibok*, but he retained a modification of Hansen's <d>, namely <ɖ>, in medial positions; e.g. in the entries 'Kluad, Kluader s[iehe] (see) Kluar' and 'Kluar (Kluad) [...] pl. Kluader', meaning 'cloth, clothing'. Like Mungard, Möller did away in principle with consonant doubling.

Möller used his modified version of the spelling system in his abridged version of Hansen's *Pidersdaibok*, which he published in 1918. A juxtaposition of the two versions will highlight the differences; the following excerpt is from Act III, Scene 2, when Elen, daughter of the protagonist Pider Matsen, receives some unexpected good news from her suitor Booi:

1896: 99-100

- Ellen. ...Man Dū fraagest uk jaa: wed'er ik da ek jerd hed, dat Dū delling en Breew fingen hest.
Booi. Ja ik fing en Breew fan di Koopman üt Altnaa, dejrk leest fuar fēren haa.
Ellen. Fan di Koopman?
Booi. Jaa -- Uud' man ek blüg, -- woo üüs Moodterdt ek ütbraagt heed', wat er skrewdt ön mi, da weet erdt jīt nemmen.
Ellen. Nū uudk nüsgirrig!
Booi. Hi skrewdt, dat hi heed', üp min ual' Kopteins Rekomendaads, en Wüf tō mi.
Ellen. Aa Booi dag! Dū seist, ik skul' ek blüg uud'; man da maast jer seid' her, ik skul' ek wreed' uud'. Wan hi en Wüf tō Di heed', wat skul' ik da wüis?
Booi. Mīn Hardt'en, ik kjen nog tau Wüffen haa. Man haa dag man nūn Söörig; hat es en Skep, dejr "die Frau Agathe" jīt.
Ellen. En Skep, Booi!!! Da sen ik jaa gaar en Kopteins Brid! (Jū faldt hōm wed'er om Hals, en seid':) Dejr heest di twiidi hartelk Dank, dat dit ek seidst sa bal' üs iin kāmst. [...]

1918: 82-83

- Elen. ... Man dū fraagest uk jaa, weder ik da ek jert her, dat dū deling en Breev fingen heest.
Booi. Jaa, ik fing en Breev fan di Koopman üt Altnaa, diar ik leest fuar fēren haa.
Elen. Fan di Koopman?
Booi. Jaa, uur man ek blüch -- woo üüs Mooter et ek ütbraacht heer, wat-r skreff tō mi, da weet er-t jīt nemen.
Elen. Nū uur-k nüsgirrig.
Booi. Hi skreff, dat hi heer üp min ual' Koptains Fuarspraak en Wüf tō mi.
Elen. Aa Booi dach! Dū saist, ik skul' ek blüch uur; man da maast jer sair her, ik skul' ek wreer uur. Wan hi en Wüf tō di heer, wat skul' ik da wüis?
Booi. Mīn Hartjen, ik kjen noch tau Wüfen haa. Haa man nūn Sörig, hat es en Skep, diar "Frau Agathe" jīt.
Elen. En Skep, Booi! Da sen ik gaar en Koptains Brir! (Jū falt hōm om Hals en taatjet hōm, sair:) Diar heest min twiidi hartelk Dank, dat dit ek saist, sa bal' üs iin kāmst. [...]
- (E: ...But you also ask me whether I hadn't heard that you've received a letter today.
B: Yes, I got a letter from the merchant in Altona that I recently sailed for.
E: From the merchant?
B: Yes, but don't turn pale -- if our mother hasn't announced it yet, what he writes me, then no one knows it.
E: Now I'm getting curious.
B: He writes, that on my old captain's recommendation, he has a wife for me.
E: Oh Booi! You say I shouldn't turn pale, but should have said earlier that I shouldn't be angry (turn wroth). When he has a wife for you, what does that make me (what shall I be then)?
B: My little heart, I can indeed have two wives. But don't be worried, it's a ship called the 'Frau Agathe'.
E: A ship, Booi! Then I'm even a captain's bride! (She falls on his neck and (1918: kisses him,) says:) There you have my second sincere thanks, that [you] didn't say it as soon as you came in. [...])

The status of Möller's codification was solidified further with its consistent use by Hermann Schmidt in *Fuar Söl'ring Lir* throughout its publication. Zealous as Schmidt's editorial eye was to guarantee adherence to the standard, he nonetheless introduced one change in spelling, that of <e> to <ää> to serve as a reminder of older pronunciation (which Schmidt considered preferable) in words like (Möller) *Drëng* 'boy, son', *kën* 'know [personally]', and *Tërp* 'village', in which the vowel represented was the relatively open [ɛ:]. In Schmidt's day, these words were increasingly being pronounced with greater closure, and the pair <ää> was supposed to reflect the older, more open articulation. Spellings such as *Drääng*, *kään*, and *Täärp* appear in *FSL* in the issues following World War II and in Schmidt's own later writings, but the innovation was not widely or lastingly embraced (but can nonetheless be seen in street signs on Söl today).

The only recent modification to what has become the standard orthography was effected by the *Sölring Aarberskrais* in 1975. Under philological counsel, it was decided to simplify spelling in several minor points. One of these was by doing away with as superfluous (as Nann Mungard had done in 1909) the apostrophe used by Möller to indicate dentality of articulation in the consonants *n* and *l*, a feature of speech lasting into the 20th century in words where a following *d*, since omitted, had nonetheless left a co-articulatory trace on the preceding consonant. Another change was to write <ee> for Möller's <e> (and Schmidt's <ää>) except before *r*, an exception made to reflect a dialectal difference between west and east (see 1.3.1.). Accordingly, the three words cited above are now spelled *dreeng/Dreeng* and *keen*, but *tërp/Tërp* – some writers today adhering to the convention of capitalizing nouns while others eschew a practice that both suggests dependence on German patterns (see Kellner 1997) and presents a notorious hurdle for schoolchildren in learning how to write according to convention (Hoeg 1979:119; Hornung et al. 1977, Haberl 1976).⁶

Other varieties of North Frisian have gone through a number of orthographical reforms as the culmination of sometimes very heated discussions (Kellner 1997). Nouns are now capitalized only in Halunder (and by some Sölring authors, as noted above), and all of the varieties have adopted the principle of doubling vowel letters to indicate length. An interesting discussion of factors – both linguistic and sociological – involved in questions of orthography and spelling reform as they relate to North Frisian is presented in *Nordfriesland* 120, 121, and 122.

1.1.4. Political Setting (Kuschert 1996; Steensen 1996a)

Just as independence of spirit marks traditional Frisian culture, so too is this characteristic a recurrent theme in political life in the region. As noted in 1.1.3.1., the mottos *Lewer duar üs slaav* and *Rüm hart, klaar kiming* give testimony to the values of a people that, having to fight

⁶The convention of noun capitalization in Danish was abandoned in 1948, and its continued observance in German has long been a matter of ongoing debate. The current pattern of German *Großschreibung* is a relict of the Baroque era; see also Mentrup 1979, Huber 1975, and Reichardt 1980. As noted by Nann Mungard, non-capitalization is also the norm in English – and indeed in almost all other languages other than German. However, nouns are currently capitalized in Halunder (and Seeltersk), so from the perspective of uniformity within (North) Frisian, the issue has become very complicated. In this dissertation, cited material in Sölring is given in its original form, but oral language is represented without capitalization of nouns.

constant battles with the elements, has asked little more than to be left alone in order to live in peace. In the absence of broad political organization of their own, however, Sölring and other North Frisians were destined over time to find themselves at the center of territorial claims advanced by various authorities more organized than they, first competing sovereigns, and then, in the modern age, two poles of nationalist ambition. Of basic significance to the development of political allegiances in North Frisia has been the situation of the region in the Duchy of Slesvig/Schleswig.

A concise overview of the labyrinthine political setting and its history is given by Lorenz Rerup (see also Maps 5, 5):

The narrow part of the Jutland peninsula, demarcated to the North by the Kongeå and the to South by the Ejder, is called Sønderjylland (South Jutland) or Schleswig, and has an area of about 8,900 square km. Because of the importance of efficient border defense this area acquired a special position within the Danish realm as early as the 11th century, and in the 12th century it acquired the status of a duchy. Furthermore its history was closely linked with that of Holstein throughout the period between the 13th and the 19th centuries. This particular connection with both German-speaking Holstein and the Danish kingdom (which is defined as only including Denmark) resulted in a gradual penetration of the Low Saxon language into Schleswig which went far beyond the limit of an earlier German (Saxon) immigration. German also established itself as the principle language of the higher-class city dwellers of Schleswig. The expansion of German into Denmark was connected with trade, and after the Reformation also with the church when liturgical language shifted from Latin to vernacular languages. National tensions did not emerge until the early 19th century and were not expressed overtly until around 1840. At this time both duchies were parts of the multi-ethnic Danish "*Helstat*" (a Danish term for the monarchy including the duchies and colonial possessions overseas.) The King of Denmark was the duke of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg. In 1815 the latter two duchies, without leaving the *Helstat*, joined the German Confederation, founded after the ending of the Napoleonic wars. Holstein and Lauenburg had been parts of the old German Empire which was dissolved in 1806. From 1848 to 1850 the Monarchy was shaken by a civil war (Treårskrigen, the "Three Years War"). The new national forces did not acquiesce in the ancient relation between the duchies and Denmark, and wished to destroy it. The Schleswig-Holstein movement demanded a border along the Kongeå, while the Danish National Liberals wanted one along the Ejder. However, the dominant European powers reestablished the *Helstat* after the civil war in order to preserve the "European Balance of Power" as outlined in the London treaty of 8 May 1852. The dominant European nations considered it undesirable that a single power should control the entrance to the Baltic sea. The reconstructed *Helstat* did not prove viable, and by 1864 the duchies had been conquered by Prussia and Austria. After Austria suffered defeat in the war of 1866, Schleswig and Holstein were incorporated as a Prussian province in 1867. After the First World War, Schleswig was divided between Denmark and Germany after two plebiscites in 1920. The

Danish part (3,900 square km) is now the major part of the Sønderjylland County, whereas the German part (5,000 square km) has been a part of the Schleswig-Holstein *Land* since 1946. (1995:247-249)

The discussion that follows will give some background for the developments outlined in Rerup's overview with specific reference to their impact on North Frisia.

1.1.4.1. Prior to the Nineteenth Century

Noted in 1.1.3. were some of the main currents in early Frisian history in both the western homeland and the northern areas that were settled by migrating Frisians. Despite the presence of royal and ducal administrators among North Frisians during the Middle Ages, the inhabitants of the region were for the most part at liberty to pursue life in their own ways (Kuschert 1996:120). The sovereign of the region was the Danish king, and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, North Frisians were involved in various conflicts – at times on opposing sides – as, for a number of reasons, the majority gradually turned away from the Crown in favor of the Dukes of Slesvig. From the fourteenth century, these were descended from the counts of Holstein (Panten 1996:77), whose hereditary lands lay to the southeast of the Duchy of Slesvig. For centuries, the ultimate political allegiance of North Frisia would be determined by the territorial give-and-take among Holsteinian counts, the Dukes of Slesvig, and Danish kings – with the complication, as noted above, that the King of Denmark was also the Duke of Slesvig from the fifteenth century.

In 1432, terms of a truce ending long years of conflict among various regional forces over the town of Slesvig formally gave control of Oomram and western Feer to the King of Denmark, counterbalancing territories lost by the Crown to the dukes. It was in the Treaty of Wordingborg (1435) that the Swedish king gave the Duchy of Slesvig to the Count of Holstein. Along with Oomram and western Feer, List, the northern tip of Söl, had become a direct dependency of the Danish Crown; the Wordingborg agreement confirmed their legal status as Imperial Danish enclaves, and Oomram and western Feer (List was largely uninhabited) received royal privileges that would remain in force into the eighteenth century (Panten 1996:83).

In 1544, it was decided to divide the Duchies of Slesvig and Holstein – an area stretching from Kolding in Jutland to near Hamburg – among King Christian III and his two half-brothers, Johann and Adolf. The division was to be into portions that would be equal for purposes of taxation; the territories within each portion, as it turned out, were not contiguous. The result was three sovereigns over North Frisia (as well as the rest of the duchies): the southern and middle Goesharden (and the portion of the house of Gottorf) went to Adolf, the northern Goesharde to the King, and the remainder of North Frisia to Johann. Upon Johann's death in 1580, negotiations between King Frederik II and the Duke of Gottorf led to a division of Johann's erstwhile lands in 1581, and all of the North Frisian holdings in question went over to the Duke. From this point, there were two sovereigns over North Frisia – the King for the northern Goesharde; and for the rest of the region, the combined Duchies of Slesvig, Holstein, and Gottorf. The Imperial enclaves retained their special status.

Nearly two hundred years under the dukes of Gottorf followed, a period of generally beneficent administration in which North Frisians were still able to maintain their own traditions with a

minimum of interference. On Söl as in other parts of the region, local affairs had earlier been administered by a group of twelve councillors. From 1460, there was also a *lönfödger* or local administrator appointed by the district of Tondern, to which Söl belonged. This official collected taxes and oversaw the work of the three *strönfödgers*, whose main responsibility was to see that goods washed ashore from shipwrecks – two-thirds of which were to go to the sovereign – were brought to safety. Beginning in 1598, the *lönfödger* also sat in legal judgment and, from a slate of three candidates suggested to him, selected the replacement for positions that fell vacant at council.

As observed by Kuschert (1996:127), the effect on Söl of such "outside" participation in local affairs was no doubt mitigated by the fact that the *lönfödgers* were consistently people from the island itself – in the seventeenth century, one family supplied five generations of these administrators.

Danish victory over Sweden in the Nordic War (1700-1721), in which the Dukes of Gottorf had aligned with the Swedes, enabled King Frederik IV, supported by Russia and Poland, to dislodge the House of Gottorf from its control over the Duchy of Slesvig, and North Frisia was entirely under one sovereign. Although more centralized than in the days of ducal authority, the new system still allowed for Frisian management of their own daily affairs. One of Frederik's goals during his reign (until 1730) was the creation of an administration for the Duchy of Slesvig separate from that of Holstein – a plan that, though not implemented, found disfavor among North Frisians, who felt it would jeopardize their relative independence within Denmark. Under the following two monarchs, German nobility and intellectuals played a significant role in the political life of the Kingdom; during the reign of Frederik V (1746-1766), German culture was prominent in Copenhagen, and the German language was used by the upper classes (Kuschert 1996:169).

The following decades were a period of peace and relative calm marked by economic progress. When, in 1773, Christian VII received the Gottorf holdings in Holstein via a territorial exchange with the Grand Duke of Russia, the Danish *helstat* – comprising Iceland, Norway, the Faroe Islands, and Denmark down to the Elbe – was complete. By the end of the century, however, with shock waves from the French Revolution spreading across Europe, the basic premise of the *helstat* was increasingly being called into question by many of the Empire's overseas and outlying subjects.

In the early nineteenth century, Denmark, having sided militarily with Napoleon, lost Norway to Sweden, and had gone bankrupt by 1813. North Frisians were adversely affected in both cases: the English blockade of the Continent (1806-1807), designed to prevent supplies from reaching Napoleon, curtailed seafaring activities (1.1.3.2.1.), and in efforts to overcome the national economic crisis, Denmark levied new taxes, introduced a new monetary system, and confiscated the cash reserves in the Bank of Slesvig-Holstein – moves that, for the first time, shook North Frisian faith in the beneficence of the Danish Crown (Steensen 1996a:208).

1.1.4.2. The Nineteenth Century

By 1825, much of Europe was in turmoil engendered by popular ideals of liberalism and nationalism. The Enlightenment had placed notions of consensual authority in opposition to the Absolutist principle of hereditary rule, and the Danish *helstat* was one of the political systems called into question. Nationalist movements began stirring in Iceland and the Faroes, both dependencies of the Danish Crown, around mid-century. In North Frisia, the son of a ship's captain in Kairem/Söl, Uwe Jens Lormsen, began agitation for parliamentary reform that proved influential in

bringing about changes in Danish justice and administration. Born in 1793, Lormsen:

grew up in an island community that was yet wholly determined by the world-wide connections of the seafarers. Of a total of 2,500 inhabitants [of Kairem] at the time of his childhood, there were more than a hundred captains that piloted great ships plying the high seas around the globe. These self-reliant men also shaped community life on Söl. Jürgen Jens Lorensen was one of the Sölring councillors, so that, from his childhood, his son Uwe was familiar with self-administration on the island.
(Steensen 1996a:227; transl.)

Studying law in Kiel and in Jena, Lormsen became acquainted in the student associations in those cities with ideas of liberty and German unity, conceiving an idealistic desire to fight for independence in Greece and Haiti – a desire that was channeled into other directions, however, by his father's pragmatism. Instead, the younger Lormsen began what seemed to be a promising career in civil service in Copenhagen, but then, in 1830, abruptly resigned and applied for the vacant post of *lörfödger* on Söl. On his way to take up the post, he wrote a pamphlet entitled "Über das Verfassungswerk in Schlewigholstein" in which he insisted on the unity of the two duchies (thus the unhyphenated spelling in his title) and called on the Danish state to enact wide-ranging measures for the liberalization of political life, including:

a transfer of government offices from Copenhagen to the Duchies as well as establishment of the Duchies' own court. He wanted the Danish *helstat* to be reconstituted as a union between Denmark and Slesvig-Holstein, no doubt with the double-state Sweden-Norway as a model. The military, foreign policy, and the sovereign were to remain in common: "Let us go forth hand in hand as brethren, each of us developing free and independent, with only the King and the enemy in common."
(Steensen 1996a:228; transl.)

With North Frisian loyalty to the Danish state yet intact, the storm of petitions which Lormsen had hoped would follow his call failed to materialize, and he was arrested and sentenced to one year's incarceration. Upon his release, he went to South America and, in self-imposed exile in Rio de Janeiro, worked on a book-length elaboration of the ideas presented in the earlier pamphlet. Although Lormsen's life was ended by his own hand at the age of forty-four, his political writings were nonetheless influential in bringing about such state measures as the establishment of consultative assemblies for Slesvig, Holstein, Jutland, and the Danish islands – one effect of which was an awakening of national and political consciousness among the populaces – and the holding of parliamentary elections in North Frisia for the first time (1834).

One side effect of this that would prove momentous in the history of North Frisia was the development, from the late 1830's, of an increasingly nationalist perspective on political issues – a perspective that, in this region, gave rise to a previously unknown Danish-German counterpoint, one that came to overshadow the liberal thrust of reform. Sentiment among some Danes for inclusion of Slesvig into Denmark proper was rejected throughout North Frisia, while the younger generation – with the encouragement of newspapers and various cultural associations – was attracted to incipient notions of German nationalism.

At the same time, interest in the people's own ethnic identity was developing – the roots of the "Frisian Movement" (1.2.2.) –, integral to which, in the writings of Christian Feddersen (1786-1874), was regard for and use of their native language. His call "Höret nicht auf, Friesen zu sein!" (Cease not being Frisian!) was coupled with exhortations to employ Frisian as an essential means of self-expression and a potent tool for the development of ethnic consciousness. Feddersen – much like Lornsen – considered North Frisia his homeland and saw the people as neither Danish nor German, but Frisian, wanting them by their common efforts to become "ein freundlich leuchtender Punct neben den deutschen und dänischen Landen" (an amiably glowing point between the German and Danish lands) (Steenen 1996a:234). Although fruitful in giving impulse to lexicographic and literary production (1.1.3.4.) – as well as to the cultivation of contacts with western Frisia – the Romantic-era rise of the Frisian movement in North Frisia was compromised by the region's precarious position between the two much larger political entities, where it was dwarfed by nationalist emotions on both sides. People's Festivals held annually between 1844 and 1846 in Bräist/Bredstedt in the Mittelgoesharde, ostensibly designed to serve as grassroots expressions of Frisian consciousness, devolved instead into rallies for a German-oriented Schleswig-Holstein (Steenen 1996a:238).

The year 1848 was marked by popular uprisings across Europe, including the German lands and the Duchies of Slesvig and Holstein. When King Frederik VII formed a cabinet of ministers favoring formal incorporation of Slesvig into Denmark itself, a Provisional Government was formed in Kiel in March. Initially, there was widespread jubilation at this development, and an Army of Schleswig-Holstein was created with the support of Prussian and German troops. Soon thereafter, however, a mood of indifference set in over much of North Frisia – an indication that, although large segments of the population sympathized with the goals of the pro-German Schleswig-Holstein uprising, their identification with the cause fell short of a readiness to make sacrifices for it:

A large majority of the Frisians joined the Schleswig-Holstein movement, but they were not strictly radical Schleswig-Holstein supporters. Loyalty to the King was deeply rooted in North Friesland [Frisia], and the special geographic conditions of this area, governing trade, land-use and administration, promoted a strong feeling of uniqueness and pride.
(Rerup 1995:258)

On Oomram and Feer, in any case, there was a distinct preference for the status quo, and the collapse of the German uprising in the south was followed by a similar development in the Duchies. From the middle of 1849, Slesvig was ruled by a triumvirate of one Dane, one Prussian, and an English mediator. Strong nationalist sentiments resulting in acts of vehement antipathies were widespread, and in July 1850, the First London Protocol ended hostilities between Prussia and Denmark. According to the terms of a Second Protocol two years later, Denmark, in exchange for a favorable arrangement on conditions of succession, renounced further plans toward an absorption of Slesvig.

At the outbreak of the uprising in 1848, Harro Harring, a revolutionary, painter, and writer from the south of North Frisia, had returned to his homeland from exploits overseas to urge his Frisian compatriots to hold themselves free from the nationalist emotions pitting Dane against German.

Having been abroad for almost thirty years, the idealistic Haring thoroughly misapprehended the reality of political tensions in the region, and his call for the formation of an independent North Frisian state failed to strike a responsive chord among the people. Disappointed, Haring left North Frisia again and continued his activities abroad, ultimately, like Uwe Jens Lormsen before him, ending his own life, in 1870.

In reaction to the abortive uprising in the Duchies, a vigorous policy of surveillance against those who had shown disloyalty was implemented by reactionaries within the Danish bureaucracy. Civil servants, teachers, and pastors with leanings toward the cause of Schleswig-Holstein were dismissed and replaced with loyalists; attorneys and other professional people were forced out of business. Expressions of sentiment in favor of the cause were suppressed by police, newspapers censored, and elections for the consultative assemblies manipulated. In an effort to strengthen national allegiance, ordinances concerning language use – but only in Middle Slesvig – were promulgated in February 1851 (Map No. 6). Affecting only Jutish- and Low Saxon-speaking areas at the edges of Frisian-speaking territory, these ordinances dictated a switch from German to Danish as the main medium of instruction in schools and alternating use of Danish and German in sermons at church – even though Rigsdansk had never been important in these areas. This injunction was met with resistance from the people affected, and the high-handedness of the policy evoked widespread rancor. Nonetheless, similar measures were planned for the Imperial enclaves of Oomram and western Feer. In discussions about how best or even whether to implement the desired language changes, the potential use of Frisian in church or school was debated only from the standpoint of expediency in furthering the ultimate goal of a transition to Danish (Steensen 1996a:246).

When a constitution for Denmark inclusive of Slesvig was drafted in Copenhagen in November 1863, war finally broke out between Denmark and Prussia-Austria early the next year. The inclusion of the Duchy – conceived to put a radical end to the interference of the German Confederation in Slesvig through its influence in Holstein (itself a member of the Confederation) (Lauring 1960:222) – contradicted provisions of the Second London Protocol and was widely rejected in North Frisia. At the same time, Danish authorities demanded from all civil servants – including, for the first time, the community administrations – an oath of allegiance to the King, a measure that exacerbated the popular mood of distrust. On Söl and on the mainland, officials refused to take the oath and were summarily dismissed. There was a short but bloody campaign on the mainland in which the Danish army was defeated, and although their naval fleet fared better (as in a battle off Dēat Lun in May) and the islands were held into the summer, Denmark was ultimately defeated. The final encounter near Söl itself was a skirmish on the tidal flats and in the channel off List; the island was occupied by victorious Prussian and Austrian troops on July 13. Like many other Sölring, C.P. Hansen saw the event as a liberation, describing his compatriots on Söl as "nie so einig, so froh, so begeistert ... als in diesem Augenblick" (never so united, so joyous, so enthusiastic ... as at this moment) (Steensen 1996a:247). Hostilities came to an end, and in October 1864, a peace treaty was signed in Vienna, putting a formal end to the war (Steensen 1996a: 247-248).

After initial jubilation over military developments in the Duchies, the mood among many North Frisians soon became one of resignation and melancholy in the face of an uncertain political future. Popular sentiment was in favor of an independent Schleswig-Holstein standing in association with

one of the German states, but Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian chancellor, instead had in mind absorption of the Duchies into the Prussian state. During 1865, the victors in the recent war arranged the administration of the new territory such that Prussia governed Schleswig, and Holstein was ruled by Austria. When the Prussian army routed Austrian forces in the Seven Weeks' War of 1866, uncertainty about the immediate future of the Duchies was removed: Bismarck's plans would be realized. Schleswig-Holstein was officially a Prussian province as of January 1867 – a status that would obtain even after the Franco-German War of 1870-1871 and the subsequent creation of the German nation.

If one of the changes noticed by North Frisians in the transfer of government from the Duke of Gottorf to the King of Denmark had been increased centralization (1.1.4.1.), an even greater change attended the passing from Danish to Prussian administration. With a large bureaucracy and strong authoritarian ethos, Prussia in the latter nineteenth century was also modernizing, with industrialization in the German lands taking place comparatively late, but then with a vengeance (Krockow 1990). C.P. Hansen, who had welcomed the Prussian advance onto Söl and described it in such glowing terms (above), confided in a letter in 1869: "Die Preußen sind wie die Dänen, sie wollen uns nur beherrschen, sie nehmen uns mehr, als was sie uns geben" (The Prussians are like the Danes, they only want to rule us, they take more from us than they give") (Steensen 1996a:249). Votes in various elections throughout North Frisia – or the boycotts of such elections – reflected the discontent.

Part of the antipathy for the new state stemmed from the perception of having been abandoned by it during the uprising of 1848, but there were more tangible grounds as well. Prussian bureaucrats, each, according to Theodor Storm, "looking like a little conqueror, as if he should bring us enlightenment" (Steensen 1996a:251; transl.) streamed into the region, and one of the first measures taken by the new government, in 1866, was to make compulsory three-year stints in the military. Unpopular as this was generally, it was particularly so on the islands, where, since 1735, military service had been required only in times of war. Dissolution of the private navigation schools on the islands (1.1.3.2.1.) along with more stringent requirements for licensing put an end to time-honored ways of seafaring. Undertaken despite a commitment on the part of the state to respect the justified characteristics ("berechtigte Eigentümlichkeiten") of the people in its new territory, these developments aroused not a little animosity among North Frisians, reflecting as the measures did a failure to take into consideration "the conservative character of the populace", as a contemporary account put it (Steensen 1996a:251). One of the results was the first appreciable wave of emigration from North Frisia to North America, Australia, New Zealand, and South America.

In spite of early discontent, steady propagation of Prussian ideals in schools, the press, and various types of cultural associations combined with economic growth in the wake of industrialization to usher in among a majority of North Frisians a gradual acceptance of their situation in the new political order. The effects of modernization, however, were still unsettling for many, as fuel-driven machinery of all kinds replaced traditional forms of labor and means of supply in agriculture, transport, and management of the infrastructure (1.1.3.2.). The marshes on the mainland were made passable with the construction of railroads, which also brought tourists for the booming resort trade to the islands, to which they were then taken by steamboats that were largely

independent of wind and current. Along with the train stations that were springing up across the region, workers from the south and east poured in along with transients from across the German Confederation. Around this time, the idea of linking Söl with the mainland via a rail connection through the tidal flats gained increasing support (1.1.3.3.). The founding of the German Empire in 1871, with Prussia at its head, brought a new focus of allegiance to citizens throughout the region.

1.1.4.3. The Twentieth Century

In the twentieth century, as tensions mounted that would culminate in the outbreak of World War I, plans were made to fortify Söl and other points in North Frisia for the eventuality of a British attack from across the North Sea. List, at that time a village of thirteen dwellings, was built up into a large naval air station. When war did break out, the tourists on Söl were replaced by military personnel from all over Germany. Here as elsewhere across Europe, enthusiasm waned as the war grew longer and casualties mounted. Agricultural products were diverted for the war effort, and, particularly on the islands, there were shortages of foodstuffs and fuels. In 1918, with the war all but over, navies in Kiel and then in other ports mutinied; on Söl, a soldiers' council was formed on November 9, and a workers' council two days later (Voigt 1977:19). In the end, the toll of war dead from North Frisia would amount to some 3,600 (Steensen 1996a:309).

The terms of peace ending the lost war would have long-lasting effects for Schleswig/Slesvig. Mandated in Article 109 of the Versailles Treaty was that a plebiscite be held in the former duchy's southern districts on the issue of reversion to Denmark or continued allegiance to Germany. Voting was to take place in two phases five weeks apart, in zones divided by a line running south of Tondern and north of Flensburg (Maps 5, 6). The vote in the northerly First Zone, fixed in the Treaty as a bloc vote, reflected overall sentiment for Danish sovereignty but took along with it several districts (including Tondern/Tønder and Hoyer/Højer) in which the preference for German allegiance was over 70%. This anomaly added fuel to a campaign that was already marked by virulence in the southerly Second Zone, and such was the emotion – overwhelmingly in favor of German sovereignty – that those who dared voice opposition to the majority sentiment were anathematized. Cornelius Petersen from Eiderstedt and Nann Mungard of Kairem/Söl, who had labored so zealously for his native island (1.1.3.4.), were two of those who thought that Frisian interests would be promoted if the region were under Danish authority; both were burned in effigy, and the latter's family homestead went up in flames not long after the plebiscite. When the vote in the Second Zone was finally held, it manifested an incontrovertible popular will to remain German (88.4%:11.6%). The line that separated the two Zones has remained the border between Denmark and Germany ever since (Steensen 1996a:318-322).

In the wake of World War I, all of Germany found itself in a deep crisis. Acute shortages in foodstuffs and fuels were exacerbated on the North Frisian islands by a drastic decrease in the tourist trade – on Söl, fewer than half the number of visitors from 1913 returned in 1919 (Steensen 1996a:333). Unemployment and astronomical inflation worsened the situation, and following initial enthusiasm toward the new democratic government in Weimar, voters registered strong disillusionment with the course of the Republic. In Schleswig/Slesvig, the new border was widely unpopular, and vehement animosities lingered long after the voting was finished, creating fertile soil for subsequent exploitation of nationalistic feelings. Work on the eleven-kilometer rail causeway between Söl and the mainland, postponed during the

war, took on added significance with the new border, since the erstwhile mainland port of Højer/Hoyer now belonged to Denmark (Voigt 1977: 38-40). Until completion of the project - promised by the authorities in the wake of the plebiscite - in 1927 after some seven decades of planning and preparation, access from Söl to such places as Hamburg was possible only by boat to Højer and thence in sealed railroad compartments to below the border (Gantzel 1975:75):

...ūs wū eeđer 1920 tō Fastlōn wil, kām wū jest ek förter ūs Huađerslüüs. Da waar wū òn di Baanhofsaaal iinslōöten, olter di Toch kām, wat ūüs förterbring skul.

Wan di Toch kām, waar di Düür iipenslōöten, en wū waar me Polisai tō Toch braacht. Da waar di Toch plombiaret, en sa maast wū iinslōöten bliiv hentō Süderlūgum, hur wū weđer aur di dütsk Grens kām. Dit bleev sa hen tō 1927.

(...when we wanted to go to the mainland after 1920, we only got as far as Hoyerschleuse [the port area of Højer] to begin with. Then we were locked into the waiting room at the train station until the train came that was going to take us further.

When the train arrived, the door was unlocked and the police escorted us to the train. Then the train was sealed, and we had to remain isolated until we got to Süderlūgum, where we crossed the German border. That's the way it was until 1927.)

The rail link was dedicated by Chancellor von Hindenburg on June 1, 1927 (1.1.3.3.).

In North Frisia as throughout Germany, bitter deprivation was associated by many with the postwar political order. Social disruption, a perceived loss of traditional values along with dismay at Weimar's acceptance of the Versailles Treaty, and a retrospective romanticization of the war provided great potential for nationalist political programs (Voigt 1977). North Frisians' early participation in party politics as such, during the first years of Prussian sovereignty, had resulted in a pattern of support for National Liberals, whose program was "liberal" mainly in the sense that it was less conservative than Prussian conservatism (Steensen 1996a:255). In the 1930's, the National Socialist German Worker's Party (NSDAP) was able to gain strong backing in Schleswig-Holstein and particularly in North Frisia. In elections for the Reichstag in 1928, the NSDAP polled just 4% in Schleswig-Holstein and 1.2% in the District of Südtondern, to which Söl belonged. These figures jumped to 27% and 25.3% respectively in 1930, and 51%:64.5% in 1932, reaching 53.3%:73.5% in 1933 (Steensen 1996a: 340-341). Support for the NSDAP in national elections was matched in North Frisia at the local level.

Once in power, the NSDAP moved quickly to consolidate its electoral gains in all realms of public life. As part of what was conceived of as a German revolution, conformance to the tenets of Nazi ideology were forced on social and cultural associations of all types. Still, ideological grounds seemed at first to offer potential advancement of Frisian interests. Mythologized as Nordic archetypes, Frisians were initially celebrated in print and film, but as the policy of obligatory conformance to Party ideals ("*Gleichschaltung*") unfolded, it became apparent that official tolerance for anything not directly expedient to the Party line was nonexistent. Explicitly grounding his

rejection of the NSDAP in ideals of Frisian liberty, Jens Mungard of Kairem/Söl was forbidden to continue his writing and finally incarcerated in Sachsenhausen, where he died in 1940 (1.1.3.4.). Expressions of Frisian language and culture were tolerated only insofar as they served as means to state ends, such as when the potential of North Frisian contacts with western Frisians for undermining resistance in the Netherlands was weighed by the authorities (Steensen 1996a:364).

Given its position in the North Sea, Söl was considered strategically vital to the impending war effort, and was accordingly once again the focus of intense fortification measures. List was made into a garrison, more than quadrupling in population between 1933 and 1939, and the duneland on the island became the site of barracks, airplane hangars, bunkers, and scores of anti-aircraft batteries. A large landing area for amphibious aircraft was created near Hörnem, a village of twelve people in 1905 that had grown to some 1,500 by 1939, and another airfield was built northeast of Weesterlön. In 1936, construction of a new military hospital, the foundation of the present Nordseeklinik, was begun in Woningstair. Tourism on the islands ceased with the outbreak of hostilities in Poland in September 1939, and from that point, Söl, Oomram, and Feer were accessible only to military personnel and by special permission (Steensen 1996a: 370-371). In April 1940, German troops crossed the Danish border to begin what would be a five-year occupation of both Denmark and Norway.

Though casual visitors from the outside were no longer allowed on the islands during the War, islanders and residents throughout the entire region were destined to be inundated by outsiders in the years to come. By the fall of 1944, Söl quartered twelve thousand German troops; hundreds of prisoners-of-war and forced laborers from the eastern front were held in and around Weesterlön. Refugees from Kiel and Hamburg scattered across the region after these cities were heavily bombed in 1943, and in January 1945, refugees from the east began arriving – the first of over one million that would come to Schleswig-Holstein over the next two years. The population in North Frisia, some 109,000 in May 1939, swelled to 204,000 by January 1948. In the district of Südtondern, there were 84 refugees for every hundred inhabitants, while in some places the prewar population was dwarfed by the numbers of displaced persons – in St. Peter-Ording on Eiderstedt comprising only one-third of the total, in Hörnem and Raanem on Söl but one-fifth. With the availability of so many hotels and barracks, Söl housed a disproportionate number of the refugees; in September 1947, there were 7,600 displaced persons distributed among twelve camps over the island (Steensen 1996a: 379-383).

In most areas of North Frisia and Schleswig-Holstein, however, guest accommodations were scarce, so in most cases refugees were quartered in private homes. Cramped quarters together with desperate shortages of food and fuel often led to tense relations between native inhabitants and displaced persons who were forced to share what little was available – including the relatively few opportunities for gainful employment. Refugees in North Frisia were relocated only slowly, because crowded as it now was, Schleswig-Holstein was still the least densely settled area of Germany; in 1960, still over 20% of the region's population was of external prewar origin. Although some linguistic assimilation did take place, the sheer magnitude of the outside presence made pressures for assimilating less compelling. Too, with marriages between Frisians and postwar immigrants not uncommon, the overall effect of the massive influx from the east on Frisians' native language was deleterious in the extreme. Ultimately undermined in its strongest

traditional function as the medium of communication in the domestic sphere, North Frisian now came to be less frequently transmitted within the family, and also less commonly sufficed for interaction within a speaker's own village.

At war's end in May 1945, North Frisia counted some 8,000 casualties, or over 7% of its population (Steensen 1996a:376); hundreds of prisoners-of-war from the region would return from the Soviet Union – if at all – only in 1947 and even later. British troops in Schleswig-Holstein, constituted as a province of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, ushered in the Allied occupation, and on Söl began the work of detonating over six hundred anti-aircraft batteries. A total of 864 Sölring had fallen in the two World Wars (Jessel 1989:24).

As democratic political life was gradually restored following the war, remarkable growth was at first registered by parties not associated in voters' minds with the cataclysms of German nationalism, the *Friesisch-schleswigischer Verein* (Frisian-Schleswigan Association) and especially the *Sydslesvigsk Forening* (SSF)/*Südschleswigischer Verein* (SSV) (South Schleswigan Association), the latter explicitly pro-Danish in its orientation. Membership in the two, some nine hundred and eleven thousand respectively at the beginning of 1946, had jumped to almost five thousand and seventy thousand three years later (Steensen 1996a:393). In 1947, the SSV captured 30% of the regional vote and absolute majorities in some districts; Steensen reckons that, at the time, about half the voters native to North Frisia favored the pro-Danish movement. In the following years, a coalition of the two parties, the *Südschleswigsche Wählerverband* (SSW), called for administrative separation from the provincial government in Kiel and the formation of an autonomous South Schleswigan province in which, among other things, there would be "volle und gleiche Freiheit für die drei Sprachen und Kulturen unserer Heimat" (full and equal freedom for the three languages and cultures of our homeland) (Steensen 1996a:395).

Neither administrative autonomy nor the SSW's longer-range goal of a reversion of southern Schleswig to Danish jurisdiction, however, could ultimately be realized – the British did raise to the government of Denmark the issue of a possible re-adjustment of the border, but the prospect was rejected in Copenhagen and the matter not pursued further. One tangible result of negotiations between Germany and Denmark at about the same time, however, was the *Kieler Erklärung* (Kiel Declaration), adopted by the *Landtag* (provincial parliament) of Schleswig-Holstein in September 1949, in which a principle for the gradual reconciliation of ethnic and national tensions in the postwar period was formulated:

Das Bekenntnis zum dänischen Volkstum und zur dänischen Kultur ist frei. Es darf von Amts wegen nicht bestritten oder nachgeprüft werden.

(Profession of Danish ethnicity and orientation toward Danish culture is voluntary. It may not be officially contested or investigated.)

In 1955, the *Kieler Erklärung* was superseded in 1955 by the Bonn/Copenhagen Declarations, in which the national governments of West Germany and Denmark pledged to respect each other's linguistic minorities living across their common border (see also 1.2.3.). As one of the first measures taken under its Declaration, the German government provided for a re-opening of Danish-

language schools and cultural organizations in Schleswig(-Holstein) (Stephens 1976:427-428).

The Danish language had been introduced into North Frisia as a medium of education with the founding of a number of Danish schools in the region as far back as 1920. In the district (*Landkreis*) of Südtondern, the total of eleven students in May 1945 had risen to almost one thousand by August 1947. On Söl, Danish schools have been established in List, Kairem, and Weesterlön, with kindergartens in Weesterlön and List. As of 1992, the *Dänischer Schulverein* maintained fifty-three schools and sixty-three kindergartens with total enrollments, respectively, of some 5,330 and 2,000 throughout Schleswig-Holstein (Bericht zur Arbeit der Minderheiten [...], p. 50).

Although the Frisian minority within Schleswig-Holstein had been mentioned obliquely in the *Kieler Erklärung*, it received no specific mention in the Bonn Declaration. Nonetheless, the principle of voluntary and uncontested inclusion in an ethnic minority, first articulated in 1949, has since become the model for state relations vis-à-vis Frisians as well as Danes in the region – giving rise to the recent characterization of a “*Modell Nordfriesland*” (see also 1.2.3. and 7.).

1.2. Speakers: Past, Present, Future

The numbers of speakers of Sölring and all other dialects of North Frisian have been decreasing for generations; the last speaker of the Südergoesharde dialect died in 1980. Especially in recent years, there have been efforts to reverse the trend by adding new speakers who will secure the survival of North Frisian beyond the next few generations. In the present Section, demographic statistics detailing the course of the trend will first be presented, followed by a discussion of past efforts to promote North Frisian – the “Frisian Movement” – and finally a characterization of current circumstances with regard to language maintenance in North Frisia.

1.2.1. Past and Present

A quantitative indication of language use in North Frisia is given by statistics published at various times, not least from censuses taken in the region around the time of political changes there (1.1.4.2.). Kööp (1992:255), positing 50,000 speakers of Frisian in the region at the close of the Middle Ages, gives the following numbers during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:

<u>YEAR</u>	
1840	29,000 “inhabitants” of Frisian-speaking territory
1855	27,340 “residents” ... (Dēat Lun not included)
ca. 1864	26,169 “residents” ...
1887	25,964 “residents” ... (Dēat Lun not included)
1890	17,859 speakers
1905	15,881 “native Frisian speakers” in entire “former “Duchy of Schleswig” incl. Dēat Lun
1910	17,500 speakers (Bräist/Bredstedt not included)
1927	14,148 speakers (Dēat Lun not included)
1954	ca. 12,000 speakers
1988	9-10,000 speakers

As Kōöp (1991:150) points out, some of these figures – the number given for 1905 being a case in point – might well reflect some ambivalence (or politically-motivated equivocation) on the part of speakers vis-à-vis census-takers, and could thus understate the actual numbers of speakers of North Frisian; on the whole, nevertheless, the figures are probably generally accurate. The last year for which a precise figure is given, 1927, coincides with the inauguration of the Hindenburgdamm connecting the mainland to Söl, and certainly as far as Söl's contribution to these figures is concerned, there has very likely been a steady downward trend in the number of Frisian speakers from that time. With the last actual census having been conducted more than seventy years ago and the most recent estimate now ten years old, the figures at the close of the twentieth century would probably be in the neighborhood of 7,000-9,000 speakers of North Frisian. Not included in these statistics are considerable numbers of emigrants (2.6.2.3.), but since the most recent wave of emigration took place in the wake of World War II, these emigrants, now having lived abroad for five decades, are in any case not likely to actually use their native language on a regular basis.

For Söl itself, two of the earliest counts stem from the late nineteenth century. Jensen (1891:386) lists for Söl by village the numbers of households and schoolchildren with various combinations of languages in 1889:

VILLAGE	HOUSEHOLDS					school-children	spoken/home schoolchild.:			
	totl	language spoken:					Fri	LS	HG	Da
Muasem	157	134	5	8	10	154	123	6	15	10
Ärichsem	43	38	2	1	2	41	36	2	0	3
Tinem	75	46	6	8	15	79	54	6	8	11
Kairem & Munkmärsk	197	184 ¹	-	13	-	175	167	0	4	4
Woningstair	14	11	-	1	2 }					
Brederep	24	11	5	3	5 }	64	43	8	5	8
Kaamp	24	13	4	2	5 }					
List	13	2	3	-	8	15	3	2	2	8
Raantem	6	6	-	-	-	8	8	0	0	0
Weesterlön.	210	104 ²	-	8	-	208	³ 100	0	0	0
Totals	763	549	25	44	47	744	534	24	42	44
		² (29	49	20)			³ (30	50	20)	

¹ Combinations: Fri-LS 37, Fri-HG 7, Fri-Da 7

² Combinations: Fri-LS 29, Fri-HG 49, Fri-Da 20

³ Combinations: Fri-LS 30, Fri-HG 50, Fri-Da 20

Jensen (1891:389) goes on to estimate that the figure of 534 (564) schoolchildren who spoke Sölring represents some 107 more than there had been two decades previously (1870).

Siebs (1898:129) asserts that Sölring was spoken by "nahezu 3000 Leuten auf der Insel" (almost 3,000 people on the island), comprising 85% of the year-round population: 72% spoke Sölring

exclusively at home and another 13% Sölring in combination with Low Saxon, High German, or Danish. The remaining 15% of the population, Siebs asserted, was monolingual: 3% in Low Saxon, 6% in High German, and 6% in Danish.

Fragmentary statistics (Frederik Paulsen, pers. comm.) concerning numbers of schoolchildren with specific mother tongues show a marked pattern of decline. For Kairem, Jensen's 1889 figures of 175 children with 167 speaking Sölring, 4 High German, and 4 Danish contrasted in 1903 with 181 children of whom 97 spoke Sölring, 68 High German, and 16 Danish. In Weesterlön, where there had been 107 children with Sölring as their native language in 1909, there were just 80 (out of 524) in 1922. In the same year, only 358 of 1,035 children on the entire island were reported as speaking Sölring, and by 1924 the total was down to 294 of 879.

Proportionally, too, use of Sölring has waned as potential speakers have consciously switched from or failed to learn the language – but even more drastically as the influx of outsiders has increased (1.1.3.3., 1.1.4.3.). With little exaggeration – the few inhabitants of List were speakers of Jutish or Danish – it might be assumed that 100% of the island's population would have spoken Sölring in 1800. Jensen's figures for 1889 would mean that 70% of Söl's inhabitants spoke Sölring; for 1905, the figure drops to 40% of the inhabitants of the three largest communities; for 1909, 42% of households over the entire island; for 1924, 34% of households for all of Söl; for 1927, 33.7% of inhabitants; and for 1966, a total of 1,226 or some 7% of the population. Interpolating from this last figure, one would come to the conclusion that at most 1,000 people (4%) spoke Sölring around 1960.

One of the most recent breakdowns for the island is found in Århammar (1975:17), where the numbers of speakers by village are for 1965/1966:

(eastern)		(western)	
Muasem	489	Kaamp	19
Årichsem	118	Wöningstair	61
Kairem	236	Weesterlön	86
Tinem	162	Raantem	40
Munkmäsk	12	Hörnem	12
Brederep	20	List	20
	Total 1,275		

Considering primary residence (since there are now many residents with second and third homes on the island), Århammar noted a clear east-west demarcation in the continued use of Sölring – only in Muasem and Årichsem, the two easternmost villages, was the proportion over half (59.9% and 77.6% respectively), dropping to 15.7% and 11.6% in Kairem/Munkmäsk and Tinem, respectively, and below 10% in the western villages and in Weesterlön.

In terms of schoolchildren's language usage, Århammar reports only one native speaker of Sölring in the west, in Tinem 10 of 146 (but only one of these speaking Sölring at home – and three adolescents), in Kairem twenty-three children and adolescents from nine families. Responses to a questionnaire distributed in Muasem and Årichsem had produced the following results:

A. Number of schoolchildren speaking X with their parents:

	<u>total</u>	<u>Sölring</u>	<u>LSaxon</u>	<u>HGerman</u>
Muasem	122	23	5	94
Ärichsem	20	2	-	18

B. Number of schoolchildren able to speak X fluently or almost fluently:

	<u>total</u>	<u>Sölring</u>	<u>LSaxon</u>	<u>HGerman</u>
Muasem	122	44	13	116
Ärichsem	20	11	-	20

Revealing is the fact that, in these relative strongholds of Sölring use, only 23 of 44 (Muasem) and 2 of 11 (Ärichsem) school-age children who could have used Sölring in interaction with their parents actually did so. Århammar (1975:18) concludes that, in Ärichsem, the point of no return with regard to the survival of Sölring had already been reached, and that in Muasem, this point was fast being approached – a pattern of development that, unless reversed, would mean the disappearance of the language on the island within a century and a half (1975:18).

A more recent quantification of the number of speakers of Sölring appears in Kööp (1991:74), where an estimate made by the Söl'ring Foriining in 1998 puts the figure at some 2,000, or about 10% of the resident population. Naturally, there are also many people on the island with at least some passive knowledge of the language: "Die Zahl derjenigen, die diese Sprache verstehen, liegt nach groben Schätzungen um ein Vielfaches höher" (By rough estimate, the number of those who understand the language is many times higher). Kööp's own approximation (1991:76) for Söl exclusive of Weesterlön and List reckons with 1,500-1,700 speakers, characterized as 13.5-15.3% of the population.

In 1993, as fieldwork was being conducted for the present reference grammar, a discussion among several tradition-conscious speakers about current numbers of Sölring speakers arrived at the informal estimate of some 500. Included in a sample of discourse presented in 2.6.2.3. is one of the discussants' assessment that this figure is low and that, if emigrant Sölring are counted, the total would be something more than 2,000 speakers – a perspective that raises the interesting issue as to what, today, might be considered criterial for a speaker of Sölring.

Today, no one who speaks Sölring does so monolingually, and indeed proficiency in at least one other language is so important in daily life that most Sölring are observed to spend more time using High German than their native language. The functional preponderance of High German derives from and is perpetuated by the ubiquity it has on Söl; particularly in the western part of the island, the social infrastructure is almost entirely German (1.1.3.2.2.). In addition, the incidence of "mixed" marriages (one Sölring-speaking partner and one non-Frisian) is so high (again, particularly in the more westerly communities) that many Sölring speakers whose spouse comes from a non-Frisian environment seem naturally to use German at home, even though the spouse, perhaps resident from the mid-1940's (1.1.4.3.), might well understand Sölring and may even be

able (and perhaps willing) to use it. Fully bilingual with respect to German, even Sölring spouses might naturally use German when immersed in German-language activities, such as watching television and exchanging comments on the proceedings. (For an analysis of code-mixing and code-switching phenomena, see 6.2.).

From observations made on Söl in connection with the fieldwork for this study, it appeared that there are few native speakers of school age and even fewer pre-schoolers; most speakers today are between 60 and 85 years old, with an average age of perhaps 70-75. Regardless of what today's precise figures might be, and how the issues of passive vs. active knowledge vs. actual use might be defined and measured in such figures, it is clear that Sölring, like the other varieties of North Frisian, has lost much of its speaker base and has reached a very critical point in terms of its potential for survival. From a particular conjuncture of a number of demographic and social factors, it has also become very much a minority language on Söl itself.

The tenuousness of the present demographic base for the continued use of the languages is the result of a long period of development.. A number of the factors that have contributed to a decline in numbers of speakers – geographic fragmentation, the loss of population through natural disaster and emigration, *Überfremdung* of the island by the massive advent of refugees and tourists, lack of presence of the indigenous language in public – have been discussed in earlier sections (1.1.1., 1.1.2., 1.1.3.2.). In addition to these factors, the chain of intergenerational transmission was disrupted during the 1960's and 1970's, when an "Abiturwahn" (mania for advancement to the *Gymnasium*; Jakob Tholund, pers. comm.) in Germany and much of Europe suggested to many parents that it would be cognitively disadvantageous for their children to learn a vernacular language, and that it would instead be advisable to concentrate learners' energies on the language of social advancement – a notion that, though since relativized by studies showing that early multilingualism can indeed be cognitively enriching (Lambert/Peal 1972, Oksaar 1984, Cummins/Swain 1986) and a study specific to the North Frisian situation (Tholund 1984)⁷, resulted in an irretrievable gap or "missing link" in the natural sequence of family-based language acquisition. Frisian is the last remaining "small" Germanic language, and it is sometimes asserted that the marvel is not the steady decline of its northern manifestation, but indeed that this has survived so long – that the decline of North Frisian is merely a "biological" process.⁸ But biology as a factor in language survival would seem to mean nothing more than natural intergenerational transmission, a phenomenon dependent on a mix of factors that include ethnic pride and identification, social functionality, and economic utilitarianism. Under the best of conditions, the debilitating effects of these trends and developments might have been counteracted by a strong (regional) North Frisian identity, one that would have proved instrumental in promoting loyalty to the language as a whole and, accordingly, in compensating for whatever adverse developments were encountered – strong though local identities have traditionally been (Ebert 1994). "North Frisian", however, has been called a construct of linguistics, a circumstance reflected, on the

⁸ Although northern (North) Frisian has been declining, western Frisian (Westerlauwersk Frysk) is in a much stronger position, with some 350,000 – 400,000 speakers at the close of the twentieth century (see 1.2.3.); eastern Frisian (Seeltersk) has only some 1,000 speakers.

islands, by speakers' characterizations of their own language as distinct from Frisian.⁹ Too, the fragmentation so pervasive in the region and among its people – geographic, linguistic, political – has had negative influence on the development of a perception of regional ethnic identity. Particularly today, however, when language attrition has reached alarming proportions and when economic considerations often render the concerns of smaller entities negligible – as in newspaper and book publishing (Quedens 1990), radio broadcasting (Hingst 1990), and television, for instance – less narrowly local orientations would appear vital to the future of North Frisian.

As acutely endangered as North Frisian currently is, there are nonetheless a number of factors that make this an auspicious moment for its prospective revitalization. After World War I curtailed a groundswell of late 19th-century sentiment for a development of things Frisian (1.1.4.2.), it wasn't until recent decades that a serious maintenance campaign got underway. The following Section will outline the background of current efforts to promote the kind of regional identity that could have been – and might still prove to be – instrumental in withstanding the onslaught of outside influences, efforts past and present known collectively as "die Friesische Bewegung": the Frisian Movement.

1.2.2. The Frisian Movement in North Frisia (Steensen 1986, Steensen 1996a)

Historically, the Frisian Movement has taken place in three identifiable phases: leading up to World War I, during the interwar years, and after World War II.

1.2.2.1. Prior to World War I

Shortly after publication of Jap Peter Hansen's *Pigersdaibok* in 1809 (1.1.3.4.), pre-Romantic ideals in Europe concerning popular history, culture, and language focused attention in North Frisia and other regions – politically, culturally, and commercially – on indigenous (primarily local) traditions. From 1817, dictionaries were being produced on the mainland and on Oomram (although the earliest, from the 1740's, remained unpublished). In the 1840's, a number of people across North Frisia began to be aware of Frisianness as something neither Danish nor German. Among these were Christian Feddersen (1.1.4.2.) from the mainland and Lorenz Friedrich Mehlenburg of Oomram, who together with C.P. Hansen of Söl made plans to publish a North Frisian journal and a dictionary for all of North Frisia – plans that had to be abandoned when their appeals for collaboration met with indifference. Knut Jungbohn Clement of Oomram was another who, as a Frisian "in language, background, and thinking", conceived of his own ethnicity as distinct and took the autonomy of the Frisian language as one token of a unique Frisian nationality (Steensen 1996a:235). Feddersen and Clement were made honorary members of the western Frisian *Selskip foar Fryske Tael en Skriftekennisse* (Society for Frisian Language and Literature) (founded 1844), and Clement, especially, gave enthusiastic support to the idea of a cultural Frisia Magna (Steensen 1996a:302). Three "Volksfeste der Nordfriesen" (North Frisians' people's festivals) – held in Bräist/Bredstedt in each of the years 1844, 1845, and 1846 with the ostensible purpose of rallying ethnic consciousness – however, were made to serve the political ends of the German-oriented Schleswig-Holstein movement (1.1.4.2.), and the issue of North Frisian ethnic

⁹ Speakers on Söl, Feer, Oomram, and Dēat Lun refer to their own languages, respectively, as Sölring, Fering, Öömring, and Halunder; see also 1.3.1. and 1.4.1.

identity was lost in the tumult of emotions surrounding German-Danish tensions regarding the future of Slesvig/Schleswig and Holstein.

After the military confrontations of 1848 and 1864 (1.1.4.2.), North Frisia became (along with the rest of Schleswig-Holstein) a part of Prussia and then of the German nation, and a period of renewed effort for a recognition of North Frisian ethnicity began. Dictionaries and other writings had appeared in the late fifties and the sixties; two major works that were not published were Peter Michael Clemens' translation of the New Testament and Psalms into Sölring (1.1.3.4.) and a six-volume pan-North Frisian dictionary by Moritz Momme Nissen of the Karrharde. In 1879, a first North Frisian *Verein* (Association) was founded on the mainland as an organization concerned with regional solutions to national issues. It published Frisian articles in a local newspaper and a small magazine for North Frisia; one of its goals was to devise a uniform orthography for all of the dialects – activities that ended with its demise after just more than a decade. Its successor, the *Nordfriesischer Verein für Heimatkunde und Heimatliebe* (North Frisian Association for Knowledge about and Love of Homeland), founded in 1902, was a "Neo-Romantic innovation" of the turn of the century (Steensen 1996a:300) that, by focusing on regional culture, was also supposed to serve to deepen its members' devotion to Germany: "von der Heimatsliebe zur Vaterlandsliebe ist nur ein Schritt" (from love of homeland to love of country is but one step). Frisian identity was not an issue in this *Verein*, because North Frisians were simply assumed to be German – and as a corollary, their language to be a dialect of German.

On Söl, a local association, the *Foriining fuar Söl'ring Spraak en Wiis*, was founded in 1900 and reconstituted five years later as the *Söl'ring Foriining*. At the initiative of Nann Mungard (1.1.3.4.), who maintained close relations with western Frisians in the Netherlands, festivals of island Frisians were organized and held in 1907 (on Oomram), 1909 (on Söl), and 1913 (on Feer).

Unlike many in the *Nordfriesischer Verein*, whose efforts on behalf of the language were conceived along the lines of "erecting a monument" for posterity, Mungard was a steadfast believer in the future of North Frisian who, alongside his authorship of the first dictionary of Sölring, made his own plans for developing a common insular orthography, producing a journal to further inter-dialectal literacy, and – as part of his project for a dictionary of insular North Frisian – systematically borrowing vocabulary items from among the dialects to close existing lexical gaps.

It was in these years that the first regular language lessons in North Frisian took place. No longer was education in North Frisia the product of the "freie Volksinstitutionen" (unfettered institutions of the people) characterized by C.P. Hansen from the days of seafaring (1.1.3.2.1.), as schooling had long since come under the aegis of various state bureaucracies.¹⁰ Under state authority, use of "the dialect" in school had often been treated as an inappropriacy to be eradicated, but the climate had become favorable to the introduction of a modicum of instruction in Frisian. The needs of the first regularly-held Sölring lessons in local schools, starting in July 1909, were met by the publication of Möller's *Söl'ring Leesbok* (1.1.3.4.), but lessons in Weesterlân (though not in the other seven

¹⁰ Interestingly, Hansen (1879:5) attributes the loss of character in education to the rise of "lust for money, sea voyages, affluence, and cosmopolitanism" among Sölring from the first half of the 18th century and concomitant diminution of "their love of homeland, national feeling, sense of traditional rights, freedoms, customs, and organizational structures" (transl.).

schools on the island) were curtailed in November when a provincial administrator, fearing demands for similar mother-tongue instruction from the Danish and Polish minorities in Prussia, forbid further instruction in Sölring in the island's largest school – a development accepted without demurral by the *Söl'ring Foriining* (Clemenz 1970, Steensen 1986:101-102 and 1996). As before, nonetheless, contacts with western Frisia were cultivated, with exchanges and mutual translations promoting a sense of ethnic commonality. Nann Mungard's collaborator in the west, Pieter de Clercq, provided extensive support for a plan of action on behalf of the North Frisian languages. All these activities, however, were abruptly halted by the outbreak of World War I – and never again resumed with the same intensity.

1.2.2.2. The Interwar Period

In the interwar years, the effectiveness of the Frisian Movement was again diminished by nationalist strivings. The *Nordfriesischer Verein* declared itself unhappy with the border established by plebiscite in 1920 (1.1.4.3.) and joined forces with the *Schleswig-Holsteiner-Bund*, for which a revision of the border was an espoused goal. In this alliance, spearheaded by the "Young Turks" Albrecht Johannsen and L.C. Peters, the *Nordfriesischer Verein* pointedly referred to North Frisians as a "German vanguard" and as "border Germans" (Steensen 1996a:324). It considered "Friesentum" a subset of "Deutschtum" – at the same time that the *Schleswig-Holsteiner-Bund* was clandestinely recommending a suppression of Frisian on Feer on the grounds that it stood in the way of a consolidated "Deutschtum". The position of the *Nordfriesischer Verein* in this period was strongly influenced by the notion of *Volkstum*, under the circumstances as a vehicle for bringing about a resurrection of the German nation, and related notions precursing the *Blut-und-Boden* philosophy of National Socialism. In its program concerning North Frisian language, the *Verein* had moved from its pre-War stance of intended memorialization to one of active support for its cultivation across dialects. In 1927, leadership of the *Verein* was taken over by Rudolf Muuß, who would figure prominently in future developments in the Frisian Movement.

A second North Frisian organization was founded in 1923: the *Friesisch-schleswigscher Verein* (Frisian-Schleswigan Association). In marked contrast to the *Nordfriesischer Verein*, the "national Frisians", as the members of the new association came to be called, perceived North Frisians not as a category of Germans, but as members of an independent Frisian people. Under the leadership of Johannes Oldsen, a highly decorated veteran who had lost two brothers in the War and now strongly opposed German nationalism, the National Frisians – whose members were generally less affluent than those of the *Nordfriesischer Verein* – favored closer cultural ties with Denmark (sometimes working with the Danish minority in North Schleswig), and consciously entered the political arena. Oldsen himself saw political allegiance to Denmark as the best way: "Ich wünsche mein Friesland dem Lande angeschlossen; welches ihm wirtschaftlich und kulturell das Beste bieten kann" (I want my Frisia to be part of the country that has the most to offer it economically and culturally). The ideological position of the *Friesisch-schleswigscher Verein*, also marked by early symptoms of *Blut-und-Boden* philosophy, was largely taken from Cornelius Petersen (1.1.4.3.), who had been prominent in the campaign leading up to the plebiscite. Despite some pro-Danish sentiment within its ranks, the association sought not uncritical contribution to the cause of the Danish minority – with which Oldsen found himself increasingly at odds – but establishment of the principle of North Frisian ethnic autonomy.

Mutual accusations flew between the two associations that they were serving national rather than Frisian interests; relations between them were characterized by acrimony and polemics. Officers of the *Friesisch-schleswigscher Verein*, reviled as traitors, were targets of slander and harassment. Its participation in the *Verband der nationalen Minderheiten in Deutschland* (Federation of National Minorities in Germany), founded in 1924 in Berlin, situated its concerns within the larger context of minority representation – concerns shared within Germany with Poles, Danes, Sorbs, and Lithuanians. Characterized by Oldsen as a "union of the weak in the fight for their interests against the uncomprehending strong", the national Frisians' participation in the *Verband* was defamed as "collusion with such age-old enemies of Germanic essence as Poles and Wends" (Steensen 1996a: 326-327). From 1925, the National Frisians put up the "Liste Friesland", a slate of candidates for local and regional political office; Oldsen was elected to the *Kreistag* (district assembly) of Südtondern and reelected with larger shares of the vote in both 1929 and 1933.

One of the purposes of the European Nationalities Conference, founded in Geneva, was to give minority peoples on the continent an opportunity to make their situations known to a wider audience. At its initial meeting in 1925, attention was drawn by representatives of the Danish and Polish minorities in Germany to the absence of a North Frisian contingent, and a spirited international debate of "the Frisian question" developed. When the *Friesisch-schleswigscher Verein* then applied for admittance to the Conference, a crossroads for official establishment of a North Frisian identity had been reached: recognition by and admission to the Conference would be a first step toward achieving legal status for the cultivation of North Frisian language and culture within the German state. The moment was to pass, however, not only without an affirmation of North Frisian identity as characteristic of an independent ethnic population, but with a politically motivated repudiation of Frisian identity that has borne consequences down to the present day:

Die entscheidenden Weichen wurden von deutschen Grenzpolitikern gestellt. Ihnen, deren Ziel eine Verschiebung der Grenze nach Norden war, konnte es keineswegs recht sein, daß sich hier eine neue Minderheitenfrage anbahnte und langsam zuzuspitzen schien. Denn als Vorbedingung einer Grenzrevision galt ihnen eine möglichst festgefügte deutsche Front, die nun im Westen Schleswigs brüchig zu werden drohte.
(Steensen 1996a:327)

(The decisive measures were taken by German border politicians. With their goal being an adjustment of the border northward, they had no interest in seeing a new minority issue develop and come to a head, as it appeared it would here. For them, an important prerequisite to an adjustment of the border was that a maximally united German front be presented – one that, in western Schleswig, was now threatening to crumble.)

In particular, the head of the German minority in Slesvig (North Schleswig) persuaded Rudolf Muuß to reject minority status for North Frisians and draw up a statement detailing in no uncertain terms the position the *Nordfriesischer Verein* took on the issue. The resultant "Bohmstedter Richtlinien" (Bohmstedt Guidelines, so called after the town in which they were formulated) (Steensen 1986: 101-109) were unequivocal in expression:

1. Wir Nordfriesen sind deutsch gesinnt.
 2. Wir fühlen uns mit Schleswig-Holstein und der deutschen Kultur seit Jahrhunderten verbunden.
 3. Im Rahmen dieser Kultur wollen wir unsere Stammesart wahren.
 4. Wir wünschen, daß unsere Sprache im friesischen Sprachgebiet in Schule und Kirche gepflegt wird.
 5. Wir lehnen es ab, als nationale Minderheit betrachtet zu werden.
- (Steensen 1996a: 328)

1. We North Frisians are German-oriented in our thinking.
2. We feel ourselves bound to Schleswig-Holstein and German culture through the centuries.
3. In the framework of this culture, we want to preserve our own characteristics.
4. We wish our language to be cultivated in school and church within the Frisian linguistic area.
5. We reject being considered a national minority.

In a concerted effort to lend an aura of grassroots support for the *Richlinien*, a campaign was conducted by the *Nordfriesischer Verein* – and paid for by the provincial government in Kiel (Steensen 1996a:328) – that gathered over 13,000 signatures. Muuß' characterization of this campaign as "eine Großtat, wo einmal wieder ... das gesamte Friesland einig war" (a great deed in which once more ... all of Frisia was agreed) was countered by the perspective of the National Frisians as to "eine Aktion zur Opferung des freien, selbständigen Friesentums auf dem Altar großdeutsch-preußisch-schleswig-holsteinischer Politik" (an act sacrificing free, independent Frisendom on the altar of Greater German-Prussian-Schleswig-Holstein politics).

In 1927, the Conference split over fundamental issues raised by the "Frisian question", and on the basis of a perceived deficit of "kollektive kulturelle Lebensäußerungen" (collective expressions of cultural life) and the modest size of the membership of the *Friesischer-schleswigscher Verein*, the National Frisians' application for admission – despite the misgivings of the Conference president – was ultimately rejected. Also influenced by the expression of will in the *Bohmstedter Richlinien*, the "established minorities in Geneva showed little inclination to support the efforts of new minorities not yet organized, especially those of stateless ethnicities" (Steensen 1996a:328; transl.) - as, neither, were the German state nor any German or German-oriented groups at the Conference.

Meanwhile, the endangerment of North Frisian having become acute and increasingly apparent, a good deal of work was being done on its behalf. In 1925, a state edict provided that Frisian lessons again be offered in schools, some of which were served by itinerant teachers (Petersen 1979); L.C. Peters of Feer and Albrecht Johannsen of the *Båkingharde* were in charge of planning and coordinating the lessons. In 1928, the provincial government decreed an hour of weekly Frisian instruction in district grammar schools, but efforts were greatly hampered by a lack of pedagogical materials and qualified local teachers – conditions naturally worsened by the economic hardship of the period. However, it was also during this time that the monthly newspaper supplement *Fuar Söl'ring Lir* was inaugurated by Hermann Schmidt and Friedrich Runge (1.1.3.4.). Anthologies and collections of songs were published, as were lexicographic and literary productions. Popular

theater flourished, and what was perhaps the first church service in North Frisian was held in 1924. Work on the planned pan-North Frisian dictionary, interrupted during the War, was resumed in 1927. At least partially conceived as means to thwart the aims of the *Friesisch-schleswigscher Verein*, these multi-faceted activities directed by the *Nordfriesischer Verein* toward language cultivation received support from the official bureaucracy – whose long-range objective nonetheless remained the "Eindeutschung" (Germanification) of North Frisians (Steensen 1996a:329).

The interwar period was also marked by an intensification of inter-Frisian cooperation, as an energetic movement had developed among western Frisians during and immediately following the War – one that was international in orientation and came to embrace eastern and northern Frisians as well. The first Frisian Congress – a week-long event featuring a program of academic lectures and common cultural activities – took place in Jever in eastern Frisia, followed by a convention in Ljouwert/Leerwarden, the provincial capital of Fryslân in the west, in 1927, and one in Husum in northern Frisia in 1930. At the latter, a Frisian Council representing all three regions was founded; though short-lived, it would be reconstituted twenty-six years later. The new collaboration was viewed skeptically by officials in both Germany and the Netherlands as having possible political implications, but the potential for the foundation of a pan-Frisian state was infeasible for geographic reasons alone. During the middle of the previous century, when the notion of a cultural Frisia Magna had gained some currency, Frisians had found themselves spread across five political entities: the Netherlands, the Kingdom of Hanover (eastern Frisia), Great Britain (Dëät Lun/Heligoland), the Duchy of Slesvig as part of the Danish *helstat*, and the Kingdom of Denmark (Steensen 1996a:302). By the 1920's, the situation with regard to political allegiances had become considerably less complex, but the motivation for inter-Frisian contacts still lay in the mutual promotion of language and culture (Steensen 1996a:330) rather than in political agitation.

From 1933, the work of both Associations in North Frisia was marginalized by the excesses of National Socialism. Rudolf Muuß at first embraced the new regime enthusiastically but was eventually forced out of his position in the *Nordfriesischer Verein*, which was in any case soon obliged to conform ("gleichgeschaltet") to National Socialist ideology (1.1.4.3.). Johannes Oldsen, challenging the contradictions of Party propaganda, lost his medium of public address with the prohibition in 1937 of *Der Schleswiger*, the newspaper of which he was the editor (Steensen 1996a:363). Frisian instruction in schools, modest though it had been, was finally abandoned altogether (by 1935) as the regional associations were absorbed into the new nationalist program (Clemenz 1970:45). This, too, was the period during which Jens Mungard of Kairem on Söl, refusing to pay homage to the demagogues in power, was harassed and interred (1.1.3.4., 1.1.4.3.). Among ardent North Frisians, such heavy-handed tactics prepared the way for disaffection with German solutions to the problems of Frisian identity in the region – a disaffection that was to manifest itself clearly during the second postwar era.

1.2.2.3. After 1945

Once again, in the period immediately following World War II, the tensions between Denmark and Germany dwarfed concern for the issues involved in strengthening consciousness of an ethnic North Frisian identity. The positions of the two pre-War heads of their respective associations were no closer to each other: Muuß, still ardently pro-German and again leading the *Nordfriesischer Verein*,

in 1946 presided over a renewed proclamation of the *Bohmstedter Richlinien*, and Oldsen, now convinced that the only solution lay in North Frisia's incorporation into Denmark, channeled his efforts into a southerly adjustment to the border. Resuming his political duties as a representative in the *Kreistag* of Südtondern, Oldsen was elected *Landrar* (provincial councillor) in 1946, but was maneuvered out of office in a gerrymander engineered by Muuß (Steensen 1996a:397). Back at the helm of the *Friesisch-schleswigscher Verein*, now known as the *Foriining for nationale Fräsche* (and later as the *Foriining for nationale Friiske*), Oldsen witnessed the dramatic growth of the association as it attracted hundreds of new members looking toward a Danish-oriented perspective on the concerns of North Frisia and its people (1.1.4.3.).

Nonetheless, the ultimate fruitlessness of a resumption of strife between the two associations came increasingly to be recognized, and attempts were made to lay the foundation for a politically neutral organization that would address North Frisian affairs. Instrumental in the founding of the *Nordfriesenrat* (North Frisian Council) in 1946 were, among others, Albrecht Johannsen and L.C. Peters, who had left the *Nordfriesischer Verein* in the days of its *Gleichschaltung* and now adopted the perspectives of the National Frisians. In the following year, negotiations were mediated between Johannes Oldsen and the new head of the *Nordfriesischer Verein*, Harald Hansen of Kairem/Söl, but efforts to effect the basis for cooperation ultimately foundered as positions once more hardened. Persistence in the pursuit of paid off in 1948, however, in the founding of the *Verein Nordfriesisches Institut* (North Frisian Institute Association), an organization conceived to promote, non-partisanly and apolitically, work toward the achievement of North Frisian goals – a concept that would be furthered by the establishment of the *Nordfriisk Institut* (North Frisian Institute). The *Nordfriesischer Verein* was taken into the *Schleswig-Holsteinischer Heimatbund*, an organization committed to addressing German border concerns, in 1953. The *Foriining for nationale Friiske*, now working more closely than ever with the Danish minority, continued under the leadership of Johannes Oldsen until his death in 1958. With widespread anticipation of an imminent transfer of sovereignty to Denmark, Oldsen and others worked for the establishment of Danish schools in North Frisia (1.1.4.3.; see also Johannsen 1968/69), a step Oldsen had earlier opposed. Rather than reviving the *Liste Friesland* of the 1920's, the National Frisians were represented politically by the *Südschleswigscher Wählerverband* (SSW; South Schleswigan Voters' Association), founded in 1948. With gradual economic recovery and a return of social order in Germany, the National Frisians (like the organizations of the Danish minority) lost much of their appeal and considerable membership during the fifties and sixties. From 1958, Oldsen's successor Carsten Boysen, fluent in Westerland Frysk and one of the founders of the Frisian Council (Paulsen 1986), continued to stress Frisian ethnic autonomy. He had established close contacts in western Frisia before the War and looked to the *Fryske beweging* in the Netherlands, with its heritage of political activism, as a model for emulation.

Following the War, contacts with western Frisians were renewed, and the success of the first postwar Frisian Congress, held in 1952, was due in large measure to their mediation of differences between the two northern Frisian associations (see also Kellner 1997:134 regarding western Frisian mediation of orthographical debate on the northern mainland). The National Frisians had been invited to participate in the Congress only at the insistence of the western Frisians, who also stipulated that divisive political debate be avoided. Jelle Brouwer, professor at Groningen and later director of the *Fryske Akademy* in Ljouwert/Leeuwarden, putting the essential question to the two

factions – "Geht es nun um Dänemark oder Deutschland oder um Nordfriesland selbst?" (What's at stake here: Denmark or Germany – or North Frisia itself?) – stressed that all parties to the Congress were faced with common cultural issues, solutions to which must not be neglected for the sake of political confrontation. The second postwar Congress took place in Aurich (1955), eastern Frisia, where the Upstalsboom, gathering place of Frisians in the Middle Ages and a symbol of Frisian unity (1.1.2.), was the site for announcement of the Frisian Manifesto (Steensen 1996a:400); in part, it was declared in the Manifesto that:

[...] Wir sind zusammengelommen, weil wir fühlen, daß wir zusammengehören, und weil die Kraft dieses Gefühls nach Ausdruck verlangt; diese Kraft, die lebendig gelieben ist über alle Wechselfälle der Geschichte und über alle einmal entstandenen Grenzen hinweg.

Gemeinsam ist uns das Volkstum, gemeinsam der Kampf gegen die Naturgewalt der Nordsee, gemeinsam vor allem das Bewußtsein unserer Freiheit von den Niederlanden bis nach Dänemark.

...Die drei Frieslande bejahen alle Bestrebungen, die zu einem geeinten Europa führen. Wir gehören freilich mehr als einem Staate an, fühlen uns aber über alles Trennende hinweg als Angehörige eines Stammes, gewohnt und gewillt, unserer Eigenart die Treue zu halten. [...]

Wir bekennen uns zu unserer Muttersprache, sei sie friesisch oder plattdeutsch, die uns als wertvollstes Gut mitgegeben wurde und die wir pflegen wollen vor allem anderen. Elternhaus, Schule und Kirchen sollen uns dabei helfen, und alle staatlichen Stellen weisen wir darauf hin und bitten sie, Größe und Wert dieser Aufgabe zu erkennen. (Tholund 1995:2)

(... We have come together because we feel that we belong together, and because the power of this feeling demands expression; this power, which has remained alive through all the fluctuations of history and in spite of the borders that have arisen.

In common is our ethnicity, in common is our struggle against the natural element of the North Sea, in common above all is the consciousness of our liberty stretching from the Netherlands to Denmark.

... The three Frisias affirm all efforts that lead to a united Europe. Although we belong to more than a single state, we feel ourselves – despite everything that separates us – to be members of a single people, accustomed and willing to remain true to our own character.

We declare our allegiance to our native languages, whether Frisian or Low Saxon, as our most precious inheritance, one that we want to nurture above all else. Home, school, and church should help us in this, and we call upon the agency of the state to realize this and to recognize the enormity and significance of the endeavor.)

The following year, the Frisian Council was founded anew, laying the foundation for inter-Frisian cooperation that ever since has had its focus in triennial Congresses taking place alternately in each of the three Frisias. In September 1998, the Council was reconstituted as the Inter-Frisian Council with the following as its primary duties (Martinen 1998:14-15; transl.):

1. to maintain and support as well as represent Frisian language and culture, and to work together to these ends,
2. to further and strengthen the exchange of information and experiences among the Frisians,
3. to support and coordinate common projects and measures of western, eastern, and northern Frisians, and
4. to establish, maintain, and deepen connections to European agencies and bodies, to Frisians living abroad, and to other ethnic minorities in Europe.

Highest priority will be given by the reconstituted Council to the training, both initial and continuing, of Frisian-speaking teachers for the beginning grades in primary schools and for kindergartens (see 1.2.3.).

Cooperation between the two associations in North Frisia, which western Frisians were so instrumental in bringing about, created the basis for establishment of the *Nordfriisk Instituut* in 1964. Financed by a broad spectrum of sources, including the Province of Schleswig-Holstein, the District of Nordfriesland, and the *Südschleswigscher Verein* (Steensen 1996a:401), the institute now plays a central role in coordinating measures for the maintenance and revitalization of the autochthonous language of the North Frisia.

In 1947, a petition from Johannes Oldsen and L.C. Peters, approved by Albrecht Johannsen (1.2.2.2.) in his capacity as district *Schulrat* (school inspector), had been the impetus for a reintroduction of Frisian lessons in regional schools. On Söl, instruction in the fifth grade was offered on a voluntary basis for one or two hours a week by such dedicated pedagogues as Hermann Schmidt and Hugo Green (Clemenz 1970:51 ff). Despite the commitment and enthusiasm engendered in the classroom, however, there was a "general stagnation" in efforts on behalf of language maintenance and revitalization (1970:57).

1.2.3. Present and Future: Current Measures

As pointed out in Steensen (1994a), of primary importance in considering North Frisian language management and language planning is the fact that North Frisian is a language without a state of its own – a circumstance common to a wide majority of endangered languages throughout the world, certainly, but one that sets it markedly apart from the other two "minority" languages used in its border region, namely Danish in Germany and German in Denmark. Both Danish and German as minority cross-border languages are accorded intense levels of economic, social and political support by their respective mother country, and the statelessness of North Frisian means that, perhaps in part as a matter of reconciliatory principle, it always takes a back seat when the German government addresses minority-language needs.

After World War II, two agreements between Denmark and Germany were designed to set down the rights of the two inter-border linguistic minorities: the Kiel Declaration of 1949 and the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations in 1955. While the Frisian minority received passing mention in the first of these, it was virtually ignored in the second, and in effect was completely left out of the very sensitive issue of minorities along the Danish-German border.

Not until 1987 was official notice taken of the existence of the Frisian minority in Germany, in parliamentary debates of the province of Schleswig-Holstein (discussed below).

In the meantime, a number of private and public initiatives were conceived to support North Frisian language and culture. As discussed in 1.2.2.2., there are two major associations that engage in promotional efforts throughout the region. The older and larger of the two, the *Nordfriesischer Verein für Heimatkunde und Heimatliebe* (for short: North Frisian Association), continues the tradition of its forerunner founded in 1902, and today has some 4,200 members organized in fifteen local organizations; the one on Söl, the *Sölring Foriining*, has a membership of some 2,000. The range of the Association's efforts includes promotion of knowledge about North Frisia and its language, traditions, monuments, architecture and nature; its funds come from membership dues and a yearly subsidy from the province of Schleswig-Holstein of about 22,000 marks (1994). The second regional organization, the *Foriining for nationale Friiske* (Association for National Frisians), receives a small monthly subsidy from the cultural organization representing the Danish minority in Schleswig-Holstein. This Association has some 750 members and carries on a tradition, begun in 1923, in the interests of Frisians as members of an ethnic and cultural minority; its expressed goal is to work for the freedom and welfare of the North Frisian people, for the promotion of Frisian language and culture, for an enhanced understanding for the Frisian homeland with its unique characteristics, and for maintenance of relations to West and East Frisians (Tängeberg 1979; Steensen 1998). Besides publishing books in and about Frisian, the *Foriining* also runs adult education courses and workshops, supports the concept of a Frisian adult education college – conducting, since 1980, week-long sessions of the *Friisk harfst huuchschölj* (Frisian Fall College), at which only Frisian is spoken –and putting out the periodical *Üsen äne wä*.

In 1948, the *Verein Nordfriesisches Institut* (North Frisian Institute Association) was organized to serve as a scientifically impartial and politically neutral locus of efforts on behalf of North Frisian issues in general. Today, it has some 800 members, and since 1964 has operated the *Nordfriisk Instituut*, the central scientific institution for the preservation and promotion of and research into North Frisian language, culture, and history. The institute maintains a professional library and archives, sponsors workshops, lectures and seminars that are open to the public, and publishes works concerning all aspects of North Frisian life, including a calendar, a quarterly journal and an annual collection of academic papers. One ongoing project is the coordination of committees from the various dialect areas formed to work on the issue of lexical elaboration, the extension of each dialect's vocabulary to new domains of usage – a crucial step in enhancing the functionality of the dialects (4.2.4., Tholund 1993b).

In 1950, the *Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle* (North Frisian Dictionary Center) was founded at the University in Kiel, where it has been part of that university's Nordic Seminar. The Center maintains a large collection of data from the field, in the form of tape recordings, notes and manuscripts, that was originally planned to serve as the basis for the projected pan-North Frisian dictionary (1.2.2.; Walker/Wilts 1967). Recent work has focused on publication of dictionaries and other pedagogically-oriented works for the individual dialect areas.

A chair for Frisian Philology was established at the University in 1978 and is occupied by the director of the Dictionary Center. A chair for Frisian pedagogy was also inaugurated at the

Pädagogische Hochschule (Teacher Training College) in Flensburg in 1988. Both this chair and the one in Kiel came vacant during 1996, however, and the ensuing debate about replacements for the retiring professors resulted in major changes: the chair in Kiel will be enlarged in scope and, as a chair for North Sea Germanic, will include in its academic purview languages genetically related to North Frisian (1.4.1.) and their literatures; in mid-1998, however, the chair was still open. Despite widespread support throughout Schleswig-Holstein for its continuation, the professorship in Flensburg has been discontinued for at least the immediate future, but courses will still be taught by staff members of the Nordfriisk Instituut (*Nordfriesland* 117:2).

The *Frasche Redj/Friesenrat/Fryske rie* (Frisian Council) is an executive planning committee with representatives from all three Frisias. The Council grew out of inter-Frisian contacts and the development of the Frisian movement in the Netherlands during the early part of this century. As mentioned in the previous Section, the first Frisian congress was held in 1925, the first Frisian Council was founded at the congress in 1930, and at the congress in 1955, a Frisian Manifesto was issued calling for the promotion of Frisian language and culture and the unification of Europe. Congresses now take place every three years in western, eastern, and northern Frisia, offering a program of speeches, lectures, and cultural events that allow Frisians from across the borders to get to know each other and share ideas. The twenty-first Congress is scheduled to take place during the year 2000 in the eastern Frisian town of Jever.

While the concentrated efforts of western Frisians to gain recognition and official status for their language in the Netherlands have been crowned with considerable success – there, Frisian is now co-official with Dutch and, in the province of Fryslân, is used in virtually all spheres of public life - - political recognition of Frisian in Germany has been slow in coming, no doubt in part a function of the much smaller number of people concerned, but also a legacy of the cross-purposes at which regional and local organizations in North Frisia have worked in the past (1.2.2.3.). After the question of Frisian identity was virtually ignored in the early postwar Declarations (1.1.4.3.), the last decade has seen some tangible progress in terms of official recognition. In 1987, the situation of the language and culture of the Frisian "segment of the population" (Ger. *Bevölkerungsteil*) was debated at length in the Provincial Parliament in Schleswig-Holstein for the first time, a debate that is now renewed during each three-year legislative period and includes the Danish and German minorities on both sides of the border. The following year, a committee was formed comprising the President of the *Landtag* (Provincial Parliament) as chair, one member from each of the parliamentary parties in the federal government as well as the Provincial government in Kiel, the Commissioner for the Border Region and Minorities, one representative from the Department of Education, and four delegates from the Frisian Council; this committee meets at least twice a year to discuss all issues "concerning the Frisian ethnic group, and to preserve and support Frisian language, education and culture" (Der Landtag, Bericht zur Arbeit [...]).

In a new constitutional article, Article 5 on "National Minorities and Ethnic Groups", the Provincial government in 1990 took the important step of including Frisians along with the other minority within its borders (the Danes), thus addressing their status for the first time:

Nationale Minderheiten und Volksgruppen

(1) Das Bekenntnis zu einer nationalen Minderheit ist frei; es entbindet nicht von

- den allgemeinen staatsbürgerlichen Pflichten.
- (2) Die kulturelle Eigenständigkeit und die politische Mitwirkung nationaler Minderheiten und Volksgruppen stehen unter dem Schutz des Landes, der Gemeinden und Gemeindeverbände. Die nationale dänische Minderheit und friesische Volksgruppe haben Anspruch auf Schutz und Förderung.

(National Minorities and Ethnic Groups

- 1) Profession of membership to a national minority is voluntary; it does not release one from the general obligations of citizenship.
- 2) The cultural independence and political participation of national minorities and ethnic groups are guaranteed by the State, the Communities and Community Associations. The national Danish minority and the Frisian ethnic group are entitled to protection and promotion.)

The effect of the various Declarations and resolutions since World War II and the generous funding by provincial and national governments of cross-border cultural activities – that is, for the Germans of Nordslesvig and the Danes of Schleswig – has been complemented by the dedicated and energetic commitment of the *Grenzland- und Minderheitenbeauftragter* (border and minorities commissioners) Kurt Hamer and Kurt Schulz; relations among Danes and Germans in the region of North Frisia have improved dramatically in recent decades, and there has been talk of a *Modell Nordfriesland* in which minority relations are so harmonious as to form the basis for emulation in other regions of Europe (see also 1.1.4.3. and 7.).

Article 5 in the constitution of Schleswig-Holstein produced the hope that a similar commitment to the rights of minorities would find its way into the new German constitution, but in the debate on the Federal document during the summer of 1994, such a commitment was ultimately rejected.

The Federal government did, however, ultimately name North Frisian as one of the minority languages within its borders to merit support under the provisions of the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. With provisions for use of minority languages in a wide range of public spheres, including education, justice, bureaucracy, and the media, the Charter will potentially have far-reaching effects; in Germany, it was ratified in May 1998 and will become law on November 1. Meanwhile, there is North Frisian participation in other European-level organizations, such as the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages in Dublin as well as the Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEV), successor to the Nationalities Conference of the 1920's (1.2.2.2.), of which the Association for National Frisians was a founding member in 1949 and the North Frisian Association became a full member in 1973.

In primary education, lessons in the various dialects of North Frisian have once again been offered in schools, to adults, and in kindergartens since the 1980's (Tångeberg 1990:88). Positive as this sounds, the status of Frisian language classes in the schools, that of voluntary electives meeting an hour or two a week, means that they are on the same footing as extracurricular activities, and although some such instruction is offered in some thirty schools in the region, most of the classes are concentrated during the third to sixth grades (Martinen 1990, Flach 1996). Still, well over a thousand children take part in the instruction, and the trend toward participation is increasing. In

terms of adult education (Hahn 1990), a number of courses are given in evening classes throughout North Frisia during the winter months, and these are generally quite popular, attracting a couple of hundred learners (Flach 1996:11). During the 1997/1998 school year, Frisian was used in a total of nine kindergartens in North Frisia, five of them on Söl (*Nordfriesland* 121:3). Faced with compensating for the "missing link" phenomenon of a generation to whom the language was only seldom transmitted (1.2.1.), educational efforts in these situations have been enhanced by interaction with "Sprachpaten" (*Nfr.* 84), speakers of the grandparent generation whose native expertise represents an irreplaceable source of potential for new learners.

Currently, North Frisian representation in the mass media is very modest indeed. In addition to journals published by the various cultural associations, there are perhaps two dozen newspapers throughout the region that carry short articles in Frisian (and in Low Saxon) on a more or less regular basis, but at most once a month. After years of lobbying, North Frisian finally gained token access to the airwaves in 1989, where it can now be heard on radio for a few minutes a week; as yet, there has been no Frisian-language television programming whatsoever. (See also 1.2.1.)

During the winter on Söl, monthly meetings of the program *Wat snak üp Sölring*, a genial assembly of native islanders, bring together scores of experienced speakers and learners in a lively atmosphere of give and take. Theatrical plays are performed by the *Muasemböör Spölsters*, whose productions are enthusiastically received by audiences across Söl. The traditional holiday of *Pietersdai* on February 22 (1.1.2.) marks the end of the winter language courses and features the *Ofslätinj* festivities at which the fruits of each winter's language instruction find expression on the stage of the "Friesensaal" in Kairem.

1.3. Language Diversity

It has often been observed that the region in which the varieties of North Frisian are spoken is one of the richest linguistic areas in Europe: in an area of 2,041 sq.km. (785 sq.mi. – an area almost exactly the size of Orange County in southern California), no less than two national standards (Danish and German) and three vernaculars (North Frisian, Low Saxon, and Southern Jutish) in a plethora of dialects are used; North Frisian itself comprises at least nine identifiable dialects. In the present Section, an overview of the development of dialectal diversity within North Frisian will be presented, followed by a discussion of variation in Sölring, both geographic, and finally, social and stylistic. A basis for these characterizations is provided in Århammar (1975); this is supplemented by observations from the field and data given in Willkommen (1991). With necessarily some overlap of information, the relationship of Frisian to other languages will be treated in Section 1.4.1.

1.3.1. Geographic Variation

The foundations of dialectal diversity in North Frisian go back to the common Frisian homeland and the history of settlement on the southern Jutland peninsula (1.1.2.). Most significant about this North Frisian pre-history are the general linguistic affiliations within Frisian and the indications for when Frisians migrated eastward and northward, introducing their language into the area beyond the Eider river. Frisian is genetically a North Sea or "Ingveonic" (West) Germanic language, and the emigrations that resulted in the territorial extension of the language took place in two waves –

during the 8th and 9th centuries to the islands (and perhaps to parts of Eiderstedt) and during the 11th and 12th centuries, or some 300-400 years after the first wave, to the marshes of the mainland across from the islands. Scholarly insight into the rise of dialectal diversification in Frisian as a whole and in North Frisian in particular, however, is severely hampered by very scanty documentation antedating the nineteenth century.

The oldest Frisian texts are legal documents from the southern North Sea coast dating from the late 13th century (the language likely dating from the tenth century, Markey 1981:41); there are no extant records of older North Frisian – the oldest, aside from traces such as inscriptions on baptismal fonts and fragments of lyrics, being a translation of a catechism into local Frisian spoken on old Nordstrand and on eastern Feer dating from the early 17th century; the linguistic forms in both translations are largely the same as present forms (Hofmann 1956). This state of language documentation means that, of the West Germanic languages, Frisian has the latest and least varied body of texts on which philological analyses can be made – that "Old Frisian" is contemporary with e.g. Middle English, Middle Low Saxon, and Middle High German – and that, for North Frisian, in particular, there is very little written evidence that is useful in reconstructing earlier linguistic stages and observing historical change. Entailed, in both cases, is a necessarily higher degree of interpolation in reconstructing putative historical forms than in the case of languages with more extensive written documentation. The following characterizations are based on the discussions in Århammar (1975), Hofmann (1956), (1979a), and Jørgensen (1946).

The present-day situation in Frisian is that there are three broad geographical distinctions (1.1.2., Map ...). Westerlauwersk Frysk, or western Frisian, is spoken in the Netherlands between the Laurwers river and the IJsselmeer in the modern Dutch province of Fryslân, the remainder of the original Frisian homeland. Seeltersk, what remains of historical eastern Frisian, is used in three villages, Schâddel/Scharrel, Roomelse/Ramsloh, and Strukelje/Strûcklingen, located some twenty kilometers west of the city of Oldenburg and approximately equidistant from Groningen and Bremen, to which area Frisians are thought to have migrated in the 13th century. Varieties of northern Frisian, now spoken on the mainland from north of Husum up to the present Danish border as well as on several islands and tidal isles offshore, go by a wide range of names that reflect the two separate waves of immigration. Insular varieties are known by the names of their respective islands, while the mainland types designate themselves as Frisian; the following table gives the name of the language in the variety itself and then the place where it is spoken. For the islands, the local Frisian name is followed by the German name, while for the mainland varieties, the local name is followed by the district in which it is used (*harde* is the current form of an older Danish term for a military district; see also 1.1.3.1.) (Map 7):

<u>INSULAR NORTH FRISIAN</u>		<u>MAINLAND NORTH FRISIAN</u>	
Sölring	Söl/Sylt	Freesk	Wiedingharde
(Fering-	Feer/Föhr	Frasch	Bökingharde
(Öömrang	Oomram/Amrum	Fräisch	Karrharde
Halunder	ˆˆDgat Lun/Helgoland	Freesch	Nordergoesharde
		"	Mittelgoesharde
		Freesk	ˆˆHalligen

* commonly called "Mooring"

- "" tidal isles off the coast
- "" a British possession 1807-1890; English name "Heligoland"

As indicated by such remarks as "Ûp Föör snaki ja uk Sölring" (On Feer, they speak Sölring too) (and the reverse, in Fering, about Söl) and "Wü snaki Sölring – Friisk uur Ûp fastlön snaket" (We speak Sölring – Frisian is spoken on the mainland), there seems to be a general perception among speakers (at least on the islands) of the broad insular-mainland distinction. The fact that the insular dialects are referred to by their own speakers as derivations of the names of the respective islands, rather than as a type of Frisian, contributed to the conclusion among some researchers in the past that the island populations are not of Frisian background at all, but the practice of denoting an insular language after the name of the island itself seems not to be unusual (Siebs 1931:65).

Mutual comprehensibility among the three main divisions of Frisian is low, particularly since speakers from these non-contiguous areas have little opportunity to interact and have thus had little or no occasion to hear each other talk. Likewise, speakers of mainland varieties of North Frisian generally understand little of insular speech, and, with the exception of Fering and Öömrang, whose varieties are largely similar and are usually grouped together as Fering-Öömrang, speakers within the insular and mainland groupings have greater or lesser difficulties understanding other speakers from within their grouping – with Sölring being reputed to be the most difficult for others to understand (Århammar 1975:4). Here again, however, the perception of low mutual comprehensibility derives at least in part from speakers' lack of Frisian encounters with Frisian-speakers from outside their own dialect area, the result of a wide range of factors including, traditionally, use of a shared non-Frisian language as a medium of inter-communication (1.1.3.2.).

Hofmann posits the 8th century – the same century in which the first wave of emigrants were leaving the southern North Sea coast for Jutland – as the period during which Frisian in the ancient homeland started taking shape as a distinct dialect of North Sea Germanic. A number of sound changes are adduced to exemplify the development (1979a:15; for typographical convenience, macrons are here placed underneath ligatures and mutated vowels):

	'broad'	'red'	'counsel'
Germanic	*braida-	*rauda-	*rēda-
pre-OFris.	bræd < bred >	rād	rēd
pre-OSaxon			ræd
pre-OLFranconian	bræd-	rōd-	rād
pre-OEnglish	bræd	rēad	ræd

In what was becoming Frisian, breaking occurred before w and x (<h>):

Gmc.	*singwan	>	siunga	'sing'	Sölring	Frysk
	*stinkwan	>	stiunka	'stink'	sjung	sjonge
					stjunk	stjonke

*þikwia	>	*thiukk	'thick'	tjuk	tsjok
*rehta-	>	riucht	'right'	rocht	rjochts
*mehsa-	>	*miuchs	'muck'	mjuks	mjoks

i-mutation affected North Sea Germanic during the 9th century, but would not be found in continental West Germanic until later. The results were later unrounded in Frisian (Hofmann 1979a:16):

OSaxon	fōlian 'feel'	>	fōlian	>	MLS vōlen	(LS fōhlen)
	fullian 'fill'	>	fūllian	>	MLS vūllen	(LS fūllen)
pre-Ofris	*fōlian 'feel'	>	*fōla(-n)	>	Ofris fəla	(Sōlr. fōöl; Frysk fiele)
	*fullian 'fill'	>	*fūlla(-n)	>	Ofris fella	(Sōlr. fel; Frysk folje, folle)

As in English, k in Frisian was also affricated when followed by high front vowels:

Gk. κῦρ(α)κόν	>	WGmc *kirika	>	Ofris. tzerke, tziurke	OE cirice
Lat. cāseus	>	Gmc. *kasjus	>	Ofris. tzāse	OE cāse

This affricate has simplified to [s] in modern North Frisian and Seeltersk but remained in Frysk:

'church'				'cheese'
schörk < *sjörk		Frasch (Mooring)		säis
sark		Fering/Öömrang		sees
særk		Sölring		(aast < Dan.)
tsjerke		Frysk		tsäis
Säärk		Seeltersk		Sies

Emigration to the islands while such sound changes were still in progress and to the mainland after they were completed would account for some of the broad differences in the insular and mainland dialect groupings in North Frisian. Peter Jørgensen¹¹ considers that in the insular dialects, among other developments, stem vowels resulting from i-mutation of \bar{u} and \bar{o} were further fronted and then unrounded, while in mainland dialects, the products of i-mutation, both of \bar{u} and of \bar{o} , were fronted and unrounded as \bar{e} (1946: 110ff.):

pre-emigration

\bar{i}	\bar{u}	\bar{u}
\bar{e}	\bar{o}	\bar{o}

¹¹ It should be noted that Jørgensen, however, concludes on the basis of archeological and linguistic evidence that the mainland would have been settled from the latter half of the ninth century – well before the time frame generally accepted on the basis of more recent research. In the schematic representation presented here, the original long-y and long-ø are replaced respectively by \bar{u} and \bar{o} .

			æ				ā
<u>OInsularNFris.(1)</u>				<u>OMainldNFris.(1)</u>			
ī	ū	ū		ī		ū	
	ō	ō	(coalescence)	ē	ō	ō	
æ		ā		æ		ā	
<u>OInsularNFris.(2)</u>				<u>OMainldNFris.(2)</u>			
ī		ū		ī		ū	
ē		ō	(unrounding)	ē		ō	
æ		ā		æ		ā	

Before the fronting and unrounding of mutated *ō* in Old Insular North Frisian, *ē* had merged with *æ*, so there was no coincidence of forms when fronting and unrounding took place. As a result of these developments, old roots took on different vowels in the two groupings:

INSULAR

ī	*swīn 'swine', *brīd 'bride'	< -*brūdi
ē	*grēne 'green'	< -*grōnja
æ	*hær 'hair/here', *stæn 'stone', *læva 'believe'	

MAINLAND

ī	swīn 'swine'	<u>Germanic</u> /brūdi
ē	*hær 'hair/here', *brēd 'bride', *grēne 'green'	< -*grōnja
æ	stæn 'stone', *læva 'believe'	

Reflexes in modern North Frisian reflect the different developments:

	'broad'	'counsel'	'bleed'	'bride'	'time'
pre-OFris.	*bræd	*ræd	*blōda	*brūd	*tīd
Fer/Ööm.	briad	riad	bled	bridj	tidj
Sölring	breer	reer	bleet	brŕ	tir
Mooring	briidj	rädj	blädje	brädj	tid

In these examples, the five distinct vowels in pre-Old Frisian are reduced to three in both Fering-Öömrang and Mooring – with different correspondences – and two in Sölring.

Hofmann (1956, 1979a) makes a three-way categorization of the factors involved in the crystallization of further dialectal characteristics within North Frisian:

- 1 retention of early (a) similarities and (b) differences

- 2 common developments
- 3 innovations

1a Two of the old similarities that have been retained in both insular and mainland dialects are the lexeme for 'springtime' from pre-OFris. *wars (Sölr. uurs, Fer/Ööm. wos; Moor. uurs) and the presence of suppletive enclitic forms for (non-neuter) third-person pronouns: Sölr., Fer./Ööm., Moor. (he, she, they) hi/'r, jü/'s, and ja/'s.

1b Long-standing differences between insular and mainland dialects are found lexically, where the former has Sölr. blö, Fer/Ööm. ble, Halun. bli and the latter Moor. ween, Hailigen weeden 'blue'; insular weel and wel vs. mainland fül, fülj 'wheel'; forms for 'water' going back to *weter as opposed to *water, and for *habba as opposed to *hebba 'have' (Sölr. weeter and haa, Moor. wääder, heewe).

2 Common to both insular and mainland dialects was the fronting of [u:] to [ü:], often followed by a shortening to [ü], resulting in the development e.g. hūs > *hūs > hüs (the form in Sölr., Fer/Ööm., Moor.), and the related lowering of older (short) i to ē or further to ā in e.g. *fisk > Sölr. (and Wiedingh.) fesk, Fer/Ööm. fask.

(Some time later, ī shortened to (short) i (īs > Sölr. is 'ice, ice cream'), and ō developed a wide range of reflexes in the individual dialects (Hofmann 1979a:22):

pre-OFris.	*dōk	*mōna	*hōnd
Sölring	dok	muun	hun
Fer/Ööm.	duk	muun	hun
Wiedingh.	dook	moone	hoinj
Mooring	dök	moune	hönj

3 Innovations in the two dialect groupings include a selection from among the three plural endings on nouns that were available, from the witness of Old Frisian, in the language before its earliest documentation. These were -a, -ar, and -an in pre-OFris.; preponderant on the islands are -er and -en (< -ar, -an), on the mainland -e (< -a).

One of the sound changes arising after both immigrations took place was that with respect to ō, which on Söl was preserved or shortened (and sometimes fronted to [ō]) but on the other islands was raised to ū. On the mainland, however, it was diphthongized to [ou]/[ōu] in the more northern central districts, and in the southerly districts became [ō:]. The retention of ō in the Wiedingharde, which, as the most northerly mainland district lies directly across from Söl, is one of numerous correspondences between the dialects of these two places.

One of the most striking differences among the dialects of North Frisian is found in their designations for father, table, and various other lexical items. In the following lists, Frysk and Seeltersk correspondences are included for comparison (supplemented from Walker 1990):

'table' 'father'

Sölring Fer/Ööm. Halunder	staal boesel taffel	faađer aatj foor
Bök'harde (Moor.) North Goesharde Middle Goesharde Halligen	scheew scheew " taafel	täte fääje aten/aat/ate baabe
Seeltersk Frysk	Disk tafel	Baabe, Foar heit

In the list below, compiled from Jørgensen (1993) and supplemented for comparison with Seeltersk data kindly supplied by Oebele Vries in the orthography of Pyt Kramer (1.5.), Öömrang forms differing from Fering ones appear behind a diagonal stroke (/) in the third column; commas separate different words or word forms used within one dialect:

	<u>Sölring</u>	<u>Fer/Ööm.</u>	<u>Mooring</u>	<u>Frysk</u>	<u>Seeltersk</u>
at home	itüüs	aran	ine	thús	touhuus
baby	düntji	biaren, faantje	swiirpbjam, pääpbjam	tatebern	Söögling, Titbaiden
ceiling	aurskot	böön	looft	souder	Blaffondäkke
christening	goom	krasnin	sulme	dopen	Bäidensdöppe
extinguish	ütmaaki	deeske/ dääske	sleeke	dwäste	läskje
feed fodder	rök	fulre/ fudre	joose	dierheine	fodderje
bunch, group	sköör, ker	skööl	floose	kloft	Plouch, Plouge
floor	böört	grünj, beerd	teele	flier	Floor, Feutbeen
frog	por	hopelfaask /hobelfask	foosch	froask, kikkert	Poage
harvest (n)	bäricht	fung	beerid	rispinge	Aaden
hiccup	jisk	nok	nuke	swolch, slok	Snukkop
kiss (vb)	taatji	kleebe	mäke, make	tütsje	oapje/aapje, piepje, küsje
slow	lungsem	eewen, suutjis	sani, lungsoom	stadich	loangsoam, dudderch

very	mal, sa, bandig	bōōs, ūnwis	fāli, bāisti	tige	gjucht, aisk(e), bedrōiwed, lāip
widow	inkiwūf	wedwūf	waas	widdou	Widewiu

Hofmann (1979a:24 ff.) asserts that insular North Frisians and North Frisians living on the mainland interacted via their native forms of speech well into the Middle Ages despite the separation in their language by 300–400 years temporally and, topographically, by marshes and the water of the North Sea. (Before the devastating flood tide of 1362, the islands were much less widely separated from the marshland; 1.1.1.) The particularization of local varieties of North Frisian – the intensification of dialectalizing tendencies – was then decisively furthered by the non-development of the language into a written medium in combination with developments beginning in the 14th century. Up until the widespread adoption of Middle Low Saxon as a written medium, speakers' native Frisian had fulfilled all necessary social functions, but from that point began losing these functions as Middle Low Saxon came to supplant Latin in documents, and then gradually enlarge its functional scope; the loss of functions restricted North Frisian to diminishing radii of interaction. In this situation, altered topographic and geographic factors along with economic and political considerations had an even more restrictive effect, until North Frisian was spoken only within the native district and a common second language was used for communication with non-Frisians and with Frisians from districts other than one's own. With the Reformation, Low Saxon lost its function in writing (and in the church) to High German; with German soon becoming the language of administration and education, Saxon itself devolved to vernacular status, much as it had been instrumental in functionally displacing North Frisian.

For all the diversity in Frisian and particularly in North Frisian, little dialect variation is found in modern Sölring itself. Besides a handful of lexical distinctions, there are only four consistent features in pronunciation distinguishing speakers' geographic background, all occurring in a west-east opposition. The first of these concerns the vowel in words like *skair* 'spoon' and *gair* 'goes'. In the western part of the island (i.e., in *Weestring*), the pronunciation is a monophthong phonologically lowered before r: [sk_eɹ] (2.4.9.); in the east (in *Uastring*), particularly in Muasem, r is lost and the vowel is a diphthong: [skai], which, given the spelling, likely reflects a vowel quality found generally on the island around the time Sölring was committed to writing (1.1.3.5.).

A second areal difference is the realization of r before s in words like the name of the village *Munkmārsk*, *gārs* 'grass', and *ōnerārsken* 'underearthlings'¹². Whereas *Weesterlōning* generally have [ɛ] with r = [x], other Sölring have [e:] with elision of r (Århammar 1975:5).

Another dialectal feature in pronunciation occurs at the beginning of words like *iarten* 'peas' and *iartapels* 'potatoes', where westerners tend to have [ɛxt_epls] and easterners [j_ext_epls] for the latter.

In the east, finally, short front vowels in words like *tir* 'time', *lir* 'people', *fif* 'five'; *en* 'a'; and', and the impersonal pronoun *em* 'one' are rounded to [ʏ] and [œ], respectively, whereas non-eastern pronunciation is typically unrounded ([i] and [ɛ] or [ɨ]) (see also 2.4.11.).

¹² In traditional sagas, the *ōnerārsken* are mischievous (and sometimes malicious) gnome-like beings that live underground across Söl.

1.3.2. Other Variation

Socially and stylistically, as well, present-day Sölring exhibits little variation in usage. The social homogeneity perhaps traces back at least in part to traditional ideals of equality as a corollary of liberty (1.1.3.1., 1.1.3.2.). The most readily apparent reflection of this ideal, in the context of neighboring European standard languages, is the virtual non-use of a deferential second-person pronoun: pronominal distinction of social position is now common in none of the dialects of North Frisian. Doubtlessly under the influence of neighboring national standards, there was at one time a fashion on Söl of using the 2PL pronoun for distanced address, and traces of this are preserved in literature, such as in the *staarji* by Willy Siemens in which a pastor (who, in addition to being learned, was traditionally not from the island) is answered, "I mai mi liiv of uk ek, ..." ('You may believe me or not, ...'). As current speakers of Sölring relate, I as a term of address is now used in principle only toward very old people – who invariably resist the imputation of advanced age (see also 1.1.3.2.1.):

Nee, det es jaa sa, I det es- det es fuar- dit sair em dach dit weest dū dach dit sair em dach bluat tō ialer liren. Weest dū? En di ialer liren, ja wel dit jaa ek hiir, ...diar ja wel jit ek ual wiis.

No, it's like this: "I" is- it's for- you only say that, don't you know, you say that only to older people. You know? And the older folks, they don't want to hear it, ...they don't yet want to be [thought of as] old.

Stylistic variation extends for the most part to the issue of conservatism vs. innovation – in effect, whether and to what extent users prefer traditional features of Sölring to newer ones. Although some users will consciously employ such structures as dual pronouns (NOM 1-3 *wat*, *at*, *jat*; OBJ 1-3 *unk*, *junk*, *jam*=identical with 3PL), pronominal adjectives (*weder* 'which of two', *eder* 'each of two') and older vocabulary items (which often turn out to be specifically North Sea Germanic in character or of Nordic origin) such as *aiski* 'ask', *gesi* 'guess', *kwek* 'quick = living', *pöti* 'put', and *skeepi* 'change residence', many (and probably most) speakers include a relatively higher proportion of more recently adopted patterns, including non-use of the dual and vocabulary more transparently influenced by German, such as (corresponding to the above items) *fraagi*, *önnem*, *leewentig*, *stel*, and *ömüü* (cf. Lasswell 1998). Even those who might use the dual in writing are observed generally not to in speech, and in some cases preference is given to patterns thought to be "less German" and therefore more traditional when this is, from a historical perspective, a misapprehension – such being the case, for instance, with the coordination of clauses of purpose vs. the use of *tō* + infinitive (INF2, cf. 3.3.1.1.1.1.): the former is an areal feature (Århammar 1984a; see 5.3.), the latter a syntactic pattern found in the earliest Old Frisian texts.¹³ Poetic uses of language, particularly in the verse of Jens Mungard (1.1.3.4.), seem often to entail a high incidence of traditional vocabulary.

¹³ As pointed out in footnote (1.3.1), "Old" Frisian is contemporary with the "middle" stages of related languages, so there is an imponderably high degree of influence from Middle Low Saxon already present in OFris. See also 1.4.1.

On the subject of dialectal diversity and variation, one final point relevant to Sölring and the rest of North Frisian is the notion of "dialect" and the issue of dialect status. Several times in the past, particularly during periods of particular tension along the border between Slesvig/Schleswig and Denmark (1.1.4.), various assertions have been made to the effect that North Frisian is a dialect of German or, by contrast, more similar to Danish than to German.¹⁴ Invariably, the ultimate motivations for such claims were political: under prevailing conditions (and especially in anticipation of the border plebiscites of 1920), partisan interests sought to link the inclusion of North Frisia in the larger political entity to North Frisians' "natural" linguistic and, by extension, ethnic affiliation. Today, though the location of the border is settled and no longer an issue, there is still a common prejudice that the individual North Frisian languages are somehow "German dialects." This perception, widespread among visitors to the region as well as to casual observers – but even encountered among speakers of North Frisian themselves – appears to be based on two main factors: first, the relatively high degree of structural affinity between North Frisian and German – high relative e.g. to Scandinavian languages, which is why even Danish-oriented border campaign rhetoric usually stopped short of imputing a dialectal relationship between North Frisian and Scandinavian languages. At least part of the present stylistic, social, and even geographic uniformity in Sölring has to do with the fact that the language simply is not used as widely or in as many different contexts as in the past, its speakers having been a minority in their own homeland now for at least several generations (1.2.1.).

The second factor for the perception of North Frisian vis-à-vis German is non-structural. Linguistically, of course, the varieties of North Frisian stand in a dialectal relationship to each other, just as northern Frisian itself stands in a rather looser or chronologically "deeper" dialectal relationship to eastern (Seeltersk) and western (Frysk) Frisian. But designation of North Frisian as a dialect of German, linguistically inaccurate as it is, has a certain everyday motivation in the sense that, as a vernacular language rarely used in the public sphere as a whole, it lacks many of the functions that a fully vitalized language can usually fulfill – and with the relentless advance in North Frisia of the culture and values carried by speakers of High German, increasing convergence structurally and a self-perpetuating lack of functionality seem to be impelling North Frisian into ever greater functional subordination to German (Lasswell 1997). Herein lies the challenge of current and future efforts by language promoters working on behalf of North Frisian: to provide for a reversal of this structural convergence toward German and for the potential to be used in as many spheres of life as possible. Many complex factors, very few of them under Frisian control, will bear on the extent to which these goals can be attained, but their attainment is crucial in determining the extent to which North Frisian will be able to resist, as it were, forces of dialectalization with respect to the national standard and survive as a language in its own right.

1.4. Language Relations

After the foregoing discussion of diversity within North Frisian, the current Section will address the relationship of North Frisian to other languages, both to those closely related genetically and to those with which it has come into contact over the centuries – these being, at the same time, more or less closely related to North Frisian.

¹⁴ See for instance, the claims and counterclaims in Mungard/Hoeg (1989:345 ff.) and the newspaper exchange documented in Steensen (1986/I: 140 ff.) and (1986/II: 57ff.).

1.4.1. Genetic Relations

Research opinion on the proper genetic groupings of the Germanic languages, dating from the 1820's, has been marked by widely differing and often spirited debate; a concise overview is given in Nielsen (1989: 67ff.). Using the groupings that are currently most widely accepted among scholars, Frisian can be characterized as most closely related to English, Low Saxon, and Dutch (along with Flemish and Afrikaans) in what has traditionally been termed the Ingveonic subgrouping within West Germanic. Comparatively recently, it has been suggested (Schwarz 1951, Laur 1984) that the term "Ingveonic" – derived from Tacitus' appellation of Germanic tribes that worshipped the deity Ing, and thus a preeminently religious label – is unsuitable as a designation for a language family, and those researchers who concur tend to use "North Sea Germanic" instead.

Significant in the debate about the language groupings has been the phenomenon of the Germanic emigration to Britain from around 450 AD and the issue as to what can properly be considered in adducing genetic relations among languages, with some scholars taking into consideration references in classical literature (such as Tacitus) as well as archeological findings in addition to linguistic clues while others exclude extra-linguistic evidence from their analyses.

In addition to references to Frisians in Tacitus and Dio Cassius (1.1.2.), the Byzantine historian Prokopios of Constantinople, writing just two centuries after the earliest Germanic emigration from the continent, names Angles, Frisians, and Britons as the inhabitants of Britain, which conflicts with Bede's later characterization of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes as the incoming tribes. Bremmer (1981), a study of toponyms in England referring specifically to Frisians, characterizes Prokopios' identification, "the only historical indication that there were Frisians in Britain after the Germanic migrations" (49), as "questionable" (51); the existence of the twenty-four place-names scattered across England (with a concentration in Kent and around York) he attributes to contacts established by commercial seafaring (112) that postdate the migrations. Loyn (1962:27), cited in Nielsen (1989:58), however, takes the similarity between institutions and agrarian systems in East Anglia and Kent to those in Frisia – also remarked upon in Möller (1897) (1.1.2.) – as indicative of Frisian activity in the settlement of Britain, and the discovery of styles of pottery in the southeast of England, in particular, that are reminiscent of styles popular among Frisians can be taken as another piece of circumstantial evidence for the same historical phenomenon (Nielsen 1989: 58-59). Whether or not – and if so, to what extent – Frisians took part in the Germanic settlement of Britain, their language shows a striking number of correspondences with English in terms of both sound change, morphology, and lexicon. The uncertainty surrounding the extent of Frisian participation in the Anglo-Saxon-Jutish incursions has given rise to debate about whether the correspondences antedate or postdate the emigration – whether there was a close linguistic as well as ethnic connection among the tribes on the continent, and to what extent contacts might have been established and intensified thereafter (see also Seeböck 1995 regarding related issues). For many scholars, it seems improbable – especially given Frisian prowess in sailing and trading (1.1.2.) – that ersrwhile relations would have been broken off, so that the linguistic correspondences between English and Frisian most likely derive from both before and after the conquest of Britain.

Nielsen's own investigation of putative genetic links between English and other Germanic languages established that:¹⁵

¹⁵ Terminologically, it is unclear whether Nielsen here is using *Old Frisian* as contemporary with

While the number of correspondences common to Old Frisian, Old Saxon and Old English was very large (twenty-six in all), there were very few restricted to Old English and Old Saxon. However, Old English exhibited more parallels with Old Frisian than with any other Germanic language on the Continent. Although some of the forty items I found were bound to postdate the Anglo-Saxon departure from the Continent, a majority of the parallels were possibly of pre-emigration origin. But my investigation brought about an unforeseen result, namely that Old Frisian was virtually always in agreement with Old English whenever Old English had features in common with a third, fourth or fifth member of the Germanic family, a clear indication that Old Frisian was more closely connected with Old English than with any other continental language. (1989:148)

And from Nielsen's original study, the findings of which were first published in 1980:

In other words, OFris. is the continental language by far most closely connected with OE, and the bulk of exclusive and non-exclusive parallels undoubtedly stem from a period prior to the evolution of OE and OFris. as independent languages. (1985:257)

Indeed, structural parallels between Frisian and English were noticed early on in the history of comparative linguistics, and were originally considered so compelling that the existence of an Anglo-Frisian proto-language was posited as far back as the latter half of the 19th century. The foremost proponent of such a proto-language was Theodor Siebs. In the preface to his 1889 book *Zur Geschichte der englisch-friesischen Sprache*, Siebs expressly refers to Henry Sweet's characterization of "Anglo-Frisian", but earlier scholars like Ferdinand Wachter (1850), Knut Jungbohn Clement of Oomram (1845), Kaspar Zeuss (1837) and J.H. Halbertsma (1836), and, during the 17th century, Francis Junius and Janus Vlietius, had remarked upon the similarities between Frisian and English (Nielsen 1985: 40-47). Siebs' views were embraced by Otto Bremer, who, like Siebs, conducted extensive fieldwork in the Frisias during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Jespersen (1938) and Craigie (1948) both subscribed to much the same view.

The findings of more recent research have broadened the picture of Frisian-English genetic relations to the current Ingvæonic or North Sea Germanic grouping, in which, according to Markey (1981:17), Dutch (deriving from Old Low Franconian) is seen as "partially Ingvæonic", and its inclusion in the grouping "pivotal." With the non-Frisian members undergoing considerable outside influence over the centuries – the steady "Frankicization" of Dutch and Low Saxon, the massive adoption of neo-classical and Romance features by English – Frisian has historically remained the "most persistently Ingvæonic" (Markey (1976), cited in Nielsen 1989:99) of the group; during the last 200-300 years, of course, all types of Frisian have been undergoing changes under the considerable pressure of the respective national standard languages, in particular,

Old Saxon and Old English – if so, given the relative lateness of documented "Old Frisian" (1.3.1.), the term should be understood as denoting what other scholars would refer to as "pre-Old Frisian".

resulting in a type of de-Ingveonization of their own (Tiersma 1986; Lasswell 1995, 1998; see also 4.1.2. and 6.2.).

Campbell (1947) considers six features criterial for inclusion in the group of North Sea Germanic languages:

- fronting of WGmc a "except before nasals where rounding takes place"
- WGmc au > ā
- palatalization of k and g before front vowels
- loss of nasals before fricatives
- non-participation in the High German Sound Shift
- uniform verbal plurals

and thus excludes Old Low Franconian (Dutch) from the grouping.

Addressing the issue of chronology, Markey takes two of these features, uniform plural endings on verbs and the loss of nasals before fricatives, along with the loss of -r in monosyllabic pronouns (OFris. *mi*, *thi*, *wi*, *i/3i*; Sölr. *mī* 'me', *dī* 'thou', *wū* 'we', *I* 'ye') as evidence for the existence of a North Sea Germanic speech community before the mid-fifth century. Other common features are seen as indications of "continued and intimate cultural and linguistic contact" (Markey 1981:39), of which the Anglo-Saxon mission to the Continent (1.1.2.) would have been an important instance.

As noted by Markey (1981:39), Frisian is the only language to attest correspondences to certain words in English; given here are present-day Sölring lexemes along with modern English and the older stages of both English and Frisian, where attested:

<u>Old Frisian</u>	<u>Mod. Sölring</u>	<u>Mod. Engl.</u>	<u>Old English</u>
brein	brain	brain	brægen
kēi, kāi	kai	key	cæg, cæge
lēf ('weak')	left	left	left, lyft
(skawia)	luki	look	lōcian
(mouwe)	sliiv	sleeve	shīf, slēf

In a newspaper article entitled "Wozu es gut ist, wenn ein Sylter Kind seine friesische Mundart spricht", originally printed in 1910 and reprinted in Schrahé 1996, Boy Peter Möller listed a hundred Sölring-English "doublets", lexical correspondences of long standing that suggest the common genesis of the two languages. Citing the perspective of the linguist August Schleicher as to the importance of vernaculars in acquiring standard languages (see 1.2.1.), Möller took these correspondences as one indication of how useful a knowledge of Sölring would be in the learning of English. Correspondences below not included in Möller (1910) are parenthesized:

<u>MOD. SÖLRING</u>	<u>MOD. ENGLISH</u>	<u>MOD. SÖLRING</u>	<u>MOD. ENGLISH</u>
bliid	bliithe	nuat	neat (n)
(blink)	blink)	potsjaard	potsherd
blöös	blaze	ram	ram
(bobel)	bubble)	ring	ring (vb)
(dük)	duck, vb)	röt	root
eđer	either	(siit)	seed)
(fläg)	flag)	sjak	cheek
flail	flail	skeft	shift (vb)
fluai	flay (vb)	(skel)	shall)
foom	foam	(skel)	shell)
fual	fold	(sken)	skin)
gap	gap	skoov	sheaf
gesi	guess	skop	scoop
gnau	gnaw (vb)	(slip)	slip, vb)
(griini)	grin, vb)	(slober)	slobber; slop)
grinj	grind	(smook)	smoke)
häre	harrow	(snot)	snot)
it	at	soom	seam
jit	yet	(sööp)	sip)
(jumpi)	jump)	spot	spot
klai	clay	steev	stave
klau	claw (vb)	(stööp)	stoop)
klüt	clout	swet	sweet
knif	knife	tial	tale
kraawi	crave (vb)	tüer	tether
krep	creep (vb)	tinj	tine
kroch	crock	tip	tip
hol	hole	trer	thread
höös	hose	tuar	tear (n)
hop	hoop	wai	whey
hors	horse (Muasem)	wedjer	wether
huas	hoarse	wedjer	whether
leeng	long (vb)	weeft	waft (vb)
leenk	link	weel	wheel
luar	lead (n)	wees	weasand
lük	lock (n)	wiit	wet
mjuks	muck	wrest	wrist
naar	narrow	wröti	root (vb)

In addition to these genetically common lexemes, loanwords like *bialt/belt*, *desk/dish*, *moster/mustard* are of Latin origin and represent early borrowings on the Continent; others, like *sjürt/shirt*, *smiili/smile*, and *tip/tip*, are also found in Old Norse or modern Scandinavian

languages. See also 4.1.1.

1.4.2. Contact Relations

The languages with which North Frisian has come into extensive contact are all related to it: the North Sea Germanic languages Low Saxon and Dutch; continental West Germanic High German; North Germanic Danish and western S ϕ nderjysk (Southern Jutish). Not to be overlooked, however, are connections with even more closely related languages: (Old) English in the post-emigration era, and, quite possibly, Frisian in the traditional homeland on the southern coast of the North Sea. The topic of North Frisian lexical enrichment via contact is also addressed in Chapter 4, where selections of borrowings from each of the major donor languages are given.

Hofmann (1956: 89ff.), acknowledging the difficulty of proving the maintenance of contact with Frisians in the homeland, points out that economic and cultural ties as well as a putative flow of population in both directions make the phenomenon a possibility – one that is lent added weight by the occurrence of parallel innovations subsequent to the original periods of settlement of northern Frisia. Among these are the development of initial β to t in most dialects (but possibly a result of Danish influence; in Dutch and Low Saxon, $\beta > d$); the replacement of the plural ending on verbs, $-\alpha\beta$, by $-e$ (again with a possibility of Danish influence in North Frisia as well as from Low Saxon); and the development of the form of the second person plural pronoun (both nominative and object case) with $-m$: OWFr. *iemma*, *iemman*, *iemna* (Frysk *jimme*) - *jem*, *jum* in eastern Frisia around 1690 - *jam* in Fering/Öömrang and in some mainland dialects - *jem* on most of the northern mainland. (In Sölring and Seeltersk, old vocalic forms are found with case distinction, *i/juu* and *jie/jou* respectively; Sölr. *jam* 'them', plural and dual).

With contact influence from Danish (4.1.2.1.) – subsuming here pre-Danish Scandinavian or Old Norse, Rigsdansk/Standard Danish, and S ϕ nderjysk – the linguistic evidence is less ambiguous. Nils Århammar, himself Swedish, introduces the topic with an evaluation of its scope:

Primarily responsible for the difference between North Frisian and the other continental Germanic languages is the strong Danish element in it. A comparable degree of Norse influence was exerted on English during the Viking-Age settlements of Danes and Norwegians in England. Unlike English, however, North Frisian has continued to take on Danish loans up to the present – especially the northern mainland dialects and Sölring. (1975:13; transl.)

Early Norse settlement on Söl is evidenced by various onomastic traces (1.1.2.), including many of the names of topographic features (Århammar 1975:13). Throughout much of the Middle Ages, Danish was a medium of administration and authority in much of North Frisia (1.1.2., 1.1.4.1.); until being supplanted by Middle Low Saxon, it likely was used for a range of cultural and commercial functions as well, and undoubtedly retained at least some currency even after that (1.1.4.2.). Some of the whaling and commercial voyages undertaken by island Frisians were aboard Danish ships from Copenhagen and other ports (1.1.3.2.1.), and, in the absence of the male islanders, much of the agricultural work was done by Danish and Jutish (im)migrants from the mainland – in 1827, for instance, 127 of the total 616 homeowners on Söl were of Danish/Jutish background (Wedemeyer 1982:26). Educational and professional opportunities in Denmark, too,

would have been a particular impulse for bilingualism. Up until the 1920's, the most direct connection between Söl and the mainland was via the port of Højjer/Hoyer (1.1.3.3.) – one more circumstance that served to further Danish-Sölring contact.

Linguistically striking is the presence in all the dialects of North Frisian except present-day Halunder (in which Low Saxon influence has been particularly heavy) of a Nordic-influenced clause negator, the clearest of these in derivation – cp. mod. Danish *ikke* – is Sölring *ek* 'not' (Hofmann 1956: 95ff.). Gradual stages in stop lenition in Danish ($p,t,k > b,d,g > \beta, \delta, \gamma$) during the 12th and 13th centuries carried on into North Frisian dialects to various degrees – but not at all into Sölring or Halunder, geographically one of the closest to and the most distant from Denmark itself. Århammar (1975:13) puts the total of Danish loanwords surviving in Sölring at about three hundred.

The Norwegian Ernst Selmer, who took part in editorial work on Boy Peter Möller's *Söl'ring Uurterbok* at the university in Hamburg before its publication (1.1.3.4., 1.5.) and was among the first to realize the extent of Scandinavian influence on Sölring, ascribes influence from western Sønderjysk to the recurrent presence of Jutish migrant workers (1.1.3.2.2.), some of whom married and settled down on Söl. Because the historical documentation of Sønderjysk is even scantier than that of North Frisian, however, little clear evidence of the effects of language contact can be adduced.

Low Saxon influence on North Frisian has derived from a number of circumstances over the centuries: extensive territorial contiguity (1.1.4.), widespread bilingualism, and the pre-eminent cultural and commercial position of Middle Low Saxon – including its use as a written standard – once it replaced Danish in these functions.¹⁶

Territorial encroachment by Low Saxon followed almost ineluctably from its contiguity, as tracts of land on which Frisian had formerly been spoken – effectively depopulated by devastating storm tides, such as the island of Old Nordstrand following the Mandränke of 1634 (1.1.1.) – were resettled by speakers of Low Saxon. Nothing of the Frisian spoken on the peninsula of Eiderstedt, originally the most southerly of Frisian-language districts on the eastern North Sea coast, has been preserved, however, with the result that a crucial link in the contact history of the region is missing. Hofmann (1956:104) points out that, because Low Saxon is so closely related to Frisian genetically, traces of early linguistic influence are, without evidence from Eiderstedt, extremely difficult to discern. One relatively early development in North Frisian effected by influence from Low Saxon was that of $sk > [ʃ]$ (Hofmann 1956:104–105). Beginning in the south, it affected all but the eastern part of the mainland area up to the most southerly village of the Wiedingharde, and on the islands only initial **skj-* in Sölring, where it accounts for the difference in syllabic onsets in words like *sjip* 'sheep', *sjit* 'shoot' and *skep* 'ship', *skoch* 'shoe'.

¹⁶ As pointed out earlier, Low Saxon has itself been increasingly de-Ingveonized (Peters 1995, Stiles 1995:202, Nielsen 1989:103 fn. 5; Århammar 1989; Sanders 1982) and functionally subordinated to High German, thus coming to be perceived by many as a dialect of the latter. See also 1.3.1.

In its role as a lingua franca in dealings on the mainland (such as at the important cattle market in Husum) and in a wide range of other public spheres, Low Saxon lent its language structures quite readily for adoption or adaptation into Sölring and the other North Frisian dialects. For further discussion of adoptions and adaptations from Low Saxon, see 4.1.2.2. and 4.2.2.

Influence from Dutch (4.1.2.3.) was imparted as a result of three distinct but related circumstances: massive North Frisian seafaring aboard Dutch vessels (many of the whaling expeditions and, later, commercial voyages were embarked upon from Amsterdam, 1.1.3.2.1.); the establishment of Dutch mercantile enterprises in Slesvig; and, conversely, the founding of North Frisian commercial centers in the Netherlands (Menke 1997). Århammar (1984a) has shown that degrees of proficiency in Dutch among North Frisian seafarers was common during the period, and – as with Low Saxon, though not to the same extent – this proficiency resulted in transfers and interference of linguistic material.

Contact with High German (4.1.2.4.) became important especially after the Reformation, when that language supplanted Low Saxon as the medium of written expression and, gradually, as the regional lingua franca. Since then, political and cultural developments have increasingly made High German the functionally superordinate medium throughout the area (1.1.3., 1.1.4.), with the result that today, the national standard language of Germany plays an abundantly significant role in the lives of all North Frisians: this significance and the proficiency of generations of North Frisians in High German, an inescapable consequence of its import in their lives, are the reasons for its wide-ranging effects on Sölring and the rest of North Frisian.

1.5. Previous Scholarship

Although a good deal of scholarship has been devoted to Frisian over the past 175 years, never have any of the North Frisian dialects been accorded an exhaustive grammatical treatment in any language. By way of showing the development of research related to Sölring as one type of Frisian, the discussion in this section will be generally chronological in arrangement and, once the background for research into Frisian has been delineated, attention will increasingly be focused on North Frisian, and on Sölring in particular. Necessarily, much of the information presented here will have also been discussed in sections 1.1.3.4. and 1.1.3.5.

Frisian initially attracted scholarly attention during the first half of the 19th century, the era in Western linguistic history in which the genetic relationships among languages, in particular Indo-European and especially Germanic, were being discovered and researched; this period coincided with the early impulses to the Frisian Movement (1.2.2.). The earliest linguistic treatment of Frisian, Rasmus Rask's *Frisisk Sproglære* (1825), was inspired at least in part by the efforts of Bende Bendsen of Risum in the Bökingharde (Steensen 1996a: 233-234), who had begun work eight years previously on a project to describe his native Mooring (published 1860 in Leiden). The same year as Bendsen had undertaken his project, the Danish Society of Sciences in Copenhagen had issued a prize question on the nature and history of the Frisian language, and it was this challenge that Rask was answering in composing his work. Nicholas Outzen, pastor in the Mittelgoesharde, had produced a Frisian-German glossary in 1837. The second edition of Jap Peter Hansen's *Pidersdaibok* (first ed. 1809) would appear another eight years after publication of Rask's *Sproglære*.

A dictionary of Old Frisian was published in Göttingen in 1840, the work of Karl Freiherr von Richthofen. Six years later, the Danish physician Peter Saxild set down his observations on the language of Söl in a manuscript published in 1862 by Kristen Jensen Lyngby in the *Tidsskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik*, as "Skildring af Syltermaalets Sproglære." These observations, based on Saxild's reading of the *Pidersdaibok* as well as his findings during a nine-year residence on the island (1838-1847), comprise an outline of pronunciation and word classes, and include information as to plural formation, pronoun declination, and verb conjugation. In publishing Saxild's "Skilding", Lyngby, who had himself just published a work on the dialects of the Bökingsharde and Wiedingharde – primarily the former, which had also been the subject of Bendsen's book – points out in accompanying remarks the previous lack of any treatment of the insular dialects. About the same time, a brief treatise entitled *Om Nordfrisisk og Deres Forhold til Dansk*, focusing particularly on the lexical and affixal parallels between Mooring and Danish, was published (1860) in Flensburg under the authorship of E. Manicus.

A major work was Theodor Siebs' *Zur Geschichte der englisch-friesischen Sprache* (1889), one of the earliest in a succession of works on Frisian written by him over a span of five decades. Here and in his detailed contribution to the first volume of the second edition of Hermann Paul's *Grundriß der germanischen Philologie* (1901/1902) on the history of Frisian (followed by a discussion of Frisian literature in vol. 2), Siebs devoted the bulk of his attention to tracing lines of historical sound change from Germanic into the present. His empirical research on Söl resulted in publication of detailed phonetic transcriptions of two contemporary plays by Erich Johannsen as *Sylter Lustspiele* (1898) – transcriptions conceived as a possible alternative orthography that, however, evoked little interest on Söl. At about the same time, Otto Bremer of Halle was conducting extensive fieldwork on Feer and Oomram, and in 1887-1888 produced a preliminary outline grammar of Fering-Öömrang that appeared in *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch*. The century closed with another printing of J.P. Hansen's *Pidersdaibok* and additions to it in an edition of 1896.¹⁷ Like earlier printings, it also contained the author's rationale for his orthography.

Grammatical outlines of Sölring were included in both of Söl's major publications of 1909. Nann Mungard introduced his dictionary, *For Sölring Språk en Wäs*, with an extensive listing of words by class along with a justification of his spelling system, where aspects of contemporary pronunciation are touched upon, and added a list of irregular verbs and their forms in an appendix followed by lists of traditional given names and topographical designations. Boy Peter Möller prefaced his reader, the *Söl'ring Leesbok*, with a detailed discussion of sound-symbol correspondences in his adaptation of Hansen's orthography, as well as a thorough delineation of word classes and inflections. Appearing seven years later, Möller's own dictionary begins with a meticulous discussion of the articulation of individual vowels and consonants as well as observations on vowel length and word accent. The entries in both Mungard's and Möller's dictionaries are in Sölring, with German definitions.¹⁸ A very useful tool based on Möller's work

¹⁷ Although a reprinting of the second edition, the 1896 issue is designated the third edition.

¹⁸ Most of Mungard's and many of Möller's definitions are simple glosses in German, but some of the entries provide more detail, including idiomatic information and information as to usage. Conceived as a scientific dictionary, Möller's work also offers etymological information,

is a German-Sölring compilation indexed to 4,700 selected entries in the *Sölring Uurterbok*, created in 1990 by Erk-Uwe Schrahé of Raantem.

One of the group of scholars at the university in Hamburg who had examined Möller's dictionary at the pre-publication stage was Ernst Selmer, a Norwegian scholar then completing his master's degree under the Germanist Conrad Borchling. Selmer's editorial focus was a redaction of Möller's etymologies (Selmer 1921), and one result of the project was to engage Selmer's interest in continuing work on the language. His *Sylterfriesische Studien*, published in 1921 in Kristiania (Oslo), is an analysis of contemporary Sölring phonetics and historical developments from Germanic; included in an appendix is a characterization of contact influences on Sölring based on the lexical material in the *Uurterbok*, during work on which Selmer had found that, being Scandinavian himself, he could readily discern Danish borrowings which had escaped the author's notice (1921:VII). Selmer's contribution to the *Festschrift* for Borchling in 1932, "Die sylterfriesischen Verschlußlaute", is a presentation of findings derived from kymograph measurements, made on Söl in 1928, that were designed to quantify occlusion in stop articulation.

Research into North Frisian by Scandinavian scholars intensified with the work of Ernst Löfstedt of Lund (Sweden), who, in a very productive career spanning the five decades from the twenties to sixties, conducted fieldwork on the Halligen, on the mainland, and on Feer and Oomram (as well as in western and eastern Frisia). Numerous of Löfstedt's etymological and lexicographic analyses were published in Lund and Uppsala and in the journal *Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen*, and toward the latter part of his career, two monographs appeared focusing on the use and genesis of the two definite articles in Fering-Öömring (1964) and the development of various lexical classes, this as preliminary to a planned grammar of mainland North Frisian (1968). Hermann Möller, a native Sölring working at the university in Copenhagen, prepared his own preliminary for a North Frisian grammar, but his work was cut short by an untimely death; his papers relating to North Frisian were published posthumously by Peter Jørgensen in 1938. Jørgensen himself went on to investigate the issue of the settlement of North Frisia – also considering the evidence of sound change in the region (1.3.1.) – in *Über die Herkunft der Nordfriesen* (1946). His 1945 paper "Zu den sylterfriesischen Diphthongen *ia* und *ua*" contains important observations and findings relating to one aspect of Sölring phonology.

In his later years, Hermann Schmidt, school director, editor of *Fuar Söl'ring Lir*, and prolific language activist, produced two small glossaries of Sölring for use in schools. Like the dictionaries of Mungard and Möller, the first volume (1969), Sölring-German, is introduced by a list of sound-symbol correspondences and an outline of word classes, and also includes a table of irregular verbs in an appendix. Appended to a German-Sölring companion volume appearing three years later are tables of the native names of Sölring flora and fauna.

Much of the research into North Frisian during the post-World War II era has emanated from the region's newly-founded academic and scholarly centers (1.2.2., 1.2.3.). Hans Kuhn, first director

though not on a consistent basis. Although Möller's dictionary is now generally considered authoritative by native speakers, Mungard's is the one that was favored by older speakers in the past (Wilts 1990).

of the *Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle* at the university in Kiel (1.2.3.), took an active part in the debates about the groupings within Germanic, and, in addition to lexicographic concerns, pursued linguistic questions related to Frisian and Germanic (especially Icelandic) pre-history. His successor in Kiel, Dietrich Hofmann, authored a vast number of papers covering a wide range of topics in lexicography, philology, and language contact. The third director of the *Wörterbuchstelle*, the Swedish researcher Bo Sjölin, came to Kiel from the university in Groningen; for years, his *Einführung in das Friesische* (1969) has been one of the standard linguistic introductions to Frisian, with a particular focus on Old Frisian.

By far the most prolific of modern scholars of North Frisian has been Nils Århammar, like Sjölin and his own mentor Ernst Löfstedt a native of Sweden. Århammar too had spent a number of years in Groningen before taking on, in 1988, the double position of chair for North Frisian at the Pädagogische Hochschule in Flensburg and the *Lektorat* at the *Nordfriisk Instituut* in Bräist/Bredstedt. The fruits of his wide-ranging research interests include an array of philological, lexicographic, sociolinguistic, and didactic papers, as well as numerous reviews and extensive editorial activity, including editorship of the *Nordfriesisches Jahrbuch* from 1989 to 1996. Of fundamental importance among Århammar's many publications are his overview article on Frisian dialectology (1968); detailed but concise presentations on the language and literature of both Oomram (1964) and Söl (1967) and the languages of Feer (1975); and surveys of North Frisian lexicology (1988) and lexicography (1990). Most of his recent work, undertaken with Ritva Århammar, a native of Finland, has focused on the language of Dëat Lun.

Paolo Ramat published a study of Frisian in Italian in 1967, with a German version appearing in Innsbruck nine years later. The first English-language introduction to Frisian was published in 1981. Written by the American Germanist Thomas Markey, one of whose research interests has been the issue of genetic groupings within Germanic and in particular the makeup of the North Sea Germanic language sub-grouping, this survey monograph devotes the bulk of its attention to Old Frisian (cf. Tiersma 1983) but also offers an overview of previous scholarship and contemporary issues.

Under the directorship of Hofmann and then Sjölin, the focus of the *Wörterbuchstelle* in Kiel gradually turned from production of a monumental philological dictionary of North Frisian in all its variety – a goal since the early nineteenth century – to the creation of smaller, less academically-oriented works for use in the North Frisian language-maintenance campaign (Wilts 1990; 1.2.3.). Accordingly, in addition to their scholarly research, the *Wörterbuchstelle's* two lexicographers, Ommo Wilts and Alastair Walker, originally from eastern Frisia and Scotland respectively, have worked during the past three decades to turn out numerous pedagogical dictionaries, schoolbooks, and outline grammars for the various dialects.

The first book-length linguistic study of Sölring appeared in 1991. Undertaken in conjunction with the *Wörterbuchstelle*, Dirk Willkommen's *Sölring. Phonologie des nordfriesischen Dialekts der Insel Sylt* is a detailed phonological analysis of the language based on the author's own fieldwork as well archival sound recordings dating back to the 1950's.

The present work has been undertaken as a contribution toward filling the manifest need for an in-

depth grammatical treatment of Sölring as one of the varieties of North Frisian, and one that is particularly significant for two reasons. The first is its possession of a comparatively large body of literature and long tradition that has engendered among its speakers a particular linguistic loyalty. The second is the fact that, as Söl has unquestionably borne the brunt of rapid sociological changes throughout the region, its language is under perhaps the greatest pressure of all the North Frisian dialects, i.e. the factors marshaling against the continued survival of North Frisian are most acute with respect to Sölring. Under these circumstances, there is an urgent need for comprehensive analysis of the language as it is now spoken; among other uses, documentation of its present state can serve as an essential starting-point for a focused campaign of restoration and revitalization.¹⁹

For Westeriawersk Frysk there is the *Frisian Reference Grammar* (1985) by Peter Tiersma, the most recent full grammatical treatment of the language, and western Frisians are fortunate in having a well-organized language-promotion apparatus, not least of all an academy (the *Fryske Akademy* in Ljouwert/Leerwarden, established 1938) dedicated to promoting the language in society; the fruits of its major lexicographic project to date, production of the compendious *Wurdboek foar de Fryske taal*, have been appearing since 1984; volume 15 (*oansnjitte-opfeart*) of the projected twenty-five is being published in the fall of 1998, and with the publication of one volume each fall, the dictionary will likely be completed around 2008 (Siebren Dyk, pers. comm.). In eastern Frisia, Seeltersk is the object of scholarly focus of the western Frisian Pyt Kramer and the American Marron Fort; both of whom have published dictionaries of the language; the association *Seelter Buund* was established in 1952 and reconstituted in 1977. The *Nordfriisk Institút*, while comparatively much newer than the *Akademy* in Ljouwert, has become increasingly effective in coordinating the efforts of language activists on behalf of North Frisian (for observations on the work of the two institutions, see Jansma 1995). Regular fora of scholarly work include the triennial *Philologia Frisica* series of selections from the *Fryske Akademy's* pan-Frisian philological congresses and, primarily for North Frisian, the annual *Nordfriesisches Jahrbuch*; for Seeltersk, the periodicals *Seelter Trijoue* (1966-1972) and *Seelter Tjoue* (1992) appeared through the efforts of Pyt Kramer, and works have also been published by the *Ostfriesische Landschaft*. Increasing collaboration across borders on the concerns facing Frisian in all three of its current geographical manifestations is one of the most positive and encouraging developments in the overall Frisian Movement, and the research involved in production of the present work has been considerably stimulated by contacts with Frisians from west, east, and north.

It is hoped that the present grammar will both prove pedagogically useful and serve as something of an indication as to how irreplaceable Sölring is -- and as to how urgent the need for concerted efforts on behalf of its survival. Unique as Sölring is, its present and future are bound up just as much as its past with the community of Frisianism that, whatever the difficulties Frisians are faced with locally, offers a larger framework for the pursuit of common cultural aims.

Beginning particularly with the work of Otto Bremer, Söl's neighboring dialect of Fering-

¹⁹ Ebert (1994:27-28), in defending her use of the standard linguistic metaphor of (impending) language death, makes the same point with respect to her native language of Fering. For an elaboration of her use of the linguistic metaphor of language death, see Lasswell (1998).

Öömrang has been the subject of a number of linguistic studies. Most recently, these have been undertaken by the native Fering Volkert Faltings and Karen Ebert as well as by the western Frisians Jarich Hoekstra and Siebren Dyk. A dissertation focusing on phonological and morphological evidence of contact-induced language change in Fering was written by Timothy Parker in Berkeley; originally appearing in 1986, the study was republished in the Co-Frisica series, a collaboration between the *Fryske Akademy* and the *Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle* (cf. the review in Hoekstra 1994). An extensive dictionary of Fering-Öömrang is being prepared by Reinhard Jannen of Oomram, who has also edited and published, in conjunction with the *Wörterbuchstelle*, the dictionary of Öömrang written in 1854 by Lorenz Friedrich Mechlenburg (*Amrumer Wörterbuch*, Kiel).

1.6. Sources for the Present Study

Given the ecological orientation of this reference grammar (1.7.), a number of sources have been consulted in addition to relevant linguistic publications, works of practical language description, and the writings of authors in Sölring – as will have become readily apparent in the foregoing pages. These sources have included general ethnographic treatises both old and new that, while not taking language as their main focus, have all devoted at least some attention to language issues in the region. Chief among them are two works by the historian (and director of the *Nordfriisk Instituut* from 1997) Thomas Steensen from Bräist/Brestedt in the *Mittelgoesharde*: the two volumes of *Die friesische Bewegung* (1986), a detailed account of the course of the Frisian Movement in North Frisia, and "Nordfriesland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", part four of the collective work *Geschichte Nordfrieslands* (first ed. 1995) co-authored by Steensen with Albert Bantelmann, Albert Panten, and Rolf Kuschert, from the earlier sections of which valuable information has also been drawn in an effort to compose an accurate yet concise picture of the complex historical background of the region as it has had consequences for language developments. Karl-Peter Kööp's *Quellen und Materialien zur nordfriesischen Geschichte* (1992) has been a rich source of primary and secondary information relating to a broad spectrum of development in North Frisia. In addition to these studies, a number of monographs and dozens of journal articles focusing on various aspects of culture and history have also been consulted.

The basis for the post-introductory chapters of the present study is a database assembled from fieldwork conducted on Söl in the summers of 1993 and 1994, supplemented by one recording made at a conference in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1995. This database encompasses some twenty-five hours of conversation featuring sixty-two different speakers; the breakdown in speaker ages at the time of recording is as follows:

20-29	3	60-69	14
30-39	4	70-79	18
40-49	5	80-89	<u>7</u>
50-59	11	Total	62

According to their community of residence at the time of recording, the speakers were distributed as below:

Weesterlön	14	Kairem	13
Woningstair	1	Ārichsem	7
Raantem	2	Muasem	20
Tinem	4	Total	62

In making the tape recordings, consultants were asked simply to engage in normal, everyday speech. In most cases, the fieldworker himself took part in the conversations, and although his Sölring was non-native, communication between him and the speakers generally seemed unimpeded by this circumstance, and the fieldworker's impression was that his interlocutors' speech was indeed unaffected by this factor. On the contrary, it was perceived that the benefit of using Sölring as the medium of interaction far outweighed whatever disadvantages it might have entailed, because of two vital factors. First, use of others' language in a bilingual situation is the surest and, under the circumstances, was the most efficient way to approach the speakers in the very privileged context of learning their thoughts and feelings on a wide range of topics. Of scarcely less importance was the second advantage of interacting in Sölring, that of enabling conversation to proceed without a switching of codes to a common second language, thereby promoting a more thoroughly Frisian context overall. The conversations that were recorded were held in pair or small group constellations, with no more than three native-speaker participants involved at one time. With the exception of one two-hour digital recording, all tapes made were analog in format.

The recorded conversations were transcribed and, where necessary, native-speaker consultants were asked to disambiguate passages that proved to be acoustically obscured or otherwise problematic to the transcriber. Completed transcriptions were then checked against the original sound recording and prepared for coding of grammatical information. In considering the best way to handle the data in terms of database management, it was decided that, given the structural nature of present-day Sölring (i.e. its relative lack of morphological complexity), computerized access could appropriately be managed via conventional software functions applied to the coded data, supplemented by continuous reference to printed versions of the transcriptions to guarantee a holistic, fully-contextualized view of specific linguistic features.

A constant and essential aid during all stages of the current research was Boy Peter Möller's *Söl'ring Uurterbok* (1916), the most extensive lexicographic treatment of the language and one that is regarded on Söl as authoritative, with useful reference also being made to the German-Sölring index to selected lexical entries (Schrahé 1990), and, as a complement to Möller's dictionary, that by Nann Mungard, *For Söl'ring Spraak en Wîs* (1909). Hermann Schmidt's pedagogical Sölring-German glossary (Schmidt 1969), with its exhaustive guides to word classes and conjugations, was also consulted, as was Ommñ Wilts' (1995) tabular presentation of forms. Use of Wilts' *Wurdenbuk for Feer en Oomram* (1986) has facilitated lexicological comparisons between Sölring and the neighboring insular dialect, and V. Tams Jørgensen's compilation of selected terms across major North Frisian dialects and their correspondences in Frysk, Danish, German, and English, the inter-Frisian glossary *snaak frísk!* (first ed. 1977), has also proved very useful.

The goal of the present work being to present an exposition of the grammar of spoken Sölring, reference to written sources has been minimized; examples taken from publications are identified by a code indicating their source (see Abbreviations and Codes). The newspaper supplement *Fuar*

Söl'ring Lir, for the entirety of which the invaluable indices compiled by Hans Hoeg (as well as the newspaper itself) were kindly made available to me by him; Boy Peter Möller's collection of texts in his *Söl'ring Leesbok* (1916); a collection of proverbs and traditional sayings in Schmidt/Wieland (1966); recent texts in Siemens (1982) and Mungard/Hoeg (1985); and submissions appearing in Århammar et al. (1993), an anthology of North Frisian writings (1.1.3.4.) – all of these have been excerpted at one time or another in order to illustrate certain grammatical phenomena in Sölring not readily adducible in the spoken language contained in the database.

Among secondary sources, the writings of Nils Århammar have been of fundamental significance. Dirk Willkommen's 1991 monograph, containing valuable observations on the overall language environment in which Sölring exists as well as a detailed phonological analysis of the language, has provided a wealth of relevant information and ideas. The works of Selmer, Hofmann, and Jørgensen have also proved to be important sources of previous linguistic research. Of consistent interest and continuing relevance to language issues in North Frisia has been the quarterly publication of the *Nordfriisk Institutt, Nordfriesland*, and the annual collections of scholarly papers in the *Institutt's Nordfriesisches Jahrbuch* have also been consulted for the present study.

Much of the general linguistic tenor of this reference grammar derives from two books by Wallace Chafe, his *Structure and the Meaning of Language* (1970) suggesting means of semantic and syntactic representation, and *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time* (1994) presenting a framework for a systematic discussion of discourse as an essential aspect of language use.

A number of lexicographic works not specific to Frisian have quite naturally also been consulted. The *Oxford English Dictionary* has been a significant source of etymological and language-comparative information, as has, with German as the starting point, Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, in the 23rd edition revised by Elmar Seebold. Calvert Watkins' 'Dictionary of Indo-European Roots', part of the first edition of the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, has been an important source of etymological information. For reference to Old English forms of words, Bosworth/Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* has been a valuable complement to other lexicographic sources. For Danish etymologies, the *Ordbok over det danske Sprog* has been consulted, as have, for Low Saxon, Mensing's *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch* and the *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch* by August Ljbben.

1.7. Theoretical Perspectives

The theoretical perspective from which the present reference grammar has been written is one known as functional linguistics – specifically, the view that languages are products of development in human society over time, that this development both forms individual languages and is itself influenced by pressures on patterns of usage exerted by forces within and outside society: that language is an instrument for as well as an activity making possible interaction among human beings. This interaction, however, takes place not solely among humans – in reality, it is nothing short of an interaction with the whole of the environment in which the speakers of a given language live. Accordingly, the entire breadth of language as humans' preeminent vehicle of culture and cognition can only be encompassed in an ecological functionalist perspective – ecological in the sense introduced by the American-Norwegian linguist Einar Haugen in 1971.

In his paper "The Ecology of Language", Haugen asserted a need in linguistics for an interdisciplinary perspective on language, observing that:

Most language descriptions are prefaced by a brief and perfunctory statement concerning the number and location of its speakers and something of their history. Rarely does such a description really tell the reader what he ought to know about the social status and function of the language in question. Linguists have generally been too eager to get on with the phonology, grammar, and lexicon to pay more than superficial attention to ... the 'ecology of language'. I believe we could profit from paying special attention to this aspect, which has been explored in some depth in recent years by linguists working in cooperation with anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and psychologists. Most linguists have been willing to leave the field to the non-linguistic social scientists, but I believe that there is a strong linguistic component in language ecology. (1971:325)

In this approach, language is treated not as an autonomous entity with minimal relation to extra-linguistic factors; it is recognized that language exists for and is shaped by its users, and by the social and psychological factors that interact to determine speakers' communicative needs. Accordingly, language is both *ἔργον* and *ἐνέργεια* in Humboldtian terms, both product and activity. It is produced by successive generations of speakers as they respond to a multiplicity of pressures in daily life, and at the same time is the form of those speakers' dealings with each other and the world around them. Under these circumstances, it becomes sterile at best, and impossible at worst, to try to appreciate a given language without taking into consideration the forces of culture and history that have helped shaped the lives of its speakers.

This reasoning has informed the research for and presentation of the current study.

2. Phonology

This chapter presents an analysis of the phonetics of Sörling and how the sounds of the language pattern systematically, with indications of some of the changes that appear to have taken place in the sound system historically, followed by characterizations of how the sound system operates in actual usage. The analysis presented here reflects current patterns of speech, including those that appear to be older, and while taking into account the findings in Willkommen (1991), it differs from it in several respects. First, however, it will be useful to describe how orthographic practice relates to the pronunciation of spoken Sörling.

2.1. The Relation of Orthography to Pronunciation

Perhaps most immediately noticeable in the system by which Sörling is written (1.1.3.5.) is the fact that the letters denoting vowel sounds are doubled to indicate length (long vowels are also characteristically tense in articulation): *fiin* 'fine', *üüs* 'us, our', *teev* 'wait', and *Jöööl* 'Christmas' all have long, tense vowels, as opposed to *fin* 'fin', *üs* 'as, than', *tef* 'bitch', and *jöl* 'fire', in which the vowels are all short and lax. The letter combination <aa>, however, represents the sound [o:] or [ɔ:] (as in *haa* 'have' and *aast* 'cheese'), while <a> stands for [a] (as in *ja* 'they' and *jam* 'them'). In current orthography, two vowel letters include diacritic macrons indicating length: <ā> and <ē>, occurring in e.g. *āpstuun* 'rise, get up' and *sērċ* 'church' (the latter because for speakers of Uastring, the eastern dialect of Sörling (1.3.1.), the vowel is short before <r>, whereas <ee>, as in *dreeng* 'boy, son', indicates length for all speakers of Sörling).

Consonants generally are written phonemically, but there are a number of special combinations and other conventions to consider. Palatalization is indicated when the second member of a pair is the letter <j> in the combinations <sj>, <nj>, <lj>, <tj>: *sjung* 'sing', *frinj* 'relative (n.)', *wilj* 'wild', *litj* 'little'. In initial position, however, the combination <tj> is pronounced as the affricate [tʃ]). In the present-day language, medial <ð> represents [l] for most speakers (*weder* 'weather') and [ɸ] or zero in final position (*hiid* 'heath'). Intervocalic <p>, <t>, <k> represent the voiced sounds [b], [d], and [g]: *hōōpi* 'hope (vb.)', *mooter* 'mother', *maaki* 'make, do'. Final , which is very rare, represents [p] (as in the given name *Eeb*); <d> does not occur finally. In final position, <g> is [ç] (*liig* 'shallow') or [x] (*hoog* 'high'), depending on the quality of the preceding vowel; intervocalic <g> has the same distribution as finally for some speakers (*in niigen* 'nine', *negeri* 'whinny', *liiger* 'shallower', *hooger* 'higher'), while for others the forms are voiced [j] and [ɣ] (these more conservative forms both finally and intervocalically). Pronunciation of the combination <ch>, which does not occur in initial position, follows the dichotomy for non-initial <g>: *rech* 'back', *ploch* 'plow'. In final position, <f> and <v> are both [f] in current speech (*lef* 'dear', *breev* 'letter'), while both <f> and <v> are written <w> intervocalically (*lewer* 'rather, dearer', *breever* 'letters') and correspond to [v] for some speakers but [f] for others, [v] being the more conservative of the two variants. At the beginning of an unaccented syllable (and especially if the preceding vowel is long), intervocalic <s> is voiced to [z], e.g. in the past participles *leesen* 'read' and *forleesen* 'lost'. The pronunciation of <r> has a wide range of positional variation (see below, 2.3.).

2.2. Consonants

There are currently twenty-two consonant phonemes in the language. These phonemes are the consonant segments in present-day Sölring that are contrastively distinctive; they represent the reflexes of consonant segments as they have developed historically and occur in today's usage. These phonemes do not conflate sounds that have recently become similar or appear to be doing so for some or even most speakers. To illustrate the status of the phonemes and their allophonic variants: the segment [x] occurs as a variant of three distinct consonants, the phonemes /x/, /g/, and /r/. Due to final devoicing (plus its generalization to other positions) and the lenition of [r] before stops, certain occurrences of the latter two phonemes have now fallen together with [x] < /x/. These three sources of [x] are best kept separate conceptually, however, for a number of reasons. First, the historical backgrounds of [x] < /x/, [x] < /g/, and [x] < /r/ are different enough that this should be reflected in a grammatical description that, secondly, is designed to be pedagogically useful. If all occurrences of [x] were treated without consideration for their origin, the distinction between e.g. [paxt] /part/ 'part' (<part>) and [paxt] /paxt/ 'lease' (<pacht>) would be lost. Graphemically, as well, confusion of the three occurrences would render current orthographical practice implausible.

A third reason for treating such allophones differently is that not to do so would necessitate redefining phonological distributions in a way that would obscure actual patterns of development.

Traditionally, [x] (that is, [x] < /x/) alternates with [ç] on the basis of the front-back distinction with respect to the preceding vowel, [ç] occurring only following front vowels (excluding [a]). Additionally, this [x] is not found before [k], [p], or isomorphic [t]. Not only does [x] < /r/ occur before any stop (as in *sēr̥k*, *tērp*, *wērt*), it also occurs after front vowels (*jert*, *ōört*, *iartapel*, *biirt*, *swērt*), and in all of these cases it has the same coarticulatory effects (namely lowering of long vowels) as other allophones of /r/. Lumping together even these two [x] would distort the issue of phonetic environments while resulting in no discernible theoretical gain.

With these considerations, then, the following chart is arranged according to manner of articulation (vertical) and place of articulation (horizontal); paired consonants represent voiceless (left) and voiced (right):

	<u>BILABIAL</u>		<u>LABIO-DENTAL</u>		<u>DENTAL</u>		<u>ALVEOLAR</u>		<u>POST-ALVEOLAR</u>		<u>PALATAL</u>		<u>VELAR</u>		<u>GLOTTAL</u>	
STOP	p	b					t	d				c		k	g	
NASAL		m						n				ɲ		ŋ		
TRILL								r								
FRICATIVE			f	v	θ	ð	s		ʃ			ç		x		h
LATERAL								l						ʎ		
APPROXIMANT																j

The dental phoneme /ð/ is now very infrequent in usage, having largely merged into /r/ or /l/ in recent times. Since it is still heard on occasion, however, and is relevant for a discussion of historical developments (as well as of orthography), it is included here as a significant relic.

The chart below is a schematization of how the phonemes, as historically valid entities, are reflected in positional occurrences in the present-day language; the allophones given are found in the speech of many speakers for the positions indicated, but a range of variation is found among speakers and even within the speech of individual speakers.

STOPS	/p/<p>	/b/	/t/<t>	/d/<d>	/c/<tj>	/k/<k>	/g/<g>
initial	p ^h	b	t ^h	d	tʃ	k ^h	g
medial	p, b	b	t, d	d	c	k, g	ɣ, x/ç
final	p ^(h)	p	t ^(h)	-	c	k ^(h)	x/ç
NASALS	/m/<m>		/n/<n>		/ɲ/<nj>	/ŋ/<ng>	
initial	m		n		ɲ	-	
medial	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
final	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
TRILL			/r/<r>				
initial			r				
C__			r				
V__V			r/ɾ				
V__C			x				
au__			zero				
other final			ʀ				
FRICATIVES	/f/<f>	/v/<v>	/θ/<θ>	/s/<s>	/ʃ/<sj>	/x/<ch>	/h/<h>
initial	f	v	-	s	ʃ	-	h
medial	f, v	v	(ð)	s, z	-	x/ç	h
final	f	f	-	s	-	x/ç	-
LATERALS			/l/<l, ɫ, ɮ>		/ʎ/<nj>		
initial			l		ʎ		
medial			l		ʎ		
final			l		ʎ		
APPROXIMANT					/j/<j>		
initial					j		
medial					j		
final					j		

In the following paragraphs, the allophonic distributions schematized above are discussed and

exemplified according to the articulatory classes of consonants. In order to facilitate comparison with the written language, orthographical correspondences are given as well, since the spelling system is not entirely phonemic.

STOPS

In the voiceless bilabials, aspiration occurs most regularly in initial segments but can also be found in final position as well. Intervocally after long stressed vowels, /p/ is voiced to [b], as in *hõõpi* 'hope (vb.)' and *iipen* 'open'. In final position, [b] is devoiced to [p]. Examples of positional occurrences:

<u>PHONETIC</u>	<u>PHONEMIC</u>	<u>ORTHOGRAPHIC</u>
[pɒt]	/pɒt/	pot 'pot'
[hø:ɸɪ]	/h.ø:pi/	hõõpi 'hope (vb)'
[ɾɪp]	/ɾɪp/	rip 'caterpillar'
[bɒt]	/bɒt/	bot 'blunt'
[ˈdebɛlt]	/ˈdebɛlt/	debelt 'double'
[e:p]	/e:b/	eeb 'ebb'

Voiceless alveolar stops take on voicing between nasal and vowel as well as intervocally after long stressed vowels. [d] does not occur finally:

<u>PHONETIC</u>	<u>PHONEMIC</u>	<u>ORTHOGRAPHIC</u>
[tø]	/tø/	tõ 'to'
[ˈve:dəŋ]	/ˈve:ɾɛŋ/	weeter 'water'
[ˈvundəŋ]	/ˈvunɾɛŋ/	wunter 'winter'
[sve:t]	/sve:t/	sweet 'sweat'
[dø]	/dø/	dõ 'do, give'
[ˈeðɾɪç], [ˈɛɾɪç]	/ˈeðɾɪx/	eðrig 'sober'
[ˈdy:ɾɪ]	/ˈdy:ɾɪ/	düüdi 'signify'

Voiceless velar stops are voiced intervocally after short stressed vowels as well as long ones. Except for initially, the voiced segments are generally fricativized:

<u>PHONETIC</u>	<u>PHONEMIC</u>	<u>ORTHOGRAPHIC</u>
[kat]	/kat/	kat 'cat'
[ˈlʊŋɪ]	/ˈluki/	look 'look (vb)'
[sɛ:(ŋ)xk]	/sɛ:ɾk/	sērɕ 'church'
[gat]	/gat/	gat 'opening'
[ˈdo:ɸən]	/ˈdo:ŋɛn/	daagen 'days'
[mo:x],[mɔ:x]	/mo:g/	maag 'stomach'

The (voiceless) palatal stop /ç/ occurs medially and finally, in initial position and in initial

consonant clusters, it is now affricated to [tʃ]:

<u>PHONETIC</u>	<u>PHONEMIC</u>	<u>ORTHOGRAPHIC</u>
[tʃuk]	/tʃuk/	tjuk 'thick, fat'
[stʃuŋk]	/stʃuŋk/	stjunk 'stink'
[ˈlicəm]	/ˈlicəm/	litjem 'quietly'
[œc]	/œc/	ötj 'vinegar'

NASALS

These occur with no positional variation. The velar does not occur in initial position:

<u>PHONETIC</u>	<u>PHONEMIC</u>	<u>ORTHOGRAPHIC</u>
[me:t]	/me:t/	meet 'meat'
[ˈsɔməŋ]	/ˈsomer/	somer 'summer'
[sɔm]	/som/	som 'some'
[ne:t]	/ne:t/	neet 'rivet'
[ˈti:nɪ]	/ˈti:ni/	tiini 'serve'
[ri:n]	/ri:n/	riin 'clean; rain'
[ny:ŋ]	/ny:t/	njüür 'kidney'
[ˈfrɪŋəŋ]	/ˈfrɪŋer/	frinjer 'relatives'
[fɪŋ]	/fɪŋ/	finj 'find'
[ˈlɑŋzən]	/ˈlɑŋsen/	langsen 'always'
[so:ŋ]	/so:ŋ/	soong 'sang'

TRILL

The phoneme /r/ has the widest range of allophony of all the consonants. It is (a) trilled initially and (b) flapped as part of a cluster (in the combinations br-, dr-, fr-, gr-, kr-, pr-, spr-, str-, tr-, and wr-). Intervocally, it is (c) a flap or, in rapid speech, an approximant. Before a stop, it occurs (d) as the voiceless velar fricative [x]. In final position (e) following the diphthong /au/ [a^u], it is lost entirely; in other syllable-final environments, it vocalizes (f) to [ŋ] except for speakers of Uastring (1.3.1.), for whom it also disappears. Historically, [r] has been lost before [s], so that words like gērs 'grass', törst 'thirst', and türsdai 'Thursday' are pronounced [ge:s], [t^høst], [t^hʲsda^h], although it can still be heard as a relic in some of these words. In Ärichsem, the word aarber 'work' is pronounced by speakers with an assimilated /r/, as [ɔ:fbəŋ].

PHONETIC

- a) [ri:n]
 b) [gre:n]
 c) [ˈstɛrəf], [ˈstɛrɛf]
 [u:rən], [u:ɹ(ə)n]
 [ˈtɪrɪŋ], [ˈtɪrɪŋ]
 d) [gʊxt]
 e) [aː]
 f) [mʏɾ]
 [hɛ:ɾ], [he:]
 [skɛɾ], [skɑː]

PHONEMIC

- /ri:n/
 /gre:n/
 /stɛrɛf/
 /u:ren/
 /tɪrɪŋ/
 /gʊrt/
 /aur/
 /myr/
 /he:r/
 /skair/

ORTHOGRAPHIC

- riin 'clean; rain'
 green 'green'
 stɛrɛv 'die'
 uuren 'become' PPL
 tiring 'news'
 gurt 'big'
 aur 'over; because'
 mür 'mouth'
 heer 'has'
 skair 'spoon'

FRICATIVES

In the labiodental series, final /v/ is devoiced:

PHONETIC

- [fat]
 [o:ft], [ɔ:ft]
 [fɔɾ lɔf]

- [vat]
 [ˈbre:vəɾ]
 [bre:f]

PHONEMIC

- /fat/
 /o:ft/
 /forˈlof/

- /vat/
 /ˈbre:ver/
 /bre:v/

ORTHOGRAPHIC

- fat 'vessel'
 aaft 'often'
 forlof 'permission'

- wat 'what'
 breewer 'letters'
 breev 'letter'

/ð/ is a relic phoneme heard very infrequently (further below is a discussion of development historically). Medially, it occurs for some speakers in free variation with [l] or [r]; in final position, its free variants are [ɾ] and zero:

- [ˈfɛləɾ], [ˈfɛðəɾ],
 [hi:], [hi:ɾ], [hi:ð]

- /ˈfɛðer/
 /hi:ð/

- feder 'feather; spring'
 hiid 'heath'

The (voiceless) alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in all positions; medially in a voiced environment, it is voiced at the beginning of an unaccented syllable, particularly if the preceding syllable is long (in *wesen* 'been', where the accented vowel is short, the fricative is voiceless: [ˈvesn̩]). Postalveolar /ʃ/ occurs only in initial position:

- [sen]
 [ˈblɔstrɪ]
 [ˈdy:znt]
 [ˈhanzɪ]
 [y:s]

- [ʃɪp^(h)]

- /sen/
 /ˈblɔstri/
 /ˈdy:sent/
 /ˈhansen/
 /y:s/ 'us, our'

- /ʃɪp/

- sen 'sun; am/are; sin; sense'
 blɔstri 'blossom v'
 dūüsɛnt 'thousand'
 Hansen (family name)
 ūüs 'us; our'

- sjip 'sheep'

The phoneme /x/ occurs only medially and finally, where it has two allophones: velar [x] following back vowels (including [a]) and palatal [ç] after front vowels:

[lox̥t]	/lox̥t/	locht 'air'
[dax]	/dax/	dach 'after all, indeed'
[leçt]	/leçt/	leicht 'easy'
[blvç]	/blvç/	blüch 'timid, shy'

The glottal fricative occurs only syllable-initially:

[hʏn]	/hʏn/	hün 'dog'
[ˈlefhɐ̯]	/ˈlefhɐ̯/	lefhair 'kindness'

LATERALS

These occur in all positions with no particular variants:

<u>PHONETIC</u>	<u>PHONEMIC</u>	<u>ORTHOGRAPHIC</u>
[lʏŋ]	/lʏŋ/	lüng 'long (spatial)'
[ˈde:li:ŋ]	/ˈde:li:ŋ/	deling 'today'
[fu:l]	/fu:l/	fuul 'much'
[ˈʌŋ]	/ˈʌŋ/	ljung 'heather'
[ˈski:liç]	/ˈski:liç/	skiljig 'guilty'
[mi:ʌ]	/mi:ʌ/	milj 'mild'

APPROXIMANT

This is found only syllable-initially; historically, final [j] has been vocalized and now forms the glides in such diphthongs as dai 'day', and wai 'way, path'.

<u>PHONETIC</u>	<u>PHONEMIC</u>	<u>ORTHOGRAPHIC</u>
[jy:ɐ̯]	/jy:ɐ̯/	jüür 'expensive'
[bliˈjant]	/bliˈjant/	blijant 'pencil'

Notable historical development is evidenced for /ð/. Möller (1916:20-21) characterizes initial [ð] as having developed to [d] (and earlier initial [θ] to [t]), and final [ð] as having become "ein reduziertes r" (a reduced r – today [ɐ̯]). Presumably reflecting his own pronunciation, Jap Peter Hansen in the early 19th century wrote biid and hiid for 'both' and 'heather', respectively, and although the interdental fricative was heard in the conservative eastern village of Muasem a century later, hiir 'hair' and hiid 'heath' had become virtually homophonous ("so gut wie gleichlautend") among younger speakers, particularly in the less conservative village of Kairem. At that time, according to Möller, [ð] was regularly heard only in medial position, in words like bröder 'brother', kluader 'clothes', and weder 'weather' (spelled brörer, kluarer, werer in Mungard 1909, however). Today, the medial consonants in all these words is [l] in the speech of a wide majority of Sörling. Willkommen (1991: 41, 221) encountered medial [ð] both word-

internally and in an intervocalic environment resulting from occurrence of a clitic pronoun (*hi sair* 'he said' as *sair'(e)r* 'said he' [ˈsɛɹ̥ðɔ̃]). In the present database, free variation between [ɪ] and [ø] is heard in e.g. three realizations of the word *feder* 'feather; spring' within a short stretch of discourse by the same speaker.¹

In final position, /d/ has also undergone a range of developments historically. Similar to the development of final [ø] was the coalescence of final postvocalic [d] into the "reduced r": *bēr* (n.) 'bed', *gur* 'good', *heer* 'had', *luar* 'lead (n.)', *sair* 'said', a development recent enough at the beginning of the 20th century that Möller included the older forms (*bēd*, *gud*, *heed*, *luad*, *said*) alongside the newer ones. After [r], final [d] > [t], as in *biirt* 'beard', *buurt* 'board', *guart* 'garden', *hart* 'hard', *swērt* 'sword', and *uurt* 'word'. In much earlier developments, final [d] following [n] or [ɪ] was lost, resulting in either (a) dental or (b) palatal articulation of the newly-final consonant, as in (a) *Söl* 'Söl' and *Söl'ring* 'Sölring', *jil* 'money' (Gmc. **geld-a-n*), *wil* 'wanted' (all with [ɪ]); *hun* 'hand', *hün* 'dog, hound', and *pün* 'pound' (all with [ɪ̃]), and (b) *milj* 'mild', *skilj* 'fault' (Gmc. **skuldi-*), *wilj* 'wild', *binj* 'bind', *blinj* 'blind', *finj* 'find', and *winj* 'wind'. Denticity of articulation has since lost distinctiveness, with the result that words like *jil* 'money' and *sen* 'sin' (Gmc. **sun(d)jō*) have become homophonous with *jil* 'eel' and *sen* 'sun' (the latter is also the form of the non-2nd/non-3rd singular present tense form of 'be' as well as 'sense'; cf. 4.1.1.). (In Möller's orthography, the dental phonemes were marked as such by the apostrophe, which was dropped as a result of the latest spelling reform in 1975; see 1.1.3.5.)

2.3. Vowels

The vowel system is characterized by a long-short distinction in the monophthongs. Of the fifteen single-vowel phonemes, eight are long and seven short:

<i>/i:/</i> <i>/y:/</i> <i>/i/</i> <i>/y/</i>	<i>/u:/</i> <i>/u/</i>
<i>/e:/</i> <i>/ø:/</i> <i>/e/</i> <i>/ø/</i>	<i>/o:/</i> <i>/o/</i>
((<i>/ɛ:/</i> <i>/ɔ:/</i>))	
<i>/a/</i>	

The long open-mid sounds /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/, however, are relics that have lost their contrastiveness in the speech of most present-day speakers, having merged into the corresponding long close-mid

¹ The development *ð* > *i* would appear to be at least partially influenced by the realization of postvocalic <d>, namely as [ð¹], in Standard Danish; see Jespersen 1897-1899:246-247 and, for a discussion of circumstantial evidence for the development in Sölring, Willkommen 1991:40-43. In Fering-Öömring, cognates of words with medial <d> in Sölring have <ɪ> (*weler* 'again, against', *öler* 'other') or <d> (*weder* 'weather', *bruuder* 'brother', *kluader* 'clothes').

phonemes.

In terms of allophonic variation, long vowels often occur in connected speech with decreased duration and decreased tenseness; short vowels are characteristically lax and lower than their long counterparts:

[i:] [i̯] [y:] [y̯] [ɪ] [ɻ]	[u:] [u̯] [ʊ]
[e:] [e] [ø:] [ø] [ɛ] [ə] [œ]	[o:] [o] [ɔ]
(([ɛ:]	[ɔ:]))
[a] [ɑ]	

The variant [ɑ] is very likely a result of German influence; Willkommen (1991:20) found its use only in adoptions of German lexical items such as *aber* [ˈɑbɐ] 'but' and *ja* [ja] 'yes'; the latter has now largely replaced native *jaa* [jɔ:]–[jo:] 'yes' (much as native *naan* 'no' has been supplanted for most speakers by Low Saxon *nee*).

Length is not distinctive for /a/, but the other monophthongs contrast in both quantity and quality (data from Willkommen 1991):

Contrasts Long vs. Short

/ki:l/ 'wedge'	vs.	/ki/ 'keel'
/y:s/ 'us, our'	vs.	/ys/ 'as'
/sku:l/ 'school'	vs.	/skul/ 'should'
/te:f/ 'wait'	vs.	/tef/ 'bitch'
/jɔ:l/ 'Christmas'	vs.	/jɔ/ 'fire'
/bo:k/ 'bake'	vs.	/bok/ 'book'

Contrasts in Long Vowels

/ti:f/ 'thief'	vs.	/te:f/ 'wait'
/ky:l/ 'cool'	vs.	/kø:l/ 'coal'
/tu:l/ 'sea peat'	vs.	/to:l/ 'entryway'
/ki:l/ 'wedge'	vs.	/ky:l/ 'cool'
/he:f/ 'tidal flats'	vs.	/hø:f/ 'church service'
/ky:l/ 'cool'	vs.	/ku:l/ 'cold'
/hø:s/ 'stocking'	vs.	/ho:s/ 'rabbit'

Contrasts in Short Vowels

/lik/ 'corpse'	vs.	/lek/ 'luck, happiness'
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/lek/ 'luck'	vs.	/lak/ 'lacquer (n.)'
/bryk/ 'custom'	vs.	/bræk/ 'underpants'
/luki/ 'look (vb.)'	vs.	/loki/ 'attract'
/loki/ 'attract'	vs.	/laki/ 'lacquer (vb.)'
/lūk/ 'corpse'	vs.	/lyk/ 'lid'
/rēp/ 'rib'	vs.	/rēp/ 'call'
/hyn/ 'dog'	vs.	/hun/ 'hand'
/rēt/ 'root'	vs.	/rot/ 'rat'

Positional occurrences and allophones of the monophthongs are the following:

	<u>PHONEMIC</u>	<u>PHONETIC</u>	<u>ORTHOGRAPHIC</u>
/i:/	/i:ðer/ /ti:ni/ /si:/ /bi:rt/	[i:ləg] [ti:nɪ] [si:] [br:(g)xt]	iider 'udder' tiini 'serve' sii 'say; sew' biirt 'beard'
/i/	/ik/ /rik/ /hi/	[ik] [rik] [hi]	ik 'I' rik 'rich' hi 'he'
/y:/	/y:s/ /fry:s/ /jy:r/	[y:s] [fry:s] [jy:g]	üüs 'us; our' früüs 'freeze' jüür 'expensive'
/y/	/ys/ /fy/ /ky/	[ys] [fɪl] [kɪ]	üs 'as; than' fül 'dirty' kü 'cow'
/e:/	/e:ðer/ /we:l/ /se:/ /be:r/	[e:ləg] [we:l] [se:] [be:g]	eeder 'after; early' weel 'wheel' see 'sea' bēr 'bed'
/e/	/em/ /nem/	[em] [nem]	em 'bee; sensitive' nem 'take'

	/sne/ /pø:ster/ /snaket/	[snɛ] [pø:stəɕ] [snakɛt]	sne 'snow' pøðster 'interior door' snaket 'talks; talked'
/ø:/	/hø:s/ /ø:rt/	[hø:s] [œ:(ɣ)xt]	høðs 'stocking' øðrt 'earth'
/ø/	/øn/ /brøðer/ /dø/	[œn] [brœðɛɕ] [dœ]	øn 'in' brøðer 'brother' dø 'do, give'
/a/	/al/ /jam/ /sa/	[al] [jam] [sa]	al 'already' jam 'them' sa 'so'
	/ap/ /kam/ /sparix/	[a(:)p] [ka(:)m] [spa(:)riç]	äp 'up, upwards' käm 'came' spärig 'sparrow'
/o:/	/o:m/ /fo:m/ /ro:ki/ /o:mer/ /fo:ðer/ /o:rber/	[o:m] [fo:m] [ro:gi] [o:məɕ], [ɔ:məɕ] [fo:ləɕ], [fɔ:ləɕ], [fo:ðəɕ] [ɔ:xbəɕ]	oom 'uncle' foom 'foam (n.)' rooki 'smoke (vb.)' aamer 'bucket' faader 'father' aarber 'work'
/o/	/om/ /som/ /fo/	[ɔm] [sɔm] [fɔ]	om 'around' som 'some' fo 'get'
/u:/	/u:ni/ /fu:ðer/ /tru:/ /u:rt/	[u:ni] [fu:ləɕ] [tru:] [u:(ɣ)xt]	uuni 'reside' fuuder 'fodder' truu 'true' uurt 'word'
/u/	/uk/ /hun/	[uk] [hun]	uk 'too' hun 'hand'

In addition to the monophthongs, there are also six phonemic diphthongs; one of these, borrowed from Low German, occurs only in the word (fūgel-)kui 'pond for waterfowl' and its compounds.

/ua/		
/buat/	[buaʔ]	buat 'boat'
/luas/	[luas]	luas 'loose'
/muar/	[muʌg]	muar 'more'
/uasten/	[uastɲ]	uasten 'east'
/ui/		
/kui/	[kui]	kui 'bunk, berth'
/eə/		
/deəl/	[deəl]	dial 'down (adv.)'
/steər/	[steəg]	stiar 'star (n.)'
/teəl/	[teəl]	tial 'tale'
/oi/		
/floiti/	[flɔiti]	floiti 'whistle (n.)'
/sloif/	[slɔif]	sloif 'bow (n.)'
/spoi/	[sp ^w ɔi]	spuai 'fortune-tell'
/floi/	[fl ^w ɔi]	fluai 'flay'
/ai/		
/ai/	[aʔ]	ai 'egg'
/ain/	[aʔn]	ain 'own (adj.)'
/dai/	[daʔ]	dai 'day'
/vai/	[vaʔ]	wai 'way, path'
/au/		
/aur/	[a ^w]	aur 'over, because'
/flau/	[fla ^w]	flau 'listless, weak'
/haur/	[ha ^w]	haur 'head (n.)'
/tau/	[ta ^w]	tau 'two'

Willkommen (1991) posits only one "true" diphthong at the phonemic level, namely /ua/. He analyzes the vowels in words like *ain* and *haur* as /a/ + vocalized consonants and thus considers them products of phonological lenition. While this analysis may be historically accurate (cp. OFris. *ēgen* 'own' and *dach*, *dei* 'day', on the one hand, and OFris. *hāved* 'head' and *over*, *ur* 'over' on the other hand and the cognates of each in modern English) the sounds in the present-day language seem better characterized synchronically as diphthongs; these contrast among themselves and with monophthongs:

/ua/

	/kual/	[kʷal]	kual 'cabbage'
	/kø:l/	[kø:l]	køöl 'coal'
	/ko:l/	[ko:l],[kɔ:l]	kaal 'bald'
/ui/			
	/kui/	[kui]	kui 'bunk, berth'
	/kai/	[kæ]	kai 'key (n.)'
	/ky/	[ky]	kü 'cow'
/eə/			
	/deəl/	[deəl]	dial 'down (adv.)'
	/de:l/	[de:l]	deel 'valley'
/oi/			
	/ˈfloiti/	[ˈfloiti]	floiti 'whistle (n.)'
	/ˈfloti/	[ˈfloti]	floti 'raft (vb.)'
	/flo:t/	[flo:t]	floot 'fleet (n.)'
/ai/			
	/mait/	[maɪt]	mait 'effort'
	/mat/	[mat]	mat 'measure vb.; mat; miller's share; weak'
	/dai/	[daɪ]	dai 'day'
	/da/	[da]	da 'then'
/au/			
	/aur/	[aʷ]	aur 'over; because'
	/ai/	[aɪ]	ai 'egg'
	/haur/	[haʷ]	haur 'head (n.)'
	/hai/	[hæ]	hai 'hey!; thought; inclination; shark'

2.4. Phonological Processes

In speech, a number of phonological phenomena occur quite naturally as sounds and individual words are juxtaposed, interact and mutually influence each other in pronunciation. Co-articulatory effects give rise to a number of systematic patterns within discourse; phonological processes, the patterns that arise in this way, thus mediate, as it were, between the phonemic and the phonetic levels of sound in language. Many of these processes, however, depend on a number of situational and human factors – the nature of the physical and psychological contexts of a conversation, for instance, and personal traits of speakers such as age and sex – so that not all of the phenomena discussed below apply to all of Sölring as it is spoken. Some take place below the level of consciousness, while others are subject to subconscious or deliberate alteration depending on a speaker's overall perception of the speech situation. (Many variant forms of words have been given earlier, cf. 2.2. and 2.3.)

2.4.1. Voicing Assimilation

Assimilation in voicing is a process that can occur frequently in speech. It particularly depends on the factor of tempo (speed and pausing), which itself is influenced by a range of extra-linguistic variables. There are several types of voicing assimilation in Sölring.

Phonemic /s/ is voiceless in most environments in which it is found, but voicing is added when the segment occurs between voiced segments and the following syllable is unstressed; voicing to [z] will occur most regularly if the preceding segment is a long vowel: *leesen* [ˈleːzɪ] 'read PPL' and *forleesen* [fɔɹˈleːzɪ] 'lost'; but also the family name *Hansen* [ˈhanzɪ]; these contrast with sibilant voicelessness in *wesen* [ˈvesɪ] 'been' and *biseet* [bɪˈseːt]; in (Nuurd-)friislön [ˈfriːslœn] '(North) Frisia', the sibilant is voiceless because it forms the coda of the stressed syllable. In prosodic phrasing, this voicing is found when no pause interferes with the newly-created environment (for the contexts of the intonation units presented in (1) and (2), see 2.6.2.3.):

- (1) *muar ūs dūūsent* [ˈmuaɹɥzdyzɪt]
more as thousand
'more than a thousand'
- (2) *ūs ik jens ön New York lair,* [ɥzɪkˈjenzœn (...)]
as I once in New York lay
'Once when I was in New York (by ship)'

Voicing to [z] is found twice in both of these prosodic phrases, on three of the occasions across word boundaries.

Voicing of medial /p/, /t/, and /k/ takes place under slightly different conditions in each case. /p/ -> [b] only after long stressed vowels, as in *iipen* 'open' and *hōōpi* 'hope', but not in e.g. the past participles *lōpen* 'run' or *holpen* 'helped'. /t/ -> [d] after long stressed vowels but also between a nasal and a vowel: in *wunter* 'winter' [ˈvundɔɹ] and the name of the village *Raan'tem* [rɔːndəm] as well as in *beeter* 'better', *leeter* 'later', *mooter* 'mother', and *weeter* 'water'. /k/ -> [g] after short stressed vowels, such as in *luki* 'look' and *snaki* 'talk', and following long vowels, e.g. *maaki* 'make, do'. Such voicing can also take place across word boundaries when the stops become intervocalic:

- (3) *ik weet ek muar* [ɪgˈveːdekmɔɹ]
I know no more
'I don't know any longer'

Anticipatory voicing of /t/ takes place in the designations for the geographic variants *Uastring* [ˈuasdrɪŋ] and *Weestring* [ˈveːsdrɪŋ] (from *uast(en)* 'east' and *weest(en)* 'west').

From a synchronic perspective, intervocalic /t/ is voiced to [v], once again following a long stressed vowel. Voicing in e.g. *brewer* 'letters' and *tiwer* reverses, as it were, devoicing of the

final segment in the respective singulars (*breev*, *tiiv*). There is no voicing of the fricative e.g. in the phrase of *en tõ* 'now and again, once in a while' since the intervocalic environment created does not contain a long vowel.

A loss of voicing occurs by anticipation in fricative variants of /r/, which occur before stops (all of which are voiceless): *tērp* 'village', *fart* 'voyages (vb)', *ark* 'each', where in each case /r/ → [x].

2.4.2. Elision and Its Consequences

The unstressed allophone of /e/ [ə], is elided between homorganic consonants. Depending on the precise nature of the environments, three types of secondary effects also take place.

Elision of [ə] between a liquid and a final [n] results in the nasal forming the end of the syllabic coda: *feelen* 'fallen', *fēren* 'voyaged PPL', and *miaren* 'morning; tomorrow' become the monosyllables [fe:ln], [fē:n], and [meɛm].

If two nasals form the environment of the elided vowel, gemination or syllabification will result. The former is usual in *faamen* 'girl/daughter' [fo:m:], where the second nasal becomes bilabial by assimilation, resulting in a phonetically long or "geminate" final consonant. A syllabic nasal can be found at the end of *dānen* 'those (ones)' [da:n̩], but in more rapid articulation, a geminate consonant is produced: [da:n:].

In the third type of environment, the first consonantal segment is an obstruent. In these cases, a syllabic consonant will result at the end of the word after elision: *wisel* 'weasel' [ˈvɪsɪ], *skōtel* 'saucer' [skœtɪ], *fasten* '(period of) fasting' [fastɪ], *būten* 'outside' [ˈbʏtɪ]. In *hōken* 'who?; someone' [hōkɪ] and *iipen* 'open' [i:bm̩], the nasals also assimilate to the place of articulation of the preceding segments.

Elision does not take place if the consonants forming the environment of [ə] are not homorganic: *bōōsem* 'broom' [bø:səm], the given name *Mochel* [ˈmɔxəl], and *skōter* 'shooter' [skœdɔɕ].

2.4.3. Nasal Assimilation

Before a velar consonant, a nasal assimilates in place of articulation by anticipation, as in *skaank* 'ugly' [sko:ŋk] and *toonk* 'thanks' [to:ŋk]. Assimilation is not common, however, when [n] is juxtaposed to a non-nasal bilabial consonant (which will not be in the same syllable), so the morphemes *iin* 'into' + *binj* 'bind' derive the prefixed verb *iinbinj* 'bind into', [i:nbɪŋ], and the prefixed adjective *ünpaar* '(numerically) odd' is pronounced [ˈʏnpɔ:ɕ]. After the bilabial nasal [m], [n] assimilates to produce a geminate bilabial consonant: *faamen* 'girl/daughter' becomes [fo:m:] after elision of the unstressed vowel. In rapid speech, a long consonant can also be produced in a word like *dānen* 'those (ones)' [da:n:] when the unstressed vowel is elided and two homorganic nasals are juxtaposed (2.4.2.). Following a stop, either bilabial as in *iipen* 'open' [i:bm̩], *skeepen* 'ships' [ske:bm̩], or velar as in *hōken* 'who?; someone' [hōkɪ], *weeken* 'weeks' [ve:kɪ], a final nasal in an unstressed syllable assimilates to the place of articulation of the preceding segment with elision of the unstressed vowel, and the result is a syllabic nasal.

2.4.4. Final Devoicing

In word-final position, voiced obstruents are generally devoiced. Historically, the reflex of Germanic final *b* merged in Sörling with final [v]: *hualev* 'half', *kualev* 'calf', *sterev* 'die' (Gmc **halbaz-*, **kalbam*, **sterban*); a few unmerged cases of final [b] survived into the early part of the twentieth century. Möller (1916) has *Ēb/ēbi* 'ebb' (n./vb.) and *Nēb* 'beak, bill of a bird', but *Rep* (*Reb*) 'rib', with the parenthetical form apparently representing an older pronunciation. Final [v] is still represented in spelling in most of the words in question, but it has lost voicing in this position for most speakers: [ˈhuələf], [ˈkualəf], [ˈsterəf]. Devoicing of [d] to [t] occurs only when the final consonant is preceded by [x] < /r/: *buurt* < *buurd* 'board', *swért* < *sweerd* 'sword', *uurt* < *uurd*, since all other instances of final [d] earlier shifted to /r/ (today [ʁ]): *gur* 'good', *her* 'had', *sir* 'side, page'. Final [g] is transcribed in Möller (1916) as [ʒ] (= IPA [ɣ]), but again for most speakers, the sound has now become [x].

2.4.5. Phonotactic Degemination

Geminates or "double consonants" that would arise from the juxtaposition of identical consonants as a result of morphological changes to a word are degeminated. This happens when the 2SG. inflectional ending *-st* is added to a verbal stem ending in [s], as for the irregular verbs *lees* 'read': 2SG. Pres. *last* < *las-* + *-st*, 2SG. Pret. *lost* < *los-* + *-st*, and *früüs* 'freeze': *frūs-* + *-st* > *früst* (2SG. Pres.) and *fruas-* > *fruast* (2SG. Pret.). This process can result in isomorphism with 3SG. Pres. forms for those verbs with stems ending in [s], since the morphological marker of the 3SG. is *-t*: *last* and *früst* are also the 3SG. Pres. forms of *lees* and *früüs* respectively. Similarly, for verbs with stems ending in [t], the 3SG. forms have single rather than double final consonants, e.g. *weet* 'know (factually)' has the 3SG. Pres. form *weet* '(he/she/it) knows'; *set* 'sits' (INF *set*); *smet* 'throws' (INF *smit*).

2.4.6. Cluster Simplification

Similar to degemination is the simplification of consonant clusters that would arise from morphological inflection (and derivation). The irregular verb *weet* 'know (factually)' would regularly end in the cluster *-tst* in the 2SG. Pres., but the cluster is simplified by elision of the initial *-t*, so that (*dü*) *weest* 'you know' is the actual form of the 2SG. Pres. Likewise, the modal *mut* 'may, must' has the 2SG. Pres. Form *must*. The final consonant cluster in *bārst* 'burst' simplifies and degeminates, so that the 2SG. Pres. is identical to the infinitive (*bārst*).

However, this simplification does not take place in all possible cases. The irregular verbs *set* 'sit', *seet* 'set', *slit* 'be used up', *smit* 'throw', and *split* 'splice' all have the *-tst* cluster in the 2SG. Pres. (*setst*, *seetst*, *slitst*, *smitst*, and *splitst*). Regardless of whether the cluster is simplified in the 2SG. Pres., however, there is no gemination of the stem-final [t] in any of these verbs.

2.4.7. Lenition of /r/

The variants of /r/ pattern according to regular environments. Assuming the trilled allophone to be basic, the flapped, fricative, approximant, and vocalized realizations (as [r], [x], [ɹ], and [ʁ] respectively) represent various degrees of weakened articulation, with the zero variant the most weakened of all. (For examples in various environments, see 2.2.)

2.4.8. Palatalization

The diminutive suffix *-ji* results in the palatalization of a preceding [s], as in *hūsji* 'bathroom' (lit. 'little house' = 'outhouse') [ˈhʏʃi]. This suffix is widely applied to given names as an expression of familiarity, and palatalization occurs in these cases as well: *Hans* + *-ji* becomes *Hansji* [ˈhanʃi].

The current pronunciation of the word *Winjsdai* 'Wednesday' [ˈvɪŋʒdɑː] is interesting with respect to this process because it apparently derives from palatalization of a metathesized variant, cp. OE *wōdnesdæg*, OFris. **wōnsdei*, both lit. 'Wodan's day'. In modern Sölring, [ɲ] occurs only after /i/, often as a reflex of earlier [nd] (in words like *winj* 'wind', *finj* 'find', *binj* 'bind'); metathesis in the determinatum to **wōnds-* would have resulted in development to *winjs-* (perhaps also influenced by an identification of the Germanic god Wodan with wind as a natural force). Möller (1916) gives no indication of the pronunciation of *Winjsdai*, but indicates that of the adjective *winjsk* 'made crooked by the wind' (*"windschief"*), *winj* + the adjectival suffix *-sk*, as the equivalent of [vɪŋsk]. In the name of the day of the week, the medial cluster *-njs-* has at least by now palatalized to [ɲʒ]; the same pronunciation occurs in the first syllable of *Winjshoog*, lit. 'Wodan's hill', a former topographical feature in Kairem.

Which variant of the phoneme /x/ occurs in a given environment depends on the quality of the preceding vowel. The segment is velar [x] when it follows back vowels, and palatal [ç] after front vowels: *kachel* 'tile' [ˈkaxəl], *blach* 'bedsheet' [blax], and *locht* 'air' [lɔxt], but *lecht* 'easy' [leçt], *leecht* 'light' [le:çt], and *stich* 'path, road' [stiç]. For these environments, [a] has the effect of a back vowel, even though it is phonetically forward in articulation.

2.4.9. Lowering of Short Vowels

The short vowels are characteristically more open or "lower" in articulation than the corresponding long vowels. As a result, phonemic /i/, /y/, /e/, /ø/, /u/, and /ɔ/ are the slightly lower [ɪ], [ʏ], [ɛ], [œ], [ʊ], and [ɔ] in actual pronunciation, including word-finally even before pauses (*bi* 'by, at', *fo* 'get', *jū* 'she', *se* 'see'). A consistent exception to this process is found in the tense, closed articulation [i] < /i/ before [ŋ] in both stressed and unstressed syllables, e.g. *deling* 'today', *finger* 'finger', *kōning* 'king', *ring* 'ring', *Sölring* 'Sölring', *tiring* 'news'.

2.4.10. Shortening of Long Vowels

In the stream of speech, long vowels can be phonetically quite short in duration. Except in explicit contrast, there is thus often little perceptible difference between such pairs as *keen* 'know (a person)/ken 'can' and *ūūs* 'our; us/ūs 'as' in discourse, particularly since vowel tenseness can also lessen appreciably in rapid speech.

2.4.11. Lowering and Rounding before /r/

In its various realizations, /r/ has definite effects on certain preceding vowels in the same syllable. Long high vowels are regularly lowered and a vocalic glide can be produced: phonetically, /u:rt/ can become [ʊɣrt] 'word', /se:rk/ > [seɣrk] 'church', and /te:rp/ > [teɣrp]. 'village'. Particularly in the east (1.3.1.), short front vowels, as in *tir* 'time', *lir* 'people', *fif* 'five', *en* 'a; and', and *em* 'one (impers. pron.)' are rounded as well as lowered, resulting in [tʏɣ], [lʏɣ], [fʏɣ], [œn], and [œm].

Based on recent and archival research, Willkommen (1991:49-52) proposes Kairem as the place of origin for the lowering of [i] before /r/, and Ārichsem/Muasem as the place in which lowering before front (=prepalatal) consonants originated.

2.5. Syllables

Monosyllabic word stems have the form (C)(C)(C) V (C)(C)(C):

V i 'you (pl.)'	CV dū 'you (sg.)'	CCV blō 'blue'	CCCV stre 'straw'
VC ik T'	CVC wit 'white'	CCVC green 'green'	CCCVCC strōn 'beach'
VCC ark 'each'	CVCC suurt 'black'	CCVCC spark 'kick'	CCCVCC strunt 'filth'
VCCC emsk 'at same time'	CVCCC mensk 'human being'		

Syllables thus generally pattern from lower to higher sonority in the onset up until the vocalic nucleus, and higher to lower sonority in the coda following the nucleus; the fricative [s] plays a special role in this patterning, since it can follow less sonorous segments in the syllabic coda, as in words like mjuks 'muck', eeks 'axe', and strips 'beating'.

With the addition of inflectional suffixes, monosyllables can have complex consonant clusters at the end, notably in 2SG. Pres. forms like the following:

VCCC etst 'eat'	CVCCC letst 'let'	CCVCCC smetst 'throw'	CCCVCCC skrefst 'write'
VCCCC aiskst 'ask, demand'	CVCCCC markst 'notice'	CCVCCCC sparkst 'kick'	CCCVCCCC skrumpst 'shrink'

Historically, an epenthetic vowel developed in words between 1) post-tonic liquids and 2) following fricatives or the bilabial nasal [m]. As a result, words like korev 'basket' (< Lat. corbis; cp. HGer. Korb), fārev 'paint' (Gmc. *farwa-/ō), sterev 'die' (Gmc. *sterb-a-n, Engl. cognate starve), salev 'self' (Gmc. *selba-), hualev 'half' (Gmc. *halba(3)-) are all bisyllabic, as are ārem 'poor' and jerem 'arm' (both Gmc. *arma-), halem 'dune grass' (Gmc. *halma-), fuarem 'form' (< Lat. fōrma), tiarem 'intestine' (Gmc. *parma-), wārem 'warm' (Gmc. *warma-), and wūrem 'worm' (Gmc. *wurma-). (In elev, twelev 'eleven, twelve' and wārel 'world', the consonants were already non-adjacent in Germanic: *ain-lif-, *twa-lif-, *wer-alhd, each of them a compound) Verbs derived from such nouns diverged as to the fate of the epenthetic vowel: it is elided in alarmi 'make noise' (alārem 'noise'), stormi 'storm' (storem), but retained in kwalemi 'give off smoke' (kwalem 'smoke'), and kualewi 'bear a calf' (kualev), wārewi 'run errands'

(wārev 'errand'), fuaremi, and wāremi.

Monosyllabic prefixes take the form VC, CV, or CVC (e.g. ðn-, bi-, wech-), and monosyllabic suffixes the form VC, VCC, CVC, or CCVC (-ig, -elk, -ling, -ster). Both types of affixation can thus result in juxtaposition of up to four consonants, e.g. wechspring [-x.spr-] 'jump away' and droonkster [-ŋk.st-] 'drunk, alcoholic'.

Exceptionally, compounding can result in as many as five contiguous consonants:

Consonant Clusters in Compounds

TWO CONSONANTS	THREE CONSONANTS	FOUR CONSONANTS
fek.dok 'handkerchief'	kraam.steken 'things, stuff'	spaans.green 'verdegris'
trek.pot 'teapot'	spring.flör 'springtide'	öört.knol 'clump of soil'
skuul.maister 'school teacher'	frost.weder 'clear winter weather'	melt.kraank 'spleen-sick'
bük.wark 'body pain'	düür.drumpel 'threshold'	skreft.stek 'piece of writing, writ'
stiin.tjüch 'stoneware'	mech.knop 'mosquito bite'	mein.stiin 'millstone'
fügel.neest 'bird's nest'	maag.kreeft 'stomach cancer'	sērk.klok 'church bell/clock'

A five-consonant complex occurs in ungstsweet, lit. 'fear-sweat' (ungst + sweet). In the case of mensch 'human being' + blör 'blood', an epenthetic syllable breaks up the cluster: menskenblör 'human blood'. (In this particular case, the allomorph of mensch is identical to the form of the plural, mensken 'human beings'). In both cases, the form of the compound parallels the corresponding term in High German (Angstschweiß, Menschenblut), pointing to loan influence (4.1.2.4.).

The term for an Englishman, engelsman, is interesting because the adjective for the nationality is engelsk. In this case, a segment of negligible sonority ([k]) has been elided even though the resulting cluster would have been "permissible"; phonotactically, elision of the velar segment between an alveolar and a labial simplifies the juncture. In menskhair 'humanity', the same velar segment is retained before a glottal consonant, which is also of negligible sonority.

2.6. Prosody

Interacting with segmental phonetics and phonology are perceptual and physical properties of sound as it occurs in the stream of speech. These suprasegmental properties, collectively called prosody, are judged by language users to express significant aspects of function and meaning (Chafe 1994: 56-57). This section will analyze the prosody of Sölring with regard to four aspects of prosodic interaction: word stress, stress or accent within discourse, tempo, and intonation.

2.6.1. Word Stress

Sölring is a language with a great number of monosyllabic words; all of these naturally would receive word stress in isolation. As in Germanic languages in general, as well, stress in Frisian long since shifted to initial syllables in polysyllabic simplicia. This being the case, it will be necessary to account for the instances of stress that do not fall on the initial syllables of words. Relevant to this account is a broad distinction between native or nativized words and borrowings, and among three types of words: derivations, compounds (both types of which involve native or nativized words) and partially assimilated loans (or borrowings).

2.6.1.1. Stress in Derived Verbs and Nouns

Some derived nouns and verbs are stressed on a non-initial syllable, and most of the nouns in question are derived from the verbs.

Verbs not stressed on their first syllable either have the stressed suffix *-iari* [-'e̞ɑɾi]/[-e̞ɑɾɪ] or any of a number of prefixes. The verbs *gratuliari* 'congratulate' /gratuleri/, *intresiari* 'interest' /intreseri/, *kumandiari* 'command, expropriate' /kumanderi/, *renoviari* 'renovate' /renoveri/, and *hantiari* 'handle, tinker with' /hanteri/, as well as all other verbs thus suffixed, all have penultimate stress.

Stress in prefixed verbs is considerably less clear-cut. There are two broad categories of verbal prefixes: those that are stressed and that separate from the verbal stem when used in the Present and Preterite, and those that are unstressed and do not separate from the stem. (There is one anomalous prefix, *mes-*, which does not separate but is typically stressed.) One prefix, *for-* [fɔŋ], is always unstressed: *forhüri* 'hide', *foriiri* 'present', *forlees* 'lose', *forsjuk* 'attempt', *forstuun* 'understand'. This straightforwardness is perhaps compromised by the phonetic proximity of the prefix *fuar-* [fuɑ], which is always stressed (as in *fuardö* 'profess, pretend', *fuarleeng* 'reach over to give something', *fuarsküüv* 'push forward'). As a result, the difference in stress is the clearest point of distinction in the sound of semantically distinct verb pairs:

VERBS WITH UNSTRESSED PREFIXES

<i>forgung</i>	'commit'
<i>forlees</i>	'lose'
<i>forse</i>	'mistake; supply'
<i>forset</i>	'sit through'
<i>forseet</i>	'move elsewhere'

VERBS WITH STRESSED PREFIXES

<i>fuargung</i>	'go before, proceed'
<i>fuarlees</i>	'read aloud'
<i>fuarse</i>	'provide for'
<i>fuarseet</i>	'sit at the head'
<i>fuarseet</i>	'set before, serve'

The other unstressed prefixes have stressed counterparts that are segmentally identical. For these prefixes, stress (and thus separability) is a question of semantics that will be addressed in Chapter 3 (3.3.2.); below is a table of verbs with the contrasting prefixes *aur-*, *bi-*, *om-*, *õner-*, *tõ-*, and *weder-*:

**VERBS WITH
UNSTRESSED
PREFIXES**

aurfaal	'attack'
aurlewi	'survive'
aurwen	'overcome'
biplaki	'stain'
biraili	'arrange'
bistuun	'exist'
omgrip	'contain'
omhaini	'fence in'
omsleeng	'wrap around'
õnerber	'underbid'
õnerhual	'entertain'
õnernem	'undertake'
tõbreek	'break to bits'
tõgnõõs	'smash, crush'
tõspring	'shatter'
wederspreek	'contradict'
wederstuun	'withstand'

**VERBS WITH
STRESSED
PREFIXES**

aurfrüüs	'freeze over'
aurlaap	'walk across'
aurswüm	'swim across'
bilii	'lay next to'
binem	'touch, demand'
bistuun	'support'
omgrip	'grasp around'
omkluari	'change clothes'
omsmit	'knock over, upset'
õnerdük	'dive below'
õnerhual	'hold under'
õnerseet	'set underneath'
tõbech	'build onto'
tõkiir	'turn toward'
tõspring	'jump to'
wederfinj	'find again'
wederkeen	'recognize'

Noninitial word stress is also found on verbs with the separating bisyllabic prefixes *ombi-*, *tõbeek-*, *tõhop-*, and *tõrocht-*, each a compound with second-syllable stress. Examples are the verbs *ombifluki* 'look around' and *ombistuun* 'stand about'; *tõbéékblüiv* 'remain behind' and *tõbéékfo* 'receive in return'; *tõhõpfaagi* 'sweep together' and *tõhõpsmelt* 'melt together'; and *tõróchtfinj* 'find one's way', *tõróchtmaaki* 'ready, prepare'. These are actually complex prefixes (as are the free morphemes that correspond to them): *om* 'around' + *bi-* 'by'; *tõ* 'to' + *-beek* ~ *-bak* 'back' (adv.); *hop* 'heap'; *rocht* 'right'.

Although *mes-*, cognate with Engl. *mis-*, is typically stressed, verbs thus prefixed are typically inseparable: *mesbrük* 'misuse', *mesdüüdi* 'misinterpret', *mesleki* and *messlaagi* 'fail', and *mestruu* 'distrust'. *Mes'haneli* 'mishandle, abuse' is an exception to the pattern of initial stress, although the corresponding noun, *meshanling*, is not.

Most nouns with postinitial stress are nominalizations of prefixed verbs of the types just discussed. All nouns with the prefix *for-*, which never bears words stress (in any word class), are stressed on the following syllable: *forhaaling* 'recreation', *foriiring* 'gift, present', *forlof* 'permission', *formaak* 'pleasure', *forsjuk* 'attempt (n.)', *forskel* 'difference'.² Adjectives like *forbaust* 'amazed, bewildered', *forbloomet* 'finished blooming', *forboricht* 'borrowed', *forenkelt* 'individual', *forkrunkelt* 'wrinkled up', and *forskellig* 'different' are also stressed on the second syllable.

There is no verb corresponding to *aurléch* 'tranquility, reflectiveness', but *aurséeting* 'translation', *aurtjūūing* 'conviction', and *aurwīising* 'wire transfer' are all deverbal formations (*aurséét*, *aurtjūū*, and *aurwīisi*). The nouns *biffal* 'order, command', *bigén* 'beginning', *bigiar* 'covetousness', *bidrūk* 'pressure, poverty, need', *bidūūiding* 'meaning' are derived from the verbs *biffal*, *bigén*, *bigiar*, *bidrūk*, and *bidūūidi*. *Önerháneling* 'negotiation' and *önerhúaling* 'maintenance' correspond to the verbs *önerháneli* and *önerhúal*. Although the verb *önerrocht* 'instruct' has second-syllable stress, the noun *önerrocht* 'instruction, lesson' is stressed initially, a pattern that parallels HGerman *unterrichten* (vb.) / 'Unterricht (n.) of the same meanings. Nominalizations with the prefixes *om-*, *tō-*, and *weder-* are characteristically stressed on the first syllable.

In a narrow sense, nouns with the prefix *tōhop-* 'together', such as *tōhópkest* 'conference, convocation, meeting', also have non-initial stress, since this prefix itself (like the adverb *tōhop* 'together') has stress on its second syllable. The compound adjective *tōfreer* 'satisfied, content' is likewise stressed noninitially, as is the derivative noun *tōfreerenhair* 'satisfaction, contentment'.

The nominal suffix *-(er)ii* (3.1.2.1.) always bears final stress, so the nouns *fraagerii* 'endless asking of questions, interrogation' /*fro:geri:/*, *skiiwerii* 'endless writing' /*skri:veri:/*, *skruaderii* 'tailor's shop' /*skrualeri:/*, and *feskerii* 'fishing' /*feskeri:/* all have final stress.

2.6.1.2. Stress in Other Word Classes

Complex conjunctions, interrogatives, and adverbs of time, manner, and place are stressed postinitially. In the following list, the stressed vowels of words with more than two syllables are underlined or italicized (in bisyllabic words, the second syllable is stressed in each case):

COMPLEX ADVERBS

achter.ūt	'to the rear'	om.hoog	'upward'
a.liik	'alike, same'	om.liig	'downward'
ali.wārels	'plenty'		
		ōnt.menst	'at least'
aur.al	'especially'	ōn.tōōgen	'towards'
aur.beek	'backwards'	ōn.twesken	'meanwhile'
aur.fuar	'vis-à-vis'		
aur.haur	'at all'	sa.deling	'such'

²The stress pattern in *forskel* (and *blijánt* 'pencil') is thus different than in their Danish counterparts *førskel* and *blýant*.

bi.nai 'almost'
des.jaaring 'back then'

for.iivs 'in vain'
fu^{ar}.al 'especially'
fu^{ar}.bi 'past, gone'
fu^{ar}.b^üten 'except'
fu^{ar}.üt 'forward'
it.üüs 'at home'

lik.aur.fu^{ar} 'vis-à-vis'
lik.déling 'identical'
lik.üt 'straight ahead'

met.jens 'immediately'
miaren.éeder 'tomorrow morning'

of.stair 'away, absent'
önerst.igi.bogwen 'upside down'
tö.fuaren 'before'

tö.menst 'at least'
tö.nönt 'in vain'
töögen.aur 'vis-à-vis'
tö.stair 'present'
trinj.om 'round about'
üt.fan 'abroad'

COMPLEX CONJ. AND INTERROG.

al.dat 'although, even though'
aur.dat 'because'
diar.fu^{ar} 'therefore'
diar.tö 'in addition'
diar.töögen 'by contrast'
hur.déling 'how'
hur.fu^{ar} 'why'
hur.lung 'how long'
hü.wel 'although'
lik.wel 'nonetheless'
ön.stair 'instead'

In the polysyllabic words *hurdeiling* 'how', *arküder* 'each other' and its derivatives (such as *mearküder* 'with each other' and *ütarküder* 'apart, out from one another'), and the pair *iiröner* 'forenoon' and *auröner* 'afternoon', there is a tendency in fast speech to elide the stressed syllable and shift stress forward. *Hur.déling* thus becomes [hur(d)li:ŋ], *me.ark.üder* [me'axkleŋ] and *üt.ark.üder* [yt'axkleŋ], and *iir.öner* and *aur.öner* [i:meŋ] and [a'neŋ] respectively.

2.6.1.3. Stress in Loanwords

Particularly in earlier centuries, borrowing took place from a number of sources: Danish (Da), Dutch (Du), and Low Saxon (LS) (including many words of French origin); during the twentieth century, loans from these languages have dwindled in number while borrowing from High German has increased markedly. Many loanwords are used with unassimilated stress, i.e. with the non-initial stress pattern of the source language. Rarely is it possible to determine the precise source of one of these loanwords in Sörling; etymological information in Möller (1916) (1.6.) varies widely from entry to entry, and loan influence on North Frisian very often has parallels in one or more of the other contact languages (1.4.2.). It is nonetheless accurate to say that, until some time after the establishment of the tourist trade on the island (1.1.3.2.), Low Saxon was certainly the greatest source of loan influence on Sörling. In the following table, stressed vowels are underlined, and putative source languages, based on the information (if any) given in Möller (1916), are indicated in parentheses behind the glosses. Notation like (LS)? means that although Möller provides no etymological information at all, the word in question is likely a borrowing from Low Saxon; (LS:F) indicates that a borrowing is most immediately from Low Saxon but is

ultimately French in origin.

afikaat	'attorney' (LS:F)	koptain	'captain' (Du)
alart	'alert, brisk' (F)	krabaat	'wild kid' (LS Da)
aparti	'elegant' (LS: F)	kumpenii	'company' (LS:F)
alarem	'noise' (LS Du: F)	mahaageni	'mahogany'
aawentüür	'adventure' (Du:F)	mandüüring	'uniform' (F)
blijant	'pencil' (Du)	minüt	'minute (n.)' (LS:F)
busuntji	'work shirt' (LS Du)	naageraats	'gradually' (LS)
eefangeeli	'gospel' (LS)	omtrent	'approximately' (LS Da)
fetsuun	'fashion' (Du E: F)	pampusji	'slippers' (LS Da:F)
fisjt	'invitation' (LS: F)	paneel	'paneling' (Du LS:F)
gidüür	'patience' (LS:HG)	partii	'party, department' (LS Du F)
gifaar	'danger' (LS:HG)	pijunti	'louse' (LS)
gifööl	'feeling' (LS:HG)	puhee	'exaggeration'
gisicht	'face' (LS:HG)	ransaaki	'ransack' (ONorse)
giweeten	'conscience' (LS:HG)	saldaat	'soldier' (LS: It)
kabüüs	'closet; galley'(LG NL E: F)	samaari	'clerical vestments' (HG: F)
kajüt	'ship's cabin' (LG NLDK: F)	sjendarem	'policeman' (HG:F)
kakerlatj	'cockroach'	skabeluun	'template' (LS:F)
kanjink	'rabbit'	skalaaken	'scarlet'
kasket	'billed cap' (F)	skalot	'shalot' (F)
kastanji	'chestnut' (LS Du:It)	skrabelk	'larva, mask' (Da LG:NL)
komeedi	'theatrical performance (LS)	spitaakel	'commotion' (F)
kumiin	'cumin' (Du)	stohai	'commotion' (Da: LS)
kaneel	'cinnamon' (Du: F)		
komfoor	'tea warmer' (Du: F)		

1.1.3.4. German stress patterns in Sörling (DeSola 1997)

With an increasing tendency to adopt lexical items from High German, the patterns of word stress obtaining in that language are encountered with increasing frequency in Sörling. The tendency has long been present, however (Lasswell 1998): adoptions from German found in e.g. Jap Peter Hansen's *Di lekkelk Stjührman* (1833) (1.1.3.4.) include (in the author's spelling) *Empfehlung* 'recommendation' and *bisonders* 'especially', both presumably with postinitial stress (HGer. *Emp'fehlung*, *be'sonders*); adoptions in the current database that were used with a retention of German stress patterns include *angehen* 'happen', a proliferation of terms with the prefix [ge]/[gi], including *gisjeft* 'business', *gisets* 'law', and *gihirn* 'brain', and a number of hybrids with the initial formative *irgend-* (*irgendhur* 'somewhere or other', *irgendwan* 'sometime or other', *irgendwat* 'something or other').

2.6.1.4. Stress on Compounds

Lexical compounds of two morphemes typically have primary word stress on the initial morpheme, the determinant, and generally secondary stress on the second morpheme, the determinatum. When the determinatum has a long vowel, the secondary stress can be heard as primary. This acoustic perception is heightened when the stressed vowel of the determinant is short, as in *is.kuul* [ˈɪsku:l] 'ice cold'.

<i>baar.mooder</i>	'midwife'	<i>lik.kest</i>	'coffin'
<i>böter.skiiv</i>	'sandwich'	<i>sen.spraken</i>	'freckles'
<i>fek.dok</i>	'handkerchief'	<i>skortel.dok</i>	'apron'
<i>füür.törn</i>	'lighthouse'	<i>släip.kaamer</i>	'bedroom'
<i>hualév.junken</i>	'dusk'	<i>soker.boltji</i>	'candy'
<i>hiir.kleper</i>	'haircutter'	<i>spen.weeb</i>	'spider web'
<i>hi.kat</i>	'tomcat'	<i>spöl.rek</i>	'stage'
<i>holt.skuur</i>	'wooden shoes'	<i>swaawel.stok</i>	'(striking) match (n.)'
<i>hurl.winj</i>	'whirlwind'	<i>ter.börstel</i>	'toothbrush'
<i>hüs.leften</i>	'houseraising'	<i>töner.skrabel</i>	'thunderclap'
<i>inki.wüf</i>	'widow'	<i>tüm.nail</i>	'thumbnail'
<i>is.pik, is.tap</i>	'icicle'	<i>uar.wark</i>	'earache'
<i>jil.pung</i>	'purse'	<i>uurter.bok</i>	'dictionary'
<i>kachel.aun</i>	'tiled oven'	<i>wal.fesk</i>	'whale'
<i>knee.biin</i>	'knee'	<i>wunter.tjüch</i>	'winter clothes'

An exception to the general pattern of initial primary stress in compounds is the word *ruar.brii* 'redcurrant dessert', in which the diphthong of the determinant bears secondary stress and the long vowel in the open syllable of the determinatum has primary stress.

2.6.2. Accent, Tempo, and Intonation in Discourse

Many factors interact during conversational discourse to make language in the flow of speech potentially much different than in its written form, for instance, or from what one might expect to hear based on orthographical and pedagogical conventions. In this section, three of these factors will be discussed with regard to how they contribute to the prosody of Sölring as it is perceived auditorially in usage. The discussion is thus based on the listener's perspective.

2.6.2.1. Accent

Accent (or stress) is the prosodic feature of spoken language that accounts for the perceived prominence of one syllable compared to another. Its occurrence can entail changes in at least three factors, namely pitch, loudness, and duration, among which the first is probably the most fundamental. Although the convergence of these three factors could result in myriad degrees of stress, from an auditory viewpoint there are three degrees of accent that are generally identifiable: primary, secondary, and none. These types will be represented in the following examples by an acute accent (´), grave accent (˘) and lack of accent over the vowel of the stressed syllable.

As in many analyses of how spoken language "sounds", a broad but useful distinction in analyzing

Sölring is that between *content* and *function words*. The former are preeminently words that convey by themselves an image of semantic substance, such as words denoting living beings, objects, places, ideas, events, states of being, qualities, and times. Function words are the "other" words in a language, words that themselves seem to have very little or no semantic substance: auxiliary verbs, articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and pronouns. Content words, then, are primarily nouns, main verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. In addition to the semantic distinction between these two broad classes of words, there is a phonetic relation: content words are often stressed (or accented) in conversation while function words tend not to be. In this broad dichotomy, negators, interrogatives, and numerals, words that seem to have little semantic content on their own, are anomalous because they often do bear stress in conversational usage. Some content vs. function words in Sölring are:

CONTENT WORDS (often stressed)

mensk 'human being', kraam 'stuff', wārel 'world', taachten 'thoughts', aurllech 'reflection'
 gung 'go, walk', koopi 'buy', wel 'want', snaki 'talk'
 gurt 'big', gau 'quick(ly)', suurt 'black', forleeden 'last, past'
 lecht 'easy, easily', jir 'here', jüster 'yesterday', deling 'today'

ANOMALOUS (often stressed)

ek 'not' (as negator), niin 'no'
 hoken 'who?', hur 'where?', hurfuur 'why?', hurdeling 'how'
 tiin 'ten', fifentachtig 'eighty-five', hönert 'hundred', dūüsent 'thousand'

FUNCTION WORDS (usually unstressed)

dí 'the; that one', dit 'the; that'
 ðn 'in', üp 'on', fan 'from', tō 'to'
 en 'a; and', aur 'over; because', fuar 'for; because'
 ik 'I', hi 'he', ja 'they'

Depending on a host of linguistic and paralinguistic variables, including those involved in the dynamics of a conversation and the communicative intent of the conversants, however, stress can occur on function words instead of or in addition to stress on content words, and primary accents can be found where secondary accents might be expected (and vice versa). This can happen e.g. in situations of emphasis with implicit or explicit contrast. (In the following examples, intonation units (2.6.2.3., 6.1.1.) are separated by commas, and stressed mutated vowels appear with the umlaut to the side.)

(4) Nem dídiar stek, ek dí.
 Take the.there piece not the
 'Take that piece, not that one'

(5) Ik haa al forsacht, nü best dú: üp reeg.
 I have already tried now are you on row
 'I've already given it a try, now it's your turn'

(6) **Hi es man jen fan di ual slach.**
 He is but one from the old kind
 He's really an old-timer'

(7) **Hat sen ék aliining di bàari.lir, di diar skilj haa.**
 it is not alone the bathing.people the there guilt have
 'It's not just the tourists that are to blame'

Contrast is explicit in (4) and (5); in (6), the speaker was making a reference of implicit contrast to present-day characteristics, and the speaker in (7) was emphasizing that, contrary to the implication in the foregoing discourse about the causes of rapid changes on Söl, other parties were responsible as well as the ones previously discussed.

2.6.2.2. Tempo

Tempo in speech is a complex phenomenon determined by timing, the interplay between vocalization and silence. Rates of vocalization are affected by patternings of stress and of syllable lengthening, as well as by the frequency and length of pauses (and the occurrence of "fillers"); these factors are then the main determinants of the rhythmic texture of language. The following discourse excerpts from three different speakers represent three quite different rhythms (pauses are indicated by a series of periods and lengthened syllables by =; an indication of overall tempo is given as syllables/second).

(8) **Jir òn Kairem sen máning hüüsingar,**
 here in Kairem are many houses
wat fa= .. ü- üt üüs familji hur .. jaa,
 what fro(m) ou-out our family where yes
e=h .. di faini, f-Wéberhòf, heest dü di sèn?
 uh the fine Weberhof have you the seen
 'Lots of the houses here in Kairem were in my family –
 like the elegant Weberhof: have you seen it?' (29/14 or 2.1 syll/sec)

(9) **En wan dit .. bécht uuren es diar ging òn jén nácht**
 and when that built become is there went in one night
.. fan di dūnemer, twélev mèèter .. ging diar wèch
 from the dunes twelve meters went there away
me di flōr.
 with the flood
 'And when it had been built, twelve meters of the dunes were
 washed away by the tide in one night.' (27/7 or 3.9 syll/sec)

(10) **Dit es en familji hur ja boow- oonihen Sölring**
 that is a family where they ove(r) anyway Sölring
snaki man wan ja me di jungen diar Dütsk snaki
 talk but when they with the children there German talk
of me di man, dit es diar bleft et üt .. ek?

or with the man that is there stays it out not
 'That's a family that speaks Sölring anyway but when they speak German
 with the children or with the husband, that's the end of it, eh?' (37/8 or 4.6 syll/sec)

Tempo, of course, is very individual and varies according to a wide range of factors, including the speaker's age and the circumstances of conversation such as the setting, topic, and degree of familiarity among/between speakers.

2.6.2.3. Intonation

Auditorally, spoken language can be perceived to have tonal patterns that extend over relatively short stretches of speech and recur within a piece of discourse. Like tempo, these tonal patterns are complex phenomena that closely interact with other prosodic features, and the listener's perception of intonation is primarily determined by much the same acoustic variables (frequency or pitch, amplitude or intensity (loudness), and timing). In the following short phrases of discourse, changes in pitch and loudness as well as of duration converge on the last syllable of the phrase, which bears primary accent in each case:

- (11) Ken I diar ek irgendwat háá?
 can you:PL there not something have
 'Wouldn't you like something else?'
- (12) Sjuk dit jest jens itüüs!
 seek that first once at-home
 'See if you can find it at home'
- (13) Dit ken ik mi saacht teenk.
 that can I me easily think
 'That's not at all surprising'

Though conventions of written language and pedagogic practice might suggest otherwise, most speech takes place in short phrases, or *intonation units* (Chafe 1987, 1988, 1994; cf. 6.1.1.), like those in (11)–(13). The boundaries between intonation units often coincide with the occurrence of pauses, but any of a number of other cues, such as syllable lengthening (and thus a decrease in tempo) at the end of one unit and a return to a "baseline" pitch and an acceleration of tempo at the beginning of the next unit, are often present as well (DuBois et al. 1992). Overall, characteristic of the intonation unit (IU) is a coherent intonational contour.

Many descriptions of intonation that take as their prosodic domain units of syntax, such as sentences, traditionally assign to rising intonational patterns an interrogative relation and to falling ones declarative or imperative character. While these characterizations can be generally accurate for many isolated questions, sentences, and commands for many languages (including Sölring) as found in printed texts and classroom usage, it will be much more revealing to analyze prosody in terms of patterning of accent, tempo, and intonation as it occurs in actual speech.

Notwithstanding personal and affective variations in prosodic patterning, specific tonal contours

from the final primary-accented syllable in an intonation unit to the end of the IU very often correlate with certain communicative functions, as follows:

<u>Contour</u>	<u>Functions</u>
Rise-Fall	Introducing topics Advancing claims Making assertions and inferences Making factual statements Specifying, elaborating Listing Asking (yes/no) Disarming in reply
Fall-Rise	Advancing claims (relativizer following) Issuing challenges
Fall	Announcing theses Concluding (sub-)topics or frames
Rise	Launching explanations Explaining Remarking on coincidence Creating suspense
Level	Reversing, conceding Opining (in reply) Setting conditions Conveying intent Repeating Transitioning formulaically Floor-holding

These functions potentially overlap, of course, and they often do in actual conversation, where conveying a message can entail e.g. making factual statements within an explanation, specifying as part of a concession, and explaining by way of reply. In addition, although tonal contours may be identified at the level of the intonation unit, functions are quite naturally not restricted in scope to the IU.

In addition to tonal contours characterizing primary accent and the syllables that follow it, IUs can be heard to have terminal pitch going in one of the same (or different) directions as the (end of the) tonal contour. Such terminal pitch direction appears to be quite variable, having few functional correlations. One such correlation is structural as well: coming at the end of a specifying rise-fall tonal contour, a level or high-level terminal pitch is used after the relativizer or complementizer.

These generalizations are best exemplified in discourse. The following two conversational excerpts are divided into intonation units and marked for each of the prosodic factors just discussed in usage adapted from Chafe 1994 and DuBois et al. 1992. Three levels of stress are indicated: primary (acute accent on the vowel of the stressed syllable), secondary (grave accent on the stressed syllable), and none (no accent). Tempo is shown by an indication of pausing (two dots for a brief period of silence, three for a longer pause) and the duration of vocalization in seconds. The tonal pattern characteristic of each IU is shown in two places: firstly, by a mark preceding the final word bearing primary stress (rising: /, falling: \, level: _ , rising-falling: ^, and falling-rising: v), and, secondly, by a mark at the end of each unit indicative of the terminal pitch direction (rising: /, high-level: ¯, falling: \, level: _). The symbols . ; , ? indicate, respectively, final, half-final, continuing, and appeal transitional continuity for each IU, reflecting respectively the listener's perception of the speaker's rhetorical intent of having finished a communicative point, of being about to go on with a point, or of inviting a response from the listener. They thus have no direct connection to punctuation as it would be used in writing.

The first excerpt comes from a conversation with a male speaker (born 1917) from Kairem; the non-native speaker's remarks are set down in parentheses but not analyzed prosodically.³ Just under discussion had been the status of Seeltersk ("East" Frisian) and its reported 1000-2000 remaining speakers; the previous day, in a presentation by the non-native conversant, the figure for Söl had been put at some 500, an estimate that had been made two years earlier (1.2.):

IU		PRIMARY COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS; (COMMENTS)
1	man õ, _ but uh	
2	dít heest dū uk /jú:ster._ that have you too yesterday	introducing
3	jüster õn din /fúardrach; _ yesterday in your lecture	introducing
4	.. eh uh	
5	.. /ék bitäächt; \ not considered	introducing & asserting
6	/fingen dát, _	introducing & asserting

³ Here, for technical reasons, stressed mutated vowels in the native speaker's discourse appear with a colon to the right side, and stressed <@> is underlined, so e.g. Dútsklön in IU 11, with primary stress on the first syllable, is represented as *Dú:tsklön*.

- gotten that
- 7 wū l=écht sa maning ð Sölring haa wat claiming with relativizer following
 we easy so many uh Sölring have what
 jaar spráák jit Vhúal, /
 their language yet hold
- 8 wat ^bütló:ns sen. _ specifying & claiming
 what abroad are
 (jaa)
 yes
- 9 ek? /
 not
- 10 ðn ^Déénemark en, _ listing
 in Denmark and
- 11 ðn ^Dú:tsklön, _ listing
 in Germany
- 12 ðn .. ^Hólön, _ listing
 in Holland
- 13 ðn ^Amérikaa, _ listing
 in America
- 14 ðn ^`Engelön, _ listing
 in England
- 15 ðn ^Austráljen, _ listing
 in Australia
 (jaa) `
- 16 ja sèt da üp di hiili \wárel; \ advancing thesis
 they sit then on the whole world
 (jaa)
- 17 en dit sen l=écht jit.jèns sa \màning. \\\ advancing thesis
 and that are easy yet.again so many
 (ah so, jaa?)

	oh so yes	
18	jaa. \ yes	
	(mee- meenst dū ūp Sōl salev jeft et deling mean you on Sōl seif give it today mesken jit 1000 mensken wat Sōlring snaki?) maybe yet 1000 humans what Sōlring talk	
19	Λmúar ūs dūūsent. \ more than thousand	asserting & replying
	(aha)	
20	Λmúar ūs dūūsent, _ more than thousand	asserting (echo), preparatory to explanation
21	wū /háá, / we have	launching explanation (significant pitch reset)
22	.. wū haa ja /nóch, / we have yes enough	re-launching explanation
23	nòch en gánsi rèèg ΛuáL.en, / enough an entire row old.NOM	stating fact
24	.. eh, hur wū noch Λmést màást, _ uh where we enough miss must	specifying, stating fact
25	... wat ō, _ what uh	(relativizer)
26	... est- _stú:rwen sen, / died are	conceding (secondary relativization)
27	.. _mán eh, _ but uh	reversing
28	diar sen uk en Λgánsi rèèg, / there are too an entire row	advancing claim
29	e-eh Λtó:.kèmen wát, _ uh to.come what	advancing claim, specifying

- 30 wat /jér bluat ö, _ specifying, advancing claim
 what earlier only uh
- 31 .. ö Sölring /forstúún kūr, / specifying, advancing claim
 uh Sölring understand could
- (ah ha ah ha)
- 32 en deling Sölring /snáki; \ specifying, advancing claim
 and today Sölring talk
- 33 ek _ (tag)
 not
- (mesken 1500 meenst dū, of ...?)
 maybe 1500 mean you or
- 34 ik ném ön dat et eh- dat et opining (in reply)
 I take on that it uh that it
 uk jit _múar es, _
 too yet more is
- 35 wan d' wan dū dánen _birū:eksichtigi setting condition
 when when you those _consider (ends in relativizer)
 wet wat wat ö, _
 want what what uh
- 36 .. /búten.fúar lewi, / specifying
 outside.fore live
- (mhm)
- 37 .. dá .. længt /táudüüsent ék. \ asserting
 then reaches two-thousand not
- {DURATION OF EXCERPT: 1 min. 13 sec.}
- (da...?)
 then
- 38 <da længt tàudüüsent _ék.> \ repeating (much louder)
 then reaches two-thousand not
- ([aha] aha aha)

FREE TRANSLATION

But in the presentation yesterday you didn't take into account that we easily have as many more Sölring living abroad that maintain their language – in Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, America, Great Britain, Australia: they're all over the world. And that's easily as many more again. (Do you think there might still be as many as 1000 people on Söl itself that speak Sölring?) More than a thousand, more than a thousand. There are quite a lot of older speakers who are now gone, who have died, but there are also a lot of new ones that used to only understand Sölring but are now able to speak it. (Perhaps 1500, do you think?) I imagine that it's even more – if you take into account those who live abroad, it'll be more than two thousand.

A breakdown of the three prosodic categories marked in each IU gives the following figures (six of the IUs include no primary accent and are not reflected in the breakdown):

<u>TONAL PATTERNS FROM FIN. STRESS</u>		<u>TRANSITIONAL CONTINUITY</u>		<u>TERMINAL PITCH DIRECTION</u>	
\ Falling	2	. Final	6	\ Falling	5
V Fall-Rise	1	; Half	5	\\ Double	1
/ Rising	2	? Appeal	0	/ Rising	8
^ Rise-Fall	22				
_ Level	<u>5</u>	, Contin.	<u>21</u>	_ Level	<u>18</u>
	32		32		32

In this passage, the predominant tonal pattern is a rise-fall leveling out in pitch at the end of the IU; this pattern is due to the occurrence of primary stress (usually *e*/ntailing a rise in pitch) being followed by unstressed syllable(s) in which there is typically a drop in pitch, resulting in a return of the pitch level to the "baseline" value. Terminal pitch is level in about 53% of the IUs, and about 65% of all IUs are perceived as continuing; some 69% exhibit rise-fall tonality beginning at the final syllable with primary stress.

Even in this brief passage, communicative functions overlap in a number of instances. In some cases, such as the occurrence of assertions in the topic introduction (IUs 5-6), of a listing within a claim (IUs 10-15), and of specifications within a claim (IUs 8 and 28-32), the characteristic intonation contours of the respective functions are the same. But in IUs 21-26, a potential conflict arises from the overlap because statements of fact and a concession form part of an overall explanation. In this case, the rising intonation characteristic of the explanation is restricted to the opening of the subtopic (its "launch") and each of the successive functions are reflected by their own tonal contour. In IUs 23 and 26, though, a hint of the explanatory contour is still conveyed by rising terminal pitch.

Interacting with the potentially competing communicative functions is an observed tendency for the speaker in this excerpt to extend an intonational pattern in one IU to the following IU (usually with different terminal pitch). Intonational "extension" is found in the sequences of IUs 2:3, 5:6, 19:20, 23:24, 28:29:30:31:32, 36:37 (all rise-fall); 21:22 (rising), 16:17 (falling); and 26:27, 34:35 (level). As noted earlier, the persistence of intonation beyond the IU boundary is not unexpected given the nature of discourse, but it is also found in cases where functional considerations on their

own might have suggested a different pattern on the second of two IUs; the rise-fall contour of IU 24 might have been a rise instead.

What is construed as transitional finality – that is, what sounds like completions of the speaker's current "points" – does not always coincide with a fall in terminal pitch. This is the case in IU 33, where pitch is level at the end. IU 33 comprises the regulatory tag "ek" ([e], unaccented); the IU is taken to be finalizing, and the level pitch suggests that the speaker is underscoring his proposition rather than inviting a response from the listener. (This is different than in IU 9, where regulatory "ek" ends with rising pitch and is perceived as an appeal.) In IU 38, "ek" [ek] is a negator rather than a regulatory particle; since negation of the proposition is crucial to the speaker's current point (begun in IU 34 in reply to a direct question), this "ek" is accented.

IU 38, although not counted as part of the excerpt proper, shows the variability in stress patterning that can be used in response to specific communicative needs. Perhaps in part due to the levelness of the pitch forming the transition from the previous IU, the interlocutor hadn't completely understood and had solicited an elaboration ("da ... ?"). In response, the speaker repeats the idea from IU 37 using the same words but with much greater intensity and a different stress pattern: stressed syllables retain stress, but in place of primary accent on the "determinatum" of the numeral, the repetition includes primary accent on both the verb and the negator.

The tempo of this passage is reduced by the rather frequent occurrence of fillers ("ø", "eh"), contributing to an auditory impression of fairly deliberate delivery. On the other hand, only once does syllable lengthening occur – in IU 17, where it seems to lend emphasis to the speaker's claim. A few rather long IUs (7,34,35) lend a particularly forceful effect to certain parts of the excerpt.

As generally in discourse, placement of stress is modified from the simple content/function-word dichotomy to effectively convey and underscore the speaker's intended meaning. The thrust of Excerpt 1 is the upward revision of an earlier estimate of the number of Sörling speakers: in both of the IUs 7 and 17, the adverb "leicht" ('easily') is given special prominence (with primary stress and/or syllable lengthening and increased intensity) as one indication of emphasis:

- | | | |
|----|---|-------------------------------------|
| 7 | wū l=écht sa maning ø Sörling haa wat
we easy so many uh.Sörling have what
jaar sprák jit Vhual, /
their language yet hold | claiming with relativizer following |
| 17 | en dit sen l=écht jit.jens sa \maning. \\
and that are easy yet.again so many | advancing thesis |

Perhaps because the adverbs are emphasized so strongly, the main verbs in both IUs are unaccented, as is the main verb "lewi" ('live') under quite similar conditions in IU 36, where the adverb "bütenfuor" ('abroad') is clearly the focal notion at this point in the speaker's argument. Likewise, in IU 22:

22 .. wü haa ja /nóch, / re-launching explanation
we have yes enough

a primary accent occurs only on the adverb, which here seems also to have an emphatic function. Stress on the comparatives in IUs 19 and 20:

19 Amúar üs düüsent. \ asserting & replying
more than thousand

20 Amúar üs düüsent, _ asserting (echo),
more than thousand prepatory to explanation

rather than on the numerals themselves has to do with the information status of the two (and of course with the speaker's communicative intention): the notion conveyed by the numeral "düüsent" had just been injected (and indeed thematicized) in the interlocutor's question and was thus given (previously introduced and cognitively activated) information, while "muar" was conceptually new here, prosodically so even in the repetition in IU 20. (Information status and information flow are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.)

The second discourse excerpt to be analyzed prosodically is an anecdote related by a male speaker (born 1925) from Muasem. This passage is rather different from the previous one in that, instead of occurring in spontaneous dialogue, it is a narrative account that had been told on several occasions previously, and one that contains a good deal of reported speech:

<u>IU</u>		PRIMARY COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTION(S); (COMMENTS)
1	üs ik jens ön Nèw AYórk lair, / as I once in New York lay	introducing
2	.. me di ... ASchú:rbèck, / with the Schürbeck	introducing
3	sa jít dit skep jáa fan di so was-called that ship yes from the rederii Knöhr en ABúrckhàrd, _ shipping-agent Knöhr and Burckhard	introducing (as "aside")
4	.. en da ging ik en /miarnem, ^ and then went I of-a-morning	launching explanation
5	ön Vló:n, _ on land	(iconic, anticipating IU 9)

6	tō di .. /agentúúr, / to the agency	listing
7	tō di /mááklar, / to the broker	listing (rephrasing)
8	en ká:m da me min /áktentàsk, - and came then with my briefcase	launching explanation
9	fan búúrt Vdíá=l, / from board down	(iconic, anticipated in IU 5)
10	.. en da ló:p diar ūp di .. /píír, / and then ran there on the pier	launching explanation
11	diar lōp— there ran	
12	eh- a' da' dit es níin /politíi; \ that is no police	launching explanation (as “aside”)
13	hat és ōn _Amérikaa, _ it is in America	reversing
14	neemt ja dit en \“gúard”. \ name they that a guard	finalizing subtopic
15	en “gúard” wiar /díit, - a guard was that	explaining
16	diar, skel da /ú:p.pasi, \ who should then on.take-care	specifying
17	ūp di /sjúpen, \ on the sheds	specifying
18	ūp di _lééring wat diar, _ on the loading what there	(reversing previous IU?)
19	/lúáset uur, / unloaded become	specifying
20	.. en sa /fíírer. \ and so farther	concluding subtopic

21	en hi sprök mi diar ó:n ùp /éngelsk; _ and he spoke me there on in English	introducing new topic
22	.. wat, dat et jaa faini wé=der /wia=r, / what that it yes fine weather was	launching reported speech
23	en=, _ and	
24	òf ik òn /lò:n wi=L \ if I on land wanted	asking (y/n) (reported)
25	.. en ik sii /jáá=, _ and I say yes	disarming reply (reported)
26	ik _wél jens=, _ I want once	intending (in reply)
27	òn \lò:n. \ on land	finalizing subtopic
28	jaa dū kamst fan dít /skép diar? / yes you came from that ship there	asking (yes/no)
29	ik \sii jaa. \ I say yes	concluding subtopic
30	.. jaa dit es dàch en /dú:tsk skèp, _ yes that is indeed a German ship	asking (y/n, tag following, agreement expected)
31	ek; _ not	
32	j=àà. \ yes	
33	/jáá= sair hi, - yes said he	infering (transitional?)
34	dit ging nū ùp éngelsk bit \dá. \ that went now in English until then	finalizing subtopic (as aside)
35	en _dá sair hi, _ and then said he	transitioning formulaically

36	da kənst dū jaa ùk ^Dú:tsk snaki. \ then can you yes too German talk	infering
37	_dách sii ik, _ indeed say I	conceding (in reply)
38	^Dú:tsk kən-ik, _ German can I	asserting
39	.. /úk noch snàki. \ too enough talk	asserting
40	en dà /fortélt hi mi, ^ and then told he me	launching explanation
41	en féél /diar.bi; / and fell there.by	launching explanation
42	bi sin /fortélen, \ by his telling	(contrasts with previous IU)
43	féél hi iin òn ^Plátdú:tsk; \ fell he into in Low-German	stating fact
44	.. en Vsáir, ^ and said	(contrasts with following IU)
45	.. i=k /kám jàà, / I came yes	introducing
46	... /niigentain.hönert.fjúúr=tain me; \ nineteen.hundred.fourteen with	introducing
47	.. di bàrk Ìlona ^Siemers; _ the bark Ìlona. Siemers	introducing nt oc (c..)
48	tō New /Yórk. ^ to New York	explaining
49	.. èn dà sen ik /jir blèwen; \ and then am I here stayed	stating fact
50	sent ^dí tir, \ since that time	stating fact

51	sen ik /jír. / am I here	(anomalous, but similar to IU 48)
52	.. en da _sáir hi jit, _ and then said he yet	transitioning (concessive?)
53	_jáá, _ yes	conceding
54	üüs ^koptáin; \ our captain	stating fact
55	di _jit, _ that-one was-called	(contrast to following IU)
56	.. ^Tó:nnesen. \ Tonnesen	stating fact
57	... Ik síí wan juu ^koptáin; \ I say when your captain	asserting
58	.. ^Tó:nnesen jiten heer. \ Tonnesen was-called has	asserting
59	da es hi ék fiir ^diar.fan, / then is he not far there.from	infering
60	... _itú:ús, _ at-home	(anomalous)
61	hur ^Ik ùk fan kùm. \ where I too from come	asserting
62	^jáá= sair hi, _ yes=said he	elaborating
63	h=i ^wíar fân, / he was from	stating fact
64	.. ^Aámrem. \ Aamrem	stating fact
65	... sò fan _Aámrem; _ so from Aamrem	repeating

66	jaa /sif ik en, _ yes say I and	asserting
67	ik sen fan \Só:=l \ I am from Söl	concluding subtopic
68	... en da sáir ik tō /hó:m, ~ and then said I to him	launching explanation
69	.. kenst dū da uk Aámring \snáki; _ can you then too Aamring talk	challenging
70	^jaawés sair hi; _ certainly said he	claiming
71	.. ken ik ^Aámring snáki. \ can I Aamring talk	claiming
72	ik sii en ik snaki /Só:lring. ~ I say and I talk Sölring	remarking on coincidence
73	.. en da ging dit /fáin, / and then went it fine	explaining
74	... /töhóp, / together	explaining
75	... en diar her wū sà òn /fif minù:ù:ten, / and there had we so in five minutes	stating fact
76	her wū /éngelsk bigént; \ had we English begun	stating fact; listing
77	/dú:tsk, / German	conveying suspense (in list)
78	^plátdù:tsk, / Low-German	listing
79	\só:lring. \ Sölring	concluding topic

(DURATION OF EXCERPT: 2 min. 16 sec.)

@@ (= laughter)

(en aamring?)
and Aamring

80 en @Váamring ùk@. \
and Aamring too

FREE TRANSLATION

Once when I was in New York with the *Schürbeck* – that was the name of the ship from the shipping agent Knöhr and Burckhard – one morning I was going ashore to the agent's office, to the broker, and came down from on board with my briefcase. Walking along the pier was a – it wasn't a policeman, in America they call it a guard. A guard was the one who was supposed to keep an eye on the warehouses and the cargo that's unloaded and so forth. He spoke to me in English, that it was nice weather and whether I wanted to go ashore, and I say yes, I'd like to go ashore. Didn't you come from that ship there? I say yes. That's a German ship, isn't it? Yes. Well, he said – that was all in English to this point – he said "Then you must speak German too." "Sure," I said, "I speak German as well." Then he started telling me stories, and while he was at it he slipped into Low Saxon, and said: "I came to New York in 1914 with the bark *Ilona Siemers*, and then I stayed. I've been here ever since." And then he said, "Our captain's name was Tönnesen." I say, "If your captain's name was Tönnesen, he comes from a place not far from where I'm from." "Well," he said, "he was from Aamrem." "So, from Aamrem." I said, "And I'm from Söl." And then I said to him, "Do you speak Aamring too?" "Of course," he said, "I speak Aamring." I say "And I speak Sölring." And it really went quite well, and in five minutes we'd started out in English, [and then gone on in] German, Low Saxon, Sölring."

The three prosodic categories marked in each IU can be broken down as follows (four of the IUs contain no primary accent):

<u>TONAL PATTERNS</u> <u>FROM FIN. STRESS</u>	<u>TRANSITIONAL</u> <u>CONTINUITY</u>	<u>TERMINAL</u> <u>PITCH DIRECTION</u>
\ Falling 8	. Final 17	\ Falling 20
V Fall-Rise 4	; Half 13	\\ Double 6
/ Rising 16	? Appeal 1	/ Rising 19
^ Rise-Fall 37		~ High 8
_ Level 9	, Contin. 43	_ Level 21
74	74	74

Compared to Excerpt 1, the present excerpt exhibits rather more variety in prosodic patterning. Here again, however, the predominant tonal pattern is a rise-fall leveling out in pitch at the end of the IU (either at a "baseline" value () or at what is perceived as on a high note (^)). Level or high terminal pitch is found here in only about 40% of the IUs, while some 57% of IUs are perceived as continuations. Rise-fall tonality to the end on an IU is found here in about 51% of all cases, or in just about half the passage.

There are a number of putative causes for the greater variety in tonal patterns and terminal pitch.

Apart from the differences that might be expected between different speakers, the nature of the discourse and the circumstances of its delivery in this recording – that of a narrative told and re-told on prior occasions – mean that Excerpt 2 had been thoroughly “rehearsed.” Too, the extensive inclusion of reported speech – especially with rehearsal – in the exchanges between sailor and guard quite possibly entails a richer texture of prosody than in direct conversation. One index of the essential difference between the two excerpts might be the fact that regulatory “ek” (here [eʧ], which is more or less ubiquitous in conversation as a discourse marker, occurs only once in this second, much longer excerpt (in IU 31), and then in reported speech. (In IU 59, ek occurs in negating function, as [ek] with a primary accent.)

Intonation contours that might have been expected on the basis of functional considerations are manipulated in a number of places. The first of these is when in setting the stage for the incident the relatively uncommon fall-rise contour is used:

- | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------------|
| 5 | ön Vló:n, _
on land | (iconic, anticipating IU 9) |
| 9 | fan búúrt Vdíá=l, /
from board down | (iconic, anticipated in IU 5) |

instead of the rising ones that would have continued the explanatory mode in that section of the discourse to suggest prosodically the spatial movement (descent-ascent) being referred to. Sometimes, adjacent IUs contrast in intonation, with one of the two exhibiting an “unexpected” contour. In the pair:

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------------------|
| 41 | en féél /díar.bi; /
and fell there.by | launching explanation |
| 42 | bi sin Vortélen, \
by his telling | (contrasts with previous IU) |

the second IU continues the explanation but carries falling rather than rising intonation. A few IUs later:

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 44 | .. en Vsáir, -
and said | (contrasts with following IU) |
| 45 | .. i=k /kám jáá, /
I came yes | introducing |

the first of two IU would have been level in intonation as a transition (as is the case in IU 52), but perhaps in anticipation of the complex contour in the following IU exhibits its mirror image in tonal contour. Rather the opposite case occurs in the sequence:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 54 | üüs /koptáin; \
our captain | stating fact |
| 55 | di _jít, _ | (contrast to following IU) |

that-one was-called

56 .. ^Tó:nnesen. \\
Tomnesen stating fact

where the levelness of intonation in IU 55 (rather than the rise-fall reflective of continued statement of fact) seems to anticipate the considerable prosodic force -- manifested by complex tonal contour, emphatic final pitch fall and also increased intensity -- of IU 56.

Coming to the end of the anecdote, where the significance of the incident will be summed up:

75 ... en diar her wū sa ðn /fif minù:ù:ten, /
and there had we so in five minutes
76 her wū /éngelsk bigènt; \
had we English begun
77 /dú:tsk, /
German
78 /plátdù:tsk, /
Low-German
79 \só:lring. \\
Sólring

the speaker conveys a sense of variegation in his recitation of which languages had been used during the brief incident by not presenting a straight list intonation but varying terminal pitch from rising (75) to falling (76) and again to rising (77-78) before dropping back to falling pitch (79) to conclude the anecdote. The last IU is also spoken in a special voice quality, and the overall effect is that of a rhetorical flourish.

In terms of stress placement, there is a notable tendency for the speaker to conclude intonation units with a secondary accent or primary accent, even when the stressed word is less contentful than words coming earlier in the IU. This is the pattern in the IUs 18, 28, 40, 62, and 63, where stress is secondary, and also 9, 41, 51, and 68, in which the accents are primary. Stress on the pronouns at the ends of IUs 40, 62, 68 is particularly worthy of note because all of the pronouns represent what would be thought of as given information. At the same time, prosodic correlation to the content/function-word principle is observable as expected in the occurrence of stress with the three instances of "ging" ('went'):

4 .. en da gíng ík en /míarnem, - launching explanation
and then went I of-a-morning
34 dit gíng nū ūp éngelsk bit \dá. \\
that went now in English until then finalizing subtopic (as aside)
73 .. en da gíng dit /fáin, / explaining
and then went it fine

In all three cases, *ging* is the main (and only) verb in the discourse sequence, but it carries its primary locomotive meaning only in IU 4, where it also bears a primary accent. In IUs 34 and 73, the verb has a more metaphorical meaning, that of proceeding or taking place in time; in neither case is the verb accented.

Rhythmically, the passage contains relatively few fillers or false starts; pauses generally occur at intervals (and never within an IU) in which they enrich the texture of the anecdote. The effects of these prosodic aspects on the overall tempo of the excerpt are one more index of the rehearsed nature of the narrative.

The following chapter will discuss the ways in which the segmental phonetics combine with the processual and prosodic phonology of *Sölring* combine to form larger units of the language – its morphological structure.

3. MORPHOLOGY

Modern Sölring is characterized by relative simplicity in its morphological systems. From what documentation is available for Old Frisian, it appears that this morphological simplicity represents a considerable reduction of inflectedness and endings – as with pervasive apocope of (loss of final) *-e* and *-a* (Árhammar 1975:7-8).

3.1. Noun Morphology

The current section will discuss in turn inflection and derivation of nouns.

3.1.1. Inflection of Nouns

In the present-day language, nouns are inflected for number and, to a very limited extent, for case.

3.1.1.1. Inflection for Number

Nouns are inflected for plurality in number. There are three plural suffixes that are productive in the sense that they are used to form the plurals of new nouns: (1) *-(e)n*, (2) *-er* and (3) *-s*, with the first-named being much the most frequent marker of the plural:

Noun Plurals ending in *-(e)n*

<i>SINGULAR</i>		<i>PLURAL</i>		<i>SINGULAR</i>		<i>PLURAL</i>	
hun	'hand'	hun	hunen	taacht	'thought'	taachten	
bleer	'newspaper'	bleeren		glees	'glass'	gleesen	
bröder	'brother'	bröðern		teler	'plate'	telern	

As in the case of the words for 'brothers' and 'plates', the vocalic onset of the plural marker *-en* can be elided when the noun singular is bisyllabic ending in [-ər]. *Faamen* 'girl' has the plural variants *faamner* and *faammen*, in both of which the unstressed vowel of the singular has been elided.

Noun Plurals ending in *-er*

<i>SINGULAR</i>		<i>PLURAL</i>		<i>SINGULAR</i>		<i>PLURAL</i>	
bok	'book'	boker		rüm	'room'	rümer	
hün	'dog'	hüner		wain	'wagon, car'	wainer	
fügel	'bird'	fügel		wining	'window'	wininger	

Noun Plurals ending in *-s*

<i>SINGULAR</i>		<i>PLURAL</i>		<i>SINGULAR</i>		<i>PLURAL</i>	
aamer	'bucket'	aamers		rimel	'rim'	rimels	
bechning	'building'	bechnings		spiker	'nail'	spikers	
naiber	'neighbor'	naibers		staatji	'anecdote'	staatjis	

In addition to these three fully productive plural endings, there are a number of less productive (or non-productive) patterns. These include isomorphism (formal identity between singular and plural), vowel change together with suffixation, and vowel change (products of historical umlaut) without suffixation:

Isomorphic Noun Plurals

<i>SINGULAR</i>		<i>PLURAL</i>	<i>SINGULAR</i>		<i>PLURAL</i>
biin	'leg'	biin	sjip	'sheep'	sjip
fesk	'fish'	fesk	swin	'pig'	swin
müs	'mouse'	müs	ter	'tooth'	ter

Suffixed Noun Plurals with Change in the Stem Vowel

dai	'day'	daagen	man	'man'	maaner
hol	'hole'	hööler	skep	'ship'	skeepen
knif	'knife'	kniiver	skoch	'shoe'	skuur
kü	'cow'	kin	wuch	'wall'	wuuger

Unsuffixed Nouns Plurals with Change in Stem Vowel

fut	'foot'	fet	lot	'lot'	lōōs
guus	'goose'	gōōs	slot	'lock'	slōōt

The form *biin* actually has two pluralizations: as indicated above, the isomorphic plural *biin* means 'legs', while *biiner* denotes 'fishbones' (*biin* itself is cognate with Engl. *bone*; a similar semantic development took place in High German, where *Bein* now means 'leg' and *Gebeine* 'bones' (collectively); traces of the earlier meaning are found in e.g. Sölr. *kneebiin* 'knee', *skenbiin* 'shin' and HGer. *Steißbein* 'coccyx', *Schienbein* 'shin').

Hüs 'house' has the irregular plural *hüüsing*, where *-ing* represents a collective plural designation (Möller 1916, cp. Engl. *clothing, housing*); the variant *hüüsing* was likely formed later on the model of *wining/wininger* 'window/windows'. *Mensk* 'person, human being' has the suppletive plural variants *lir* and *liren* 'people', and *-lir(en)* is also used as the pluralization for compounds designating persons with *-gast* 'fellow' or *-man* 'man' as the second element: *baarigast* lit. 'bathing-fellow' → 'tourist', pl. *baarilir* 'tourists'; *seeman* lit. 'sea-man' → 'sailor', pl. *seelir* 'sailors'.

3.1.1.2. Case Inflection

Inflection for case is present only residually in the modern language. Used adverbially with the preposition *en* 'in' (now spelled *ön* in all other contexts), designations for periods of the day and days of the week bear a suffix, *-em*, that corresponds to an old dative singular marker (see also 3.5.1. and 3.5.2. footnote 7):

- (1) **En da ging ik en miarnem ön lön tō di agentuur,**
and then went I in morning on land to the agency
'And then in the morning I went ashore to the agency'

- (2) **en hi fraaget mi en injem ūs ik òn bēr lair,**
and he asked me in evening as I in bed lay
'And in the evening, as I lay in bed, he asked me'
- (3) **Ik sen di leest jaar en hārefstem òn Israel wesen.**
I am the last year in autumn in Israel been
'Last year, in fall, I was in Israel'

Möller (1916) characterizes the suffix *-em* on *bualk* 'beam, attic' in the prepositional phrase *tō bualkem* 'to the attic' as a relic of a dative plural ending, the same relation that obtains in *dūnem* (plural *dūnemer*). The suffix is found in other prepositional phrases as well; these examples are found in written sources:

- (4) **Fuarlach kām tō Bualkem,** LL149
reserves came to attic
'Reserves were taken to the attic'
- (5) **Ûp Bualkem wiar en huk, hur wū da ek kum maast.** LL152
on attic was a corner where we then not come may:PRET
'In the attic was one corner that we weren't supposed to go'
- (6) **Papas Büroo, wat òn di üt.becht Diil fan Bualkem lair** LL152
papa's office which in the out.built part from attic lay
'Papa's office, which was in the built-out portion of the attic'....

On nouns referring to higher animate beings, possession is indicated by a suffixal *-s* that presumably corresponds to an earlier genitive ending, as in Class I masculine and neuter nouns in Old Frisian. This suffix is more common in written texts than in spoken discourse:

- (7) **En nū wel wat unk òn Got.ḡ Noom hen.līi en sliip.** BPM104
and now want we2 us2 in God.POSS name hen.lie and sleep
'And now, in God's name, we should lie down and sleep'
- (8) **Ik sen 1921 diar beren uuren, en sen diar uk āpwukset**
I am 1921 there born PASS and am there too up.grown
... runderom me naiber.ḡ jungen.
round-about with neighbor.POSS children
'I was born there in 1921, and grew up there with the neighbor's'/neighbors' kids all around'

Since *naiber* 'neighbor' forms its plural with an *-s* suffix, the phrase *naibers jungen* in (8) is indeterminate (just as it is in spoken English) as to the number of the possessor.

In the traditional system of patronymics on the North Frisian islands (Århammar 1995a), maintained until the establishment of fixed family names was decreed in 1771 (and in 1828 for the Danish royal enclaves, 1.4.1.), the suffixes *-s* (on bisyllables) and *-en* (on monosyllables) on the father's given name

served as a child's last name. Thus, the son of a person named Bleik who was also given the name Bleik would be Bleik Bleiken, the namesake of a man named Hans would be Hans Hansen and so forth. Names encountered in Möller (1909) thus include Jaakob Kaspers (Jaakob, son of Kasper) and Knüt Jerken (Knüt, son of Jerk). Even after family names as such became common, informal designation on the former patronymic basis continued unofficially, locally, Christian Peter Hansen, the son of Jap Peter Hansen (1.1.3.4.), was called Krisjaan Japen. The suffix *-ing* had become unproductive by the end of the 18th century, but was still known in eastern and western Frisia, in the province of Groningen, and also in Westphalia; it will be recalled in the name of the revolutionary Harro Haring (1.1.4.2.).

3.1.2. Derivation

Nouns in Sölring can be morphologically derived by three means: affixation, compounding, and deverbal conversion. Given the relative underdevelopment of the lexicon of Sölring and the other varieties of North Frisian (Chapter 4), these derivational processes have taken on a heightened relevance in attempts to modernize the vocabulary (4.2.4.).

3.1.2.1. Affixation

The two types of affixes appearing on words are prefixes and affixes.

3.1.2.1.1. Prefixation

A number of prefixes are used to derive nouns of specific reference. (For uses as verbal prefixes, see 3.3.2.1.2.) Many of these prefixes, most of which are stressed, also occur in the form of free morphemes as prepositions or adverbs with spatial, temporal or associative meanings:

Derived Nouns with Spatial Prefixes

<i>PREFIX</i>	<i>MEANING AS FREE MORPH.</i>	<i>EXAMPLES</i>
<i>achter-</i>	behind, rear	<i>achterfut</i> 'rear foot', <i>achterweel</i> 'rear wheel', <i>achterkajüt</i> 'rear cabin on boat'
<i>āp-</i>	up, upwards	<i>āpbor</i> 'public auction', <i>āpheev</i> 'mirage', <i>āpskot</i> 'shoot of a plant'
<i>aur-</i>	over, above	<i>aurfaart</i> 'short trip on water', <i>aurman</i> 'superior', <i>aurtir</i> 'time in excess'
<i>ben(en)-</i>	inside, inner	<i>benech</i> 'inner side of cloth', <i>bensööl</i> 'inner sole, lining of footwear', <i>benenaarber</i> 'indoor work', <i>benendik</i> 'inner dike', <i>benefek</i> 'inside pocket'
<i>bi-</i>	at, with	<i>bibleer</i> 'supplement [newspaper]', <i>bidrach</i> 'contribution', <i>billier</i> 'oven with space to lie next to', <i>bispruch</i> 'protest'
<i>boower-</i>	up, upper	<i>boowerbēr</i> 'upper bed/berth', <i>boowerlep</i> 'upper lip', <i>boowerdüür</i> 'upper door'

büt-	out, outside	bütlön 'foreign territory', bütlöning 'foreigner, person not from Söl'
büten-	outer, outside	bütenaarber 'outdoor work', bütendaans 'outdoor dance', bütendik 'outer dike'
fuar-	front, forward	fuarbün 'foreleg', fuarböör 'premonition, reminder', fuarfaamen 'bridesmaid'
iin-	into	iinkumen 'income', iinrochting 'arrangement', iinfööling 'empathy'
naist-	nearest, next	naistfuarman 'vice-president'
öner-	under, below	önerbēr 'lower bed/berth', önergröör 'undergrowth', önerlep 'lower lip'
tö-	to	tögang 'access', töflocht 'refuge', töskeling 'fate, calamity', töhual 'home'
üp-	on, upon	üpbēr 'upper bedcover', üplaag 'something to place on top', üpskreft 'address'
üt-	out	ütsen 'appearance', ütspraak 'pronunciation', ütwiising 'identification'

(unstressed **bi-** also occurs (below); **oo** the form of the free morpheme is **boowen**.)

Derived Nouns with Spatial-Temporal and Associative Prefixes

<i>PREFIX</i>	<i>MEANING AS FREE MORPH.</i>	<i>EXAMPLES</i>
eeder-	after	eederdaans 'dance following the main dance', eederfölig 'successor', eederkdap 'response', eedersmaak 'aftertaste'
me-	with	melooper 'accomplice', mespöster 'playmate', meweeter 'accomplice, accessory'
töhop-	together	töhopkumst 'meeting, assembly'

The quantitative prefixes **debelt-** 'double' and **hualév-** 'half' are found in such derivations as **debeltskeling** 'double shilling' and **hualévjunken** 'dusk' (lit. 'half-darkness'), **hualévdüil-** **hualévpart** 'half portion', and **hualévmuun** 'half moon'.

The prefixes **mes-** 'mis-', **ün-** 'un-', and **wan-**, all three of which are stressed, derive nouns with pejorative or negative semantic force:

Derived Nouns with Negative/Pejorative Prefixes

<i>PREFIX</i>	<i>EXAMPLES</i>
mes-	mesbrük 'misuse', mesgreep 'failure', meshanling 'mishandling', mestruun 'mistrust'
ün-	ünaart 'flaw', ündiirt 'monster' (diirt 'animal'), ündöocht 'vice' (döocht 'virtue'), ünlek 'tragedy'
wan-	wangloov 'superstition', wanreer 'folly'

Bi- and for- are two prefixes found on derived nouns that do not occur as free morphemes (3.3.2.1.2.); both are unstressed:

<i>PREFIX</i>	<i>EXAMPLES</i>
bi-	bidrük 'need, indigence', bihiiring 'accessories, inventory', biskriewing 'description'
for-	forgang 'decay, dilapidation', forgünst 'resentment, envy', forlet 'reliance' forlof 'permission', forskel 'difference', fortröt 'irritation, frustration'

(˘ stressed bi- also occurs (above).)

3.1.2.1.2. Suffixation

There are also a number of suffixes that are used to derive nouns. The diminutive suffixes -k/-ki/-ken, cognate with Engl. -kin, LSax. -(s)ken, and HGer. -chen, and the variant -ji (Hofmann 1961:11ff.) can be added to common nouns to connote diminutiveness and/or affection:

Noun Derivations with Diminutive Suffixes

<i>SUFFIX</i>	
-ji	dütji 'infant', düntji 'anecdote, joke', feetji 'small container for preparing e.g. cheese', leedji 'song', staatji 'anecdote', stintji 'tile'
-k	blaink 'blister, pimple', henk 'chick', huank 'cockerel', müürk 'ant', sjernk 'small scissors', tenk 'small container', trink 'rung of a ladder'
-ki	hüski 'cottage', lumki 'little lamb', pumelki (term of affection for) 'well-nourished child', spölki 'playmate'
-ken	mooterken 'ma', seenken 'sonny', sesterken 'sis'

After [t], there is morphophemic palatalization of [k], so hart 'heart' + -ken becomes hartjen 'little heart, darling' (see 1.1.3.5.).

The following example from a written text illustrates a special use of the diminutive suffix -ki:

(9) Da wiar Inken din litj düf.ki, din fūgel.ki, WS 50

then was Inken your little dove.DIM your bird.DIM
 din mūs.ki.
 your mouse.DIM
 'Back then, Inken was your little dovey, your birdie, your mousey'

In (9), the attributive adjective *litj* 'little' might appear redundant, but its inclusion in this *staatji* probably enables the -ki suffixes to convey more of their secondary meaning, that of affection, in this context.

The term *mantji* 'little man' (cp. Engl. *manikin* < MDutch *mannekĭn*), from *man* 'husband, man', is used for both humans and the males of bird species; for females, there is the distinction *wūfki* for humans 'little woman' and *wūftji*, with dissimilating -t- by epenthesis, for birds. With respect to cattle (*nuat*), the diminutive *naatji* designates animals between the ages of one and two years. The suffix -ji is also very common on proper names for people, e.g. *Hans* → *Hansji*, *Mainert* → *Mainji*, and *Lütji* (< LS *lüt* 'little').

The agentive suffixes -er and -ster are most commonly attached to stems of verbs involving activities, such as *āpset* lit. 'sit up with (in the old custom of visiting neighbors in the evening)' (1.1.3.2.2.) and *spōl-* (inf. *spōli* 'play'):

(10) Wel I en āp.set.er haa?
 want you an up.sit.AGT have
 'Do you want to have an evening visitor?'

(11) Sa waar ik eeder, al jer ik laap kūr, LL150
 so became I early already earlier I run could,
 sin litj spōl.ster.
 his little play.AGT
 'So I became his playmate early on, even before I could walk'

(*Spōlster* is also used to denote '(stage) player, actor', while the diminutive *spōlki* is more narrowly 'playmate'.)

Many designations for both human and non-human agents are derived with -er on a verbal base:

Noun Derivations with Agentive -er

<i>NOUN</i>		<i>RELATED VERB</i>
<i>beder</i>	beggar	<i>bederi</i> 'beg'
<i>bidraier</i>	deceiver	<i>bidrai</i> 'deceive'
<i>driiwer</i>	driver	<i>driiv</i> 'drive, force'
<i>flüger</i>	pennant	<i>flō</i> 'fly'
<i>forföörer</i>	seducer	<i>forföör</i> 'seduce'
<i>friier</i>	suitor	<i>frii</i> 'woo, court'
<i>helper</i>	helper	<i>help</i> 'help'

kniiper	clothespin	kniiperi 'affix on clothesline' (kniipi 'pinch, fasten')
kooper	buyer	koopi 'buy'
looper	runner	laap 'run'
spliter	wild kid	split 'split, crack, tear'
wiiser	pointer	wiisi 'show, point'

The suffix **-er** is also found on a nominal base in **klaier** 'one who works in the clay (of the tidal flats)', a derivation from **klaai** 'clay, mud of the tidal flats'. **Breeker** has both human and non-human senses: 'strong, robust fellow' on the one hand, and 'breaker' (as of waves on the shore) on the other.

The suffix **-ster** even more consistently designates human agents:

Noun Derivations with Agentive -ster

aarberster	worker	aarber 'work'
binjster	binder	binj 'bind'
dikster	dike-worker	diki 'construct a dike'
draister	bearer	drai 'carry'
droonkster	drunkard	drink 'drink' (pret. droonk)
leerster	loadmaster	leer 'load'
pochster	braggart	pochi 'brag'
prekelster	knitter	prekeli 'knit'
sjungster	singer	sjung 'sing'
skeenster	killjoy	skeen 'wreck, spoil, ruin'
spenster	spinner	spen 'spin'
snakster	speaker	snaki 'talk'
swüchster	one who keeps silent	swügi 'keep silent'
tölukster	spectator	töluiki 'observe, watch'
waakster	attendant	waaki 'keep watch, remain awake'
wärefster	messenger, courier	wärewi 'run errands'

There are a number of suffixes that derive nouns with a collective and/or abstract sense from various base words. These will be discussed below with reference to the lexical categories to which the base words belong.

Collectivizing and abstract-forming suffixes on nominal and adjectival bases are **-doom**, **-skep**, **-(l)ing**, and **-ring**:

Abstract Noun Derivations with Suffixes -doom and -skep

<i>NOUN</i>		<i>SOURCE</i>
brükdoom	traditions	brük 'habit, custom'
Friisendoom	Frisiandom	Friisen 'Frisians'
rikdoom	riches	rik 'rich'
frinjskep	friendship, relation	frinj 'relative' ('friend' = gur frinj)

naiberskep	neighborhood	naiber 'neighbor'
weetenskep	science	weeten 'knowledge'

As it has been throughout the history of Germanic languages (see Munske 1964), the suffix **-ing** is used in a wide range of derivations, both concrete and abstract, from verbal, nominal, and adjective bases:

Deverbal Noun Derivations with Suffixal -ing

bihiiring	inventory	pref. bi- , hiir 'belong to'
brening	surf, breakers	bren 'burn'
bruarwening	occupation	bruar 'bread'+ wen 'win'
foriining	association	foriini , foriinigi 'unite'
foriiring	gift, present	foriiri 'honor, give a gift'
gesing	estimate, guess	gesi 'guess'
liising	solution, relief	liisi 'solve, relieve, redeem'
kaasting	amount of grain winnowed at one time	kaasti 'winnow'
kabeling	pounding of surf	kabeli 'argue, quarrel loudly'
keening	characteristic, hallmark	keen 'know (a person)'
kiiring	turn, turning	kiiri 'turn'
kiiwing	scolding, rebuke	kiiwi 'scold'
kööling	cooling, breeze	kööli 'cool (vb)'
lechting	relief	lecht 'light'
leering	load, freight	leer 'load'
örting	scattered, uneaten fodder	örti 'scatter food when eating [cattle]'
skorting	mistake, weakness, ailment	skort 'be lacking'
slachting	cattle slaughtered for winter	slachti 'slaughter'
spailing	reflection	spaili 'mirror (vb)'
speening	tension	speen 'stretch tight, tauten'
splesing	splice	splesi 'splice together'
spiiing	vomit	spii 'vomit'
teekning	drawing	teekeni 'draw'
tiaring	consumption	tiari 'consume, use up'
ütsteling	exhibition	üt- 'out', stel 'place'
welwing	arch, curvature	welwi 'curve'

Denominal Noun Derivations with Suffixal -ing

holt	copse, thicket	holt 'wood'
jefting	portion of fodder	jeft 'gift; gives (Inf. iiv)'
tiring	news, tiding	tir 'time'
üttärping	person from another village	üt- 'out', tärp 'village'
Weesterlöning	person(s) from Weesterlön	Weesterlön (name of community)
wining	window	winj 'wind'

A deadjectival derivation, *liingning* 'depression, declivity' (*liig* 'low'), has an epenthetic consonant joining base and suffix.

An extremely productive suffix in Germanic historically, *-ing* has the variant form *-ling*. In Old Icelandic and Old English, two of the most copiously documented languages in Germanic, this form of the suffix originally derived designations for persons, and whereas it developed a diminutive sense in Scandinavian, in OE it showed a tendency to replace the form *-ing*. In present-day Sölring, *-ling* derives a number of nouns designating living beings, e.g. *örtling* 'young animal rejected by mother', *rumpling* 'year-old bull', *sjükling* 'chick', *twenling* 'twin', and *wetling* 'whiting', but also non-animate resultatives, such as *kramling* 'crumbs' (*krami* 'crumble up', but also *krameli* 'let fall, crumble'), *krochskreepling* 'food scraped from a vessel', and *kwilling* 'fluid condensing in the bowl of a pipe' (*kwiiil* 'drool').

By contrast, the suffix *-ring* is restricted to designations in the local region: *Sölring* 'language of Söl; people of Söl', *Weestring* 'west-Sölring', *Uastring* 'east-Sölring', *Aamring* 'language/people of Oomram', *Föring* 'language/people of Feer'. *Keltring* 'hobo, vagrant' is perhaps derived from *kjeltring*, a nominalization from the verb *kæltre* 'beg' in older Danish.

-kumst (cognate with Dan. *-komst*) is a nominal base that occurs only with prefixes to form abstract nouns: *ofkumst* 'origin, background' (of 'away, out'), *önkumst* 'arrival' (*ön* 'in'), *tökumst* 'future' (*tö* 'to'), *töhöpkumst* 'meeting, assembly' (*töhöp* 'together'), and *welkumst* 'welcoming' (*welkemen* 'welcome').

The suffix *-erüi*, with stress on the final syllable (2.6.1.1.), derives nouns denoting activities from both nominal and verbal bases:

<i>NOUN</i>		<i>SOURCE</i>
<i>buurerüi</i>	'farming'	<i>buur</i> 'farmer'
<i>feskerüi</i>	'fishing'	<i>fesk</i> n. 'fish', <i>feski</i> v. 'fish'
<i>fraagerüi</i>	'questioning'	<i>fraagi</i> 'ask'
<i>köökerüi</i>	'cooking'	<i>kööki</i> 'cook'
<i>skriiwerüi</i>	'writing'	<i>skriiv</i> 'write'

- (12) *En üs dit sa bi di äp.set.erüi es, her Gonel en Moi di liren sa* WS17
 and-as that so by the up.sit.NQM is had Gonel and Moi the people so
trinjom jens weder bi uaren.
 round .about once again by ears
 'And as was often the case during *äpseten*, Gonel and Moi were once
 again gossiping about their neighbors'

(12) is a mildly cynical remark about the custom of *äpseten*, and the term used in the *staatji* "Sa maning sjürter" (Siemens/Hoeg 1985) for the custom in this context makes use of the pejorative connotation in the nominalizer *-erüi* as opposed to more neutral conversion from the Type 2 infinitive (see 3.1.2.3. below).

Although *buurerii* 'farming' generally designates an occupational activity, it can also denote a physical place where the occupation is practiced:

- (13) *Wü haa jit di buur.erii her, ... bit 1968,*
 we have yet the farmer.NOM had until 1968
da haa wü di buur.erii äp.dön.
 then have we the farmer.NOM up.given
 'We still had the farm until 1968, then we gave it up'

Places are also denoted in *bakerii* 'bakery', *föögerii* 'seat of the administrator', *skruaderii* 'tailor shop', *slachterii* 'butcher shop' and *snetjerii* 'carpenter's workshop'.

The suffixes *-di*, *-s*, *-en*, and *-hair* generally derive nouns from adjectives. The first of these is cognate with the Engl. nominalizing suffix *-th*; phonological dissimilation to *-ji* is found on a base ending in a dental consonant:

<i>breetji</i>	breadth	<i>breet</i> 'broad, wide'
<i>diipdi</i>	depth	<i>diip</i> 'deep'
<i>flakdi</i>	shallows	<i>flak</i> 'flat, shallow'
<i>leefdi</i>	love	<i>lef</i> 'dear'
<i>lengdi</i>	length	<i>lüng</i> 'long'
<i>tjukdi (tjukens)</i>	thickness	<i>tjuk</i> 'thick, fat'

-s generally appears on non-referential inanimates, as in (14)-(15), whereas the more frequent *-en* occurs on designations for both referential inanimates (16) and for animate referents, (17)-(20):

- (14) *Diar kumt sa fuul gur.ş tohöp diar.bi,*
 there comes so much good.NOM together there.by
fan di mensken me jaar haurer, wat ja teenk
 from the humans with their heads what they think
 'There's a lot of good that comes from what the people think'
- (15) *da es jit wat interessant.ş fuar di wat ik uk fortel wel.*
 then is yet what interesting.NOM for you what I too tell want
 'Then there's something else interesting. I wanted to tell you'
- (16) *Ûs wat achter Staal seet en en düchtig Wärem.en fan* FSL1132
 as we2 behind table sat and a really warm.NOM from
benen fing ... da waar er fortelt, dat ...
 inside got then become *er* told that ...
 'When we sat behind the table and got a warm one from inside it was recounted that ...'
- (17) *dīdiar Prinzgemahl fan Queen Elizabeth es en Dütsk.en!*
 the.there prince.spouse of Queen Elizabeth is a German.NOM

'The prince consort of Queen Elizabeth is a German'

- (18) **Wat sen nū di miist.en jir wat jit Sölring snaki,**
what are now the most.NOM here what yet Sölring talk
'As for most of those here who still speak Sölring'
- (19) **Man di.diar Föring sen fuul muar.en, jaa.**
but the.there Fering are much more.NOM yes
'But there are a lot more Fering'
- (20) **Man det wiar diar nū sa, dat di naiber.s jungen.s**
but that was there now so that the neighbor.POSS child/ren.PL
wat kām bi üüs.en tō spölin, dān:en kūr uk üp Sölring snaki.
what came by our.NOM to play-INF2 those:NOM could too on Sölring talk
'But there it was so that the neighbor's kids who came to play with ours
[i.e. our kids], they could also speak Sölring'

In (20), *üüsen* 'ours' is a nominalization of the possessive pronoun *üüs* 'our', with the unstated noun reference being clear from the implicit anaphoric parallelism. Resumptive *dānen* 'those (ones)' is a demonstrative pronoun possibly lexicalized from an earlier (mass) demonstrative fused with *jen* 'one'. Given the paucity of historical material for North Frisian, the nature of the fusion can only be speculated upon, but if the *jen* was part of the grammaticization, this would suggest that *-en* as a particularizing nominalizing morpheme in the current language derives from a generalization of the use of *jen* in combination with other adjectives, much as HGer. *kein* 'no' historically represents 'not' + 'one', OHG. *nihein* > *ne(c)hein* > *kein* after apocopy of *ne* and strengthening of the resultant consonantal onset. Alternatively – or perhaps at the same time – the *-en* morpheme in modern Sölring could be a relic of an earlier adjective ending, cp. the strong ending *-en/-ne* on the masculine accusative of adjectives in Old Frisian and the use of nominalizing *-en* on strong-declining adjectives in Westerlauwersk Frysk, cf. Tiersma 1985:52. Cp. also Dan. *én* used as a subject complement with preceding adjective, *Du er da en værre én* 'You are really something', and *Sådan én er tung at bærre* 'One like that is heavy to carry', Allan et al. 1995:224.

Also of interest in (20) is the NP *di naibers jungens* 'the neighbor's kids'. Since the form *jungen* 'child/children' is morphologically the same in the singular and plural, the speaker's addition of [s] would represent making the plurality overt – paralleling, coincidentally, the double plural-marking on Engl. *children*. Cp. the pluralization in Modern Dutch (*een*) *jongen*, (*twee*) *jongens* 'one child, two children'.

Grammaticized forms incorporating *-en*, in addition to *dānen*, are the indefinite pronouns *somen* 'some [people or things]' (*som* 'some') and *nemen* 'no-one'. Elision of the unstressed suffix vowel is found in (*di*) *üdern* 'the others':

- (21) **En ik haa daamals ... fuar M 1,85 di stün aarbert, eeder**
and I have back-then for M 1.85 the hour worked after
di kriich en di üdern ja aarbert luas fuar boter

the war and the other.NOM they worked only for butter
 'And after the war I worked for M 1.85 an hour and the others worked just for butter'

A striking example of the productivity of nominalizing *-en* is found at the beginning of Jens Mungard's vignette *Wat di dūnem fortelt* (What the dune tells) (Mungard/Hoeg 1985:99; 1.1.3.4.), where the author is describing the sand dunes that surround one of his favorite thinking places:

- (22) *Hat sen jüst niin.en fan di hoogst.en of gurtst.en.*
 it are just no.NOM of the highest.NOM or biggest.NOM it
Hat sen uk, wan ik noch gistuun wel, niin.en fan di dailkst.en.
 it are too when I enough confess want no.NOM of the prettiest.NOM
 'They aren't exactly the highest or biggest. Nor, to be honest, are they the prettiest'

The suffixes *-en* and *-s* are also found used together as a kind of double nominalization on adjective bases:

- (23) *Di skiin kām ek rocht ōn tōōgen di junk.en.s ōn sērk,* LL151
 the shine came not right in against the dark.NOM.NOM in church
 'The light didn't really come through the darkness inside the church'
- (24) *Hat wiar sa.wat di salev Gurt.en.s ūs "Annemarie",* MK143
 it was so.what the self big.NOM.NOM as Annemarie
 'It was about the same size as the [boat] "Annemarie"'

As noted above further above, as well, *tjukdi* 'thickness' has the variant form *tjukens*, and *naarens* 'narrows, bottleneck' shows double suffixation of *naar* 'narrow' (cf. *junkens* 'darkness'; also *junkning*). In *siirkens* 'minor wound, skin rash', by contrast, the *-s* nominalizer appears on a diminutive suffixation of *siir* 'sore, painful'.

A final morpheme commonly used to derive nouns is *-hair* (OFris. *-hēd*, WFrysk *-heid*, Seelt. *-(h)aid*, cognate with Engl. *-hood* and HGer. *-heit*). Suffixed to adjectives, it results in nominal abstractions, e.g. *mōōgelkhair* 'possibility' (*mōōgelk* 'possible'), *sūnhair* 'health' (*sūn* 'healthy'), and *jemelkhair* 'secrecy' (*jemelk* 'secret').

- (25) *Wū heer gileegenhair her din wūf keen.tō.liir.en.*
 we have opportunity had your wife know.to.learn.INF2
 'We had an opportunity to get acquainted with your wife'
- (26) *Det es jaa en bigeebenhair wa'?*
 that is indeed an occasion what
 'That's really a special event, isn't it?'
- (27) *En di Helgoland, en dit Sōlring, dit heer fuul lik.hair me.ark.ūder.*
 and the Halunder and the Sōlring the has much like.NOM with.each.other
 'Halunder and Sōlring have a lot of similarities'

Other deadjectival derivations thus suffixed include *bisterhair* 'anger', *fūlighair* 'filthiness' and *renelkhair* 'cleanliness', *gurthartighair* 'magnanimity' ("bigheartedness"), *lefhair* 'kindness', and *rochtighair* 'correctness'. In *kraanker* 'sickness' (OFris. *kronkhēd*), the suffix *-hair* has been reduced but probably remains fairly transparent to most speakers. Nevertheless, there appears to be a tendency to refashion the term as *kraankhair* to make it more transparent.

Relevant to the discussion of noun morphology in Sölring is the existence of denominal adverbial expressions. Synchronically, these expressions are obscured compounds, but the adverbial elements originally involved appear to have attained the status of derivative morphemes at some stage. The expressions are for certain periods of time:

<i>desjaaring</i>	'formerly, back then, those years' (<i>jaar</i> 'year')
<i>jaarlung</i>	'this year'
<i>injung</i>	'this evening' (<i>inj</i> 'evening')
<i>miarlung</i>	'this morning' (<i>miaren</i> 'morning; tomorrow')
<i>deling</i>	'today'

Other periods of the day and year are designated with introductory *jū*, given in Möller (1916) as the old instrumental of a masculine demonstrative pronoun (Gmc. *hi*, OFris. *hiu* in *hiu-dega*, *hiude* 'today' and OE *heodæg*, and still present in HGer. *heute*), e.g. *jū miaren* 'this morning', *jū meddai* 'noontime today' (*med-* > *mer-* 'mid-', *dai* 'day'), *jū nacht* 'tonight' and the seasons, *jū somer/hārefst/wunter/uurs* 'this summer/autumn/winter/spring'.

On the analogy of MLS *daling* and MHG *tagelanc*, both 'today' (lit. 'day'+*long*), *deling* would come from earlier *dai.lung* 'day.long', with phonological reduction of an unstressed vowel in the second syllable. *Jaarlung* 'this year' has remained fully transparent, perhaps due to lesser frequency of use. In *injung*, there was evidently phonotactic reduction of the second morpheme at its juncture with the palatal nasal ending the first morpheme (*inj* + *lung*). In *desjaaring*, there seem to be three possible sources for the third morpheme. (Initial *des-* corresponds to the demonstrative *des* 'this'.) Final *-ing* here could be an allomorph of temporal *lung* 'long', or might be identical to the plural ending found in *hūūsing*, characterized by Möller (1916) as "collective" in nature – or it could have the common Germanic meaning 'of, belonging to, descended from' (cp. *kōning* 'king', OE *cyning* etc. '[son] of the [royal] kin', Gmc. **kuningaz*; Munske 1964:125-126). The notion of duration, and thus *-lung*, would seem to be relevant with respect to 'year', 'evening', 'morning', and 'day', whereas there might be less such relevance – and accordingly little tendency for grammaticization – involving 'night'. The remaining part of the day, 'noontime', lit. 'midday' is by definition non-durative, and thus (perhaps along with its bisyllabic structure) the lack of a form with *-lung*. Reference to the seasons is uniformly made non-duratively, presumably because statements about months-long activities, events or states might not be common enough to bring about pressures for grammaticization.

3.1.2.2. Compounding

Compounding is a common method of word-formation in Sölring, and is a potentially very significant means in elaboration of the lexicon (4.2.4.). Formally, nominal compounds may be categorized on the basis of the lexical classes to which their component parts belong; types that are found in Sölring are N

+ N, Adj + N, and V + N. Semantically, the first element (the determinant) modifies the second (the determinatum) in the sense that the referent of the resultant compound is a type of referent referred to by the determinatum; in the case of N₁ + N₂ combinations, the compound retains the gender and pluralization of N₂.

N + N compounds

- (28) **Hi heer dit òn di korev.hönlér forpaacht.**
 he has it on the basket.handler leased-PPL
 'He leased it to the basket-seller'
- (29) **Dü dër.st jens aast ùp din boter.skiiv.**
 you do.2SG once cheese up your butter.slice
 'You put cheese on your buttered bread'
- (30) **Nee, jü es leest òn di knee.biin operiaret.**
 no she is last on the knee.bone operate-PPLE
 'No, she recently had a knee operation'
- (31) **diar fortiinet en arbers.man tó di tir 65 pening di stün**
 there earned a workers.man to the time 65 penny the hour
 'Back then, a worker earned 65 Pfennig an hour'
- (32) **Aber di.diar jungen, wat diar hoog.dütsk snakét,**
 but the.there child/ren what there high.German talked
 dít wiar ales fan di, baan.lir, fan di baan.
 that was all from the railroad.people from the railroad
 'But those three kids who spoke High German, they were all from the railroad'

Adj + N compounds

- (33) **Hat sen diar di.diar riisen.boomer, Sequoia trees.**
 it are there the.there giant.trees Sequoia trees
 'That's where those giant trees are, the Sequoias'
- (34) **det.bigent me di.diar. liti.motorräder,**
 that begins with the.there little.motorcycles
 'It begins with those little motorcycles ["Mofas"]'
- (35) **ik taacht meine Güte heer wes jung.liren of.stelt,**
 I thought my goodness have sure young.people away.put
 'I thought, my goodness, surely young people left [them]'
- (36) **üüs faamen, jü uunet nü òn Merel.dütsklön,**
 our girl she lives now in middle.Germany

'Our daughter now lives in central Germany'

- (37) en wü her fif molk.kin, en diar her wü jung.kraiter,
and we had five milk.cows and there had we young.animals
'And we had five milk cows and also some calves'
- (38) Ja, dat sen ales dopel.wininger, me debelt glee, ek?
yes that are all double.windows with double glass not
'Yes, those are all double-windows, with double glass, see?'

The speaker in (38) evidently felt the need to clarify by periphrasis his remarks ending with a compound NP. The compound he used was an ad hoc formation in the sense that it calques HGer. *Doppel.fenster* 'double.window'; interestingly, the speaker's first element in the compound phonologically matches its HGer. counterpart, but in the periphrasis, the speaker uses the Sölring form *debelt* (but also *glees* rather than the more specific *rüten* 'panes').

Compounds of the type V + N are less frequent than compounds with nominal or adjective determinants, but certain verbs, do combine with noun elements:

<u>V+N COMPOUND</u>		<u>VERB</u>	<u>NOUN</u>
baakaun	'baking oven'	baak 'bake'	aun 'oven'
baakhüs	'bakehouse'		hüs 'house'
baaksköfel	'baking scoop'		sköfel 'shovel, scoop'
baaktroch	'baking form'		troch 'form'
bärensdai	'birthday'	bären 'born',	dai 'day'
binjbreev	'Pidersdai's note	binj 'bind',	breev 'letter'
binjtrer	'string'		trer 'thread'
faartir	'time of ship's departure'	faar 'voyage',	tir 'time'
faartjüch	'small ship, vehicle'		tjüch 'stuff, things; device'
faarweeter	'nautical fairway'		weeter 'water'
iitskair	'table spoon'	iit 'eat',	skair 'spoon'
sjungfügel	'songbird'	sjung 'sing',	fügel 'bird'
skriivbok	'writing book'	skriiv 'write',	bok 'book'
skriivfeder	'writing pen'		feder 'feather'
skriivpopiir	'writing paper'		popiir 'paper'
skriivstaa	'writing table'		staa 'table'
skriivtjüch	'writing accessories'		tjüch 'stuff, things'
sliipdroonk	'sleeping potion'	sliip 'sleep',	droonk 'drink'

sliipkaamer	'bedroom'		kaamer 'chamber, room'
sliipstair	'sleeping place'		stair 'place, spot'
spreekuurt	'proverb, saying'	spreek 'speak',	uurt 'word'
sterevbēr	'deathbed'	sterev 'die',	bēr 'bed'
sterevdai	'day of death'		dai 'day'
stjunkuus	'poppy'	stjunk 'stink',	ruus 'rose'
swumboks	'swimming trunks'	swum 'swim',	boks 'pants'
swumfügel	'waterfowl'		fügel 'bird'
swumstair	'swimming place'		stair 'place, spot'
taubali	'washtub'	taui 'wash',	bali 'tub'

A newer formation appears in (39):

- (39) **Hi her MS kraanker, en kōört òn rolwain.**
 he had MS illness and traveled in roll.wagon
 'He had multiple sclerosis and got about in a wheelchair'

3.1.2.3. Conversion

Nouns can also be zero-derived from verbal infinitives with no overt nominalizer aside from the article *dit*, all such nouns being neuter in gender. In most cases, it is the Type 2 verbal infinitive (3.3.1.1.1.1.) that is used, with the resulting nominalization denoting an activity or process:

- (40) **Mi waar dit Kōökin aur.draien.** MK143
 me became the cook-INF2 over.carried
 'The cooking was assigned to me'
- (41) **Dit sjit.en fan rakeet.en wiar bi di stark storem mal swaar.** BH2,19
 the shoot-INF2 of rocket.PL was by the strong storm very hard
 'Shooting rockets was difficult in the bad storm'
- (42) **Luki, dit āpset.en, diar ging wū ja hen tō ūūs**
 look the āpset-INF2 there went we yes in to our
bikeenten, "Gud inj, wel I en āpseter haa?"
 acquaintances good evening want you=PL an apseter have
 'Look, *āpseten*: we went to our acquaintances' [and called] "Good evening,
 do you want to have āpseters?"

In this straightforward description of the custom of *āpseten* (1.1.3.2.2.), the speaker uses the neutral term nominalized from the Type 2 infinitive as opposed to the more connotative *āpseterii* appearing in

example (12) above.

(43) *Jü wiar ungefähr hönert.fjuur. Aber jü kür jit, dit fuul önerhual.en me.dö.*
 she was approximately hundred.four but she could yet the much converse.INF2 with.do
 'She was about a hundred and four, but she could still do her share of conversing'

(44) *Bi hūri.spölen wiar dit maning.mol en lung sjuk.eri, jer em ali fūnen her*
 by hide.play-INF2 was it many.time a long seek.NOM ere one all found had
 'In playing "hide", there was often a lot of looking around before everyone was found'

In (44), taken from a written text, the writer has used two derived nouns: a deverbal conversion from *hūrispöli* 'play hide-and-peek' (*hūri* 'hiding place') and an overt nominalization of *sjuk* 'seek'. The nominalizer *-eri* on the latter conveys something of the durativity (and perhaps tedium) the speaker appears to associate with that aspect of the game, whereas the former derivation is a neutral designation of the activity itself.

(45) *Hat wiar wes en kraftig iit.* MK143
 it was surely a strong eatINF1
 'That really was hearty food/a hearty meal'

In (45), the noun *iit*, identical in form to the Type 1 infinitive, denotes a meal as food; *dit iiten* 'eating' (from INF2) would refer to the process or activity involved in consuming a meal.

Nouns converted from adjectives are much rarer than other kinds of nominal derivations. Möller (1916) gives the suffixed form *fochtighair* for 'dampness' (*focht* 'damp'), but in (46), which appeared in writing, this concept is expressed by zero-derivation:

(46) *Wü spöört di köölig Focht,* LL153
 we felt the cool damp
 'We felt the cool dampness'

3.2. Pronoun Inflection

The only type of pronouns undergoing morphological inflection in Sörling are personal pronouns. These are used for animate and inanimate referents and are distinguished for person: first, second and third, and number: singular, dual and plural, of which the dual has fallen into widespread disuse in the present-day language. In the third-person singular, there is a three-way distinction as to gender. All pronouns have both a subject and an object form; the latter is used for both direct and non-direct (indirect and oblique) reference, with or without a preposition:

	<i>SINGULAR</i>		<i>DUAL</i>		<i>PLURAL</i>	
	<i>SUBJ.</i>	<i>OBJ.</i>	<i>SUBJ.</i>	<i>OBJ.</i>	<i>SUBJ.</i>	<i>OBJ.</i>
1st pers.	ik	mi	wat	unk	wü	üüs
2nd "	dü	di	at	junk	I	juu

m.	hi	höm))			
3rd ps.f.	jü	höör)	jat	jam)	ja	jam
n.	hat	höm))			

Typically for Frisian – as found in OFris. texts (Heuser 1902:29) as well as in Westerlauwersk Frysk (Tiersma 1985:65) and in Seeltersk (Fort 1980:197) today – some pronouns have reduced clitic forms. (2SG. can be ellipted altogether.) In Sölring, there are morphologically distinct reduced forms for the 3rd person singular masculine and feminine, subject and object, as well as the 3rd person plural subject and object. The following occurrences are taken from Möller (1909) and *Fuar Söl'ring Lir* (1.1.3.4.):

<u>FULL</u>	<u>REDUCED</u>	<u>EXAMPLES (except as noted, full form followed by reduced form)</u>	
ik	'k	Da wel <u>ik</u> di trii Fraagen fuarlii; da wel' <u>k</u> di liiv...	BPM102
		'I'm going to ask you three questions, then I'll believe you'..	
dü	zero	<u>Dü</u> must altert eeder dit Lek gung, 'You have to always go after happiness, man <u>__</u> must bliuat gur üppasi, [...] but have got to be really careful...'	BPM94
hi	er, 'r	Töleest ging <u>hi</u> me en grögelk Flök, 'Finally he went with a terrible oath, dat' <u>r</u> ... niin Fut muar üp Söl seet wil,... that he wouldn't set foot on Söl again...'	BPM109
jü	's	Üs <u>jü</u> nü jen of tau Staker maaket her, 'When she had made one or two stacks, wil' <u>s</u> uk jens weder eeder höör Dütji luki. she wanted to take another look at her baby.'	BPM42
hat	et, 't	Di Storem her <u>dit</u> <u>liti</u> Skep sadeling töögen 'The storm had driven the little ship against the dike di Dik drewen, dat <u>et</u> höm me di Fuarsteewen fastboret her [...] in such a way that it had dug the prow in '	BPM103
höm (m.) en		<u>Di Eesk</u> wiar fast tölaket, sa dat-r ön.steken 'The box was glued shut so that-it would have to split into gung maast, wan hoken forsjuk wil', <u>en</u> iipen tō maakin. pieces, if anyone had wanted to try to open it ("him")	BPM 106
höm (n.)	et, 't	Nü wust jü, weder <u>dit</u> <u>Ön'ereesk</u> wiar. 'Now she knew which of the two the <i>önerēsk</i> was. Jü noom- <u>t</u> metjens üt of Waag en sēt <u>et</u> di Bööster üt. She at once took it out of the cradle and set it outside the stall door'	BPM43
höör	's	Tau sölring Wüfhaur, [...], greep <u>höör</u> ,	BPM ...

Two Sölring women, [...], grabbed her,
 noom's me tūs en sēt's ōn en Bali me Weeter.
 took her home and set her in a tub of water.'

ja	's	Ja mut Ungst haa, dat's dreenk! They must be afraid of drowning!	BPM103
jat	's	Nō, wat skul'-s dō? Jat stapt biiring fan di Eesel of; [...] 'Well what should they do? They both got down from the donkey ...'	BPM100 {reduced/full}
jam	's	Diker, ūs wū's jit keen, seekert dit Lōn tōōgen di Flōr, 'Dikes as we still know them, secure the land against the high tide diar hol jens sin Macht ōn jam ütlet en weegi maat. which would like to show off its might and let it out on them'	FSL11274 {reduced/full}

In the following example, however, the reduced-form pronoun used for an inanimate common-gender noun is neuter (e)t:

- (47) **Di Staatji** es binai waar. Dach wan dū-**t** ek liiv wet,
 the *staatji* is lmost true however when you it not believe want-2SG
 da ken.st **et** uk bliiv let.
 then can.2SG it too stay let
 'This anecdote is virually true, but if you don't want to believe it,
 you don't have to'

In his grammatical sketch to the first dictionary of Sölring (1.1.3.4.), Nann Mungard observed early in the century that these reduced forms had become less frequent in usage – a trend he welcomed on grounds of euphony and efficiency of communication:

Diese Abkürzungen wurden früher viel häufiger gebraucht als jetzt, und wenn sie ganz im Wegfall kämen, so wäre dies für die Schönheit und Verständlichkeit der Sprache nur Gewinn.
 (1909:19)

(These abbreviations were earlier used much more frequently before than they are today, and it would enhance the beauty and comprehensibility of the language if they were to disappear completely.)

Today, indeed, only (e)t and the zero form of 2SG. pronoun are common in usage, oral or written.

Dual pronouns are also infrequent in current usage. In the preface to his *Piderslaibok* (1.1.3.4.), Jap Peter Hansen noted in the 19th century that the dual was better preserved on Söl than elsewhere in North Frisia (Hansen 1896:xix-xx). In (48), a written passage about the disappearance of two boys, third person dual **jat** has the reduced form 's for both subject and object:

- (48) Nārigen wiar's tō finj.en, en nemen her's sen. LL153

nowhere were they₂ to find.INF₂ and no-one had them₂ seen
'They were nowhere to be found, and no one had seen them'

Hat 'it' is used in a number of impersonal expressions, primarily references to natural phenomena, e.g. **hat tönert** 'it's thundering', **hat rintj** 'it's raining', **hat früüst** 'it's freezing', **hat sniit** 'it's snowing', and **hat injet** 'it's getting dark, evening is falling'(inj 'evening') (see also 5.1.2.4.). Möller (1916) includes the expression **Hat skelt fuul, dat... es fehlt viel, daß...** ('it's really missed =? it's a real shame that...') (s.v. **skel**³) and **skort** (s.v.) in the expression **Wat skort juu?** 'what's wrong with you?'. **Hat jeft** 'there is/are' (from **iiv** 'give' is a frequent presentational construction for existential statements:

- (49) **Sen wü tohöp üs sörling Liren, diar jeft et mung üüs niin Forskel.** (Hübbe 1911:45)
are we together as Sörling people there gives it among us no difference
'When we're together as Sörling, there are no differences among us.'

The morpheme **-salev** 'self' is sometimes appended to reflexive pronouns for clarity and (or) emphasis:

- (50) **Hi heer hōm.salev duar sköōten.**
he has him.self dead shot
'He shot himself dead'

- (51) **Ark es hōm.salev di naist.**
each is him.self the next
'Everyone is closest to himself'

Schmidt (1969:21) gives pronominal **arküder** 'each other' as an overt means of expressing reciprocity, in this case for the 3rd person dual:

- (52) **Jat slaa me ark.üder.**
they₂ beat with each.other
'The two of them are fighting'

and remarks that this could also be expressed:

- (53) **Jat slaa töhop.**
they₂ beat together
'The two of them are fighting'

In the dual, **eder** 'each of two' was used for inclusive reference to a pair:

- (54) **Jat fair eder en aapel.**
they₂ get each₂ an apple
'The two of them get an apple apiece'

and **weder** in (55), repeated from the earlier table of reduced pronouns, means 'which of the two'. A legendary **önerërsk**, similar to a gnome, had taken the form of a human infant so that the woman

protagonist was unable to distinguish her own child; finally, the dilemma was solved, with the result that:

- (55) Nü wust jü, weder dit Ön'ereesk wiar. Jü noom-t BPM43
now knew she which-of-2 the öneresk was she took'it
metjens üt of Waag en sēt et di Bööster üt.
immediately out of cradle and set it the stall-door out
'Now she knew which of the two was the öneresk. She at once took it
out of the cradle and set it outside the stall door'

Among younger and less conservative speakers, there is a tendency to drop the three-way gender distinction in 3rd person singular reflexivity and instead use the genderless form *sik*, a Low Saxon loan in use at least as early as the 19th century (cf. its appearance in the plays of Erich Johannsen, e.g. *Di Friier fan Muusem*, Siebs 1898; 1.1.3.4.). Today, widespread use of *sik* is undoubtedly being reinforced by its structural proximity to the High German reflexive pronoun *sich*, which itself was the source of the pronoun in Low Saxon (Lockwood 1968:67).

3.3. Verb Morphology

As in the nominal system, morphological patterns in the verbal systems of modern Sörling are characterized by relative simplicity. A basic distinction among the verbs is that of irregular vs. regular; the former group comprises historically "strong" verbs that exhibit vowel alternation in the stem (with or without consonant alternation) and verbs that exhibit other types of irregularity.

3.3.1. Inflection

Categories of verbal inflection are person/number and tense/aspect.

3.3.1.1. Regular Verbs

In the present-day language, these end in either -i (*floiti* 'whistle', *harki* 'obey', *prekeli* 'knit') or a consonant (*flet* 'move, change accommodations', *meen* 'mean', *rak* 'stretch, reach') (see 3.3.2.2.).

3.3.1.1.1. Non-Finite Forms of Regular Verbs

There are four non-finite verb types, two infinitives and two participles.

3.3.1.1.1.1. Infinitives

The Modal or Type 1 Infinitive, which is also the citation form used in dictionaries and throughout this grammar, is used in combination with modal auxiliaries to express deontic, epistemic or dynamic modality – that is, to express notions such as permission, possibility, probability, obligation, and ability.

There are two forms of Modal Infinitive among regular verbs: one is equivalent to the verbal stem, such as *dreenk* 'drown', *drem* 'dream', *drüp* 'drop' and *möt* 'meet'; the other is the stem + -i. Examples of this second type are *snaki* 'talk', *hööpi* 'hope', *taui* 'wash' and *wenski* 'wish'. In both cases, person/number markers appear immediately suffixed to the verbal stem. In a few cases, verb forms are distinguished by the presence of final -i, as in *smak* 'smack' and *smaki* 'taste'.

The Complementational or Type 2 Infinitive is used in complement constructions, where it follows *tö*

'to' or periphrasal *om ... tō*. This infinitive takes the form of the Modal Infinitive suffixed by *-en* (if the Modal Infinitive ends in a consonant) or *-n* (if it ends in *-i*): *tō dreerken* 'to drown', *tō dremen* 'to dream', *tō drūpen* 'to drop', *tō mōten* 'to meet' and *tō smaken* 'to smack'; and *tō snakin* 'to talk', *tō hōōpin* 'to hope', *tō tauin* 'to wash', *tō wenskin* 'to wish' and *tō smakin* 'to taste'.

3.3.1.1.2. Participles

Except for defective verbs like *ske* 'happen', *riin* 'rain', *snii* 'snow' and *inji* 'become evening', verbs have two participles: past and present. The present participle, which ends in *-(e)n*, has a modifying function but is rare in usage. In form, it is identical to the Complementational infinitive. Examples include *skraien wārem (iit/weeter)* 'scalding hot (food/water)' (*skrai* 'scald'), *glemen kōōlen* 'glowing coals' (*glem* 'to glow') and *kōōkin weeter* 'cooking [i.e. boiling] water' (*kōōki* 'to cook/boil'). Listed in Möller 1916 is the present participle form *waaken* 'awake, keeping watch' from the regular verb *waaki* '[keep] watch, wake'.

The past participle occurs regularly in all perfect tense-aspect formations (3.3.1.1.2.3.). For regular verbs, the past participle is formed from the Modal Infinitive; those verbs that end in a consonant add *-t* (e.g. *smak:smakt* 'smack:smacked'), and those ending in *-i* replace this ending with *-et* (e.g. *smaki:smaket* 'taste/tasted'). For a discussion of participial adjectives, see 3.4.1.

3.3.1.1.2. Finite Forms of Regular Verbs: Active Indicative

Inflection for the categories tense/aspect and person/number are conflated, with number and person distinctions being made within each tense/aspect constellation. For the active indicative, these constellations are the Present, Preterite, Perfect, Pluperfect and Future.

3.3.1.1.2.1. Present Tense/Aspect

The Present is used to verbalize expressions about events and states that generically or progressively take place or obtain in the present or will, by anticipation, take place or obtain in the future. There are distinct inflectional endings only for the second and third persons singular: *-(e)st* for 2SG. and *-(e)t* for 3SG. (For verbs ending in *-i* ([i] or [ə]), this vowel is replaced by *e* ([ɛ] or [ə]). For all other person/number combinations, the form of the Present is identical to that of the Modal Infinitive.

(56) Present Forms of Regular Verbs (SG - DU - PL)

fortel 'tell, recount'

ik	fortel	wat	fortel	wū	fortel
dū	fortelst	at	fortel	I	fortel
hi \					
jū	fortelt	jat	fortel	ja	fortel
hat/					

snaki 'talk, speak'

ik	snaki	wat	snaki	wū	snaki
dū	snakest	at	snaki	I	snaki

hi \					
jü	snaket	jat	snaki	ja	snaki
hat/					

3.3.1.1.2.2. Preterite Tense/Aspect of Regular Verbs

The Preterite is used to verbalize expressions about past events and states that took place or obtained generically, progressively or perfectively, and as such is often used with a backgrounding function in discourse. The inflectional endings for the 2SG. and 3SG. are again *-(e)st* and *-(e)t* respectively, so that these Preterite forms are identical to the corresponding forms in the Present; for other person/number combinations, the ending is uniformly *-(e)t*, so that all non-2SG. forms are identical in form to the 3SG. present:

(57) Preterite Forms of Regular Verbs (SG - DU - PL)

fortel 'tell, recount'

ik	fortelt	wat fortelt	wü	fortelt
dü	fortelst	at fortelt	I	fortelt
hi \				
jü	fortelt	jat fortelt	ja	fortelt
hat/				

snaki 'talk, speak'

ik	snaket	wat snaket	wü	snaket
dü	snaketst	at snaket	I	snaket
hi \				
jü	snaket	jat snaket	ja	snaket
hat/				

3.3.1.1.2.3. Perfect Tense/Aspect of Regular Verbs

The Perfect is used to verbalize expressions about past events and states that are being foregrounded in discourse as having direct relevance to the moment under discussion. This is an analytic tense/aspect constellation in that it consists of two verb forms: an auxiliary in the Present along with the past participle of the main verb. The auxiliary is the Present of either *wiis* 'be' or *haa* 'have' (for paradigms, see 3.3.1.2.2.1.); the former is used with main verbs expressing or implying a (potential) change of position and the latter with all other verbs, with competition between the two as the auxiliary for *wiis* itself as a main verb (3.3.1.2.2.3.).

(58) Perfect Forms of Regular Verbs (SG - DU - PL)

fortel 'tell, recount'

ik haa	fortelt	wat haa fortelt	wü haa fortelt
dü heest	fortelt	at haa fortelt	I haa fortelt

hi \		
jü heer fortelt	jat haa fortelt	ja haa fortelt
hat/		

snaki 'talk, speak'

ik haa snaket	wat haa snaket	wü haa snaket
dü heest snaket	at haa snaket	I haa snaket

hi \		
jü heer snaket	jat haa snaket	ja haa snaket
hat/		

köör 'travel (on land), drive'

ik sen köört	wat sen köört	wü sen köört
dü best köört	at sen köört	I sen köört

hi.\		
jü es köört	jat sen köört	ja sen köört
hat/		

3.3.1.1.2.4. Pluperfect Tense/Aspect of Regular Verbs

The Pluperfect is used to verbalize expressions about events and states that took place or obtained perfectly in the "pre-past", that is, at a point or during a period in the past anterior to some past reference point. Like the Perfect, the Pluperfect is an analytic constellation of tense and aspect formed with an auxiliary and the past participle of the main verb. In form, the Pluperfect parallels the Perfect, with the difference that the auxiliary verb is in the Past:

(59) Pluperfects of Regular Verbs (SG - DU - PL)

fortel 'tell, recount'

ik her fortelt	wat her fortelt	wü her fortelt
dü herst fortelt	at her fortelt	I her fortelt
hi.\		
jü her fortelt	jat her fortelt	ja her fortelt
hat/		

snaki 'talk, speak'

ik her snaket	wat her snaket	wü her snaket
dü herst snaket	at her snaket	I her snaket
hi.\		
jü her snaket	jat her snaket	ja her snaket
hat/		

In practice, the Pluperfect is not frequent in oral communication; speakers often use the Perfect or the Preterite where the Pluperfect might be expected.

3.3.1.1.2.5. Future Tense/Aspect of Regular Verbs

The Future is used to predicate information concerning events and states that the speaker anticipates taking place or obtaining (progressively or perfectly) at a time posterior to the present. Like the Perfect and Pluperfect tense-aspect constellations, the Future is an analytic pattern: it takes the form of an auxiliary verb and a Modal infinitive. Its function, however, is normally taken over by the simple Present (3.3.1.1.2.1. above).

Hermann Schmidt remarks that the Future:

wird sehr selten angewandt, z.B. Ik skel miaren noch weder
kum Man sagt hier besser: Ik kum miaren weder. (1969:26)

(is used very rarely, e.g. Ik skel miaren noch weder kum
[lit. I shall tomorrow again come]. It would be better to say:
Ik kum miaren weder [lit. I come tomorrow again = 'I'll be back tomorrow'.])

When the analytic Future is used, the auxiliary today is usually skel 'shall, should'. Nann Mungard (1909: 262-263) gives wel as the auxiliary verb in his conjugational paradigms, and Schmidt (1969:26) has it as an alternative auxiliary in his verb charts. In the present database, wel is found only in written sources, such as Schmidt's own translation of Little Black Sambo (Bannerman 1971: 24, 28), where the tigers' repeated expressions of willingness and intent to spare the lad take on a formulaic character and apparently connote volition more than straightforward futurity:¹

(60) Gur, sair di tiiger, ik wel di det lop ek iit,
good said the tiger I will you this time not eat
'Alright, said the tiger, I won't eat you this time.'

Meanings of obligation in skel and volition in wel parallel the original semantics of Engl. shall and will (OE sceal, wyllan), which themselves developed consistent auxiliary function only in Middle English with the rise of an analytic future; it seems possible that use of the analytic future in Sölring, to the extent that it does represent a viable tense/aspect constellation, was modeled on usage in other languages. Wilts (1995) does not include the Future in his tabular outline of Sölring morphology.

Both skel and wel are quite irregular in their formation of the 2SG., with loss of the stem-final consonant and [s] in the suffix -st resulting in the present forms sket and wet (see (63a) below and 3.3.1.2.2.2.).

The main verb appears in the form of the Modal (Type 1) Infinitive:

(61) Future Forms of Regular Verbs (SG - DU - PL)

¹ In the original, the phrasing is "I won't eat you up this time."

fortel 'tell, recount'

ik skel fortel	wat skel fortel	wü skel fortel
dü sket fortel	at skel fortel	I skel fortel
hi \		
jü skel fortel	jat skel fortel	ja skel fortel
hat/		

snaki 'talk, speak'

ik skel snaki	wat skel snaki	wü skel snaki
dü sket snaki	at skel snaki	I skel snaki
hi \		
jü skel snaki	jat skel snaki	ja skel snaki
hat/		

3.3.1.2. Irregular Verbs

Not counting verbs derived by prefixation, such as *bidraï* 'deceive' (from *drai* 'turn') and *forbér* 'forbid' (from *ber* 'bid, ask'), there are some 150 irregular verbs in Sölring, some of which (like *aak* 'ride with' and *warp* 'lay eggs') are now used infrequently. Roughly 40% of irregular verbs are regular in the form of their present tense/aspect: as for all verbs, the forms of the 1SG., all duals and all plurals in the Present of these verbs are the same as the Modal Infinitive, but unlike the other 60% of irregulars, these exhibit no vowel gradation in the forms of their 2SG. or 3SG. Present. This being the case, the inventory of irregulars can conveniently be divided first into two broad categories, namely:

- 40% that are regular or "predictable" in form (showing no vocalic alternation) in 2SG. and 3SG. Present, and
- the remaining 60% that are unpredictable in 2SG. and 3SG. Present.

Irregular verbs have four "principal parts": Modal Infinitive, 3SG. Present, non-2SG. Preterite, and Past Participle. The principal parts of the verbs below will illustrate the types:

(62) Typological Patterns of Variation in Irregular Verbs

a) Predictable in the Present

INF1	seet	set	stial	steal	sjung	sing
PRES	seet	sets	stialt	steals	sjungt	sing
PRET	seet	set	stialt	stole	soong	sang
PART	seet	set	steelen	stolen	süngen	sung

b) Non-Predictable in the Present

INF1	flö	fly	se	see	gung	go
PRES	flocht	flies	sjocht	sees	gair	goes
PRET	floog	flew	saag	saw	ging	went

PART flöogen flown sen seen gingen gone

Among those verbs that are predictable in the formation of the 3SG. Present (i.e., 40% of all irregulars), three types may be predicated on the basis of the number of distinct forms among the principal parts: verbs like *seet* 'set' with only one, *stjal* 'steal' with two or three, and *sjung* 'sing' with four distinct forms. Verbs that are non-predictable in the present can be grouped into those like *flō* 'fly' that have three distinct non-present principal parts, and those like *se* 'see' and *gung* 'go', in which the participle is a suffixed form of either the infinitive or the preterite (the suffix being -(e)n) and is thus also predictable, as well as a group of nine verbs in which all the non-infinitive principal parts are the same (the pattern e.g. in *sii* 'say', 3SG. Pres. *sair*, Pret. *sair*, Part. *sair*). In addition to these main subdivisions in the group of irregular verbs with non-predictable presents, there are a few miscellaneous patterns that occur as well.

Fundamental to this classification of irregular verbs are two criterial phenomena, predictability and distinctness of form. The 3SG. Pres. of *sjung* can be "predicted" from the infinitive in the sense that it is the inf. + -t (which is the regular 3SG. Pres. inflectional morpheme); the corresponding form in the paradigm of *flō* exhibits alternation in the stem vowel (along with irregular consonance) and is thus non-predictable. Likewise, the participles *sen* 'seen' and *gingen* 'gone' can be "predicted" (once the classification of *se* and *gung* is known) from the infinitive *se* and the preterite *ging*, respectively.

Within the types characterized above, there can be considerable variation among the principal parts for individual verbs. In particular, a number of verbs (particularly those with non-predictable presents) exhibit variation in consonance as well as vocalism. The lists below (with verbs taken primarily from the alphabetical list in Schmidt 1969) present the patterning in the irregular verbs of present-day Sölring, and comprise three categories: (63a)-(63c) are those that are regular or predictable in the present throughout, (63d) those that are non-predictable in the present that have fewer than four distinct forms, and (63e)-(63g) those that are non-predictable in the present that have four distinct forms among the principal parts. Within each type and sub-type, the order of presentation here is based on the progression front high-to-low through back high-to-low to low in the stem vowel of the Modal Infinitive (i, ü, e, ö, ia [eə], u, o, aa [ɔ:/o:], ua [ʊa], ā [a(:)]), with ai and long vowels following short vowels. Included in the final column below are grammatical notes and/or information on cognates in Old English or (if not known from OE) in Old Frisian or a related language:

(63a-g) IRREGULAR VERBS IN SÖLRING, IN CATEGORIES

(63a) 3SG. identical in form to Modal Infinitive

<u>INF1</u>	<u>PRES</u>	<u>PRET</u>	<u>PPL</u>	
<i>flet</i> ¹	<i>flet</i>	<i>flet</i>	<i>flet</i>	move, change living quarters (North. Engl., Sc. <i>flit</i>)
<i>flet</i> ²	<i>flet</i>	<i>flet</i>	<i>flet</i>	remove cream from surface of milk (dialectal Engl. <i>fleet</i>)
<i>seet</i>	<i>seet</i>	<i>seet</i>	<i>seet</i>	set (vs. reg. <i>set</i> 'sit')
<i>dört</i>	<i>dört</i>	<i>dört</i>	<i>dört</i>	dare (2SG. -tst > -st)
<i>tört</i>	<i>tört</i>	<i>tört</i>	<i>tört</i>	need to (used neg.) (OE <i>þurfan</i> , <i>þorfie</i>)

jit let bārst	jit let bārst	jit let bārst	jiten leten borsten	be named (OE <i>hātan</i>) let burst
ken weet mut mai skel	ken weet mut mai skel ^{''}	kūr wust maast maat skul ^{'''}	kūr wust maast maat skul	can know (a fact) ^{''} (2SG. -tst > -st) must like shall/should ^{''} (2SG sket) ^{'''} (2SG skut) (reg. skel PPL skelt=scold)
wel	wel ^{''}	wū ^{'''}	wil	want to ^{''} (2SG wet) ^{'''} (2SG wit)
slūt set	slūt set	slööt seet	slööten seeten	close, lock (OFris. <i>shuta</i>) sit
uur	uur	waar	uuren	become (OE <i>weorðan</i>)

(63b) 3SG. adds -t to Modal Infinitive; other forms non-distinct

<u>INF1</u> drai	<u>PRES</u> drait	<u>PRET</u> drait	<u>PPL</u> drain	turn (OE <i>þrawan</i>) (reg. drai PPL drait=carry)
stial skiar bārigi	stialt skiart bāricht	stialt skiart bāricht	steelen skeeren būrgen	steal cut (OE <i>scieran</i>) save, rescue (OE <i>beorgan</i>)
lii keen	liit keent	lair kūr	lair kūr	lie, lay be acquainted with
bring sjuk teenk biteenk	bringt sjukt teenkt biteenkt	braacht saacht taacht bitaacht	braacht saacht taacht bitaacht	bring seek, look for think think about, remember

(63c) 3SG. adds -t to Modal Infinitive; other forms distinct

<u>INF1</u> kling spring twing	<u>PRES</u> klingt springt twingt	<u>PRET</u> kloong sproong twoong	<u>PART</u> klūngen sprūngen twūngen	sound, ring (OE <i>clinken</i>) spring, jump force, compel (OE <i>twingan</i>)
liir	liirt	lor	leren	suffer (OE <i>liðan</i>)

sünk	sünkt	soonk	sünken	(reg. liir PPL liirt 'teach/learn')
slük	slükt	slook	slöken	sink
tün	tünt	tuan	tünen	swallow
krep	krept	kroop	kröpen	swell (OE <i>ðindan</i>)
				creep
sleng	slengt	sloong	slungen	wrap (OE <i>slingan</i>)
sweeng	sweengt	swoong	swungen	swing
wreeng	wreengt	wroong	wrungen	wring
ber	bert	buar	böören	bid, ask
forber	forbert	forbuar	forböören	forbid
sterev	stereft	sturev	stürwen	die (OE <i>steorfan</i>)
swiar	swiart	swuar	sweeren	swear
drink	drinkt	droonk	drunken	drink
help	helpt	holp	holpen	help
nem	nemt	noom	nomen	take (OE <i>niman</i>)
tērsk	tē[r]skt	to[r]sk	to[r]sken	thresh (OE <i>þerscan</i>)
bren	brent	bruan	bronen	burn
ren	rent	ruan	ronen	run
spen	spent	spuan	sponen	spin
wen	went	wuan	wonen	win
mark	markt	mork	morken	(re-)mark, note, notice
				(reg. mark PPL markt 'put mark on')
spark	sparkt	spork	sporken	kick (ON <i>sparka</i>)
warp	warpt	worp	worpen	lay eggs (OE <i>weorpan</i>)
bidrai	bidrait	bidroch	bidrain	deceive (OE <i>be þāwan</i>)
fordārewi	fordāreft	forduarev	fordürwen	spoil (OFris <i>forderva</i> , possibly rel. OE <i>deorfan</i>)
aak	aakt	ok	öken	ride with (ON <i>aka</i>)
sjung	sjungt	soong	sungen	sing
swum	swumt	swoom	swümen	swim
stjunkt	stjunkt	stoonk	stünken	stink
kum	kumt	kām	kemen	come
aurkum	aurkumt	aurkām	aurkemen	survive, endure

(63d) 3SG. unpredictable from Modal Infinitive; forms non-distinct

<u>INFI</u>	<u>PRES</u>	<u>PRET</u>	<u>PPL</u>	
steek	stat	stat	stat	stick, stab (see 3.3.1.2.2.1.)
kneer	knat	knat	knat	knead
reer	rat	rat	rat	advise (OE <i>rædan</i>)
spreer	sprat	sprat	sprat	spread
treer	trat	trat	trat	tread, step
siil	silt	silt	silt	sail
skiin	skintj	skintj	skintj	shine, seem
riin	rintj	-	rintj	rain
kliiv	kleft	kleft	kleft	walk with difficulty
hiir	jert	jert	jert	hear, belong to
sii	sair	sair	sair	say (reg. sii PPL siit 'sew')

(63e) 3SG. unpredictable from Modal Infinitive; all forms distinct

<u>INFI</u>	<u>PRES</u>	<u>PRET</u>	<u>PPL</u>	
breek	brakt	brok	breeken	break
forlees	forlast	forlos	forleesen	lose
greev	graft	grof	grewen	dig (OE <i>grafan</i>)
leer	lart	lor	leewen	load
lees	last	los	leesen	read
meet	mat	mot	meeten	mete, measure
spreek	sprakt	sprok	spreeken	speak
weeg	wacht	woch	weegen	weigh, evaluate
weev	waft	wof	weewen	weave
binj	bent	buan	bünen	bind, tie
finj	fent	fuan	fünen	find
grinj	grent	gruan	grünen	grind
swinj	swent	swuan	swünen	dwindle (OE <i>swindan</i>)
winj	wen't	wuan	wünen	wind
sjit	sjet	skuat	skööten	shoot
bit	bet	beet	beten	bite
glir	glert	gleer	gleren	glide
grip	grept	greep	grepen	grip, seize
rir	rert	reer	reren	ride
skit	sket	skeet	sketen	shit
skrir	skrert	skreer	skreren	stride (OE <i>scrīdan</i>)

slit smit	slet smet	sleet smeet	sleten smeten	wear out (OE <i>slȳan</i>) throw (OE <i>smitan</i>)
split strik strir	splet strekt streit	spleet streek streer	spleten streken streken	split, crack stroke (OE <i>strȳan</i>) quarrel (OE <i>strȳlan</i>)
bidriiv bliiv riiv skriiv swiir triiv wriir	bidreft bleft reft skreft swert treft wreft	bidreev bleev reev skreev sweer treev wreer	bidrewen blewen rewen skrewen sweren trewen wreeren	conduct, pursue stay (OE <i>belȳan</i>) tear, rive (ON <i>rȳa</i>) write (OE <i>scrȳan</i> < Lat) singe scorch (ON <i>svȳa</i>) thrive rub (OE <i>wriȳan</i>)
blō flō	blocht flocht	bloog floog	blōōgen flōōgen	blow fly
dōōg lōōg	docht ljucht	doocht loog	dōōgen lōōgen	be worth (OE <i>duȳan</i>) tell a lie
būch dūk lūk rūk smūk sūch sūp	bocht dokt lokt rokt smokt socht sopt	boog dook look rook smook soog soop	bōōgen dōōken lōōken rōōken smōōken sōōgen sōōpen	bend duck, bend down lock, close (give off) smoke smoke suck drink heavily (OE <i>sūpan</i>)
skūiiv snūiiv stūiiv	skoft snoft stoft	scoov snoov stoov	skōōwen snōōwen stōōwen	shove, push snort, sniff spray, sprinkle, scatter (MLS <i>stūven</i>)

(63f) 3SG. not predictable from Modal Inf.: Part. = Pret. + <-en>

<u>INF I</u>	<u>PRES</u>	<u>PRET</u>	<u>PPL</u>	
slīp	sleept	slōp	slōpen	sleep
rōp	reept	rōōp	rōōpen	call (OE <i>hrȳpan</i>)
birōp	bireept	birōōp	birōōpen	call, summon, convene
stuun	staant	stōn	stōnen	stand
bistuun	bistaant	bistōn	bistōnen	pass, succeed; support
hual'	halt	hōl	hōlen	hold
bihual'	bihalt	bihōl'	bihōl'en	keep, retain

faal	falt	feel	feelen	fall
gung	gair	ging	gingen	go
fo	fair	fing	fingen	get, receive (OE <i>fān</i>)

(63g) *3SG. not predictable from Modal Inf.: miscellaneous patterns*

<u>INF1</u>	<u>PRES</u>	<u>PRET</u>	<u>PART</u>	
iit	et	eet	iiten	eat
iiv	jeft	jaav	iirwen	give (for which <i>dō</i> used)
auriit	aurjeet	aurjeet	auriiten	forget
stiig	sticht	sticht	stiigen	ascend (OE <i>stīgan</i>)
tii	tair	toog	tain	pull, tug (OE <i>tāon</i>)
bitii	bitair	bitoog	bitain	cover (over)
slaa	slair	sloch	slain	strike, beat (OE <i>slāan</i>)
früüs	früst	fruas	fröösen	freeze
faar	fart	fuar	fēren	travel by sea (OE <i>faran</i>)
waar	wart	wuar	wöören	wade
dō	dēr	dōr	dōn	do; used for 'give'
se	sjocht	saag	sen	see (reg. <i>se</i> 'sow') ²
liin	lint	lent	lent	loan
baak	bakt	bok	bööken	bake
haa	heer	her	her	have
wiis	es	wiar	wesen	be (OE <i>wesan</i>)

Inflection never results in consonant gemination, either of [s] in the 2SG. or of [t] in 3SG. That is, verbs like *lees* 'read' and *früüs* 'freeze', with stem-final -s, have the 2SG. forms *last* (Pres.), *lost* (Pret.) and *früst* (Pres.), *fruast* (Pret.), respectively; verbs ending in -t such as *bit* and *let* have the 3SG. forms *bet* (Pres.), *beet* (Pret.) and *let* (Pres. and Pret.) (2.4.5.). Simplification of consonant clusters takes place, as noted, but in only about a quarter of the relevant environments, i.e. in the verbs (Inf., 2SG.Pres.) *dōrt*, *dōrst*; *tōrt*, *tōrst*; *mut*, *must*; *weet*, *weest*, and *bārst*, *bārst*. More common is the pattern found in e.g. *iit*, *etst* and *sjit*, *sjetst* (2.4.6.). Original dental consonants, moreover, that developed to stem-final -r (2.2.) are preserved in the inflected forms of *kneer*, *reer*, *spreer*, and *treer* (2SG. Pres. forms *knatst*, *ratst*, *spratst*, and *tratst*, where rhyme presumably played a role in parallel

² Mungard (1909) characterizes *sen* 'sow' as regular, while according to Möller (1916), it has the little-used ("ungebräuchlich") past participle *sen*.

or analogous (non-)development), but not in e.g. *ber* 'bid', *leer* 'load', or *rir* 'ride' (2SG. Pres. *berst*, *larst*, *rerst*) (3.3.1.2.2.1.).

3.3.1.2.1. Non-Finite Forms of Irregular Verbs

As with regular verbs, irregulars have two infinitives and two participles (of which the Pres. Part. is infrequent).

3.3.1.2.1.1. Infinitives

As seen in the lists above, Modal (Type 1) infinitives of irregular verbs end in one of three ways: in a stem vowel (e.g. *se* 'see' and *sii* 'say'), a consonant (*sjung* 'sing'), or (in just two cases: *bāriigi* 'save, rescue' and *fordārewi* 'spoil') in the final -i found in many regular verbs.

The Complementational (Type 2) infinitive for all three groups of irregular verbs (as indeed for regular verbs as well) ends in -n. For those irregulars that end in a stem vowel, the nasal follows the stem directly (*tō sen* [sen] – the verb form itself is identical to both participles) or it can entail an extra syllable (*tō sii-en* [si:ən]). Irregular verbs ending in a consonant add -en (*tō sjungen*, distinct from the Past Part. *sungen*). Finally, the two irregulars ending in -i add -n directly: *tō bārigin*, *tō fordārewin*.

3.3.1.2.1.2. Participles

As in the case of regular verbs, the Present Participle of each irregular verb is virtually identical in form to the Complementational infinitive (3.3.1.1.1.2. above). Although there is a wide range of variation in the forms of the Past Participle, as seen in (63a)–(63g) above, by far the most common ending is -(e)n; for those irregulars whose participial stems have neither vowel nor consonant alternation with respect to their INF1, this means that both Participles and INF2 will be identical (INF1 *iit* 'eat': Pres. Part. *iiten*, Past Part. *iiten*, INF2 (*tō*) *iiten*). For a discussion of participial adjectives, see 3.4.1.

3.3.1.2.2. Finite Forms of Irregular Verbs: Active Indicative

Here again, inflection for the categories tense/aspect and person/number are conflated; number and person distinctions are made within each tense/aspect constellation. For the active indicative, these constellations are the Present, Preterite, Perfect, Pluperfect and Future.

3.3.1.2.2.1. Present Tense/Aspect

As with regular verbs, irregulars in the Present have inflectional endings only in the 2SG. and 3SG. The forms given in the second (PRES) column in (63a)–(63g) above are for the 3SG; almost all of these end in -t, while a few have final -r < -d. In the case of the former, the 2SG. form generally has final -st (in addition to -t from the INF1 stem, if present, and otherwise normally in place of 3SG. -t); in the latter case, -st is suffixed directly.

(64) Present Patterning in Irregular Verbs (SG - DU - PL)

		<i>sej</i> 'sit'			
<i>ik</i>	<i>set</i>	<i>wat</i>	<i>set</i>	<i>wū</i>	<i>set</i>
<i>dū</i>	<i>setst</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>set</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>set</i>
<i>hi</i>	\				

jü	set	jat	set	ja	set
hat/					

bring 'bring'

ik	bring	wat	bring	wü	bring
dü	bringst	at	bring	I	bring
hi \					
jü	bringt	jat	bring	ja	bring
hat/					

fo 'get, receive'

ik	fo	wat	fo	wü	fo
dü	fairst	at	fo	I	fo
hi \					
jü	fair	jat	fo	ja	fo
hat/					

bliiv 'stay, remain'

ik	bliiv	wat	bliiv	wü	bliiv
dü	blefst	at	bliiv	I	bliiv
hi \					
jü	bleft	jat	bliiv	ja	bliiv
hat/					

(The <-f> in *blefst*, *bleft* orthographically reflects regressive assimilation in voicing.)

The modals *dört* 'dare to' and *tört* 'need to' are exceptional in that -t in the infinitive stem is dropped before the suffixal -st of the 2SG. forms, resulting in *dörst* and *törst* (both Pret. as well as Pret.). Simplification of the consonant cluster (-tst > -st) is also found in *weet*:

weet 'know (a fact)'

ik	weet	wat	weet	wü	weet
dü	weest	at	weet	I	weet
hi \					
jü	weet	jat	weet	ja	weet
hat/					

In addition to these exceptions, the verbs *spreer* 'spread scatter', *steek* 'stick, stab', *kneer* 'knead', *reer* 'counsel', and *treer* 'tread, step' all have -t- and -t-, respectively, replacing the final stem consonant in the case of their (Pres. and Pret. identical) 2SG. and 3SG. forms:

	<i>spreer</i>	<i>steek</i>	<i>kneer</i>	<i>reer</i>	<i>treer</i>
2SG. Pres.	spratst	statst	knatst	ratst	tratst
3SG. Pres.	sprat	stat	knat	rat	trat

In the case of *spreer*, *kneer*, *reer*, and *treer* (63d above), the occurrence of [t] in the inflected forms (as usual, not geminated in the 3SG.) is a reflection of historical -d, whose development to -r (2.2.) is seen in their infinitives and non-2SG/3SG present forms (Gmc. *spraidjan*, WGmc. *kned-a-*, Gmc. *rad-a-*, *tred-*; cp. ModE. *spread*, *knead*, OE *radan*, ModE. *tread* and ModG. *spreiten*, *kneten*, *raten*, *treten*) (3.3.1.2.).

Two modal verbs, *wel* 'want' and *skel* 'shall, should', are anomalous in form in that the 2SG. lacks the characteristic -s- (the final consonant of the infinitive is dropped as well), while the 3SG. is identical to the Modal infinitive (and thus all non-2SG. Present forms of the same verb):

(65) Present Forms of *wel* and *skel* (SG - DU - PL)

<i>wel</i> 'want'					
<i>ik</i>	<i>wel</i>	<i>wat</i>	<i>wel</i>	<i>wü</i>	<i>wel</i>
<i>dü</i>	<i>wet</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>wel</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>wel</i>
<i>hi</i> \					
<i>jü</i>	<i>wel</i>	<i>jat</i>	<i>wel</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>wel</i>
<i>hat/</i>					

<i>skel</i> 'shall, should'					
<i>ik</i>	<i>skel</i>	<i>wat</i>	<i>skel</i>	<i>wü</i>	<i>skel</i>
<i>dü</i>	<i>sket</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>skel</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>skel</i>
<i>hi</i> \					
<i>jü</i>	<i>skel</i>	<i>jat</i>	<i>skel</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>skel</i>
<i>hat/</i>					

The verb *wiis* 'be' is suppletive and highly irregular, as are e.g. *to be* in English and *sein* in German. It is presented below together with the other most frequently occurring verb in the language, *haa* 'have':

(66) Present Forms of *wiis* and *haa* (SG - DU - PL)

<i>wiis</i> 'be'					
<i>ik</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>wat</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>wü</i>	<i>sen</i>
<i>dü</i>	<i>best</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>sen</i>
<i>hi</i> \					
<i>jü</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>jat</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>sen</i>
<i>hat/</i>					

				<i>haa</i> 'have'		
ik	haa		wat	haa	wü	haa
dü	heest	at	haa		I	haa
hi \						
jü	heer		jat	haa	ja	haa
hat/						

3.3.1.2.2.2. Preterite Tense/Aspect of Irregular Verbs

The forms given in the third (PRET) column of (63a)-(63g) above are for all non-2SG. persons (singular, dual and plural), because in the Preterite, the form of 3SG. is not distinct from those of the Plurals, Duals, or 1SG.

In general, the 2SG. form is found by suffixing *-st* to the non-SG. form: except as noted, if the INFI ends in *-t*, the cluster *-tst* results, but if the INFI does not end in *-t*, the 2SG. inflectional suffix supplants, in effect, final *-t* in the non-SG. form. Among the exceptions to this pattern, simplification of *-tst* > *-st* is found in the Preterite (as it is in the Present) in the auxiliary verbs *dört* 'dare to' and *tört* 'need to'.

(67) Preterite Patterning in Irregular Verbs (SG - DU - PL)

				<i>seŋ</i> 'sit'		
ik	seet		wat	seet	wü	seet
dü	seetst		at	seet	I	seet
hi \						
jü	seet		jat	seet	ja	seet
hat/						

				<i>bring</i> 'bring'		
ik	braacht		wat	braacht	wü	braacht
dü	braachtst		at	braacht	I	braacht
hi \						
jü	braacht		jat	braacht	ja	braacht
hat/						

				<i>fo</i> 'get, receive'		
ik	fing		wat	fing	wü	fing
dü	fingst		at	fing	I	fing
hi \						
jü	fing		jat	fing	ja	fing
hat/						

blīv 'stay, remain'

ik	bleev	wat	bleev	wū	bleev
dū	bleefst	at	bleev	I	bleev
hi \					
jū	bleev	jat	bleev	ja	bleev
hat/					

Quite exceptionally, the 2SG. Preterite of *mai* 'like' is *maatst*, where the "epenthetic" -t- (generalized from the other forms of the preterite) preserves a structural distinction between this verb form and *maast* 'had to; was/were permitted to', the form for all persons (including 2SG.) of the verb *mut*:

mut 'must, may'

mai 'like'

ik	maast	wū	maast	ik	maat	wū	maat
dū	maast	I	maast	dū	maatst	I	maat
hi \				hi \			
jū	maast	ja	maast	jū	maat	ja	maat
hat/				hat/			

The non-2SG. preterite forms of *wel* 'want' and *skel* 'shall, should' are *wil* and *skul*, respectively; the 2SG. forms are *wit* and *skut*:

wel 'want'

skel 'shall, should'

ik	wil	wū	wil	ik	skul	wū	skul
dū	wit	I	wil	dū	skut	I	skul
hi \				hi \			
jū	wil	ja	wil	jū	skul	ja	skul
hat/				hat/			

The non-2SG. preterite forms of *wiis* 'be' and *haa* 'have' both have final -r – historical products respectively of rhotacism and the development -d > -r:

(68) Preterite Forms of *wiis* and *haa* (SG - DU - PL)

wiis 'be'

ik	wiar	wat	wiar	wū	wiar
dū	wiarst	at	wiar	I	wiar
hi \					
jū	wiar	jat	wiar	ja	wiar
hat/					

haa 'have'

ik	her	wat	her	wü	her
dü	herst	at	her	I	her
hi \					
jü	her	jat	her	ja	her
hat/					

3.3.1.2.2.3. Perfect Tense/Aspect of Irregular Verbs

Like regular verbs, irregulars form their perfect analytically, with the auxiliary *wiis* or *haa* + Past Participle; the auxiliary verb is conjugated for person and number.

(69) Perfect Patterning in Irregular Verbs (SG - DU - PL)

set 'sit'

ik haa seeten	wat haa seeten	wü haa seeten
dü heest seeten	at haa seeten	I haa seeten
hi \		
jü heer seeten	jat haa seeten	ja haa seeten
hat/		

fo 'get, receive'

ik haa fingen	wat haa fingen	wü haa fingen
dü heest fingen	at haa fingen	I haa fingen
hi \		
jü heer fingen	jat haa fingen	ja haa fingen
hat/		

bliv 'stay, remain'

ik sen blewen	wat sen blewen	wü sen blewen
dü best blewen	at sen blewen	I sen blewen
hi \		
jü es blewen	jat sen blewen	ja sen blewen
hat/		

As mentioned in 3.3.1.1.2.3., *wiis* and *haa* are both used as auxiliaries for main *wiis*. This competing usage now favors *wiis* as the auxiliary of *wiis*, presumably under the influence of German, in which *sein* serves as the auxiliary for main *sein*.

(70) Perfect Forms of *wiis* 'be' (SG - DU - PL)

ik sen/haa wesen	wat sen/haa wesen	wü sen/haa wesen
dü best/heest wesen	at sen/haa wesen	I sen/haa wesen

hā\			
jū es/heer wesen	jat sen/haa wesen	ja sen/haa	wesen
hat/			

(71) Perfect Forms of haa 'have' (SG - DU - PL)

ik	haa her	wat	haa her	wū haa her
dū	heest her	at	haa her	I haa her
hi \				
jū	heer her	jat	haa her	ja haa her
hat/				

In the 3SG. of haa, auxiliary and participle can be distinguished by vowel length: e.g. (hi) heer her [he:ɣ heɣ] in Weestring, but (with characteristic loss of final -r, 2.4.1.1.) [he: he] in Uastring (1.3.1.) However, given the tendency for vowel length to be relativized in speech (particularly rapid speech; 2.3. and 2.4.10), the two forms can also be virtually indistinguishable in discourse.

3.3.1.2.2.4. Pluperfect Tense/Aspect of Irregular Verbs

In this analytic tense-aspect constellation, the auxiliary verb appears in the Preterite and is conjugated for person, while the main verb appears in its Past Participle.

(72) Pluperfect Patterning in Irregular Verbs (SG - DU - PL)

set 'sit'

ik her seeten	wat her seeten	wū her seeten
dū herst seeten	at her seeten	I her seeten
hi \		
jū her seeten	jat her seeten	ja her seeten
hat/		

fo 'get, receive'

ik her fingen	wat her fingen	wū her fingen
dū herst fingen	at her fingen	I her fingen
hi \		
jū her fingen	jat her fingen	ja her fingen
hat/		

bliiv 'stay, remain'

ik wiar blewen	wat wiar blewen	wū wiar blewen
dū wiarst blewen	at wiar blewen	I wiar blewen
hi \		
jū wiar blewen	jat wiar blewen	ja wiar blewen

hat/

Here too, of course, the competition between auxiliary *haa* and *wiis* for main *wiis* is found:

(73) Pluperfect Forms of *wiis* 'be' (SG - DU - PL)

ik <i>wiar/her</i>	<i>wesen</i>	wat <i>wiar/her</i>	<i>wesen</i>	wü <i>wiar/her</i>	<i>wesen</i>
dü <i>wiarst/herst</i>	<i>wesen</i>	at <i>wiar/her</i>	<i>wesen</i>	I <i>wiar/her</i>	<i>wesen</i>
hi \					
jü <i>wiar/her</i>	<i>wesen</i>	jat <i>wiar/her</i>	<i>wesen</i>	ja <i>wiar/her</i>	<i>wesen</i>
hat/					

(74) Pluperfect Forms of *haa* 'have' (SG - DU - PL)

ik <i>her her</i>	wat <i>her her</i>	wü <i>her her</i>
dü <i>herst her</i>	at <i>her her</i>	I <i>her her</i>
hi \		
jü <i>her her</i>	jat <i>her her</i>	ja <i>her her</i>
hat/		

3.3.1.2.2.5. Future Tense/Aspect of Irregular Verbs

Formation of the analytic Future is the same for irregular verbs as for regulars (3.3.1.1.2.5., with the same observations on usage): the auxiliary *skel* 'shall/should' (or *wel* 'want') + Modal infinitive:

(75) Future Patterning in Irregular Verbs (SG - DU - PL)

	<i>set</i> 'sit'	
ik <i>skel set</i>	wat <i>skel set</i>	wü <i>skel set</i>
dü <i>sket set</i>	at <i>skel set</i>	I <i>skel set</i>
hi \		
jü <i>skel set</i>	jat <i>skel set</i>	ja <i>skel set</i>
hat /		

	<i>fo</i> 'get, receive'	
ik <i>skel fo</i>	wat <i>skel fo</i>	wü <i>skel fo</i>
dü <i>sket fo</i>	at <i>skel fo</i>	I <i>skel fo</i>
hi \		
jü <i>skel fo</i>	jat <i>skel fo</i>	ja <i>skel fo</i>
hat/		

	<i>bliiv</i> 'stay, remain'	
ik <i>skel bliiv</i>	wat <i>skel bliiv</i>	wü <i>skel bliiv</i>

dü sket bliiv	at skel bliiv	I skel bliiv
hi \		
jü skel bliiv	jat skel bliiv	ja skel bliiv
hat/		

3.3.1.3. Mood

In form, the imperative and subjunctive moods are identical with structures in the Indicative, the former with the Modal infinitive and the latter with the Preterite or Pluperfect.

3.3.1.3.1. Imperative Mood

For all applicable combinations of number and person, exhortations, enjoinders, admonitions, and other types of commands are expressed in the form of the Modal Infinitive: kum iin! 'come in', teev jens 'wait a minute', and gung of köör ek sa waker! 'don't walk or drive so fast'.

3.3.1.3.2. Subjunctive Mood

The Subjunctive is used for predications involving hypothetical situations and contrary-to-fact conditions. In form, such predications are identical to the Preterite for simple tense/aspect constellations: wiar ik junger 'were I younger' and kür ik det 'were I able', and to the Pluperfect for analytic tense/aspect: wiar/her ik junger wesen 'had I been younger' and her ik kür 'had I been able'.

3.3.1.4. Passive Voice

In addition to the active voice, there is an analytic passive construction (an auxiliary + past participle) that is used to de-focus agents for events involving more than one participant. There are two types of Passive: the Processual and the Situational. For both types, the auxiliary is fully conjugated and corresponds to the range of tense-aspect distinctions made in the Active. Uses of both types are exemplified along with a discussion of lexical means for defocusing semantic agents in 5.1.3.

3.3.1.4.1. Processual Passive

The Processual passive takes the form uur 'become' + the past participle of the propositional main verb. As the name suggests, it, rather than the Situational passive, is used when the actual durative process of the verbalization is relevant to the proposition: di müs uur jaaget 'the mouse is being chased', dit hüs uur forkoopet 'the house is being sold/is for sale'.

3.3.1.4.2. Situational Passive

The auxiliary for the Situational passive is wiis 'be'. In contrast to the Processual passive, Situational wiis + past participle expresses a non-durative, aspectually perfect sense of a verbalization: di müs es fingen 'the cat is/has been caught', dit hüs es forkoopet 'the house is/has been sold'.

3.3.2. Derivation of Verbs

Traditionally, verbs in Sölring are derived by means of two major processes: prefixation and suffixation. A third process, not discussed here but addressed in 4.2.4., is that of adopting verbs from related languages and adapting them (in varying degrees) to the systemic patterns of Sölring.

3.3.2.1. Affixation

The following discussion of verbal prefixation and suffixation is based on an analysis of the data

presented in Möller (1916).

3.3.2.1.1. Prefixation

Prefixed verbs differ widely in the semantic effect their prefixes have relative to the base verb. In many cases, however, prefixed verbs are transitive whereas the corresponding base verbs are intransitive, so that derivation by verbal prefixation often represents an increase in valency, i.e. an increase in the number of participants involved in an activity or event. In other cases, prefixation adds a sense of egressivity or ingressivity to the base verbs.

There are two types of verbal prefixes: 1) those that separate from the verbal stem in the Present and Preterite and 2) those that do not. In both types, many of the prefixes are identical in form to prepositions or adverbs (or adjectives, in the case of separating prefixes); with one exception, separability of prefix also coincides with primary stress on the prefix. Examples of the difference in types are 1) *áursprung* 'jump to the other side' vs. *aursprung* 'jump over [an obstacle]' (*aur* 'over'); *bigung* 'start' vs. *bigúng* 'commit'; *ómgríp* 'reach out, flail away' vs. *omgríp* 'contain' (*om* 'around'); *önerhúal* 'hold underneath' vs. *önerhúal* 'entertain' (*öner* 'under'); *tösprung* 'jump to' vs. *tösprung* 'shatter' (*tö* 'to'); the preposition and separating prefix are cognate with Engl. *to* and Ger. *zu*, (stressed) *zu-*, the non-separating prefix with OE *tō-*, unaccented in e.g. *töbreca* 'break asunder', and (unaccented) Ger. *zer-*, e.g. *zerbrechen* 'shatter'; cp. Sölr. *töbreek* 'break to pieces'.

3.3.2.1.1.1. Verbs with Separating Prefixes

There are some two dozen separating verbal prefixes in Sölring, all of which are stressed. The list below, providing an overview of these prefixes, is followed by discussions of the semantics of the individual prefixes as they occur with various base verbs, as given in Möller (1916).

(76) Separating Verbal Prefixes

SEPARATING PREFIX	MEANING(S) OF CORR. FREE MORPHEME	EXAMPLES OF PREFIXED VERBS
<i>āp-</i>	<i>āp</i> 'upwards'	<i>āpnem</i> 'receive'
<i>aur-</i>	<i>aur</i> 'over, above'	<i>aurstjūūr</i> 'send over'
<i>bi-</i>	<i>bi</i> 'with, at'	<i>bilaap</i> 'run/walk along with'
<i>dial-</i>	<i>dial</i> 'downwards'	<i>dialriiv</i> 'tear down'
<i>döör-</i>	<i>döör</i> 'through'	<i>döörskiar</i> 'cut through'
<i>eeder-</i>	<i>eeder</i> 'after'	<i>eederteel</i> 'count again'
<i>fuar-</i>	<i>fuar</i> 'for, fore'	<i>fuarsküüv</i> 'push ahead'
<i>fol-</i>	<i>fol</i> 'full'	<i>folmaaki</i> 'make full, complete'
<i>hen-</i>	<i>hen</i> 'thither, yon'	<i>henbüti</i> 'exchange'
<i>iin-</i>	<i>iin</i> 'into'	<i>iingung</i> 'enter, agree to'
<i>iipen-</i>	<i>iipen</i> 'open'	<i>iipenmaaki</i> 'open, unlock'
<i>luas-</i>	<i>luas</i> 'loose'	<i>luaslet</i> 'let loose'
<i>me-</i>	<i>me</i> 'with'	<i>mesjung</i> 'sing along with'
<i>of-</i>	<i>of</i> 'out, away, from'	<i>ofplüüsi</i> 'pluck out; beat'
<i>om-</i>	<i>om</i> 'around'	<i>omskaapi</i> 'reshape'
<i>ombi-</i>	<i>ombi</i> 'around, about'	<i>ombilaap</i> 'run around'

ōn-	ōn 'in'	ōnsii 'sew onto'
ōner-	ōner 'under(-neath)'	ōnerdrūki 'depress'
tō-	tō 'to'	tōklūwi 'paste shut, seal'
tōbeek-	tōbeek 'back'	tōbeekduki 'look back'
tōhop-	tōhop 'together'	tōhopkum 'come together, meet'
tōrocht-	tōrocht 'in order'	tōrochtbring 'put in order'
ūp-	ūp 'upon'	ūpleer 'load onto'
ūt-	ūt 'out/wards'	ūttau 'wash out'
wech-	wech 'away'	wechlii 'lay away, reserve'
weder-	weder 'again'	wederbring 'bring again, return'

ĀP- : In many of the verbs to which it is prefixed, **āp-** lends a connotation of change of state, improvement, or completion. This is the case in **āplewi** 'revive, live up' (**lewi** 'live'), **āpbreek** 'break up [of ice]; depart' (**breek** 'break'), and **āpiit** 'consume' (**iit** 'eat'). The notion of upward movement basic to the corresponding preposition is also present in cases such as **āpspūti** 'expectorate' (**spūti** 'spit'), **āpbech** 'construct, erect' (**bech** 'build'), and **āpstuun** 'stand up; get up' (**stuun** 'stand'). In the meaning of 'raise', the prefix in **āpbring** (bring 'bring') has a similar effect, but is much less transparent in the verb's other meanings: 'introduce', 'achieve, pay', 'hijack', and 'annoy'. Similarly less predictable are the meanings of **āpneem** 'name after [a forebear]' (**neem** 'name'), **āpsaki** 'get sick' (**saki** 'let oneself down, lower oneself'), and **āplōög** 'fabricate' (**lōög** 'lie, prevaricate'). In most cases, however, **āp-** adds a semantic force of dynamism to the basic verb to which it is prefixed, and in its directional meaning is antonymical to the prefix **dial-**.

AUR- : As a separating prefix, **aur-** lends a spatial sense of 'over, above' to a great preponderance of base verbs, as in **aurbech** 'build over or above' (**bech** 'build'), **aurdō** 'present' (**dō** 'do, give'), **aurfrūis** 'freeze over' (**frūis** 'freeze'), **aurklūwi** 'paste over' (**klūwi** 'paste'), and **aurswūm** 'swim over [to]'. In these cases, the transitivity of the base verb is in some sense heightened, since reference is made by the prefixed verb to a second (or further) noun argument. In the verbs **aurbliiv** 'remain, be left over' (**bliiv** 'stay') and **aurlet** 'leave back' (**let** 'let'), the prefix has a connotation of 'back, unused'. A non-spatial sense of the prefix is present in **aurber** 'bid more than, outbid', and with a separating prefix, the verb **aurkum** has the meaning 'get over [pain, etc.]' as well as the more basic 'come over [to]'. **Aur-** as a separating prefix is opposed by the prefix **ōner-**, as are the corresponding prepositions.

BI- : Most base verbs prefixed with separating (and stressed) **bi-** also have the prefix **bi-** as a non-separating (and unstressed) morpheme. (The two prefixes are cognate but diverged in development early in Germanic; cp. the separating prefix Ger. **bei-** and the preposition **bei** as against non-separating Ger. **bi-**; see also 1.1.3.5.) Separating **bi-** generally connotes addition or duration: **bibech** 'build onto' (**bech** 'build'), **bibliiv** 'persevere' (**bliiv** 'stay'), **bistjūūr** 'add, contribute' (**stjūūr** 'send'); inchoativity: **bigrip** 'grab, grasp' (**grip** 'grip'), **bispreek** 'put in a claim [at court]' (**spreek** 'speak'); or concomitance: **bilaap** 'run along with, accompany' (**laap** 'run') and **bistuun** 'support, stand by' (**stuun** 'stand'). Highly lexicalized is the verbal derivation **bikum** 'have a right do to'.

DIAL- : This prefix, which stands in opposition to **āp-**, consistently lends a directional meaning of 'down, downwards' to base verbs: **dialklūweri** 'climb down' (**klūweri** 'climb'), **dialkrōōki** 'press down'

(krööki 'press'), dialsjit 'shoot down' (sjit 'shoot'), dialspark 'kick down' (spark 'kick'). In dialbreek and dialriiv, 'break down' and 'tear down', there is additionally a connotation of completion. The verb dialtuai 'thaw down' (tuai 'thaw') refers to the gradual receding of ice on windowpanes.

DÖÖR- : Aside from its figurative meanings, such as those of döörbren 'escape' (non-figurative 'burn through'; bren 'burn'), döörbring 'squander' (non-figurative 'bring through, deliver'; bring 'bring'), and döörsteek 'play pranks' (non-figurative 'perforate'; steek 'stick, stab'), the prefix döör- has a dynamic spatial or temporal effect on base verbs. Examples of this effect are seen in dööraarberi 'work through [material or a period of time]' (aarberi 'work'), döörbit 'bite through' (bit 'bite'), döörriin 'rain through' (riin 'rain'), and döörwäremi 'warm through and through, warm thoroughly' (wäremi 'warm').

EEDER- : The most frequent senses of this prefix are temporal and directional, as in eederföligi 'follow after, succeed' (föligi 'follow'), eederpori 'prod' (fig. 'spur on, encourage') (pori 'poke, incite'), eedertuki 'look after, follow with the eyes' (tuki 'look'), and eederskriiv 'take dictation'. The prefix exhibits relatively less transparency in the verbs eederiiv 'give in' (iiv 'give') and eederdö 'imitate' (dö 'do; give'). As with the prefix aur-, there can also be a sense of 'back, unused' (in eederbliiv 'remain over' (bliiv 'stay'), eederhual 'keep back' (hual 'hold') and eederlet 'leave back'. In eederhelp 'help out' (help 'help'), eedermeet 'measure again', eederweeg 'weigh again', there is a sense of repetition. Pejorative connotations are found in the figurative meanings of the prefixed verbs eederröpp 'revile' (non-figurative 'call after [someone]') and eedersii 'betray' (non-fig. 'divulge, tell'; sii 'say'). In both its temporal and directional senses, eeder- stands in opposition to the prefix fuar-.

FOL- : This separating prefix is rare, occurring in folmaaki 'make full, complete' (maaki 'make') and folpropi 'cram, stuff' (propi 'stopples, plug'), in additive senses.

FUAR- : Most frequently, fuar- lends a positional sense to a verbal base, but it can also connote that an action is done in relation to other participant(s) (often as either a positive or negative model) or preliminary to a later action. Positional senses are seen in the verbs fuarbüch 'bend forward' (büch 'bend'; also used in the sense 'preclude, prevent' as in High German); fuardami 'build a dam in front of' (dami 'dam'), fuarhingi 'hang in front of' (hingi 'hang'), fuarleeng 'give something to someone by reaching' (leeng 'reach'), and fuarskop, fuarsküüv, both 'push forward' (skop, küüv 'push'). Relational senses are present in fuarrir 'ride at the head of a group' (rir 'ride'), fuarrees 'read aloud [to]' (rees 'read'), fuardö 'profess; dissimulate, pretend [toward]' (dö 'do, give'), fuarprötji 'preach to' (prötji 'preach'), temporally in fuaraarberi 'work preliminarily' (aarberi 'work'), fuarpluugi 'plow preliminarily' (pluugi 'plow'), fuarskiar 'cut open' (skiar 'cut [with a knife]'), and fuarsjit 'shoot first; advance' (sjit 'shoot'). The prefix has become opaque in fuargreev 'block a path by digging a trench and piling up the dirt' (greev 'dig') and fuarhual in the sense 'suffice'; the latter also has the more transparent meaning 'hold up to'. Egressivity is connoted in fuarfinj 'find upon arrival' (finj 'find') and fuargung 'have been happening' (gung 'go'), paralleling High German vorfinden and vorgehen; the prefix has an ingressive connotation in fuarmark 'take notice in advance', fuarse 'provide for contingencies' (se 'see'), and fuarweeg 'weigh in advance' (weeg 'weigh'), again with parallels in High German. In many cases, fuar- thus stands in opposition to eeder-.

HEN- : The semantic force of the prefix *hen-* is directional, namely toward some place or person (and thus away from one's own point of reference). The place can be metaphorical, as in *henbring* 'in the sense of 'bury someone', *henlewi* 'exist, live tranquilly, vegetate') and *hensõõri* 'waste away' (*sõõri* 'ail, be sickly'), or implicit, as in intransitive verbs like *henfaal* 'fall down' (*faal* 'fall'), *henlii* 'lie down' (*lii* 'lie, recline'), and *henseet* 'set down' (*seet* 'set'). Verbs such as *hengung* 'go there' (*gung* 'go'), *henhiir* 'listen attentively to' (*hiir* 'hear') and *henstjüür* 'send in to' (*stjüür* 'send') exhibit perhaps the most explicit sense of the prefix, which in *henbüti* 'exchange' (*büti* 'trade') and *henliki* 'resemble' (*liki* 'resemble') appears to add little to the meaning of the base verb. In general, it is used in partial opposition to the prefix *wech-*, which connotes movement away from, and in consonance with *tõ-* in its directional connotations.

IIN- : Like the corresponding preposition, *iin-* can connote movement into something else and thus carry an ingressive sense: *iinaasi* 'befoul, make dirty' (*aasi* 'do dirty work, work sloppily', cp. *aas* 'carrion'), *iinbäriigi* 'get the harvest inside' (*bäriigi* 'harvest'), *iindüpi* 'dip into' (*düpi* 'dip'), *iinklep* 'cut into with scissors' (*klep* 'cut with scissors'), *iinnõõriigi* 'ask to come inside' (*nõõriigi* 'force, invite'), *iinuuremi* 'inhale' (*uuremi* 'breathe'). But the prefix is also used when a semantic patient is in some sense brought within an enclosure, as in *iindiki* 'build a dike around' (*diki* 'build a dike'), *iinlük* 'lock in [a person]' (*lük* 'close, lock up'), and *iinlüt* 'lock in [an object]' (*lüt* 'close, lock'). In the verb *iinhaa* 'have at home, house', the prefix has a static rather than directional sense. In many cases, it is antonymical to the prefix *üt-*.

IIPEN- : An infrequent prefix, *iipen-* has the same sense as the corresponding adjective in *iipenbärist* 'burst open' (*bärist* 'burst'), *iipengung* 'open on its own' (*gung* 'go'), *iipenriiv* 'tear open' (*riiv* 'tear'), and *iipenspungi* 'unbuckle, unstrap' (*spungi* 'buckle, strap'). In *iipenspring* 'burst open' and *iipentii* 'uncork, untie [a knot or bottle]', the prefix has a slightly different connotation, but still one with an overall sense of rendering something accessible – one antonymical to one connotation of the prefix *tõ-*.

LUAS- : Like the preceding prefix, *luas-* corresponds to the sense of an adjective signifying the establishment of accessibility and is used with a handful of verbal bases: *luasbreek* 'break loose', *luarkoopi* 'buy free, ransom', *luaskum* 'come loose', *luaslaap* 'run away, run free and unfettered', *luaslet* 'let loose', *luasmaaki* 'untie, set free', and *luasriiv* 'tear loose'. Not appearing in Möller (1916) and thus presumably of recent origin is the verb *luasgung* 'start up, get going', perhaps an adaptation of the German verb *losgehen* of the same meaning.

ME- : This is a primarily comitative prefix, with a connotation of sharing also present in a number of the verbs thus prefixed. In *meaarberi* 'collaborate, work with' (*aarberi* 'work'), *mekõõr* 'ride along with' (*kõõr* 'ride'), *mehelp* 'help out' (*help* 'help'), and *mesnaki* 'converse, talk with' (*snaki* 'talk') the sense is directly comitative, and in *mediili* 'tell, inform' (*diili* 'share'), *meliir* 'sympathize' (*liir* 'suffer'), and *mereer* 'have a say in, co-determine' (*reer* 'counsel, guess, decide'), there is additionally one of sharing.

OF- : The two main senses imparted by the verbal prefix *of-* are two related notions: that of 1) separation, as in *ofbäriigi* 'rescue from shipwreck' (*bäriigi* 'save, rescue'), *ofblö* 'blow away' (*blö* 'blow'), *offlet* 'skim off cream' (with *flet* in the same meaning by itself, *fleten* n. 'cream'), *ofnari* 'gain by fraud'

(nari 'lead on, play a joke on; break off an engagement'), ofripi 'remove caterpillars [from plants]' (ripi in the same meaning; rip 'caterpillar'), ofstap 'go away, measure by strides' (stap 'stride'), and 2) that of depletion or totality, in ofaampli and ofaarberi 'work to exhaustion' (aampli 'fidget' and aarberi 'work'; the second also in the sense 'work off (a debt)'), ofdrink and ofiit 'empty by drinking' and 'empty by eating, clean one's plate', and offeski 'fish to depletion' (feski 'fish'), offrüüs 'freeze completely' (früüs 'freeze'), ofkiwi 'abuse verbally, dress-down' (kiwi scold, rail at'), ofkwirki 'choke to death' (kwirki 'choke'), ofrööti 'rot away' (rööti 'rot'). The prefix also has a sense of rejection (stemming from separation) in ofslaa 'chop off; refuse' (slaa 'strike'), ofween 'avert, fend off' (ween 'turn'), and ofwit 'deflect blame from oneself, repudiate reproach' (cp. forwit 'blame'). In offuuderi 'feed animals for the last time in a day' (fuuderi 'feed'), the sense of the prefix is one of finality. In its separative sense, of- is opposed by tō- in one of its connotations, that of movement toward a person or object.

OM- : This prefix generally connotes change or alternation, which can be in an activity itself or spatially, in which case there is a sense of 'around' as envelopment or a change of direction or position. Such activities are expressed in ombech 'redesign, build in a different way' (bech 'build'), omfārewi 'dye, change in color' (fārewi 'color'), omkluari 'change clothes' (kluari 'clothe'), omspeen 'change horses' (speen 'span, tighten'), omtaakeli 'outfit, re-rig [a ship]' (taakeli 'hoist with block and tackle'), and omtörnai 'convert, change faiths' (törn n. 'turn'); a semantic patient is enveloped in omkanti 'edge in, put a border around, trim' (kanti 'place an object on its rim or edge'); change is spatial in directional ombüch 'bend around' (büch 'bend') and omdebli 'bend around or into; crease, make a fold' (debli 'fold'), and positional omblö 'blow over' (blö), omfaal 'fall over' (faal 'fall') and omsmit 'knock over, upset'. There is a more specific type of change in omdö 'pass around [food at table]', where the semantic patient is making rounds; similarly distributive senses are found in omdiiil 'go visiting in the neighborhood' (diiil 'appear before to inform and/or request') and omdiiili 'distribute, give out' (diiili 'divide, share'). In addition to its senses 'go around, hang out' and 'deal with', omgung can mean 'do without', with a figurative sense deriving from the prefix (gung 'go'). Möller (1916) notes two seemingly antithetical senses for the verb omkum: 'be killed' and 'come home, as following a voyage'; as with the two meanings of ombring, 'escort home' and 'kill', the more violent senses parallel those in the German cognates (umkommen and umbringen) and perhaps represent adaptations of them, although the double senses are also present in both Westerlandersk Frysk and Dutch as well (Siebren Dyk, pers. comm.).

OMBI- : The relatively rare prefix ombi- (with stress on the second syllable) carries the same sense as the corresponding adverb, namely 'around, about', often with a connotation of ineffectuality or pointlessness: ombiflaki 'putter about in shallow water in a (ramshackle) boat' (flaki 'travel on shallow water'; flak n. 'shallow'), ombiramenti 'rummage around noisily, clatter about', ombistuun 'lounging around' (stuun 'stand'), ombiswalki 'drift about far from home' (swalki 'beat on the shore [of waves]; drift at sea'), ombitjapi 'walk around daydreaming' (tjap n. 'dummy, dunce'). No pejoration is present in ombisnūiv 'sniff the air, try to flush out' (snūiv 'snort, breathe deeply') or ombiluki 'scan, look around' (luki 'look').

ÖN- : Like the preposition ön 'in', ön- connotes contact, with the difference that with the prefix the contact is usually on a surface rather than internal. This is physically the case in önbak 'glue or fasten

onto' (bak 'glue'), õnboki 'knock on' (boki 'knock'), õnbring 'affix, fasten', õnhaaki 'hook onto' (haaki 'hook [onto]'), and õnskrüüwi 'screw onto' (skrüüwi 'screw'). Contact is less direct in õnber 'offer to' (ber 'bid'), õngäpi 'gape at, stare at' (gäpi 'yawn, gape, gawk'), õnhiir 'listen to' (hiir 'hear'), and õnnem 'take on, adopt [a child]' (nem 'take'), and is even less apparent in õntjüü 'permit oneself something, indulge' (tjüü 'give witness, attest'). Verbs like õntjen 'inflamm, kindle' (tjen 'light, set afire') and õnrõõti 'turn rotten' have an ingressive sense. In the figurative meaning of õnfõõr 'direct, lead; mislead, deceive' (fõõr 'direct, lead'), the prefix has a pejorative sense.

ÕNER- : Another relatively rare prefix, õner-, like the corresponding free morpheme, connotes depth or lowness, as in õnerdrüki 'depress, press down' (drüki 'press'), õnerdük 'go below the surface' (dük 'duck, dive'), õnergreev 'mix in [soil], bury' (greev 'dig'), õnerkrep 'creep under' (krep 'creep'), õnerpluugi 'plow under' (pluugi 'plow'), and õnerseet 'set underneath' (seet 'set'). The prefix is thus opposed in its connotations to aur-.

TÕ- : This prefix is found with a wide number of basic verbs, in which it carries a range of senses. These senses can be grouped into principal connotations of 1) obstruction or shutting, 2) directional orientation to a goal (movement toward a person or object), and 3) addition or increase. The verbs tõknopi 'button down' (knopi 'button'), tõluari 'solder shut' (luari 'solder'), tõmüüri 'wall off' (müüri 'construct with stone and mortar'), tõpropi 'cork, plug' (propi 'stuff'), tõsnii 'snow in, snow closed' (snii 'snow') all exhibit sense (1), while sense (2) is found in tõdiil 'call to' (diil 'appear before to inform and/or request'), tõflõ 'fly to' (flõ 'fly'), tõkiir 'turn toward' (kiir 'turn'), tõneki 'nod to' (neki 'nod'), and tõweski 'whisper to' (weski 'whisper'). Addition/increase, sense (3), is present in tõdõ 'do in addition; contribute' (dõ 'do; give'), tõkoopi 'buy additionally' (koopi 'buy'), and tõlaap with the meaning 'run/walk faster' as well as directional 'walk toward' (laap 'run/walk'). (Senses 3 and 1 are both found in tõbech 'build onto, additionally' and 'obstruct by building'.) In a subset of verbs of cutting, such as tõkapi 'cut apart a slaughtered animal with a cleaver', tõkdep 'cut to size with scissors' (kdep 'cut with scissors') and tõskiar 'cut to size with a knife' (skiar 'cut with a knife'), the prefix adds to the base a sense of preparation. In tõgrip 'take for oneself, seize and hold' (grip 'grasp, grab') and tõleeng 'take for oneself [at table]' (the latter also meaning 'give to, confer upon' and 'suffice') the direction of movement is towards oneself as the semantic agent. In addition to the obstructive sense in the meaning 'close, shut', the verb tõmaaki (maaki 'make, do') has the reflexive meaning 'hurry up', and tõflii 'set the table' (flii 'arrange') is opposed in meaning by offlii 'clear the table'. Tõhau 'slam shut' has the more idiomatic meaning 'pummel' (hau 'chop, hit; mow'). The prefix is thus opposed in its obstructive sense to iipen- and in its directional sense (in which it is similar to hen-) to wech-.

TÕBEEK- : The most frequent sense of this prefix is positional/ directional, as in tõbeekbliiv 'stay back' (bliiv 'stay, remain'), tõbeekhaali 'fetch back' (haali 'fetch'), tõbeeklet 'let back', tõbeekduki 'look back' (luki 'look'), tõbeekrõp 'call back' (rõp 'call') and tõbeekteenk 'think back' (teenk 'think'). The directional sense can result in a connotation of recompense: tõbeekbitaali 'pay back' (bitaali 'pay'), tõbeekfo 'get back, receive in return' (fo 'receive'), tõbeekslaa 'strike back' (slaa 'beat, strike'), tõbeekstjüür 'send back' (stjüür 'send'). The verb tõbeektreer (treer 'tread, step') has the sense 'give up, do without' as an abstraction from the more basic 'step back'. In some cases, the prefix in antonymical to directional fuar-.

TÕHOP- : Much as the corresponding adverb, *tõhop-* connotes a cumulative effect in verbs: *tõhopfaagi* 'sweep together' (*faagi* 'sweep'), *tõhophiir* 'belong together' (*hiir* 'belong'), *tõhoplewi* 'live together' (*lewi* 'live'), *tõhopsmelt* 'melt together' (*smelt* 'melt'), *tõhopwuksi* 'grow together' (*wuksi* 'grow'). The effect can sometimes lead to marked change, as in *tõhopsaki* 'sink in on oneself' (*saki* 'sink in'), *tõhopskrump* 'shrink down' (*skrump* 'shrink'), and *tõhoprūüsi* 'cave in' (*rūüsi* 'slide down'). In *tõhopslaa* 'beat one another' (*slaa* 'beat, strike'), the sense of the verbal prefix is one of reciprocity.

TÕROCHT- : The few verbs in which this prefix occurs all have a sense of betterment or amelioration. Examples are *tõrochtfinj* 'find one's way' (*finj* 'find'), *tõrochthelp* 'help get ready', *tõrochtlii* 'lay out at the ready' (*lii* 'lie, lay'), and *tõrochtmaaki* 'ready, prepare' (*maaki* 'make, do').

ÜP- : With few exceptions, the prefix *üp-* connotes contact. This contact can be with surfaces: *üpbinj* 'tie onto' (*binj* 'bind, tie'), *üpkleem* 'spread onto' (*kleem* 'spread'), *üpplek* 'fasten (onto) with a needle' (*plek* 'fasten with a peg'), *üpsmõri* 'smear onto' (*smõri* 'smear'), *üpspikeri* 'nail onto' (*spikeri* 'nail'), *üpstuun* 'stand upon'. The contact can also be less tangible, as in *üpkum* 'recall, remember' (*kum* 'come'), *üpmark* 'attend to, care for' (*mark* 'notice'), *üppasi* 'take care of' (*pasi* 'suit'), and *üpperi* 'show; point to or at' (*peri* 'point'). The verbs *üpbinj* and *üpstuun* have, in addition to the more straightforward meanings mentioned above, the respective figurative senses 'trick, pull the wool over somebody's eyes' and 'last, exist'. For the most part, the prefix *üp-* is opposed in connotation to *õner-*.

ÜT- : One of the most frequently-occurring of verbal prefixes, *üt-* often has a directional or positional sense of exteriority: *üttdõ* 'expend, spend' (*dõ* 'do, give'), *ütdrüp* 'drip out, trickle through' (*drüp* 'drip, sprinkle'), *ütlõõwi* 'set out, put up, offer [a reward]' (*lõõwi* 'promise'), *ütluki* 'look out, hold watch' (*luki* 'look'), *ütpaki* 'unpack' (*paki* 'pack'), *ütraisi* 'depart on a trip' (*raisi* 'travel'). Quite commonly, this sense also connotes separation, as in *ütbit* 'bite out' (*bit* 'bite'), *ütteski* 'fish out' (*teski* 'fish'), *ütkejem* 'comb out', *ütkloderi* 'disentangle' (*õn kloder* 'in a tangle'), *ütploki* 'pluck out' (*ploki* 'pluck'), *ütpori* 'gouge out' (*pori* 'poke, incite'), *ütpõli* 'sort, pull out, shell', and *ütriiv* 'tear out' (*riiv* 'tear'). Another frequent sense of the prefix is egressive, that of completion resulting from some activity, one present in verbs like *ütblik* 'bleach out' (*blik* 'bleach'), *ütbolni* 'suppurate to dryness' (*bolni* 'fester'), *ütbren* 'burn out' (*bren* 'burn'), *ütbrõri* 'hatch' (*brõri* 'brood'), *ütdrügi* 'dry out' (*drügi* 'dry'), *ütmolki* 'milk completely' (*molki* 'milk'), *ütroowi* 'rob of everything, clean out' (*roowi* 'rob'), and *ütsliip* 'catch up on sleep, sleep to satiety' (*sliip* 'sleep'). The verb *ütfel* (*fel* 'fill; pour') has both an egressive meaning, 'fill out, complete', and a directional/separative one, 'pour out', *üttnaki* 'talk to completion, say one's piece; bring out in public by talking' both egressive and directional ones. Egressivity is also present in *ütskeen* 'bring to ruin' (*skeen* 'violate, defile, desecrate, wreck'). *Ütskär* (*skär* 'divide, separate') has the separative meaning 'discharge' as well as more opaque 'stop'. Especially in its directional sense, *üt-* is opposed to the prefix *iin-*.

WECH- : This prefix generally has the sense of 'away' found in the corresponding adverb. Examples of verbs in which this sense of the prefix is present are *wechdrüiv* 'float away; force away' (*drüiv* 'float; force'), *wechfaar* 'leave by sea' (*faar* 'travel by sea') and *wechkõõr* 'leave by driving' (*kõõr* 'travel by land'), *wechpõti* 'put away' (*põti* 'put, place'), and *wechsmit* 'throw away, discard' (*smit* 'throw'). A few verbs have developed some less predicable senses: *wechbring*, along with the basic meaning 'take

away, bring away', can also mean 'lose'; from the meaning 'lay away, put aside', wechlii (lii 'lie, lay') can connote 'reserve, keep'. In wechswümi 'faint' (swümi 'faint'), the prefix has no apparent semantic effect on the base verb. In most cases, nonetheless, wech- is antonymical to directional tō- as well as hen-.

WEDER- : Another infrequently occurring prefix, separable *weder-* connotes repetition in *wederbring* 'bring again, recompense', *wederfinj* 'find again' (*finj* 'find'), *wederkeen* 'recognize' (*keen* 'know'), and *wederkum* 'come again, return' (*kum* 'come'). The verb *wedergung* (*gung* 'go') has the special meaning 'go around after death' and was used particularly of apparitions of drowned seafarers who were thought to reappear to their loved ones.

3.3.2.1.1.2. Verbs with Non-Separating Prefixes

Verbal prefixes that do not separate from the verbal stem in the Present and Preterite are far fewer than those that do separate. *Mes-* (cognate with Engl. *mis-* and Ger. *miß-*) is the only non-separating prefix that is stressed (2.6.1.1.). Once again, a discussion of the individual prefixes based on the entries in Möller (1916) follows the list.

(77) Non-Separating Verbal Prefixes

<i>NON-SEP. PREFIX</i>	<i>MEANING(S) OF CORR. FREE MORPHEME</i>	<i>EXAMPLES OF PREFIXED VERBS</i>
<i>aur-</i>	<i>aur</i> 'over, above'	<i>aurwen</i> 'overcome, defeat'
<i>bi-</i>	-; cogn. Ger. <i>be-</i>	<i>bigrōöt</i> 'greet'
<i>for-</i>	-; cogn. Ger. <i>ver-</i>	<i>forgesi</i> 'guess amiss, miscalculate'
<i>mes-</i>	-	<i>meslaagi</i> 'fail'
<i>om-</i>	<i>om</i> 'around'	<i>omfiiremi</i> 'encircle in embrace'
<i>ōner-</i>	<i>ōner</i> 'under/neath'	<i>ōnerskriiv</i> 'sign'
<i>tō-</i>	-; cogn. Ger. <i>zer-</i>	<i>tōriiv</i> 'tear into bits'
<i>weder-</i>	<i>weder</i> 'against'	<i>wederstuun</i> 'resist'

AUR- : Like the corresponding preposition/adverb and separating prefix, non-separating *aur-* connotes 'over', but the connotation is often less physical: *aurdō* and *auriiv* 'present' (*dō* 'do/give', *iiv* 'give'), *aurfaal* 'attack' (*faal* 'fall'), *aurflōri* 'flood, swamp' (*flōri* 'rise [of water level]'), *aurgung* 'neglect' (*gung* 'go'), *aurlewi* 'survive sb. or sth.' (*lewi* 'live'), *aurlōōweri* 'hand down, pass along' (*lōōweri* 'deliver'), *aurskriiv* 'transfer in writing' (*skriiv* 'write'), *aursjit* and *aurslaa* 'skip, leave out' (*sjit* 'shoot', *slaa* 'strike, beat'), *aurstuun* 'get through sth., persevere to the end' (*fig.* 'die') (*stuun* 'stand'), *aurtjūū* 'convince, prove to sb.' (*tjūū* 'witness, give testimony'). In cases where both separating and non-separating verbal forms exist with the same base verb, the latter are generally less literal in meaning. Examples are *aurkum* 'come over' and *aurkūim* 'inherit' (*kum* 'come'), *aurlet* 'leave remaining' and *aurlet* 'entrust with' (*let* 'let'), *aurluki* 'look beyond' and *aurlūki* 'survey, get an overview of' (*luki* 'look'), *aursiil* 'sail over to' and *aursiil* 'sail over, run sb. aground' (*siil* 'sail').

BI- : Non-separating *bi-* occurs with a large number of verbal bases, generally with the result that the derived verb is more transitive than the basic one. Such transitivity is seen in *biārewi* 'inherit from' (*ārev* 'inheritance'), *bidiiil* 'talk to sb., confer with' (*diiil* 'appear before to inform and/or request'),

bifastigi 'secure, make fast, fasten sth.' (fast adj. 'fast, strong'), **bigrip** 'comprehend' (grip 'grasp, grip'), **biharki** 'listen to' (harki 'listen; obey'), **biklaksi** 'drop crumbs on, stain' (klaksi 'drop crumbs, eat sloppily'), **biplaki** 'stain, defile' (plak 'make a spot'), **biraili** 'arrange, put in order' (rail n. 'rule, order, custom'), **biroowi** 'rob sb.' (roowi 'rob'), **bisleki** 'lick sth.' (sleki 'lick, snack'), and **bismit** 'throw at sb., peit' (smit 'throw'). When a base verb has both separating and non-separating *bi-*, the ones with the unstressed prefix generally have a simple transitivized sense as opposed to a semantic notion such as concomitance, addition, or inchoativity deriving from the stressed prefix, as in the pairs **bigung** 'start (in on)', **bigúng** 'commit' (gung 'go'); **bihual** 'keep', **bihúal** 'retain' (hual 'hold'); and **bistjüür** 'contribute', **bistjüür** 'declare as taxable' (stjüür 'steer, send, tax'). (These differences are in keeping with the different developments of the two prefixes; the development of *bi-* parallels that of Engl. *by*, Ger. *bei/bei-*, that of *bi-* the development of Engl. *be-*, Ger. *be-*.) The meanings of the verbs **bidanki** and **bifaar** (**danki** 'thank', **faar** 'travel [on water]'; **köör** < Dan. *køre* 'travel [by land]') became largely specialized with respect to seafaring, the former in the phrase *di see bidanki* 'retire from seafaring', lit. 'thank the sea'. **Bidāriigi** 'reflect, meditate' is used reflexively, as can **bifrūi** 'marry sb.; get married' (**frii** 'woo, court').

FOR- : This is the single most frequent of all verbal prefixes. The effects of *for-* on base verbs can be grouped into five related types: 1) transitivizing with little apparent semantic change to the meaning of the base verb, 2) reflexivization or reciprocalization, 3) addition of a sense of fatal completeness or violent extremity, 4) addition of a sense of objective change, and 5) addition of a connotation of failure or pejoration (which is a more subjective kind of change); verbs in the latter four categories are also transitivized as well. Verbs representing the first type are **forbaak** 'use in baking' (**baak** 'bake'), **forfalski** 'falsify, counterfeit (sth.)' (**falski** 'falsify, counterfeit'), **forfüli** 'make dirty' (**füli** adj. 'dirty'), **forhüri** 'hide sth.' (**hüri** n. 'hiding place'), and **forhüür** 'rent out' (**hüür** 'rent, hire'). Reflexivity is added by the prefix in **foraarberi** 'overwork oneself' (also with the transitive meaning 'process, work on') (**aarberi** 'work'), **forpüsti** 'catch one's breath' (**püsti** 'blow, wheeze'), **forleft** 'hurt oneself while lifting a heavy load' (**left** 'lift'), and **forstunk** 'have a liquid go down the wrong way while drinking' (**stunk** 'swallow'); the verb **forliiki** 'be able to stand each other, get along together' (**liiki** 'resemble, be similar') describes a reciprocal relation. Fatal completeness is connoted in **forblöri** 'bleed to death' (**blöri** 'bleed'), **forfrüüs** 'freeze to death' (**früüs** 'freeze'), **forhungeri** 'starve' (**hungeri** 'hunger'), and **forsüp** 'drown' (also 'consume by drinking') (**süp** 'drink heavily'); in **forriiv** 'tear to pieces', the prefix has the same effect of extremity as in **töriiv**. A notion of objective change is semantically present in **foraneri** 'change sth.' (**aneri** 'change'), **forbeeteri** 'improve sth.' (**beeteri** 'change for the better'), **forklaami** 'grow stiff with cold' (adapted from Low Saxon *vorklamen, vorklomen*), **forresti** 'rust, become rusty' (**resti** 'rust'), and **formü geli** 'grow moldy' (**mü geli** 'turn moldy'). Failure, pejoration, or change for the worse are found in the verbs **forbech** 'build wrongly' (also 'use in building') (**bech** 'build'), **forföör** 'lead astray, seduce' (**föör** 'lead'), **forgesi** 'guess wrongly, make a mistake, miscalculate' (**gesi** 'guess'), **forkeen** 'mistake sb., fail to recognize' (**keen** 'know [a person]'), **forklap** 'inform on, betray' (**klap** n. 'lid'), and **forlii** 'waste by sleeping; misplace' (**lii** 'lie; lay'). The prefix in **foriit** 'forget' has been replaced by non-separating **aur-** (**auriit** 'forget'); the verbal stem reflects Germanic **fer-* < IE **ghend-* 'seize, take', and the two forms in Sölring parallel the dichotomy of OE *forgietan* and *ofergietan*, both 'forget' (Stiles 1995:210).³ In **forlees** 'lose', the verbal stem derives from Gmc. **lus* 'loose' < IE **leu-*.⁴

³ The verb **iit** 'eat', on the other hand, derives from Gmc. **et-a-* 'eat'; the two verbs are thus unrelated.

⁴ Contrast here, too, the historic root of the verb **lees** 'read' Gmc. **les-a-* 'collect'. Once again, the

Forfiir 'startle sb.; become startled' (fiir adj. 'far') applies to both semantic patient and agent. The relatively frequent verb **forsjuk** (sjuk 'seek, look for') has the meaning 'try, attempt', while **foriiri** (iari 'honor') means 'give to, present'.

MES- : Since **mes-** is stressed but non-separating, it is the only one of all the verbal prefixes in which separability does not coincide with lexical stress. It occurs in only a handful of verbs: **mesbrük** 'misuse' (brük 'use, need'), **mesdüüdi** 'misinterpret' (düüdi 'interpret'), **mesleki** and **messlaagi** both 'fail' (**leki** 'succeed' and **slaagi** 'go well, succeed'), **mestruu** 'mistrust' (**truu** 'trust'), and **meshaneli** 'mishandle, mistreat' (**haneli** 'handle, treat'); in each case, the prefix has a sense of wrongness or negation.

OM- : Found in only a few verbs, non-separating **om-** has the circumferential sense 'around': **omfiiremi** and **omjeremi** both 'embrace' (fiiremi 'spread the arms' (fiirem n. 'fathom, arms' length) and jerem n. 'arm'). In **omhaini** 'fence in, surround' and **omsleeng** 'wrap, wrap around', the base verbs have the same meaning as the prefixed verbs, so the prefixes add perhaps only an intensifying connotation. Inseparable **omgrip** means 'contain, hold', as opposed to the more physical sense of separable **ómgrip** 'grasp around' (**grip** 'grab, grasp').

ÖNER- : Like its separating counterpart, non-separating **öner-** has the general semantic force of 'under, below'. Verbal derivatives with the unstressed form of the prefix are **önerber** 'charge less, cost less' (**ber** 'offer'), **önerdrüki** 'oppress' (**drüki** 'press'), **önerhaneli** 'negotiate' (**haneli** 'handle, treat'), **önerskēr** 'distinguish' (**skēr** 'divide, separate'), **önerskriiv** and **önersteekeni** both 'sign' (**skriiv** 'write' and **teekeni** 'draw, mark'), **önerstuun** 'be subordinate to' (**stuun** 'stand'), and **önerweegi** and **önerwiisi** both 'instruct, direct' (**weegi** 'show, demonstrate' and **wiisi** 'show'). **Önernem** 'undertake' (**nem** 'take') has an ingressive sense. Where both separable and unseparable verbal derivatives exist, the latter have more figurative meanings: **önergréev** 'undermine' as opposed to 'önergreev' 'mix into soil, bury' (**greev** 'dig'), and **önerhual** 'entertain' versus 'önerhual' 'hold under' (**hual** 'hold').

TÖ- : Though segmentally identical to separating **tö-** in the modern language, non-separating **tö-** is etymologically distinct (coming from Gmc. *tiz- rather than Gmc. *to-), although the distinction was lost in later development (yet e.g. the OE cognates were identical in form as well). Non-separating **tö-** does not occur as a free morpheme, nor does it bear a semantic similarity to separating **tö-**. In most of the verbs in which it occurs, non-separating **tö-** connotes fragmentation or extremity, both with respect to violent action: **töbreek** 'break to pieces' (**breek** 'break'), **tögnöös** 'smash, crush flat' (**gnöös** 'smash, crush'), **töhaki** 'chop to bits' (**haki** 'chop'), **töriiv** 'tear to bits' (**riiv** 'tear'), **töslaa** 'beat up' (**slaa** 'strike, beat'). Whereas separable **töspring** means 'jump to', inseparable **töspring** has the meaning 'shatter, explode'. Some verb derivations with this prefix remain only as participial adjectives: **töfeelen** 'fallen apart' (**en töfeelen hüs** 'a house in ruins') and **töfēren** 'hopeless' (**en töfēren saak** 'a hopeless matter').

WEDER- : Like **tö-**, this has a close resemblance among the separating prefixes in the modern language; although it has a different sense now, it has the same origin as separating **weder-**. The non-separating prefix occurs only in the verbs **wederspreek** 'contradict' (**spreek** 'speak') and **wederstuun** 'withstand, resist' (**stuun** 'stand'), in which it has the sense 'against'. The participle **wederfēren** 'happened' is a likely adaptation of Ger. **widerfahren** 'happen(-ed) to'.

apparent connection between the prefixed and unprefixed verbs is illusory.

3.3.2.1.2. Suffixation

Verbs that are derived by suffixation are all regular; that is, no irregular verbs are formed, since the basis of verbal irregularity in Germanic languages, ablaut, was a process that took place into early Germanic.

In Old Frisian, weak verbs ended in one of two ways: in final *-a* (e.g. OFris. *dela* 'divide, adjudicate') or *-ia* (e.g. OFris. *maakia* 'make') (Sjölin 1969). In the course of historical development, the final vowel in these weak verbs weakened and disappeared, a development still reflected in the patterns of termination of irregular verbs in the modern North Frisian languages (Århammar 1975:9) (e.g. Sölr. *diil* and *maaki*). Many verbs in Sölring represent regular developments in such a process of loss, as *kiiwi* 'reproach, upbraid' (OFris. *kjivia*), *klaagi* 'complain, accuse' (OFris. *klagia*), and *luani* 'recompense, reward' (OFris. *lania*); the corresponding nouns in Sölring (*kiiwing*, *klaag*, and *luan*) have their counterparts in Old Frisian (*kive-szive-tsive* 'discord, strife', *klagi/klage* 'complaint', and *län* 'payment'). But there is ample evidence of an analogical pattern of suffixation of *-i* to nouns, and less frequently to adjectives, to derive verbs after the OFris. period:

(78) Derived Verbs with the Suffix -i

<i>VERB</i>	<i>NOUN OR ADJECTIVE</i>
<i>alarmi</i> 'make noise'	<i>alärem</i> 'noise'
<i>amdami</i> 'starch laundry'	<i>amdäm</i> 'thickening agent for food'
<i>ankeri</i> 'anchor'	<i>anker</i> 'anchor'
<i>beki</i> 'hammer with a belk'	<i>bek</i> 'small mason's hammer'
<i>bëri</i> 'bed'	<i>bër</i> 'bed'
<i>fiiremi</i> 'spread one's arms'	<i>fiirem</i> 'arms' spread, fathom'
<i>flaki</i> 'sail in the shallows'	<i>flak</i> 'flat, shallow'
<i>fliti</i> 'cut off fins of small fish'	<i>fliting</i> 'fins of small fish'
<i>floiti</i> 'whistle'	<i>floit</i> 'flute'
<i>fuuderi</i> 'give feed to animals'	<i>fuuder</i> 'fodder, animal feed'
<i>hosti</i> 'cough'	<i>host</i> 'cough'
<i>höögi</i> 'rejoice, be amused'	<i>höög</i> 'joy, amusement'
<i>jameri</i> 'lament, wail'	<i>jamer</i> 'sorrow, grief'
<i>kneebiini</i> 'walk with knees bent'	<i>kneebiin</i> 'knee'
<i>kööli</i> 'cool'	<i>kööli</i> 'cool'
<i>kööli</i> 'char, carbonize'	<i>kööli</i> 'coal'
<i>luari</i> 'plumb, solder'	<i>luar</i> 'lead'
<i>lumi</i> 'lamb, give birth [sheep]'	<i>lum</i> 'lamb'
<i>lüüsi</i> 'delouse'	<i>lüs</i> 'louse'
<i>luuweni</i> 'become calm/less windy'	<i>luuwen</i> 'calm, windless'
<i>moderi</i> 'excavate'	<i>moder</i> 'mud'
<i>molki</i> 'milk'	<i>molk</i> 'milk'
<i>mööseri</i> 'grind in a mortar'	<i>mööseri</i> 'mortar'
<i>nopi</i> 'slub'	<i>nop</i> 'slub'

skolpi 'remove fish scales'
 skūmi 'foam, froth'
 skūūli 'seek cover or protection'
 skūūnsi 'make sloped or slanted'
 slochti 'arbitrate, settle'
 stūfi 'stiffen'
 taatji 'kiss'
 tipi 'peck [of chickens]'
 witi 'whiten, paint white'

skolp 'fish scale'
 skūm 'foam, froth'
 skūūl 'cover, protection'
 skūūns 'sloped, slanted'
 slocht 'smooth, even'
 stūf 'stiff, inflexible'
 taatj 'kiss'
 tip 'tip'
 wit 'white'

Denominal verb derivations can also be prefixed:

(79) Prefixed Verbal Derivations with the Suffix -i

VERB

forisi 'ice over, totally ice up'
 forāremi 'become poor'
 ofmōnsteri 'muster off, sign off'
 ofpali 'support, reinforce'
 önerfuuderi 'feed for the last time in day'
 önmōnsteri 'muster onto, sign on'
 ütjuksi 'swamp out'

NOUN OR ADJECTIVE

is 'ice'
 ārem 'poor'
 mōnster 'muster'
 pal 'firm, immovable'
 fuuder 'fodder'
 mōnster 'muster'
 mjuks 'manure'

A variant of the suffix -i is -igi, found on such verbs as *haurigi* 'behead' (*haur* n. 'head'), *laidigi* 'lightning' (*lait* n. 'lightning'), *stiinigi* 'stone' (*stiin* n. 'stone'), *strōnigi* 'strand, beach' (*strōn* 'beach'), and *tinjigi* 'apportion the miller's share' (*tinj* 'miller's portion of grain').

In addition to -i and its variant -igi, a verbal suffix more recently used to form new verbs is -iari. The stem can be a noun, as in *telefoniari* 'telephone, call' (*telefoon* n. 'telephone') and *intresiari* 'take interest in' (*intres* n. 'interest'). In cases like *gratuliari* 'congratulate', *studiari* 'study', and *renoviari* 'renovate', however, there is no free morpheme in the language that corresponds to the stem; instead, these verbs – as indeed quite possibly *telefoniari* and *intresiari* as well – probably represent adaptations of German verbs ending in -ieren (Ger. *gratulieren*, *studieren*, and *renovieren*, but also *telefonieren* and (sich) *interessieren*, the suffix originally adapting borrowings from French) of the same meanings.

The trend toward adoption of verbs from German with varying degrees of adaptation to the morphophonology of Sölring is one that has inexorably grown more pronounced, given the intense contact situation and the full bilingualism among contemporary speakers of Sölring (1.1.3.2., 1.4.2.). An example of the practice involved, and of the ambivalence of adaptation, is found with respect to the German compound verb *kennenlernen* 'meet, become acquainted with'. The component morphemes of the German verb, *kennen* and *lernen*, meaning to know a person (or personified entity) and to learn, respectively, have clear cognates in Sölring, *keen* and *liir*, that have the same meanings as the German verbs. The compound verb has been adopted by speakers of Sölring in a variety of forms

(here in increasing order of adaptation): *kennenlernen* [ˈkɛnənˌlɛŋnən] or [ˈkɛnˌlɛŋn], *kennenliir* [ˈkɛnˌlɛŋ], *keenenliir* (keen-en-liir) [ˈkɛːnənˌlɛŋ] or [ˈkɛːnˌlɛŋ], and *keenliir* [ˈkɛːnˌlɛŋ].

3.4. Adjective Morphology

Although adjectives have fairly extensive derivational patterns, inflectional morphology on adjectives is virtually absent in the contemporary language.

3.4.1. Inflection

Possibly as a remnant of earlier case suffixation, *-i* is found on some adjectives used attributively, such as *hiili* 'whole, entire' and *faini* 'fine', although some speakers prefer the unaffixed forms *hiil* and *fain*-*fiin*, in which case the adjectives are identical in form to the corresponding adverbs:

- (80) *Ûs ik litj wiar, snaket wü itüüs bluut sölring,* BH8910
 as I little was talked we at-home only Sölring
alík.sa me di hiilj frinjskep en di miist bikeenten.
 like.so with the whole relations and the most acquaintances
- (81) *Wan ik om al dit fainj sölring iit teenk,* BH8916
 when I around all the fine Sölring eat think
 'When I think about all the wonderful Sölring food'

(Alongside *hiil* in contemporary usage is the German adoption *gans*, which also occurs with the suffix *-i* when used attributively.) Aside from these two cases, however, even attributive modification of nouns, as in *di miist bikeenten* in (80), takes place with no suffixation, regardless of the accompanying determiner: *di iining lamp* 'the only lamp', *di gurst klok* 'the biggest bell', *en höfelk mensk* 'a polite person', *en lüing, tjuk toom* 'a long, thick rope', *ön leecht senskiin* 'in bright sunshine', *öner tjuk wulken* 'under thick clouds', *üüs gur sendaistjüch* 'our good Sunday things (clothes)' (all examples from BH89 *passim*). Hoekstra (1997) has shown that the occurrence of *-i* in Fering-Öömrang is restricted to that of "(non-inherent) absolutely intensifying" attribution, a function perhaps mediated by Low Saxon and reinterpreted in insular North Frisian as marking of emphasis; similar form/function is encountered in Westerland Frysk, Dutch, and Afrikaans.

Adjectives formed from verb participles are fairly common. Although adjectival uses of present participles are rare (3.3.1.1.2.), past-participial adjectives occur with greater frequency (see (63a-g) in 3.3.1.2. for lists of irregular participle forms), many of them with compounded with *ain-* 'own':

- (82) Participial Adjectives
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>ainbruu</i> (<i>biir</i>) | 'homemade [own-brewed] beer' | <i>bruu</i> | 'brew' |
| <i>ainbööken</i> (<i>bruar</i>) | 'homemade ["] bread' | <i>baak</i> | 'bake' |
| <i>ainmaaket</i> (<i>tjüch</i>) | 'homemade ["] clothes' | <i>maaki</i> | 'make/do' |
| <i>ainprekelt</i> (<i>höösen</i>) | 'homemade ["] stockings' | <i>prekeli</i> | 'knit' |
| <i>bööken</i> (<i>aast</i>) | 'baked cheese [dish]' | <i>baak</i> | 'bake' |
| <i>koopet</i> (<i>mārig</i>) | '[store-]bought sausage' | <i>koop</i> | 'buy' |
| <i>krölet</i> (<i>hiir</i>) | 'crinkled hair' | <i>kröli</i> | 'crinkle' |

There are a number of pseudo-participial adjectives used to describe body parts; these are derived by the suffix *-et* (see 3.4.2.1.).

3.4.2. Derivation

Adjectives are derived by both suffixation and prefixation.

3.4.2.1. Suffixation

Derivationally, morphological suffixes occur in comparison, on ordinal numerals, and on adjectives fashioned from nouns and verbs. The bound comparative suffix is *-er*, the superlative *-st*.

(83) Regular Comparative Derivation

<i>ADJECTIVE</i>		<i>COMPARATIVE</i>	<i>SUPERLATIVE</i>
gurt	'big'	gurter	gurtst
hoog	'high'	hooger	hoogst
jung	'young'	junger	jungst
litj	'little'	litjer	litjst
lung	'long' (temporal)	lunger	lungst
rik	'rich'	riker	rikst

Stem changes (as the result of historical ablaut or umlaut), suppletive stems and other irregularities are present in:

(84) Irregular Comparative Derivation

<i>ADJECTIVE</i>		<i>COMPARATIVE</i>	<i>SUPERLATIVE</i>
eeder	'early'	jer	jest
gur	'good'	beeter	beest
fiir	'far'	fiirer-förter	fiirst
fuul	'much'	muar	miist
hol-lef	'glad'	lewer	lefst
litjet	'not much'	mener	menst
lüng	'long' (spatial)	leenger	leengst
ual	'old'	ialer	ialst

Comparison of positional and directional terms used adjectivally takes the form of appended *-(er)muar* '-more'; if the base word ends in *-en*, *-n* → *-r*:

(85)	<i>ADVERB</i>		<i>COMPARATIVE</i>	<i>SUPERLATIVE</i>
	achter	'behind'	achtermuar	achterst
	benen	'inside'	benermuar	benerst
	boowen	'above'	boowermuar	boowerst
	büten	'outside'	bütermuar	büterst

fuar	'forward'	fuarermuar	fuarst
nai	'near'	naiermuar	naist
öner	'under'	önermuar	önerst
nuurder	'northerly'	nuurdermuar	nuurderst
süder	'southerly'	südermuar	süderst
uaster	'easterly'	uastermuar	uasterst
weester	'westerly'	weestermuar	weesterst

Ordinal numerals generally have *-st* suffixed to the cardinal. Slight irregularities are found in the forms corresponding to the first four of these, and there is simplification of the consonant cluster (2.4.6.) in *aachst* 'eighth' as well as degemination (2.4.5.) in *aachtain(-st)* 'eighteen(-th)' ('eight' = *aacht*).

(86) Derivation of Ordinal Numerals

<i>CARDINAL</i>		<i>ORDINAL</i>	<i>CARDINAL</i>		<i>ORDINAL</i>
jen	'one'	jest	elev	'eleven'	elevst
tau	'two'	taust-üder	twelev	'twelve'	twelefst
trii	'three'	treer	trötain	'thirteen'	trötainst
fjuur	'four'	fjaart-fjaarst	fjuurtain	'fourteen'	fjuurtainst
fif	'five'	fifst	fiftain	'fifteen'	fiftainst
soks	'six'	sokst	sokstain	'sixteen'	sokstainst
soowen	'seven'	soowenst	soowentain	'seventeen'	soowentainst
aacht	'eight'	aachst	aachtain	'eighteen'	aachtainst
niigen	'nine'	niigenst	niigentain	'nineteen'	niigentainst
tiin	'ten'	tiinst	twuntig	'twenty'	twuntigst

The suffix *-sk* derives nationalities from the names of countries, as in *Amerikaa* 'America': *amerikaansk* 'American', *Deenemark* 'Denmark': *deensk* 'Danish', *Engellön* 'England': *engelsk* 'English', *Italjen* 'Italy': *italjeensk* 'Italian', and *Spanjen* 'Spain': *spansk* 'Spanish'; for 'German', the attribute *dütsk* corresponds to the first element of the country name, *Dütsklön*. For local North Frisian attributes, the suffix is *-ring*: *Söl* 'Söl': *sölring* 'Sölring', *Aamrem* 'Oomram': *aamring* 'Öömrang', *Föör* 'Feer': *fööring* 'Fering' (cp. 1.3.1.). The designations of the geographic varieties of *Sölring* (1.3.1.), *Weestring* and *Uastring* (from *weest(en)* 'west' and *uast(en)* 'east'), are perhaps elliptical uses of attributive adjectives, as might also be the term *Weesterlöning* 'people of Weesterlön' (cp. *Kairemböör* lit. 'Kairem citizens', *Muasemböör* etc. for the other communities of *Söl*; also 3.1.2.1.); *weesterlöning* is in general use as an adjective, e.g. *hi maast muar weeken ön weesterlöning kraankenhüs lii* 'He had to stay (lit. 'lie') in the hospital in Weesterlön for several weeks' (BH2:19).

There are several other suffixes commonly used to derive adjectives from nouns and/or verbs. The most frequent of these, *-ig*, is suffixed to both nouns and verbs. In the former cases, the derived adjective refers to the quality or a characteristic of the noun:

(87) Denominal Adjectives with the Suffix -ig

NOUN

gruul	'horror'
holt	'wood'
is	'ice'
lūs	'louse'
jicht	'gout'
klai	'clay'
kluuder	'bungler'
kol	'cold'
klöcht	'joke'
meel	'meal, flour'
moder	'mud'
mügel	'mold, mildew'
skolp	'fish scale'
sküül	'protection'
slüip	'sleep'
sop	'soup'
söt	'soot'
spaak	'mold, mildew'
stiin	'stone, rock'
stjamp	'simpleton'
strunt	'faeces, dirt'
töök	'fog'
winj	'wind'
wolk-wulk	'cloud'

ADJECTIVE

gruulig	'horrible, awful'
holtig	'woody'
isig	'icy'
lүүisig	'lousy, lice-infested'
jichtig	'suffering from gout'
klaiig	'clayey'
kluuderig	'bungled, botched'
kolig	'cold, frosty [of people]'
klöchtig	'funny, amusing'
meelig	'mealy'
moderig	'muddy'
mügelig	'moldy, mildewed'
skolpig	'scaly, flaky'
sküülig	'protected, covered'
slüipig	'sleepy'
sopig	'juicy'
sötig	'sooty'
spaakig	'moldy, mildewed'
stiinig	'rocky'
stjampig	'silly, clownish'
struntig	'dirty, filthy'
töökig	'foggy'
winjig	'windy'
wollig-wulkig	'cloudy'

(88) Deverbal Adjectives with the Suffix -ig**VERB**

drem	'dream'
klööteri	'rattle, eke out'
kööli	'cool down/off'
knāri	'creak, croak'
luuri	'lurk, deceive'
sulki	'moan, pout, sulk'
wööli	'churn up, disturb'

ADJECTIVE

dremig	'dreamy, slow'
klööterig	'shabby'
köölig	'cool'
knārig	'creaky, grumpy, surly'
luurig	'underhanded, treacherous'
sulkig	'irritated, sulking'
wöölig	'restless, sloppy'

In a number of these derived adjectives (such as *klööterig*), the syllable *-er-* precedes the suffix. Several verbs (many of them borrowed from Low Saxon) with this intermediate syllable are found alongside verbs without it: *klapi* 'clap' and *klaperi* 'rattle, bang', *klüti* 'patch, fix up' and *klüteri* 'putter around, work at trifles', *klüwi* 'cleave, stick on/to; infect' and *klüweri* 'climb', *kniiipi* 'affix with clothespins' and *kniiiperi* 'pinch, stick on'. Whether present as part of a borrowing (e.g. *klüteri* < MLS *kluteren*) or analogously, the syllable evidently took on the character of a stem extender for adjectives

derived from nouns as well as verbs, as in knob 'knob, knot, hillock': knobberig 'uneven, bumpy' and the deverbal pair klüwig 'infectious, contagious', klüwerig 'sticky' (the latter related semantically not to klüweri 'climb', but to klüwi).

The suffix *-elk* derives adjectives chiefly from nouns, but also from verbs, adjectives, and even adverbs, as well as from the particle/prefix *mes(-)*:

(89) Adjectives with the Suffix *-elk*

<i>ADJECTIVE</i>		<i>SOURCE</i>	
auriitelk	'forgetful'	auriit	'forget'
iarelk	'honorable'	iar	'honor'
fraagelk	'questionable'	fraag	'question'
frügelk	'pleasant, agreeable'	früger	'joy'
hartelk	'heartly, sincere'	hart	'heart'
manelk	'manly, able'	man	'husband, man'
maitelk	'toilsome, difficult'	mait	'effort, pains'
natüürelk	'naturally'	natüür	'nature'
nuurdelk	'northerly'	nuurd(en)	'north'
ruarelk	'reddish'	ruar	'red'
skempelk	'derisive'	skemp	'derision'
suurtek	'blackish'	suurt	'black'
uastelk	'easterly'	uast(en)	'east'
auriitelk	'forgetful'	auriit	'forget'
fuarelk	'ahead of schedule'	fuar	'fore'
makelk	'comfortable'	mak	'gentle'
meselk	'dubious, uncertain'	mes(-)	'mis-'
wenelk	'friendly'	(OFris. wine	'friend') ⁵

A variant of *-elk*, *-erk*, is found in other derivations, such as büterk 'inner, internal' and öterk 'outer, external', süderk 'southerly', weesterk (alongside weestelk) 'westerly', and achterk 'behind schedule' (derived from achter 'behind'; cp. fuarelk above).

The suffix *-som* (OE *-sum*) also derives adjectives such as lungsom 'slow' and ünachtsom 'careless, incautious'.

Adjectives derived with denominalizing *-(e)n* refer to material composition:

(90) Denominal Adjectives with the Suffix *-en*

<i>NOUN</i>	<i>ADJECTIVE</i>
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⁵ Along with *wenskep*, both used by Jap Peter Hansen (1.1.3.4.), indicated in Möller (1916) as no longer common.

holt	'wood'	holten	'wooden; awkward, clumsy'
knaak	'bone'	knaaken	'of bone'
kööper	'copper'	kööpern	'of copper'
leder	'leather'	ledern	'of leather; leathery'
luar	'lead'	luaren	'leaden'
popiir	'paper'	popiiren	'of paper'
stiin	'stone'	stiinen	'of stone'

The restriction of this suffix makes possible such distinctions such as **holten** 'wooden, made of wood': **holtig** 'woody, wood-like' and **knaaken** 'made of bone': **knaakig** 'bony, emaciated', but its use to designate material composition is not obligatory. Unaffixed **gul** 'gold/golden' is found alongside **gulen**, and no suffixed form of the corresponding adjective is recorded for **sölwer** 'silver'.

The suffix **-et** is used to derive ("pseudo-participial") adjectives from body parts, which are themselves compounded (see also 3.4.1.):

(91) Pseudo-Participial Adjectives with the Suffix -et

liigerkneepet	'wasp-waisted'	liig 'low', kneep 'midriff'
krümbiinet	'bow-legged'	krüm 'crooked', biin 'leg'
malhauret	'irascible'	mal 'crazy; very', haur 'head'
müsuaret	'mouse-eared'	müs 'mouse', uar 'ear'
naakenbiinet	'bare-legged'	naaken 'naked', biin 'leg'
steekhiiret	'graying'	steek 'stich', hiir 'hair'
tenhauret	'feeble-minded'	ten 'thin', haur 'head'

The contrasting suffixes **-fol** '-ful' and **-luas** '-less' derive adjectives characterizing the presence or absence of an entity named in the base noun:

(92) Denominal Adjectives with the Suffixes -fol and -luas

<i><u>NOUN</u></i>		<i><u>ADJECTIVE</u></i>	
bruar	'bread'	bruarluas	'breadless, indigent'
giweeten	'conscience'	giweetenluas	'unscrupulous'
help	'help'	helpluas	'helpless'
kraft	'strength'	kraftfol	'strong',
		kraftluas	'weak'
lif	'body' (orig. 'life')	lifluas	'lifeless'
mait	'effort, pains'	maitluas	'effortless'
mur	'courage'	murluas	'discouraged, diffident'
skaar	'damage'	skaarluas	'harmless'
röst	'voice'	röstluas	'voiceless, weak of voice'
taacht	'thought'	taachtfol	'thoughtful, reflective'
		taachtluas	'thoughtless, unthinking'

wiar 'defense' wiarluas 'defenseless'

The absentive suffix also appears on the deverbal adjective rōkluas (variant rūchluas) 'careless, wasteful' from rōk 'care for [livestock]'; unclear is the nominal base of the adjective fiirluas 'frantic, insincere, frivolous, exaggerating danger or pain'.

The suffix *-welig* 'willing' is found in adjectives like *ainwelig* 'stubborn, obstinate', *friiwelig* 'voluntary', *gurwelig* 'obliging, well-meaning', *helpwelig* 'helpful, willing to help', and *ūnwelig* 'unwilling'; 'willing' itself is expressed by *welens*. The notion of selfishness is expressed by *ainbaatig* (*ain* 'own' + *baat* 'use, profit, advantage' + the suffix *-ig*), and *-murig* derives the adjective *friimurig* 'bold'.

Evidence of adaptation from High German can be seen in *gifōölluas* 'unfeeling' (HGer. *gefühllos*) (from *gifōöl* 'feeling', HGer. *Gefühl*) alongside unprefixated *fōölluas*, and in the use of denominal adjective suffixes like *-baar*, *-haft*, and *-som*, as in *sōnerbaar* 'strange, remarkable', *giweetenhaft* 'conscientious', and *swūchsom* 'reticent, taciturn' (cp. HGer. *sonderbar*, *gewissenhaft*, *schweigsam* of the same meanings).

3.4.2.2. Prefixation

There are relatively few prefixes on adjectives, the most common being deverbalizing *for-* and reversative *ūn-* 'un-':

(93)	<u>Deverbal Adjectives with the Prefix <i>for-</i></u>	<i>VERBAL COMPONENT/SOURCE</i>
	<i>forbaust</i> 'amazed, perplexed'	(Dan. <i>forbauset</i> , LS <i>verbaast</i>)
	<i>forbeten</i> 'embittered, grim'	<i>bit</i> 'bite', <i>beten</i>
	<i>forbloomet</i> 'flowery, roundabout'	<i>bloomi</i> 'bloom'
	<i>forkemen</i> 'dilapidated, run-down'	<i>kum</i> 'come', pp. <i>kemen</i>
	<i>forknet</i> 'disheartened'	(Dan. <i>forknyt</i> 'knotted up')
	<i>forkrunkelt</i> 'wrinkled'	<i>krunkeli</i> 'wrinkle, fold up'
	<i>fortlain</i> 'embarrassed, pale, weakened'	(?)
	<i>forleeren</i> 'past, previous'	(MLS <i>vorleden</i> 'gone by')
	<i>forskaamet</i> 'ashamed'	<i>skaami</i> (reflexive) 'be ashamed of'
	<i>fortain</i> 'spoiled; moved'	<i>tii</i> 'pull, raise'
(94)	<u>Derived Adjectives with the Prefix <i>ūn-</i></u>	<i>BASE COMPONENT(S)</i>
	<i>ūnachtsom</i> 'careless, incautious'	<i>acht</i> 'caution', <i>-som</i> (adj. suffix)
	<i>ūnbibecht</i> 'not built up'	<i>becht</i> 'built'; <i>bibech</i> 'build on'
	<i>ūnbifriit</i> 'unmarried'	<i>bifriit</i> 'married'
	<i>ūnbōōren</i> 'unsolicited'	<i>bōōren</i> 'bid (past participle)'
	<i>ūndūūdelk</i> 'unclear, vague'	<i>dūūdelk</i> 'clear'
	<i>ūnhōfelk</i> 'impolite'	<i>hōfelk</i> 'polite'
	<i>ūniuwen</i> 'uneven'	<i>iuwen</i> 'even, smooth'
	<i>ūnnōōrig</i> 'pointless'	<i>nōōrig</i> 'necessary'

ünnuasel	'harmless, helpless, awkward'	(OFris. <i>omōsel</i> 'innocent')
ünpaar	'(numerically) odd'	paar 'pair, couple'
ünpas	'indisposed'	pas 'suitable moment/occasion'
ünskekelk	'inappropriate'	skek '(good) conduct, behavior'
ünwis	'foolish, crazy'	wis 'wise'

Several of the others occur only in one or two derivations:

(95)	ADJECTIVE		COMPONENTS
	flaumualig	'weak-voiced, timid'	flau 'weak', mual 'mouth'
	fūlfatig	'ravenous'	fūl 'rotten, dirty; bad', fat 'bow'
	fūlsnütig	'impudent in word'	fūl; snüt 'snout'
	hartliirig	'dull, slow to learn'	hart 'hard', liir 'learn'
	mūrfartig	'articulate, eloquent'	mūr 'mouth' (cp. HGer. (-)fertig 'ready')
	wanbaken	'awkward'	wan- ⁶ , baken 'baked'
	wanskaapen	'misshapen'	wan-; skaapen 'shaped'
	welbikeent	'well-known'	wel 'well', bikeent 'familiar'
	welskaapen	'well-shaped, comely'	wel; skaapen
	welteenkent	'benevolent, noble'	wel; teenk 'think'
	wukhartig	'soft-hearted'	wuk 'soft', hart 'heart'

The first morpheme in the adjective *weljestig* 'lustful' corresponds not to *wel* 'well', but to the modal verb *wel* 'want (to), desire', and combines with the noun *lest* 'lust, desire' before its suffixation (see (87) above, 3.4.2.1.).

Elatives are also commonly formed by prefixation; these include:

(96)	mūsduar	'dead as a doornail'	mūs 'mouset', duar 'dead'
	pekjunk	'pitch dark'	pek 'pitch', junk 'dark'
	suurtnōorig	'bitterly needed'	suurt 'black', nōorig 'necessary' (nuar 'need')
	splünernaaken	'buck-naked'	splinder 'splinter', naaken 'naked'
	splünernii	'brand new'	splinder 'splinter', nii 'new'

3.5. Adverb Morphology

There is very little inflectional morphology on adverbs, but a good deal of derivation by compounding.

3.5.1. Inflection

Inflectional morphology on adverbs is limited to relics of earlier case distinctions (see also 3.1.1.2. and 3.5.2.). *Jemelken* means 'secretly' (*jemelk* 'secretive, private'); *gurtem* 'aloud' and *litjem* 'quietly, in a low voice' appear in stage directions "me gurtem/litjem mual" 'aloud/aside' (*mual* 'human voice,

⁶ wan- < Germanic *wana- 'empty'; cp. OE *wana* 'wanting of, lacking' and OFris *wana* 'lack, want' and the Engl. verb *wane*. See also 3.1.2.1.1. for occurrence in nouns.

language, talk') in the form of inflected adjectives, and are now used elliptically as adverbs.

3.5.2. Derivation

Points of the compass can be given a semantic component of position relative to or movement toward by suffixation with *-dial* 'down' and *-fuar* 'for, (be-)fore', which correspond to prepositions; the syllable *-er-* serves as a link:

(97)	uasterfuar	'in easterly direction'
	weesterfuar	'in westerly direction'
	nuurderfuar	'in northerly direction'
	süderdial	'down to the south'
	süderfuar	'in southerly direction'
	süduasterfuar	'to the southwest'

In addition, many other adverbs are compounded from words of various lexical categories. Lists of adverbs are given in the outline grammars at the beginning of Mungard (1909), Möller (1909), and Schmidt (1969); following is a categorization of those that are derived by compounding:

(98)	SPATIAL COMPOUND ADVERBS		
	achter.üt	'following'	behind + out
	āp.fuar	'upwards'	up + for/fore
	aur.al	'everywhere'	over + all
	aur.beek	'backward'	over + back ⁷
	bi.tō	'alongside'	by + to
	büten.fuar	'abroad'	outside + for/fore
	dial.fuar	'downwards'	down + for/fore
	diar.hen	'there'	there + hence
	diar.ōn	'in that, there'	there + in
	diar.ōner	'under that, there'	there + under
	diar.mung	'in among there'	there + among
	diar.üp	'on that, there'	there + on
	fuar.bi	'past'	for/fore + by
	fuar.üt	'ahead'	for/fore + out
	hur.ōn	'in what, where'	where + in
	it.ūs	'at home'	by (obsol.) + house
	lik.aur.fuar	'vis-à-vis'	straight + over + before
	lik.dōōr	'through the middle'	straight + through
	lik.üt	'straight ahead'	straight + out
	of.stair	'forward, away'	off + place
	om.achter	'backwards'	around + behind
	om.fuar	'forwards'	around + before

⁷ Related to *-beek* are the verb *beeki* 'renege' and the prefix *bak-* in e.g. *bakbuurt* 'backboard, 'stem'.

om.bi	'to and fro'	around + by
om.hoog	'upwards'	around + high
om.liig	'downwards'	around + low
ōner.wai	'in transit'	under + way
tō.beek	'back'	to + back (see footnote 7)
tō.hop	'together'	to + 'heap' (OFris tōhāpe)
ūt.fan	'away from Söl'	out + from

(99) TEMPORAL
COMPOUND ADVERBS

aur.ōner.ems	'in the afternoon'	over + midday + suffixes ⁸
aur.miaren	'two days hence'	over + tomorrow
bi.tids	'in time'	by + time
de.ling	'today'	day + long (see 3.1.2.1.)
des.jaar.ing	'formerly'	this + year + ?collective suff. (3.1.2.1.)
inj.ung	'this evening'	evening + ?long (see 3.1.2.1.)
jaar.lung	'in this year'	year + long
jer.jüster	'two days ago'	before + yesterday
met.jens	'immediately'	with (now me) + once
miar.lung	'this morning'	morn + ?long (see 3.1.2.1.)
sa.lung	'as long as'	so + long

(100) MANNER
COMPOUND ADVERBS

alik.sa	'likewise'	alike + so
bi.nai	'almost'	by + near
diar.me	'with that'	that + with
hiil.end.al	'wholly'	whole + and + all
ōn.steken	'in pieces'	in + pieces
ōn.tau	'in two'	in + two
sa.deling	'so, in this way'	so + -deling < -denig ⁹

(101) REASON
COMPOUND ADVERBS

diar.döör	'that way'	there + through (also used spatially)
diar.fuar	'therefore'	there + for/fore
diar.me	'that way'	there + with (also used instrumentally)

⁸ 'The compounded nature of aurōner 'afternoon' is now obscured; the ending on the adverb aurōnerems likely consists of the dative relic -em (3.1.1.2., 3.5.1.) and supplemental -s (cp. the adverbializing function of -s in HGer. nachmittags, vormittags, morgens), an indication that the dative suffix had been reanalyzed as part of 'afternoon'. Likewise: Sölr. injems 'in the evening', miarnems 'in the morning', and, perhaps by analogy, wülems 'occasionally'.

⁹ Möller (1916) relates -deling < -denig in hurdeling < hūdenig, OFris. hūden and OE hugedon 'how'; for sadeling, cp. OFris. saden, MLS sogedan, and OE swagedon.

diar.om

'therefore'

there + around

In traditional usage, the several spatial adverbs compounded with **diar-** tend to separate syntactically, as in (102)-(103):

(102) **Diar teev ik jit deling ūp.**
there wait I yet today on
'I'm still waiting for it'

(103) **Diar liit dit mung.**
there lies it among
'It's mixed up in among there'

The suffix **-s** derives adverbs in the case of **ūnforwaarens** 'carelessly, unexpectedly, unintentionally' (**waar** 'aware') and **foriivs** 'in vain' (**foriiv** vb. 'forgive'), the latter perhaps on the model of German **vergebens** (**vergeben** 'forgive').

The following chapter will examine the makeup of the lexicon and word meaning in Sölring.

4. Lexical Semantics and the Lexicon

As discussed in 1.1.3. and 1.4.2., speakers of Sölring have long been in close contact with speakers of other languages. This contact has influenced linguistic developments on Söl for centuries and is seen in the vocabulary of Sölring, which has been enriched by borrowings from many of its linguistic neighbors. Recent aspects of life on Söl (and in all of North Frisia; 1.1.3., 1.1.4.) have entailed two major trends affecting the character of the lexicon: a marked narrowing of contact influence in terms of diversity of sources, on the one hand, and on the other, the development of a relative deficit of native terms to denote new concepts. In the present chapter, a characterization of the makeup of the lexicon will be followed by a discussion of lexical semantics in Sölring, potential areas of lexical-semantic expansion, and factors relevant to the issue of lexical elaboration. (A discussion of the semantics of verbal prefixes has been presented in 3.3.2.1.1.)

4.1. Makeup of the Lexicon

The present lexicon consists of native (Frisian) words and words borrowed from contact languages; not infrequently, indigenous words have been refashioned under the influence of cognates in the contact languages. Chief sources of borrowings have been Norse/Danish (including Sönderjysk, the dialect of southern Jutland); the North Sea Germanic languages Low Saxon and Dutch; and continental West Germanic, specifically High German. The present discussion of these groupings is based on Selmer (1921) and Århammar (1966, 1975, 1984b, 1988), the main studies of Sölring vocabulary, as well as the data in Möller (1916) and Mungard (1909) (see 1.5.).

4.1.1. Native Frisian Vocabulary

In principle, most words native to Sölring have or have had cognates in other West Germanic languages, particularly North Sea Germanic.¹ In some cases, such cognates will have died out in some (if not all) of these related languages, and as a result, surviving cognates are found (or are attested) in some of the related languages but not in others, whether they are more closely related to Sölring or not. Århammar (1975:11) points out that Frisian, and especially North Frisian, due to the relative inaccessibility of the areas in which they have historically been spoken as well as to their speakers' highly-developed ethnic consciousness, are rich in lexical relics; many such relics, he asserts, owe their continued usage to lexical reinforcement via the presence of cognates in Danish (Århammar 1966). The following overview, adapted from Århammar's material, offers a cross-section of native words and an indication of cognates found in other languages. In the lists below, cognates are given from Old English, if attested there, and otherwise from Old Saxon or Middle Low Saxon, Old Frisian, Middle Dutch, or Old Norse. As mentioned earlier, OFris. is roughly coincident in time with the "Middle" periods of other Germanic languages.

¹ In the present discussion, *North Sea Germanic* will be preferred, for reasons presented in 1.4.1., to the older term *Ingveonic* as a designation for the sub-grouping of West Germanic to which Frisian belongs. Nonetheless, "Ingveonic" does lend itself to attribution, which is made occasional use of here.

The following words have cognates in common (West) Germanic, some of them in older stages of continental West Germanic where they have since died out or are preserved only in Upper or Central German dialects (cp. Århammar 1975:11):²

<u>SÖLRING</u>		<u>COGNATE(S)</u>
ausing	'eaves'	OE efes 'brim, brink'
biiki	'beacon fire' -	OE bēacen 'sign, token'
bliir	'blithe, happy'	OE bliþe 'joyous, cheerful'
brök	'underpants, breeches'	OE brōc 'breeches'
bualk	'beam, rafter, attic'	OE balca 'beam'
deling	'today'	MLS dalink, dallink (see 3.1.2.1.)
dört	'dare'	OE dear, dorste (durran) 'venture'
eeder	'early'	OE ær 'ere, before, soon'
gung	'go'	OE gangan 'go, come, move'
kwert	'wick'	MLS querder, querdel 'border, wick'
leet	'late'	OE læt 'slack, lax, negligent'
ler	'lid'	OE hlid 'lid, covering, door'
rüt	'square in window pane'	MLS rüte 'square, window pane'
sii	'sew'	OE siwian/seowian 'sew, mend, patch'
söner	'without'	OE sundor 'asunder, apart'
som	'some'	OE sum 'a certain one'
tört (ek)	'need (not) [do]'	OE þurfon 'need, be required'
wiis	'be'	OE wesan 'be, happen'

Cognates of the words below are found in North Sea Germanic (some also in North Germanic) but are attested in continental West Germanic (cp. Århammar 1975:11):

<u>SÖLRING</u>		<u>COGNATE(S)</u>
ark	'each'	OE ælc 'each, any, all'
beri	'barley'	OE bere 'barley'
brain	'brain'	OE brægen 'brain'
buusem	'stall, stable'	OE bōsig 'stall, crib' (dial. Engl. boose, boosy)
dial	'downward'	OE dæl 'dale, valley, gorge, abyss'
eeder	'after'	OE æfter 'along behind'
grinj	'grind'	OE grindan 'rub together, grate, scrape'
iröner	'forenoon'	OE ær 'ere' + undern 'morning'
unk	'dark'	ON dökkr; OSax dunkar, OFris diunk
kai	'key'	OE cæg(e) 'key, solution, explanation'
knet	'knot, button (vbs.)'	OE cnyttan 'fasten, tie, knit'
krep	'creep (vb.)'	OE crēopan 'creep, crawl'
kroch	'cooking pot'	OE crocca(a) 'crock, pot, vessel'
kweeken	'yeast'	MLS quack 'sediment'

² Here as in subsequent sections, vowel length for digraphs and mutated vowels is indicated by underlining.

lait	'lightning (n.)'	MDu laeye 'blazes'
left	'left'	MLS/MDu lucht, luft 'left'
left, v.	'lift'	ON lypta
liig	'low'	MLS lēch, lēge; ON lāgr
lō	'scythe'	MLS lē, lēhe; ON lē
luki	'look (vb.)'	OE lōcian 'see, look, behold, gaze'
luugi	'pack, stack, put away'	OE lōgian 'lodge, place, arrange'
maark	'maggot' (mawk)	OE maða 'worm, grub'
mārig	'wurst'	OE māerg 'sausage'
mung	'among'	OE on-gemang 'among, during, meanwhile'
naar	'narrow'	OE nearu 'strait, distress; constricted, petty'
por	'frog' (paddock)	OE padde 'toad, frog'
riiv	'rake (n.)'	MLS rīve, ON hrīfa
roov	'hank, skein'	MDu roof
sjak	'cheek'	OE cēace 'cheek, jaw'
skōōl	'shoal, school, group'	OE scolu 'troop, host, shoal'
skruader	'tailor'	MLS schrāder, schro-der
sliiv	'sleeve'	OE slīefe
sōt	'soot'	OE sōt (deriv. fr. setlan 'settle')
spiker	'iron nail'	MLS spīker, OE spīcing 'spike, nail'
suar	'well (n.)'	OE sēað 'hole, pit, cistern' (Engl. obsol. seath)
swūmi	'faint (vb.)'	OE swīma 'vertigo, dizziness, swoon'
teev	'wait (vb.)'	MLS tōven, ON tefja
tial	'tale'	OE talu 'tale, statement, narrative, story, accusation'
tūder	'tether'	MLS tūd(d)er, ON tjōþr
timi	'bring oneself to do'	OE getūmian, ON tīma
tōbeek	'back (adv.)'	OE tō- + bæc (see 3.5.2. footnote 6)
toch	'tough'	OE tōh 'tough, tenacious, sticky'
tōhop	'together'	MLS tōhōpe, OFris tōhāpe (see 3.5.2.)
tōōk	'fog'	MLS dak, dake, ON þoka
trinj	'round'	MLS trint, OFris trind
weel	'wheel, spinwheel'	OE hwēol 'wheel, circle'
wiit	'wet'	OE wǣgt 'moist, rainy'

Words which seem likely to have been reinforced by the presence of cognates in Danish include, with North Sea Germanic and continental West Germanic cognates (date adapted from Århammar 1966, 1975):

		<u>WGmc. cognate</u>	<u>Mod. Danish cognate</u>
hai	'mind, disposition'	OE hyge	hu
hol	'hole'	OE hol	hul
it	'at'	OE æt	ad
nuat	'cattle'	OE nēat	nød
taui	'wash'	OE þwēan	ODan. tvætte

tuar	'tear (n.)'	OE tæhher	tære
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and with North Sea Germanic but no continental West Germanic cognates:

		<u>WGmc. cognate</u>	<u>Mod. Danish cognate</u>
fleten	'cream'	OE flēt, fliete	fløde
jöl	'fire'	OE ǣled	ild
knif	'knife'	OE cnīf	kniv

A discussion of how such reinforcement might have taken place will be found further below in Section 4.1.2.1.

In a number of cases, the meaning of a current word in Sölring diverges from the meaning of cognates in standard High German as a result of semantic change in one of the two languages. In the listing below, the words in the final column are the Sölring semantic correspondences of the High German words that now differ in (primary) meaning from their Sölring cognates (adapted from Árhammar 1975:11-12):

<u>SÖLRING</u>		<u>HIGH GER.</u>	<u>SÖLRING</u>
biin/-er	'fishbone'	Bein 'leg'	biin/biin ³
desk	'bowl'	Tisch 'table'	staal
ech	'edge, side'	Ecke 'corner'	huk; hörn (inner/outer)
fliedem	'fathom'	Faden 'thread'	trer
fleesk	'fat (n.)'	Fleisch 'meat'	meet
fuanigi	'visit a sick person'	fahnden 'search for'	sjuk
fül	'dirty, lazy, rotten'	faul 'rotten';	röötet, potfül, uusig; lai
hingst	'horse'	Hengst 'stallion'	springhingst, wreensker
hōös	'stocking'	Hose 'pants'	boks
hōöv	'church service' Hof	'courtyard'	hof
kliin	'thin'	klein 'small'	litj
kōöv	'parlor'	Koben 'pen, sty'	hak
kualk	'chalk'	Kalk 'lime'	kalk
lik	'funeral; corpse'	Leiche 'corpse'	(secondary)
molk	'milk'	Molke 'whey'	wai
ōn	'in'	an 'at/on/by'	bi, it, üp
riin	'clean; pure'	rein 'pure'	(secondary)
rüm	'room; space'	Raum 'space'	(secondary)
siir (dō)	'hurt (vb.)'	sehr 'very'	mal, sa
soom	'seam'	Saum 'hem'	heemels
tiring	'news'	Zeitung 'newspaper'	bleer ('leaf')

Some words have cognates found only in other insular dialects of North Frisian. Among these are böörigster 'confirmation pupil', kōöken 'picky in eating', ialig 'cooking space underneath the hearth',

³ In this case, semantic shift has taken place in both languages, cf. 3.1.1.1.

öörter 'buttermilk', and ütbringen 'engagement'.

Other words and lexical formations have no known cognates outside of Sölring itself (adapted from Århammar 1975:12):

SÖLRING

auriit	'forget' (see 3.3.2.1.1.2. s.v. FOR-)
aurskot	'ceiling'
blaaner	'nettle (n.)'
desjaaring	'back then, in those days'
fiirluas	'panicky'
glaat	'interval between dunes'
hailraisig	'lively, vivacious'
itüüs	'at home'
langsen	'always'
naatji	'young cattle'
pööster	'door to a room'
skruk	'oyster'
skrai	'resound; talk about someone, slander'
taatj, taatji	'kiss' (n., vb.)
ütfan	'away from Söl' (lit. out + from)

A number of words point to early borrowing from Latin (in many cases, ultimately from Greek); their correspondences in English date from before the settlement of the British Isles. (For views on the likelihood of continued contacts between Frisians and Anglo-Saxons after the Conquest, see 1.4.1.) Following the relative dating in Baugh/Cable (1978: 78-79), modern reflexes of probable borrowings from before the emigration from the Frisian homeland (1.1.2.) include:

SÖLRING

bialt	'belt'
böter	'butter'
desk	'large bowl; scoop'
flask	'flask'
kaal	'bald'
kaamp	'field' (and village)
kas-(biar)	'cherry'
kööken	'kitchen'
koop	'buy'
kualk	'chalk'
liin	'lin(-seed), line'
miil	'mile'
ötj	'vinegar'
peeper	'pepper'

LATIN

balteus
bütýrum
discus
flasco ⁴
calvus
campus
cerasum
coquina
caupōnāri
cab, calcum
linum
milia (pasuum)
acētum
piper

OLD ENGLISH

belt	'belt, girdle'
butere	'butter'
disc	'plate, bowl'
flasce	'flask, bottle'
calu	'bald'
camp	'battle'
ciris(-bēam)	'cherry tree'
cycene	'kitchen'
cēapian	'bargain, trade'
cealc	'chalk, lime, plaster'
linen	'flaxen'
mīl	'mile'
eced	'vinegar'
pipor	

⁴ Itself thought to be of Germanic origin, from *flaska-.

part	'part'	pars	part
-pet (slober-)	'puddle'	puteus	pytt 'pit'
piip	'pipe'	pīpāre	pipe 'tube, wind instrument, channel'
plum	'plum'	prūnum	plūme (plum)
pun	'pound'	pondō	pund 'pint, weight'
seeker	'safe, sure'	sēcūrus	sicor 'sure, certain'
senep⁵	'mustard'	sināpi	senep 'mustard'
serel	'kettle'	catillus	cytel 'kettle'
sērk	'church'	(dōma) kuriakon	cirice 'church'
skuul	'school'	schola	scōl 'school'
süter	'cobbler, shoemaker'	sutor	sütere 'shoemaker'
straat	'street, road'	(via) strata	stræt 'road'
-waali (sne-)	'(snow) drift'	vallum	weall 'wall'
wiin	'wine'	vi-num	wīn

One result of the rich contact influence on Sölring is the existence of semantically-related terms that differ, slightly or appreciably, in their phonetic forms. An example is the complex of terms denoting the idea of 'giving'. The irregular verb *iiv* 'give' (3SG. pres. *jeft*, pret. *jaav*, participle *iüwen*), cognate with Engl. *give* and Ger. *geben*, is used in present-day speech mainly in the presentational expression *hat jeft lit.* 'it gives', used in the sense of 'there is/are' (and thus paralleling Ger. *es gibt*); the sense of 'give' has been transferred to the verb *dö* 'do' (cognate with Engl. *do*, Ger. *tun*). From the native form there is the noun *jefting* 'the amount of feed cattle are given at one time; portion of fodder' and the adjective *jeftig* 'fruitful, copious'. Another adjective, *jaav*, has the sense 'popular, in demand'. With unpalatalized onset, there is the Low Saxon loan *gaav* 'gift, propensity, talent' and *geft* 'poison', putatively a refashioning of High German *Gift*. The noun *hanjeft* 'small gift placed in the hand', marked as a Low Saxon loan in Möller (1916), shows Low Saxon vocalism in the first morpheme and the palatalization characteristic of the native Sölring form in the second.

A good deal of homophony in the lexicon has resulted from sound change (for *-d > -r*, see 2.2.) and the borrowing of words from various sources:

jil	n.	'eel'	
jil	n.	'money'	(cogn. OE <i>gield</i> 'offering, money payment, compensation'; Eng. <i>yield</i> , cf. HGer <i>Geld</i> 'money')
em	n.	'bee'	
em	adj.	'sore to the touch'	< Danish
em	pron.	'one'	(impers. pron.)
mat	vb.	'measures (3SG.)'	(inf. <i>meet</i>)
mat	adj.	'weak, powerless'	
mat	n.	'mat'	<i>di</i> (common gender)

⁵ *Moster* < *mustum* (OE *must* 'new wine'; Engl. *mustard*) is used as a designation for the condiment.

mat n.	'measure of grain, miller's share'	dit (neuter); mati vb. 'collect the miller's share'	
en art.	'a'	(reduced form of jen 'one')	
en conj.	'and'	(cp. hiilendal 'wholly')	
en prep.	'on, during'	(temporal allomorph of ōn)	
en pron.	'him'	(reduced, cf. 3.2.)	
en n.	'duck' (n.)	(cogn. OE <i>ened</i> 'drake, duck')	
sen vb.	'am, are (PL.)'	(suppletive to wiis 'be')	
sen n.	'sun'	(Gmc. * <i>sunō</i>)	senig 'sunny'
sen n.	'sense, senses'	(< Lat. <i>sentire, sensus</i>)	senig 'understanding'
sen n.	'sinew'	(Gmc. * <i>senwō</i>)	senig 'sinewy'
sen n.	'sin'	(Gmc. * <i>sun(d)jō</i> < * <i>es-</i>)	senig 'sinful'
waar vb.	'became'	(ppt. uur)	
waar vb.	'wade'	(earlier waad)	
waar adj.	'aware'	(Gmc. * <i>waraz</i> ; in the colloc. waar uur 'realize'; ūnforwaarens 'suddenly, unexpectedly, unintentionally, impulsively')	
waar adj.	'true'	(Gmc. * <i>wērō</i>)	
waar n.	'ware'	(Gmc. * <i>warō</i>)	
weder n.	'weather'	(Gmc. * <i>wedram</i>)	
weder n.	'wether'	(" * <i>wēþruz</i>)	
weder conj.	'whether'	(" * <i>hwaparaz</i>)	
weder pron.	'which of two?'	(" * <i>hwaparaz</i>)	
weder prep., adv.	'against, again'	(" * <i>wiþrō</i>)	

Homonymy is found in a pair like the irregular verb **drai**¹ 'carry, endure' and regular **drai**² (influenced by MLS, cf. 4.1.2.2. below) 'turn, turn on a lathe'. The former (< IE **dragh-*) has cognates in common Germanic, including OE *dragan* > ModE *draw*; cognates of the latter (**ter-*) are attested only in West Germanic, among them OE *þrāwan, þrēwan* > ModE *throw*.

Homonymy and homophony are pervasive in the lexical field *st**1. Derived from the adjective **stel** 'still, quiet', with cognates only in WGmc., is the weak verb **stel**¹ 'nurse, breast-feed, soothe' (WGmc, NGmc). These are homonymous with the weak verb **stel**² 'put up, erect' (WGmc), which formed the basis for the nominal derivations **stal**¹ 'stall' and **staal** 'table', both with cognates in WGmc. and NGmc. Another noun, **stal**² 'stem, stalk, handle' is attested only in North Sea Germanic. The noun **staal**² 'steel' < MLS *stāl* is homophonous with **staal**¹ 'table', a nominal resultative of the verb **stel**². The result is sets of homonyms/homophones:

stel	adj.	'still, quiet'	OE stille
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stel ¹	vb.	'nurse, soothe'	OE stillan
stel ²	vb.	'put up, erect'	OE stellan
stal ¹	n.	'stall'	OE steall
stal ²	n.	'stem, stalk'	OE stela, steola (dim. stelk)
staal ¹	n.	'table'	ON stallr, stalli
staal ²	n.	'steel'	OE stellan

In some cases, homophony results in striking semantic contrasts, as in the verb pairs *boki* 'book, record' vs. *boki* 'hit, knock' and *baksi* 'pull a boat ashore' vs. *baksi* 'box the ears'. Similarly, the verb *flaski* 'proceed smoothly' has no discernible semantic affinity with the noun *flask* 'flask' (see footnote 3 above).

4.1.2. Borrowings from Contact Languages

According to the degree of their morpho-phonological integration in Sörling, borrowings can be classified as *adapptions* (or *adaptations*), relatively integrated loans from the source languages, and *adoptions*, which are minimally integrated. *Calques*, Sörling words resulting from modeling native morphemes on foreign word elements, although not borrowings per se, nonetheless represent a significant category of contact influence. (On the issue of lexical elaboration, for which calquing is one important means of deriving new vocabulary, see 4.2.4.) In general, adapptions tend to be older than adoptions: more recent borrowings tend to be less fully integrated into the morpho-phonological system of Sörling than earlier loans. Necessarily, there will be some overlap in the discussion that follows with information presented in 1.4.2.

To illustrate these distinctions, *bialt* 'belt' and *wiin* 'wine', as mentioned above, represent early adapptions of Lat. *balteus* and *vinum*, with suffix elision and segmental phonetic development. Phonological adaptation from Danish is found in *kreek* 'crow' and *güül* 'yellow' (Dan. *krage* and *gul*). Comparatively recent borrowings ultimately from English like *puns* [pʊns] 'punch' and *pöding* [pödin] 'pudding' both conform to the phonetic and phonological systems of Sörling, since in the former the final consonance is a fricative rather than affricate, while in the latter the stressed vowel [ʊ] of the original *pudding* has been assimilated. In adoptions, on the other hand, there is less integration into the structural system of Sörling: the Low Saxon loans *gans* 'wholly, entirely' and *gifērelk* 'dangerous' now compete with native *hiil* and *fērelk*, the latter with the characteristic High German prefix [gə-] [gr-], just as *fain* 'fine' (HGer *fein*) is currently used alongside native *fiin*. Finally, Sölr. *kraankenhüs* 'hospital' is a morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence, or calque, of HGer. *Krankenhaus*, the same relationship that holds between Sölr. *forbeetering* and HGer. *Verbesserung*.

Although the categories "adaption" and "adoption" are hardly clear-cut, especially in the case of loans between (and among) languages that are so closely related (and particularly with regard to influence from Dutch-(western) Low Saxon, as noted in Århammar 1975:15; cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988:72ff. on the issue of typological distance and contact influence), the general distinction is useful in discussing types and trends in lexical borrowing.

4.1.2.1. Borrowings and Semantic Influence from Scandinavian Languages

Among the earliest contact influences on Sölring was that exerted by Old Norse (Århammar 1975) or pre-Danish Scandinavian. In historic times, Standard Danish and the Sønderjysk dialect (now spoken in southern Jylland) have also been important sources of influence (cf. also Selmer 1921). A number of phenomena, such as early Scandinavian settlement in the area, the position of Danish as a language of administration and commerce, the presence of Jutish seasonal workers (some of whom married and settled down in North Frisia), seafaring, and commerce with the mainland, promoted linguistic interchange (Århammar 1975 and also Möller 1916). Having up until 1927 its contact with the mainland via the port at Højer/Hoyer (1.1.3.3.), Söl has been particularly exposed to Danish influences.

Addressing the issue of Danish influence on the various North Frisian dialects, Hofmann (1956) estimates the number of Danish loanwords and Danish-influenced meanings in the current vocabularies of North Frisian to be in the neighborhood of four hundred, with three hundred of these being common to the mainland and insular dialect groupings and another hundred particular to each (see also Århammar 1975:13). As noted by Hofmann, this number is almost certainly underindicative of the extent of Danish influence historically, however, since scores of Danish loans would have been replaced over the centuries by loans from Low Saxon.

The closeness of the relations between Frisians and Danes in early times is shown by the fact that all of the North Frisian dialects with the exception of Halunder have an assimilated form of Danish ikke 'not' (ODan. ækki) for the predicative negator: Sölr. ek, Fer./Ööm. ei, Fräsch ai (in Halunder, the form is now ni < LS nich). Sölr. oler and Fräsch uler (but Fer./Ööm. nimer < LS) 'never', cp. Danish aldrig 'never', reflect similar influence on the system of negation in North Frisian: the replacement of such function words as would normally be resistant to replacement if contact were merely casual (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988:74ff. on the notion of a "borrowing scale" in contact situations). Two functionally very important expressions, wiis sa gur 'please/you're welcome' and perhaps also faarwel 'goodbye', are adaptations from Danish, of vær så god and farvel.

The following is a selection of modern reflexes of earlier loans and adaptations from various semantic spheres:

<u>SÖLRING</u>		<u>DANISH</u>	
aast	cheese	ost	< ODan. <i>oasth</i>
blijant	pencil	blyant	< <i>bly</i> 'lead' + '-ant' (cp. bliant 'silken fabric')
broket	colorful	broget	< <i>broget</i>
dailk	beautiful	deilig	< ODan. <i>dageleg</i> , <i>deylik</i> < MLS <i>degelik</i>
dreeng	boy; son	dreng	< ONorse <i>drengr</i>
-daurt	meal	davre	< <i>dagoth</i> < ODan. <i>daffuorth</i> < ON <i>dagverðr</i>
ek	not	ikke	< <i>egi</i> , <i>egh</i> , <i>azi</i> < ONorse <i>eigi</i>
gaagen	benefit	gavn	< <i>gagnh</i> < ONorse <i>gagn</i>
güül	yellow	gul	< <i>guul</i> < ONorse <i>gulr</i>
härem	smell	—	< ON <i>harmr</i>
hünki	cushion	hynde	< <i>houende</i> , <i>hende</i> < ON <i>hyw(e)nde</i>
ingi	meadow	eng	< ODan. <i>æng</i>
kaak	white bread	kage	< ONorse <i>kokukorn</i>

klep	clip	klippe	< <i>klif</i> < MLS <i>klippe</i>
köör	travel	køre	< <i>keyra</i>
luuwen	windless	luu	< <i>lur</i> 'on windy side' < LS or Dutch
pröst	pastor	præst	< ult. Lat. < Gk. πρεσβύτερος
röst	voice	røst	< <i>røst</i>
rünt	generous, wasteful	rund	'round', cf. <i>rundhåndet</i> 'generous'
sesken	siblings	søskende	< <i>syzkin(i)</i>
sjürt	shirt	skjorte	< ONorse <i>skyrta</i>
skaankugly		skank	< <i>skanck</i> 'shank'
skaír	spoon	ske	< ODan. <i>skie, ske</i>
swaar	answer	svare	< ODan. <i>swære, sworæ</i>
treet	tired	træt	< ODan. <i>træt(er)</i> < ONorse <i>þreytr</i>
waant	lack	—	< ONorse <i>vanta</i>
wark	pain	-veer	cf. <i>fædselsveer</i> 'labor pains, pains of childbirth'
weski	whisper	hviske	< ODan. <i>hwijskæ</i>
wining	window	vindue	< ODan. <i>windugh(e), vinuw, winni</i>

In addition to individual lexical items borrowed or adapted from Danish, there are a number of expressions and syntactic calques such as *mun* 'whether', as in *Mun hi jit al kemen es?* 'Whether (i.e., I wonder whether/Do you think) he's come yet?' As well, compound demonstratives like *dijir*, *didiar* 'this, that' (lit. 'the here', 'the there') were formed on the model of the corresponding demonstratives in Danish (Árhammar 1975:14).

Semantic change affected a number of words in which meanings developed corresponding to those of the cognates in Danish. In some cases, the original meanings were transferred to different lexemes (data adapted from Árhammar 1975: 13-14):

<u>SÖLRING</u>	MEANINGS		
	<u>(EARLIER)</u>	<u>CURRENT</u>	
fo	(catch)	get	cp. Dan. <i>få</i>
prekeli	(tingle)	knit	cp. Sjysk <i>pregle</i>
reeki	(rake)	shave	now <i>riiwi</i> 'rake'
warp	(throw)	lay eggs	now <i>smit</i> 'throw' < MLS
wiil	(rest)	quiet,	cp. Dan. <i>hvil</i> ; now <i>sküür</i> 'interval'

In other cases, words developed more specialized meanings on the model of their Danish counterparts. For each of the words below, the current primary meaning arose out of the earlier meaning under influence from Danish:

<u>SÖLRING</u>	MEANINGS		<u>DANISH</u>
	<u>PRIMARY/SECONDARY</u>		
freemer	visitor/stranger		fremmed
mark	field, pasture/frontier		mark
sörig	sorrow/worry, care		sorg
tjüch	clothes/stuff, things		tøj

Two examples will illustrate how lexical reinforcement via Danish cognates ("lexikalische Stützung") is likely to have taken place (Århammar 1966:310; see also 4.1.1. above). In current Sölring, the word for 'fire' is *jöl* (*ial* in Fering/Öömrang, *iilj* in Fräsch), but *füür* < OFris. *fior*, *fiur* 'fire' is preserved in compounds like *füürstair* 'fire-place = hearth', *füürtoorn* 'fire-tower = lighthouse', the latter paralleling Danish *fyrtårn*. Although the earlier form of *jöl/ial/iilj* isn't documented in OFris. or earlier NFris., OE *æled* and OS *eld* suggest that a form **æld* was known in OFris.; ODan. *eld* reinforced the use of this form in NFris., and it became the general term meaning 'fire'. Morphologically unsupported in English and Low Saxon, the corresponding words disappeared in those languages.⁶ Similarly, *knif* is found in various forms in all the modern North Frisian dialects as a general term meaning 'knife'; although not documented in OFris., the presence of corresponding forms in OE suggests that it was known in OFris. as well, perhaps in more restricted reference. The words documented in OFris. texts are *sax* and *mes*, which developed into the eastern and western Frisian forms respectively (Soaks, *mes*). *Knif* was (and still is) the exclusive word for 'knife' in Danish, where *sax* (today: *saks*) was used for 'scissors', and it is apparently on the basis of this neighboring semantic constellation that *knif* survived as the general designation in North Frisian.

4.1.2.2. Borrowings and Semantic Influence from Low Saxon

In discussing the Low Saxon influence on Sölring, an important preliminary is to refer to the evolution of Low Saxon itself. What is today called Low Saxon (Neddersässisch), Low German (Niederdeutsch), or Platt (Plattdeutsch) is the modern descendant of Old Saxon, one of the North Sea Germanic languages. Closely related though OSax. and pre-OFris. are, their separate developments historically created a considerable gap between them linguistically.⁷ For a variety of social, cultural, and political reasons, the Saxon language began an extended assimilation toward Frankish and ultimately toward the Middle and Upper German dialects. In its late- and post-medieval function as the language of the Hanseatic League, Middle Low Saxon exerted extensive influence on many of the languages of Europe, and particularly on the languages of Scandinavia. In North Frisia, Middle Danish was the language variety used supraregionally in the north, while Middle Low Saxon generally fulfilled this function in the south (with Latin being used as a learned medium in both areas).

During the Middle Ages, Middle Low Saxon attained an overarching significance throughout the area.

In northern Germany, the Reformation ushered in Middle Low Saxon as an ecclesiastic language, and this remained the medium of the church in North Frisia until the late 17th century (Århammar 1975:14; cf. Bellmann 1983). It also became the administrative language of North Frisia, lasting into the 16th/17th century until its replacement by High German (Gabrielsson 1983), a process which, on the

⁶ This is not to imply that morphological or lexical isolates must perforce disappear from vocabulary, cranberry morphemes and obscured compounds being two phenomena that militate against such an implication.

⁷ Characteristically Ingvæonic features that disappeared or were even reversed under Frankish influence include the loss of nasals before spirants with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, affrication as a preliminary to the palatalization of *k*, and the replacement of the *s*-plural by the *e*-plural. Cf. Sanders (1982: 42ff, 112ff), Århammar (1990), and Peters (1995).

islands, was not completed until about the second decade of the 18th century (Hofmann 1979). As Low Saxon took on more and more elements of upper and central German, often replacing specifically Ingveonic characteristics, it became increasingly dialectalized with respect to High German: as structural convergence heightened intelligibility between the two languages and HGer. became more and more the medium of political ascendancy, LSax. was relegated to a subservient position functionally. Its use throughout North Frisia as a lingua franca, and more recently as the middle-status variety in triglossic usage, has meant that its historical "Germanification" (or "de-Ingveonicization", Århammar 1984b:931) has secondarily prepared the way for contact influence from High (and thus Standard) German: the newer borrowings from Low Saxon often entail a mediation of High German features, particularly lexis, that had earlier been adopted in the process of Germanification. As a result, the distinction between Low Saxon and High German contact influence blurs over time; indeed, in addressing the issue of historical German-North Frisian contact influence, Århammar addresses the effects of HGer. and LSax. in the same article (1984b).

The mechanisms of Low Saxon influence were bilingual interference as well as borrowing:

Die Mehrheit der nd. Lehnwörter ist ... zweifellos jüngeren Datums. Ihre Lautgestalt wird in der Regel unverändert aus dem Neuniederdeutschen übernommen. Auch treten vielfach Lehnübersetzungen auf. Anscheinend waren die zweisprachigen Nordfriesen (schon immer) daran gewöhnt, nd. Ausdrücke spontan in ihre friesische Mundart umzusetzen und einzubeziehen. (Fn: Diese spontanen Interferenzerscheinungen prägen auch das heutige nordfries. Sprachbild in zunehmendem Maße.) Die jüngeren niederdeutschen Entlehnungen lassen eine besonders enge Verbindung des Nordfriesischen mit dem nordwestlichen Küstenniederdeutsch erkennen, die weit in das Niederländische hineinragt.
(Faltings 1983:307-308)

(The majority of Low Saxon loanwords is ... undoubtedly comparatively recent. Their sound patterning was generally adopted unchanged from modern Low Saxon. There are also many loan translations. The bilingual North Frisians were apparently (from the beginning) used to adopting and assimilating German expressions into their own dialect spontaneously. (Footnote: These spontaneous interference phenomena continue to affect the North Frisian of today, and in increasing measure.) The more recent Low Saxon loans reflect a particularly close connection between North Frisian and the Low Saxon of the northwest coast [of the North Sea], reaching far into Dutch.)

So pervasive was the influence (and perception of influence) from Low Saxon at the beginning of the 20th century that Nann Mungard, in the introduction to his dictionary (1.2.2.2., 1.6.), could give the following advice:

Die Berührung mit der niederdeutschen Sprache ist heute derartig stark, daß für jedes Wort, welches in diesem Wörterbuch nicht enthalten ist, ruhig das niederdeutsche gebraucht werden kann, um sich Syttern verständlich zu machen, wenn die deutsche Endung '-lich' in '-elk', '-heit' und '-keit' in '-heir', '-schaft' in '-skep' und '-ei' in '-ii' umgesetzt wird.
(1909: 18-19)

(Today, contact with Low Saxon is so pronounced that for every word not contained in this dictionary, the [corresponding] Low Saxon word can be used in order to communicate with Sölring, by replacing the German endings *-lich* with *-elk*, *-heit* and *-keit* with *-hair*, *-schaft* with *-skep*, and *-ei* with *-ii*.)

(For an extreme view on the psycholinguistic effects of such a strategy, see the discussion in 4.1.2.4.)

The influence of Low Saxon as an ecclesiastic and written medium is apparent in a number of Sölring loans and adaptations; these are included in the list below along with loans from a range of semantic spheres (cf. also Spenter 1983):

<u>SÖLRING</u>		<u>MLS/LS⁸</u>	<u>SÖLRING</u>		<u>MLS/LS</u>
aarberi	work	arebeit	gau	quick	gouwe
achter	behind	achter	köster	sexton	/küster
al	already	/al, all	kram	shop	/kram
bal	soon	bald, bold	kraam	things	kroom
bifrii	marry	/bevriegen	krüts	cross	kruze
bang	afraid	blange	leedji	song	let
bit	until	/bet, bit	leefdi	love	levede
boowen	above	/baben, boben	leewent	life	leven
dööpi	baptize	döpen	man	but, only	/man
drai	turn	/driehen	mensk	human	/minsch
duusig	dizzy	dusich	nöörigi	invite	nodigen
emsk	together	ömsk	prötji	preach	preken
filecht	perhaps	filecht	ring	bad	/ring
floiti	whistle	floite	seeker	certain	/sicker
fortel	narrate	/vertelln	snaki	talk	snaken
fraagi	ask	vragen	spraak	language	/sprook
frisk	fresh	vrish	wat	what/some	/wat
gloov	faith	gelofe	wech	away	wech

Low Saxon influence is also reflected in the forms of many numerals. The morpheme for the designation of 'ten' in cardinal numbers over twelve is a good example of the effect of early Low Saxon sound patterns on North Frisian.⁹ The form documented in Old Frisian is *-tine*, *-tene*; in Sölring, the current form of the morpheme is *-tain* 'teen'. These forms as well as that in Engl. *-teen* go back to Gmc. *tehun* < IE **dekm* Germanic *e* before *h* in closed syllables was regularly preserved in Sölring (Selmer 1921), a condition that would have obtained in the early insular dialects with loss of the final vowel. The current Low Saxon *a*-vocalism thus represents a replacement of native *i/e* between

⁸ Where possible, Middle Low Saxon forms are given; where these were unavailable, the form in present-day Low Saxon is presented following a diagonal stroke (/).

⁹ What follows is a circumstantial explanation of the sound substitution from Low Saxon, in light of the characterization of insular N.Fr. *-tain*, *-tairj* (Fering/Öömrang) as influenced by LS (cf. Århammar 1969, 1975; Hofmann 1959; Selmer 1921). The native Frisian vocalism is preserved in Seeltersk *-tien*.

consonants. Other numbers with forms indicative of Low Saxon influence are Sölr. *niigen* 'nine', *soowen* 'seven', and the multiples of ten: *dörtig* 'thirty', *fiartig* 'forty', *föftig* 'fifty', *söstig* 'sixty', *söowentig* 'seventy', *tachentig* 'eighty', *niigentig* 'ninety', *hönert* 'hundred' and *düüsent* 'thousand'.

In addition to individual loanwords, expressions modeled on Low Saxon include *gur tōpas* ('well', modern LS *gut to pas*), and *aur di/ali maaten* ('exceedingly', LS *över di maten*).

Århammar (1984b) characterizes the effect of Middle Low Saxon on North Frisian resources for word-formation as revolutionary, comparable to its effect on Scandinavian languages. The verbal prefixes *bi-* and *for-* made possible (generally) transitivizing and semantically pejorative extensions, respectively, of existing verb stems: *bilewi* 'experience' (*lewi* 'live'), *biluki* 'look at' (*luki* 'look'), *bismit* 'pelt' (*smit* 'throw'), *biwuneri* 'admire' (*wuneri* 'wonder'); *forlii* 'oversleep' (*lii* 'lie'), *forlees* 'lose' (*lees* 'collect'), *forgesi* 'guess wrongly' (*gesi* 'guess'), *forreer* 'betray' (*reer* 'counsel') (see also 3.3.2.). The nominal suffix *-hair* (cognate with Ger. *-heit*, Engl. *-hood*) was used for deadjectival noun formations: e.g. *bliirhair* 'happiness', *truurighair* 'sadness', *möögelkhair* 'possibility', *sünhair* 'health'.

Hofmann sums up his discussion of the overall influence of Low Saxon on North Frisian with the observation that:

Vielen Friesen merkt man es an, daß sie das, was sie auf friesisch sagen, plattdeutsch gedacht und dann erst in friesische Form umgesetzt haben. (1956:105)

(In the speech of many Frisians, one can often tell that what they say in Frisian has first been thought out in Low Saxon and only then put into Frisian form.)

This is a phenomenon which today applies in equal measure with respect to High German and North Frisian, especially as the latter is used by younger speakers.

4.1.2.3. Borrowings and Semantic Influence from Dutch

As discussed in 1.4.2., Dutch influence on Sölring and other dialects of North Frisian was exerted via extensive contacts related to maritime activity and commercial ventures (Menke 1997). The contact derived for the most part from the prolonged occupational interaction between North Frisian seafarers and their colleagues aboard Dutch vessels on extended whaling expeditions to the Arctic and, later, across the oceans during the commercial voyages during the 17th/18th centuries (1.1.3.2.1.); the participation of large numbers of the islands' male populations in seafaring involved a greater or lesser degree of proficiency in the host language, which influenced the Frisians' speech even after their return home. The significance of seafaring as a mechanism of influence is suggested by the fact that it is the dialects of the eastern islands (Söl, Feer, Oomram) and of the Halligen that show appreciable Dutch influence, whereas in Halunder and the dialects of the mainland itself, whence relatively lesser numbers engaged in whaling and commercial seafaring aboard Dutch vessels, such influence is minimal (Århammar 1984a).

Aside from technical seafaring terms, borrowings and adaptations (several of which are ultimately Romance in origin) extend to designations for a number of cultural artifacts and a range of general vocabulary (data adapted from Århammar 1975:15-16, and Möller (1916), cited in Menke 1997:142):

<u>SÖLRING</u>		<u>DUTCH</u> ¹⁰		<u>SÖLRING</u>		<u>DUTCH</u>
baantjijob		baantje	mal	crazy	mal	
duutj	doze	dut, dutje		mesken		perhapsmisschien
formaak	pleasure	vermaak		net		nice, pretty net
fuargaats	unimpeded	voorgaats		neteldok		scarf linen neteldoek
frücht	fruit	vrucht		pot		pot pot
früüger	joy	vreugde		skätsen		skates schaatsen
gröötnis	greeting	groet		skötel		saucer schotel
hüüri	hire	huur		sküüns		slanted schuin
kaieri	stroll	kuieren		stintji		tile steentje
keting	chain	ketting		suutjis		careful zoetjes
klöör	color	kleur		teenger		delicate, tender tenger
komfoor	tea warmer	komfoor		töögen		against tegen
koptain	captain	kapitein		weten		customs weten
lai	lazy	lui				

As in the case of Low Saxon-North Frisian contact, the close genetic relation often makes it difficult to ascertain the precise source of a putative loanword from Dutch. Århammar (1975) considers the insular designations for the potato, Sölr. *iardapel*, Fer/Ööm. *eerdaapel/eerpel*, to have become current as a result of seafaring, ultimately from Du. *aardappel* via Low Saxon. An instance of semantic broadening is seen in the extension of meaning in Sölr. *stjüür*, Fer. *stjüür*, Ööm. *sjüür* 'steer' on the model of Dutch *sturen* to include the meaning 'send'; the native insular words *sen*, *seen* 'send' are now obsolete (Århammar 1984a). Sound substitution is evidenced in the current designation for a farmer, *buur*; the native designation is reflected in *büür*, an obsolete term for a community meeting, still found in *büürfööger* 'mayor' (the second morpheme meaning 'administrator') and in *-böör* 'inhabitant(s) of X', e.g. *Kairemböör* 'person/people of Kairem'. Given the genetically determined overlap of phono-lexis between the languages, Dutch words were sometimes adopted in toto – such as Du. *omhoog* 'upwards' (Sölr. *om* 'toward, around', *hoog* 'high'; Du. 'toward, around'), while in other cases morphemes were assimilated, as in Du. *omlaag* > Sölr. *omliig* 'downwards' ('low' = Du. *laag*, Sölr. *liig*).

Århammar (1984a), after demonstrating the extension of syntactic influence¹¹ from Dutch into Sölring and other varieties of North Frisian, sums up the mechanism of Dutch influence as that of transfers,

die –trotz des unzweifelhaft großen Prestiges der heimkehrenden Kommandeure und

¹⁰ Once again (and as noted by Århammar), characterization of Dutch or Low Saxon as the immediate source of a particular loan or adaption is, by the nature of the contact situations and the very close relation of the two languages, not incontrovertible.

¹¹ Written sources during the age of seafaring aboard Dutch vessels, including the writings of Jap Peter Hansen (1.1.3.4.), contain a marked increase in the *om ... tö + INF2* construction for result clauses; see also 5.3.

Steuerleute – zunächst als Normverstöße wohl auf die mehr oder weniger dezidierte Anlehnung der in der Heimat verbliebenen Bevölkerungsteile, besonders der Frauen, gestoßen sein dürften, [...haben sie sich...] in den nordfriesischen Inseldialekten im Wechsel der Generationen allmählich eingebürgert [...]; aus den anfänglichen Normverstößen wurden so, zumal im Zuge des Spracherwerbs neuer Generationen, voll integrierte Transferenzen. (1984a:197)

(which – despite the undoubtedly high prestige of the returning commanders and officers – were at first probably viewed as infractions of the norm and met with more or less emphatic rejection on the part of the populace that had remained at home, especially the women, [... they] gradually worked their way into the island dialects in the course of generations [...]; what were originally infractions thus became, particularly as new generations acquired the mother tongue, fully integrated transfers.)

4.1.2.4. Borrowings and Semantic Influence from High German

As suggested in 4.1.2.2., influence from High German on North Frisian was first exerted indirectly, via Low Saxon. From the 17th century, High German influence became more direct as that language replaced Low Saxon as an administrative medium in the region. In the intervening centuries, a wide range of factors have brought the people and languages of Söl and the other areas of North Frisia ever more into the cultural sphere of Germany and its standard language, which is based on varieties of High German – developments discussed in detail in 1.1.3. and 1.1.4.

Arhammar characterizes the mechanisms of the steady encroachment of High German in North Frisia as diglossic shift compounded by demographic and social change:

Die früher durch klar getrennte Funktionen gekennzeichnete Diglossie-Situation hat sich dann allmählich dahin gewandelt, dass der Gebrauch des Hochdeutschen zunehmend auch auf den informell- umgangssprachlichen Bereich – zunächst grösstenteils durch zugezogene Gruppen und in der Kommunikation der Autochthonen mit allen Fremden – ausgedehnt wurde, eine direkte Folge der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Umstrukturierung weiterer Teile des in einer modernen Industriegesellschaft integrierten nordfriesischen Raumes. Durch diese Veränderung der früher komplementär distribuierten Funktionalität der implizierten Sprachen ist die *stabile Diglossie* in eine *instabile* Phase des funktionalen Synkretismus getreten....]. Durch die mit der neuen Entwicklung einhergehende Lockerung der Gruppenintaktheit der dialektalen Sprachgemeinschaft und die neuerdings bereits in der Periode der Primärsozialisation erfolgende Internalisierung des Hochdeutschen erhöht sich naturgemäss die Bereitschaft, den Dialekt zu verlassen. (1976:67)

(What had been a diglossic situation with clearly distinguished functions then [i.e., during the 20th c.] gradually developed to where the use of High German was increasingly extended to the informal, colloquial domain, at first largely through the influence of groups of outsiders settling [in N.Frisia] and in natives' communication with all outsiders – a direct result of the economic and social restructuring of large portions of the North Frisian region as it was being integrated into modern industrial

society. As a result of this change in what had been the complementarily distributed functionality of the languages concerned, the erstwhile *stable diglossia* entered an *unstable* phase of functional syncretism [...]. With the concomitant loosening of group identity within the dialectal [i.e., N.Frisian, the low-status variety] speech community and the internalization of High German, which now takes place in the period of primary socialization, the readiness to abandon the dialect is naturally heightened.)

As a result, the influence of High German has been felt with increasing intensity by succeeding generations and particularly during the twentieth century. Not only has Söl, like all other North Frisian-speaking areas, itself become an integral part of German society, culture, and economics – all North Frisians, as fully proficient speakers of High German, have developed a significant psychological reliance on the national standard language, thus assuring an enduring potential for transfer and interference in usage (and recall the advice given in Mungard (1909) regarding the replacement of suffixes, 4.1.2.2.).

In addition, as a result of the circumstances of the historical development of North Frisian, lexical gaps abound in all its varieties. In the absence of native terms for many modern referents, the natural thing for speakers to do has been to supplement Sölring from their second language. The background of this trend is characterized in the first issue of *Fuar Söl'ring Lir* (1.1.3.4.), where Friedrich Runge, Hermann Schmidt's early co-editor, goes so far as to actually recommend the strategy of switching codes:

Hat es tō forstuunen, wan maning dütsk Uurter iin ön üüs Spraak kum. Wü mut er om teenk, dat di Söl'ring Spraak ön'er Feskens, See-lir en Buuren ap-wükset es; ön'er Lir, diar ek fuul snaki, en diar ek fuul üders sü, üs dit, wat jam ön-gair. En sa kumt et da, dat er Uurter waant, wan em jen jens aur hooger Saaken ön'er-hual' wel. Hoken en Gifööl fuar Spraak heer, di heer't al aaft morken, hur swaar't es, wan em üp Sölring aur en Prötji of sa wat snaki wel. Wan em jen aur sok Saaken ön'er-hual' wel, da es't nöörig en beeter, dat em dit üp Dütsk dër.
(Runge 1926:2)

It is understandable that many German words have entered our language. We have to realize that the Sölring language grew up among fishermen, seafarers and farmers – among people who don't talk a lot, and then not much except about what directly concerns them. And so it happens that words are lacking when one wants to discuss higher things. Anyone who has a feel for language has surely often noticed how difficult it is when they want to talk about a sermon or such. When one wants to discuss such things, it's necessary and better to do it in German.

In his survey article on German-North Frisian contact relations, Århammar (1984b) distinguishes between two types of "lexical interference" in the broad sense of influence (transfer and interference in the narrower sense). These are:

(a) die zur Gewährleistung der Funktionalität erforderliche Ergänzung bzw. zweckmäßige Modernisierung des fries[ischen] Lexikons; (b) die m[e]hr o[der] w[eniger] überflüssige, eher abträgliche Ersetzung (Verdrängung) fries. Wörter und

(a) the complementation that is necessary to guarantee the functionality of the Frisian lexicon and its expedient modernization; (b) the more or less superfluous, ultimately detrimental substitution for (replacement of) Frisian words and expressions by their High German semantic equivalents.¹²

At the heart of Arhammar's distinction between type (a) and type (b) lexical interference is the issue of expediency vs. superfluity in compensating for the absence of words denoting modern things. (Full bilingualism, however, is increasingly obfuscating the expedient vs. superfluous dichotomy.) Arhammar refers to type (a) (expedient interference) as *transfer*, type (b) (superfluous) as *interference* per se. If a difference in volition may be presumed – Type (a) items being more-or-less consciously transferred, Type (b) items being used more-or-less subconsciously – the dichotomy parallels van Coetsem's (1992) distinction between influence by borrowing and influence by imposition.¹³ Transferred/borrowed and interfering/imposed items from High German both appear in varying degrees of assimilation in present-day patterns of Sölring speech. Not surprisingly, it is observed that degree of integration and expediency of innovation both generally stand in direct relation to speaker age, a reflection of the impositional tendencies of speakers whose dominant language has become High German – tendencies that would only increase over time.

The following discourse excerpt comes from a conversation with a speaker in her late twenties – a person much younger than the wide majority of speakers recorded for the current database. (Portions of the excerpt are discussed from a related perspective in 6.2.1.1. and 6.2.1.2.) Her remarks are revealing for a number reasons, among them the frequent occurrence of lexemes and morphemes influenced by High German (italicized), an explicit comment on the influence of Low Saxon in her speech, and her reflection both on the influence of High German and the lexical gaps in Sölring:

- (1)
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a <i>aber</i> ik haa jit nimer <i>so viel</i> om taacht of b
ik dit tösjuk en sok saaken üp Sölring tö c
siien. Ik snaki eenfach luas en ... <i>mix</i> det d
ales of <i>also</i> diar kumt sa Dütsk en
e Sölring en hat gair ek üders <i>weil</i> didiar
f uurter keen ik bluat üp Dütsk, <i>ja?</i>
g ... Nee, hat es <i>richtig</i>, <i>aber</i> ... ik sii uk ek</p> | <p>but till now I've never thought much about
whether I look for [a word] to say in Sölring. I
just talk away and ... mix everything together,
there's German and Sölring, and there's no
other way because I know those words only in
German, you see?
... No, that's right, but ... I don't say '<i>kram</i>'</p> |
|---|---|

¹² "Detrimental", that is, with respect to current efforts to maintain and revitalize North Frisian.

¹³ For van Coetsem, the term *imposition* is virtually equivalent to but more specific than the term *interference*. The former renders the issue of stratal relations irrelevant, and also clearly suggests the notion of *source-language agentivity*. To the extent that Standard German has become the dominant language of a large majority of speakers of North Frisian, they themselves have thus become the "agents" of its imposition on Frisian. (In standard-dialect relations, the source language is always the dominant language, cp. van Coetsem 1992 and van Bree 1992.)

h 'kram', ik sii 'koopman' det es binai, det
i es muar Plat, teenk ik, ... sii wü uk
j 'koopman'.

...(wārewin) ...

k Ach so, luki det keen ik uk ek 'ik gung tö
l iinkoopen'! ik keen en masse ual Sölring
m uurter *überhaupt* ek muar.

(Em wel dat di spraak--)

n Aurlwet ja. Nee, det liiv ik det det
o funktioniarek uk ek ... ik ken et mi *jeden-*
p falls ek fuarstel. ... hat jekt fuul tö fuul
q saaken dānen em deling üp Sölring gar
r ek muar sii ken. En det jert *sich* uk weder
s *künstlich* ön, *finj* ik.

(Em wel ek, dat S. en dütsk dialekt uur--)

t Ja det haa ik ek om taacht. Det stemet ja
u uk. Hat es en ual spraak, *aber irgendwas*
v es *wahrscheinlich* stuunenblewen, di
w ganze *Fortschritt* ...en da da uur det
x *tatsächlich* sa dat *man nämlich*– ik snaki
y ja uk weder ön *ganze Sätze* hur *bestimmt*
z fif uurter Dütsk sen...

((That's so, but I've never thought much about looking for it [a certain word] to be able to say it in Sölring. I just talk naturally and mix it all up, there's German and Sölring together and there's no other way because I only know those words in German, see? ...No, that's right, but ... I don't say "kram" [store], I say "koopman" [merchant], that's almost, that's more Low Saxon, I think ... [in LS] we say "koopman" too. (Lots of people no longer say "wārewin" [run errands, do the shopping].) Ach so, you see, I don't know that one either, "Ik gung tö iinkoopen" [I'm going shopping]! There're a lot of old Sölring words that I don't know at all. (People want the language--) To survive, yes. No, I don't think it'll work. I can't imagine it at any rate. ... There are far too many things nowadays that one can't say in Sölring. And it sounds really artificial to me. (There are people who don't want it to become a dialect of German.) Yes, I hadn't thought of that. That's right. It's an old language, but something seems to have stood still somewhere. ... all the progress. ... and then it really does happen that one just -- I do speak in whole sentences where five of the words are German.))

If the pervasiveness of High German influence in this excerpt is striking, equally revealing are the speaker's expressed views on why this influence abounds (lines c-f): at least introspectively, she is quite

either, I say 'koopman' that's almost, it's more Platt [Low Saxon], I think... we too say 'koopman'.

(the word wārewin?) ...

Ach so, look there I don't know that either 'ik gung tö iinkoopen'! There're a lot of old Sölring words I don't know at all. ...

(One wants the language --)

to survive, yes. No, I believe that that it won't work either ... At any rate I can't imagine it. ... there are far too many things today that one can't say in Sölring anymore. And it really does sound artificial, to me [when one tries].

(One doesn't want that Sölring become a German dialect--)

Yes, I hadn't thought about that. That's right too. It's an old language, but something has probably stood still somewhere, all the progress. And then it really does happen that you -- then again, I speak in whole sentences where for sure five of the words are German.

aware of the presence of Germanisms and considers them subjectively unavoidable (lines p-s). On the issue of the structural autonomy of Sörling, she finds the language has not kept abreast of the times and has been left behind lexically (u-w) and doubts the potential for success in lexically elaborating the language (n-p).

By no means is the superfluous/expedient distinction in characterizing the nature of High German influence on Sörling clear-cut. What is "superfluous" for one speaker might be "expedient" for another, and variation is observed in the usage of one and the same speaker as well as among speakers. However, the distinction is nonetheless useful in looking at the language as a whole, and since there are indications that the perceived quality of the language has not a little to do with perceptions of its "Frisianness" (and thus ultimately its linguistic autonomy) – see Tholund (1993), Ebert (1994), Lasswell (1998) – the issue of expediency in embracing outside linguistic influence (which now de facto is limited to influence from High German) becomes a major one for the future of Sörling and the other varieties of North Frisian.

The lists that follow are a characterization of some of the borrowings encountered in the current database as to their expediency in the sense of Århammar (1984b). Included in the first list are some lexemes that actually entered Sörling from Low Saxon, like *sik* used as a reflexive pronoun for 3SG/PL, which in this case entered Low Saxon from High German, and the usage of which is undoubtedly reinforced by a cognate in High German (where *sich* = 3SG/PL refl. pron.).

SUPERFLUOUS BORROWINGS FROM HIGH GERMAN

<u>SÖRLING</u>		<u>HIGH GERMAN</u>	<u>TRADITIONAL SÖRLING</u>
aber	'but'	aber	man
bis	'until'	bis	hen dat
damals	'back then'	damals	desjaaring
danke	'thank you'	danke	toonk
immer	'always'	immer	altert, langsen
ja	'yes'	ja	jaa
nie	'never'	nie	oler
niks	'nothing'	nichts	nönt
sik	3SG/PL refl. pron.	sich	höm/höör, jam
sofort	'immediately'	sofort	metjens, daalkens
sonst	'otherwise'	sonst	üders
ungefiar	'approximately'	ungefähr	omtrent, om en bi
giboren	'born'	geboren	bëren
verteidigi	'defend'	verteidigen	wiari
Ähnlichkeit	'similarity'	Ähnlichkeit	likhair
Buchstaben	'letters'	Buchstaben	boksteewer
Frühstück	'breakfast'	Frühstück	fuardaurt/miarenskofi
Gesicht	'face'	Gesicht	ansecht
Krebs	'cancer'	Krebs	kreeft

schön	'beautiful'	schön	dailk
schwierig	'difficult'	schwierig	swaar
sehr	'very'	sehr	mal
unwillkürlich	'involuntarily'	unwillkürlich	töogen/söner di ain wel
wunderbaar	'wonderful, great'	wunderbar	ünskeks/mal gur, aur di maaten (gur)

RELATIVELY EXPEDIENT BORROWINGS FROM HIGH GERMAN

<u>SÖLRING</u>			<u>HIGH GERMAN</u>
Ferseprellung		'strained Achilles' tendon'	Ferseprellung
Gehirnerschütterung		'concussion'	Gehirnerschütterung
Hochdruckgerät		'high-pressure device'	Hochdruckgerät
Strassenbauamt		'roads department'	Strassenbauamt
Behörden		'government agencies'	Behörden
Lohnsteuerkarte		'income-tax card'	Lohnsteuerkarte
Rentabilitätsberechnung		'calculation of profitability'	Rentabilitätsberechnung

LESS EXPEDIENT / SUPERFLUOUS BORROWINGS FROM HIGH GERMAN

<u>SÖLRING</u>		<u>AD HOC FORMATIONS</u>
Badeanstalt	'bathing complex'	baaristair (bathing-place)
Fernsehen	'television'	fiirluker (far-looker)
Personenschaden	'personal injury'	skeltbringer (picture-bringer)
		skaar tö di mensken (damage to humans)
		menskenskaar (human-damage)
Regierung	'government'	di liren ðn Bonn/Berlin (the people in Bonn/Berlin)
Vorstellung	'imagination'	taachten om X (thoughts about X)
es berufstätig	'is employed'	heer en baantji (has an office/job)
vernünftig	'reasonable'	aarbert büten (works outside [away from home])
		gur taacht (well thought)

As some of the possible formulations for one-word borrowings from High German in this last list suggest, there are alternatives to the default use of Germanisms. If there are no one-word correspondences at the ready, in many cases a phrase or syntagm composed of familiar Sölring words could suffice entirely to express the concept denoted by the borrowing. Whether speakers would choose to formulate within Sölring in this sense, however, is of course very individual but also communal, since much of communication is effected in ready-made chunks and phrases. Thus, in the flow of conversation, it may well be an entire collocation such as *sich eine Vorstellung von etwas machen*, as in "Sie machen sich keine Vorstellung davon" (Standard German "You can't imagine what it was like") that a speaker of Sölring, fully proficient in Standard German and in many respects cognitively most reliant on that language in daily life, would have had in mind when asserting "Da kenst

di nīn Vorstellung fan maaki", "Dü heest nīn Vorstellung fan" or the like.

Indeed, Sjölin (1993) takes the extreme but not totally unjustified view that speakers of Frisian routinely convert lexical material from the corresponding national standard (Dutch, German – recall the advice given by Nann Mungard about replacing suffixes, 4.1.2.2.) in communicating in Frisian, and that, in addressing non-traditional topics, they are indeed obliged to do so. In the case of a Frisian using the native language in a non-domestic situation,

[i]hm fehlt [...] das sprachliche Material, das erforderlich wäre, um die betreffende Sprechhandlung adäquat zu vollziehen. [...] kann der Frieser jedoch immer voraussetzen, daß sein Gesprächspartner ebenfalls zweisprachig ist und daß somit jede Morphem-für-Morphem-Übersetzung ohne weiteres verständlich ist. Will er den Anforderungen der Sprechsituation gerecht werden, bleibt ihm buchstäblich keine andere Wahl, als mehr oder weniger konsequent die Konversionsregeln anzuwenden. Diese ermöglichen es ihm, Form und Inhalt der Äußerung hundertprozentig adäquat zu übertragen und zugleich eine, zumindest was Lautung und Morphemik betrifft, 'friesische' Äußerung zu produzieren, d.h. die betreffende Sprechhandlung sozusagen auf friesisch zu imitieren. Dabei wird selbstverständlich die gesamte niederländische bzw. deutsche Makro-Struktur der Sprechhandlung beibehalten. (1993:77)

(he lacks the linguistic material that would be needed to adequately accomplish the speech act in question. But the Frisian can always be sure that his conversational partner is bilingual as well and, as a result, that every morpheme-by-morpheme translation will be entirely understandable. For an adequate response to the demands of the speech situation, he quite literally has no other choice than to apply, more or less directly, the rules of conversion. These will enable him to convert the form and content of the utterance with 100% adequacy while producing an utterance that, at least in sound and composition, is "Frisian", i.e. to imitate, as it were, the particular speech act in Frisian. Along the way, the entire Dutch or German macrostructure of the speech act will of course be retained.)

A calque on one of the "relatively expedient borrowings" cited above would be e.g. *brain.sjilewin* lit. *brain.shaking* 'concussion'. To the extent that Sjölin's analysis is correct, the calque is one that could readily be understood by speakers interested in reducing the frequency of outright adoptions from the societally dominant language.

However, the lexical gaps that have arisen over time are so extensive that default use of High German, whether adapted or adopted, is resulting in accelerated lexical convergence with that language and a lexical "dialectalization" of Sölring. If Sölring is to be fully revitalized – the ultimate aim of the Frisian Movement (1.2.2.) – and have a future as an autonomous language (as opposed to genuine status as a dialect of German), the terminological deficit is something that will have to be compensated for, and compensation would inevitably entail some recourse to a contact language or languages. The alternatives for compensation range from switching codes (i.e., to a functionally versatile national standard language, High German or Danish, as recommended in Runge (1926), further above; see 6.2. for a discussion of issues involved in code-switching and code-mixing) to appropriation of more or less

assimilated lexical items from a national standard.¹⁴ Since code-switching obviates the use of Sörling altogether, most relevant in terms of Sörling itself is the issue of assimilation or degree of integration of the items appropriated into its structural system. (See 4.2.4. on the issue of lexical elaboration and strategies relevant to it.)

4.2. Lexical Semantics

The current section will address the issue of lexical development in Sörling from the perspective of semantic fields.

4.2.1. Lexically Well-Developed Semantic Fields

Semantic fields that are well developed in Sörling include those relevant to many of the realms of traditional societal activity. Whaling, fishing, shipping, and farming were all occupational pursuits that figured prominently in island life in the past (1.1.3.2.), and the corresponding need to communicate about these pursuits was met by development of the lexical means to do so. In addition, areas such as the domestic and local environments were natural spheres for topics of conversation, and there is accordingly no dearth of terms related to them. Indeed, as Ebert (1984) has demonstrated for Fering, many "local languages" develop elaborate systems of deictic marking. In Sörling (as in Fering), this intricacy often results in the occurrence of directional adverb + preposition when speakers refer to orientations in the domestic and local environment.

According to one's own point of reference at home, movement and new points of reference would entail conceptual deixis that would be expressed adverbially. As a baseline situation, the main living room was this primary point of reference; the terms *uan* 'into the living room', *troch* in the specialized meaning 'out of the living room to the kitchen or stable',¹⁵ *fuurt* 'out of the living room to the back of the house', now largely obsolete, functioned as prepositions and adverbs, all with the main room of the house as their conceptual starting point. The combinations below are still in use:

<u>EXPRESSION</u>	<u>LITERALLY</u>	
<i>aur tō sērk</i>	over to church	'over to church'
<i>āp ūp hingst</i>	up on horse	'up onto the horse'
<i>āp ōn buurd</i>	up in floor/board	'up on deck'
<i>iin tō kōōken</i>	into to kitchen	'into the kitchen'
<i>iin ōn sluat</i>	into in pond	'into the pond'
<i>iin beeft skaap</i>	into behind cabinet	'in behind the cabinet'

¹⁴ Or from Low Saxon, although there is much less proficiency in it than there has been in the past. As mentioned previously, adoptions from LS often involve nothing more than sound substitution, and at the same time increasingly entail mediation of High German lexis and morphology. The effect might be compared to that made by the waves of French loans into English throughout the medieval period that paved the way for the wholesale adoption of Latinate borrowings and coinings during the Renaissance.

¹⁵ This specialized meaning developed for the native lexeme as *dōōr*, borrowed from Low Saxon, came to displace it.

om bi staal	around by table	'at (the) table'
ūt of wining	out of window	'out the window'

Similar deictic marking occurs as well in references to local geography and topography, in which relative topography and geography are taken into account:

<u>REFERENCE</u>	<u>EXPRESSION</u>	<u>LITERALLY</u>
Weesterlön	dial tō Munkmērsk	down to Munkmērsk
Muasem	aur tō Friedrichstadt	over to Friedrichstadt
Söl	aur tō Rem	over to Remø
Kairem	aur tō Ārichsem	over to Ārichsem
Harns/Hinlopen	ūt tō Raantem, Hörnem aur tō Harlingen	out to Raantem, Hörnem over to Harns/Harlingen
(Söl)	ūtfan tō see ūt fan weestersir ūt ūp wetlingfangst	out-from to sea out from westerly-side out on whitling-catch

Two pairs of prepositions have fused into adverbial compounds. *Ūtfan*, lit. out + from, has taken on the special meaning 'abroad, away from Söl' (used for departures on long sea voyages), and *ombi*, lit. around + by, means 'around, about': *Hī gair ark dai ombi* 'He walks/walked around every day'. (See also 3.5.2.)

One of the most finely differentiated verbal semantic fields in Sölring is that of vocalizing and articulating. The following verbs are classified according to glosses found chiefly in Möller (1916), where the terse definitions leave unanswered questions about overlaps in meaning; variant meanings and verbs registered in other sources are noted. Onomatopoeia is the basis for a number of the verbs primarily or solely denoting animal, pre-verbal, or indistinct vocalization:

PRIMARILY ANIMAL

blāri	'bleat'
bōli	'bark'
brūli	'bellow'
gōōl	'howl'
hūūli	'howl'
kaakeli	'cackle, gaggle'
kluki	'cluck'
kre	'crow'
kwaki	'quack, croak' (Möller 1916 'gossip, chat')
mjaii	'miaow'
negeri	'neigh'
piipi	'peep'

MELODIOUSLY

böbli	'hum while strumming lower lip'
nüüni	'sing quietly to oneself, hum'
sjung	'sing'

INDISTINCTLY

babli	'babble'
brumi	'grumble, mumble'
bumsi	'drone in muffled tones' (secondary)
grolti	'grunt'
grönki	'mumble, murmur, spread rumor'
gröön	'moan, groan'
knori	'growl, grumble'
mumeli	'mumble, grumble'

DISCONTENTEDLY

jameri	'bemoan'
janki	'moan for in yearning, whimper'

NEUTRAL

fortel	'tell, relate'
sii	'say'
snaki	'talk, speak' (ofsnaki 'reach agreement, wrest from by talking'; ütsnaki 'finish talking, gossip')
spreek	'speak' (ütspreek 'say, pronounce, articulate')

FLAWED

lami	'limp, be lame'
lespi	'lisp'
stameri	'stammer, stutter'

QUIETLY

müki	'make a sound, let out a peep'
weski	'whisper'

LOUDLY

belki	'shout'
braski	'speak loudly at the same time'
galeri	'laugh and chat loudly'
gnau	'attack verbally'
grai	'yell while crying'
kabeli	'argue loudly'
praali	'speak loudly, shout'
prai	'call to (at sea), address'
röp	'call'

ruati	'yell, shout'
skrau	'yell in fright'
skriil	'scream'

CONTENTIOUSLY

keekeli	'argue, gossip'
kürwi	'scold, argue'
kjausi	'scold, yap [as small dogs]'

QUERULOUSLY

kemeri	'complain'
kweesi	'carp, moan, grumble'
kwisi	'lament, whimper'

INSINCERELY/WITH EXAGGERATION

klook snaki	'discuss seriously without having a real opinion'
löög	'lie'
pochi	'brag'

CENSURED

fjāsi	'talk drivel'
klööñ	'gossip, chat disinterestedly, whine'
kwakeli	'talk (or act) indecisively'
skrai	'talk about someone, slander'

GOSSIP (neutral)

krööski	'gossip' (noted in Hofmann 1961:43)
kwaki	'gossip, chat' (Mungard 1909: 'quack, croak')
praatji	'gossip, chat' (Mungard 1909: 'talk ingenuously')

PROMISING OR PRAISING

laawi	'extol, praise'
lööwi	'promise, affirm'
röömi	'extol, praise'

Jannen (1993) documents some fifty verbs for manners of human locomotion from the 19th-century lexicographers of Öömrang. This semantic field is similarly differentiated in Sölring:

NEUTRAL

gung	'go, walk' (omgung 'go around (with); do without')
laap	'run, walk' (omlaap 'run around, run down')
trapi²	'step'
treer	'tread' (oftreer 'go away, depart')

SLOWLY

bumeli	'walk about purposelessly'
kaieri	'promenade, go for a walk'
ombiswalki	'drift around abroad' (swalki 'be driven (ashore) by the waves')
slenteri	'stroll'
stroifi	'go about without a goal' (ombistroifi)
swerwi	'wander aimlessly, go from place to place'

QUICKLY

jachti	'chase one another' (also jachter)
ren	'run'
sköfeli	'walk quickly and sloppily'
timpli	'go along with an adult in a hurry, half-walking and half being dragged'

IN A PARTICULAR MANNER

kloksi	'strike the feet together while walking' (secondary)
klotski	'bang around in wooden shoes' (Hofmann 1961:42)
pootji	'toddle' (Hofmann 1961:42)
skrir	'stride, strut'
sliiki	'walk quietly'
slofi	'walk as if dragging something, slouch along'
stjabeli	'walk uncertainly'
tramp(eli)	'move crudely'
trantji	'trot'
trapeli	'toddle'
trööri	'leave footprints'

CLIMB

klateri	'climb'
klemeri	'climb, clamber, scramble'
kliiv	'climb; walk heavily, trudge'
klüweri	'climb'
trapi	'ascend stairs'

ON THE GROUND

kräufeli	'crawl'
krël	'crawl like a worm, wriggle'
krep	'creep' (önerkrep 'creep underneath', wechkrep 'creep away')
lüweri	'crawl on all fours, as a frog or seal'

INCORRECTLY/WITH A FLAW

forstap	'misstep'
hinki	'limp; hop on one foot'
kloksi	'strike the feet together while walking' (sec.)
kneeibiini	'walk with the knees bent'

lami	'limp, go lame, become paralyzed'
tolteri	'shake, stumble, fall head-over-heels'

THROUGH THE AIR

flō	'fly'
hupi	'hop'
jumpi	'jump'
spring	'spring'

IN WATER

ialt	'wade'
swūm	'swim'
waar	'wade'

MISCELLANEOUS

drāgeli	'spill liquid in a trail while walking'
frachti	'accompany home after a dance, go for a walk'
hūnbaieri	'proceed to church following the birth of a child'
skaideri	'tumble while running'
stansi	'come to an abrupt halt'
waneri	'wander, go hiking'

The natural elements have always played a significant role in the life of the island community (1.1.1., 1.1.3.2.), and there is a corresponding wealth of denotative differentiation found in the lexicon:

NOUNS, VERBS, AND ADJECTIVES DENOTING TYPES OF WIND (CONDITIONS)

briis	'breeze'	
luuwen	'[relatively] windless'	
Mochels uasten	'September wind from the east'	
rūüselig	'stormy'	
siilwinj	'sailing wind'	
uasten taitring	'strong October wind'	
uast(en)winj	'east wind'	
ūtwai	'finish blowing [storm]'	"Nū heer't ütwait"
uurswinj	'spring wind'	
wedergal	'bright spot in overcast sky across from sun, seen as a sign of approaching storm'	
wirtwinj	'whirlwind'	
winj	'wind'	
winjstelens	'windless'	

VERBS OF RAINING

gūsi	'gush, pour'	
jōōs	'pour'	"Hat jōōst tō riinen"
rintj	'rain'	

smoti	'drizzle lightly'
uas	'pour down' (<i>uasingriin</i> 'cloudburst, abrupt driving rain')

NOUNS DENOTING TYPES OF MUD AND DIRT

klai	'clay from the tidal flats'
kur	'sweepings, dirt'
moder, mot	'mud, ooze'
saps	'mud, mire'
slik	'rich mud from sea bed'
slober	'dirt on the street'
smjader	'mire, mud'

Over the years, however, as traditional modes of life have been changing, lexically rich semantic fields like the ones just outlined have become relatively much less important, and traditional differentiations within them have accordingly lost relevance in much current usage. With greater affluence and increased materialism in daily life, many semantic distinctions have lost their erstwhile significance as various traditions have given way to new socio-cultural values and expressions. One of the chief of these new values has been the almost universal adoption of High German as the preeminent means of communication, which – as indicated earlier – continues to result in a widespread displacement of traditional patterns of speech and culture.

4.2.2. Lexically Less-Developed Semantic Fields

Some semantic fields having to do with realms of activity adopted by the people of Söl have been developed largely by adapting vocabulary from the language of the culture which introduced the particular realm of activity. One such semantic field is that of religion. There is no evidence of worship or even sermons having been delivered in Sölring; church services on Söl were first held in Latin, then in Low Saxon following the Reformation, and now have long been held in High German (cf. Bellmann 1983, Gabrielsson 1983). In Peter Michael Clemens' translation of the New Testament and Psalms, completed in 1870 (1.1.3.4.), it is difficult to know how much his renderings represents popular usage at the time as opposed to the translator's own solutions for formulating religious terms in Sölring. However, inclusion of some of Clemens' terms in Möller (1916) suggests that they had at least some currency in the speech community as a whole. (In the discussion that follows, Clemens' spellings are normalized to current orthographical practices.)

Although the most central religious terms in the translation – Got 'God', Jesus Kristus 'Jesus Christ', helig Geist 'Holy Spirit', evangelium 'gospel', apostel 'apostle', and engel 'angel' – represent either direct adoptions or slight adaptations from High German (where the corresponding forms are *Gott, Jesus Christus, Heiliger Geist, Evangelium, Apostel, and Engel*), most of the other key terms exhibit an appreciably lesser degree of dependence on what would have been the ecclesiastical language of the time. This relation is discernible in the list below:

<u>CLEMENS' TERM OR EXPRESSION</u>		<u>GERMAN TERM(S) OR EXPRESSION(S)</u>
äprochtig	'innocent, righteous'	unschuldig, schuldlos, gerecht, rechtfertig

Äpstuunen	'resurrection'	Auferstehung
Bidrūwethair	'tribulation, affliction'	Trübsal
Bikiiring	'repentance'	Buße, Bekehrung
Düwel	'devil'	Teufel
Giminte	'church, local comm.'	Kirche, Gemeinde
Gotselighair, Gotestiinst	'religion'	Religion (Gottesdienst 'church service')
Hel	'hell'	Hölle
Iipenbaaring	'revelation'	Offenbarung
Krūts, krūtsigi	'Cross' 'crucify'	Kreuz, kreuzigen
Loov	'praise'	Lob
önböörigi	'worship'	anbeten
rochtfiartig	'just, righteous'	gerecht, rechtfertig
selig maaki	'save'	retten, erretten (selig machen 'sanctify')
selighair, üüs algimiini Welfaart	'salvation'	Errettung (Seligkeit 'sanctification')
Wrög	'vengeance'	Rache, Vergeltung
wrögi	'avenge'	rächen, vergelten

Despite clear influence from religious terminology in High German, seen also in adoptions and minimally-assimilated adaptations like *Geduld/geduldig* 'patience, patient' and *Gnad* 'mercy' (High German *Geduld, geduldig, and Gnade*), Clemens' usage is independent enough to build the core of a modern religious vocabulary. However, given the recommendation from Runge (1926) cited earlier, that speakers of Sölring switch to German when addressing "higher things" as in, specifically, discussing a sermon, it does not appear that Clemens' terminology was as widely familiar as publication of his translation would presumably have made it.

4.2.3. Lexically Undeveloped Semantic Fields

Code-switching has been a feature of North Frisian life for centuries (1.1.3., 6.2.). As a result, Sölring was traditionally used on Söl itself and among themselves by Sölring traveling outside the island, but Danish, Low Saxon, Dutch, and later High German were used with non-Sölring. Given the comparative geographic inaccessibility of North Frisia and particularly of Söl until the twentieth century (1.1.3.3.), outside influences were in general slow to confront speakers of North Frisian in their own communities, with the result that such influences were usually discussed in one of the contact languages long before they reached Söl. One might again recall Runge's characterization of Sölring speech habits cited earlier (4.1.2.4.): "Wü mut er om teenk, dat di Sölring Spraak ön'er Feskens, See-lir en Buuren ap-wükset es; ön'er Lir, diar ek fuul snaki, en diar ek fuul üders sü, üs dit, wat jam ön-gair" (*FSL* 1926:2) ('We should realize that the Sölring language grew up among fishermen, seafarers, and farmers – among people that don't talk a lot, and then not much except about what concerns them'). Under these conditions, it is quite natural that native Sölring words have failed to be developed for a number of realms of modern life.

In the current age of technocracy and the information explosion, speakers of Sölring use a standard

language or resort to extensive code-mixing to discuss certain topics. Unlike in Scandinavian countries, where language-planning agencies can work closely with bodies of speakers from various professions in devising new terminology (Vikør 1993), there are scarcely any professions or occupations today that are wholly or even preponderantly Sölring, so that Sölring terminology has little prospect of being formulated for various fields by those most familiar with them. If speakers choose not to switch or mix codes (the latter entailing liberal use of outright adoptions) for topics not traditionally addressed in Sölring, the most ready alternative is to systematically adapt and calque standard-language terms – by default, as it were. This would lead to the type of situation that in the opinion of Sjölin (1993), cited earlier (4.1.2.4.), already holds quite pervasively for most of Frisian as a whole.

In using their proficiency in High German as a means for supplying terminology in Sölring – whether expediently, to close a lexical gap, or superfluously, supplanting native lexical items – speakers can do one or more of several things. *Simplicia* can be taken without change from High German or invested with what might be called "surface Frisianess" via nativizing phonetics and phonology. For complex words, there is the option of recourse to a semantic (often being also an etymological) equivalent in Sölring for part of all of a derivative or compound, if such exists or existed. Where no semantic equivalent exists, one or more elements of a compound might be calqued.

Based on data from the islands, Århammar (1984b) finds that the extent to which adaptive strategies of sound and morpheme substitution are realized is determined by external (sociolinguistic) factors as well as internal (linguistic) ones:¹⁶

Hemmend scheint sich Zugehörigkeit der Transferenz u.a. zu den Bereichen Behördlich-Offizielles, Schule, Technik, Medizin und Mode auszuwirken. Außerdem besteht all.Semein ein hohe psychologische Hemmschwelle in bezug auf "gekünstelte" Lehnübersetzungen (und Lehnprägungen). Assoziation und semantische Identifikation der entsprechenden lexikalischen Elemente (Morpheme) der Lehn- und Leihsprache bilden die erste Voraussetzung für Morphems substitution. (1984b:934)

(Membership of transference to the domains of bureaucratic officialdom, school, technology, medicine, and fashion seems to be inhibiting. In addition, there is generally a high psychological barrier with respect to "contrived" loan translations and calques. Association and semantic identification of the corresponding lexical elements (morphemes) of the donor and borrowing languages represent the initial prerequisite for morpheme substitution.)

The following discourse excerpt is from a conversation with a young nurse, the same conversation from which the passage presented as (1) in 4.1.2.4. was excerpted. (For further analysis, see also 6.2.1.1. and 6.2.1.2.) Here, the speaker is replying to a question about her work and prefaces her remarks with an observation about the challenging nature of replying in Sölring:

¹⁶ In addition to these factors, speaker age and attitudes toward language and culture bear on a speaker's readiness to adopt unassimilated or minimally-assimilated loans from High German.

	(2)	
a Ja, ik ken en betken fortel.		yes I can a bit tell
b Also hat es öö es et wü,		well it is uh is it we
c det wiar ek gans eenfach		that was not whole simple but
d <i>aber</i> ik ken jens forsjuk.		<i>but</i> I can once attempt
e öö öö ik <i>fang</i> miarlungs <i>ön</i> ,		uh uh I <i>start</i> mornings
f wü haa <u>Schichtdienst</u> [...]		we have <u>shift-service</u>
g dü best <i>entweder</i> dü staaNST öö,		you are <i>either</i> you stand uh
h <i>neben</i> di dochters en,		<i>beside</i> the doctors and
i <i>also</i> dü <i>instrumentiarest</i> da,		<i>that-is</i> you pass-instruments then
j <i>iivst</i> di saaken öö,		give.2SG the things uh
k <i>oder</i> dü best öö di <u>Springer</u> ,		or you are uh the ' <u>troubleshooter</u> '
l weet ik ek hur det jeft det üp Sölring.		know I not where that gives that on S.

((Yes, I can talk about it some. Well, it's uh it's we – it won't be very easy but I can give it a try. uh I start in the morning – we work shifts – you're either you stand next to the surgeons and – that is, you give them the instruments and other things, or you're the 'troubleshooter', I don't know whether you can say that in Sölring.))

The anticipated difficulty clearly has nothing to do with an unfamiliarity with the job on the part of the nurse, but is rather grounded in her unsureness related to talking about the highly technical realm of the hospital and her professional life in Sölring – at least partly as a matter of the inhibiting effect reported in Århammar (1984b). The current vocabulary of Sölring does not offer a single-word alternative to either *Schichtdienst* 'shift work' or *Springer* 'jumper' (and in line (l), the speaker comments specifically on this with regard to the latter). In (i), the speaker has applied the native verbal suffix (inflected) to form the assimilated counterpart of Ger. *instrumentierst* '(2SG:familiar) manage a set of hospital instruments during a surgical procedure' as a direct means of presenting the semantic content; (g-h) and (j) are a circumscription of what is involved in the procedure being described. German words occurring later in the same discussion – *Herz- und Gefäßchirurgie* 'cardio-vascular surgery', *Intensivstation* 'intensive care ward', *Ambulanz* 'emergency ward', and *Notfälle* 'emergencies' – were used to talk about referents for which ready Sölring denotations simply do not exist, and for which circumscriptions would probably seem unwieldy, imprecise, and artificial (recall the same speaker's remarks in (1) on Sölring lexical innovations, 4.1.2.4.).

The excerpt in (2) is discussed further under the aspect of code-switching and code-mixing in 6.2.1.2.

4.2.4. Possibilities for Lexical-Semantic Development

It seems clear that, in order to have a future as an autonomous Frisian language, Sölring (as well as the other varieties of North Frisian) must be usable not just in its traditionally well-developed semantic fields, but potentially in all spheres of modern life. Chief among the reasons for this is the certainty that a language perceived as old-fashioned and functionally outmoded – regardless of how accurate such a perception might or might not be – will almost surely fail to attract new speakers: whatever the primary motivations of those who might develop new interest in the language, sustained interest in it would depend for many on its utilitarianism. At the same time, pressure from Standard German has

become so strong that its continued role as the default language for supplying adoptions and models for adaption means that, in the absence of native Frisian terminology, Sölring and the rest of North Frisian are very likely to lose such autonomy as they have been able to retain up to now, ultimately becoming - much like historical East Frisian (with the exception of Seeltersk) vis-à-vis Low Saxon - a regional substratum of a societally more ubiquitous language. Two fairly recent proposals that have been put forward to address the issue of modernizing North Frisian are grounded on the assumption that modernization is needed to make North Frisian both more functional and more autonomous.

In 1950, Albrecht Johannsen, native speaker of Mooring Frasch, schoolteacher in Naibel/Niebull, and language activist (1.2.2.), set forth a number of desiderata that would contribute to a restoration of North Frisian. One of these was the establishment of a language committee that would have as specific goals:

1. **Sprachverbesserung:** das Wiederbeleben alter Wortverbindungen und Redewendungen; der Gebrauch der richtigen grammatischen Geschlechter, vor allem bei den Zahlwörter *eine*, *zwei* und *drei*; Gebrauch des Dual; Gebrauch der Formen der starken Konjugation in der richtigen Lautform; Lautveränderungen in Zusammensetzungen.
2. **Sprachsäuberung:** Abschaffung aller in letzter Zeit aufgenommenen Lehnwörter; Bekämpfung der Gewohnheit, friesische Sätze zu bilden, die vom Deutschen her gedacht sind.
2. **Spracherneuerung:** Wiedereinführung echten friesischen Wortmaterials, das verloren gegangen ist; Einführung bisher nicht bekannter friesischer Abstrakta sowie Ausdrücke für neu aufgekommene Begriffe der modernen Zeit.

(1950: 196ff.)

1. **Language amelioration:** the revival of older lexical derivations and expressions; the use of correct grammatical gender, especially with the numerals *one*, *two* and *three*; use of the dual; use of strong verbs in phonologically correct forms; phonological alternations in lexical compounds.
2. **Language purification:** elimination of all recent loanwords; reversal of the habit of forming Frisian sentences first thought out in German.
3. **Language renewal:** reintroduction of authentic Frisian lexical material that has been lost; introduction of previously unknown Frisian abstracta as well as Frisian expressions for concepts that have arisen in the modern era.

For Johannsen, the key to revitalizing North Frisian lay to a large extent in the past: restoring older, more "genuine" linguistic structure; using such forms as the basis for forming new terms; purging the language of newer borrowings. In principle, a course of modernization as conceived by Johannsen could have resulted in maximum independence and a reversal of the dialectalizing trend vis-à-vis German, but since the success of language reform depends on the degree to which speakers are inclined to accept and follow through on the suggestions of language planners, a program of extreme purism could be unrealistic and ultimately counterproductive (see also Århammar 1984b:937 and Lasswell 1995, 1998). In 1973, the Collegium Frisicum was set up as one embodiment of the committee envisaged by Johannsen, but it ultimately ceased operation - leaving behind few tangible

results.

In 1988, Nils Århammar focused on the issue of lexical elaboration (*lexikalischer Ausbau*) as the central aspect of language elaboration (*Sprachausbau*), which is itself:

die planmäßige Entwicklung einer bisher ausschließlich oder (weit) überwiegend als Umgangssprache gebrauchten Sprachvarietät zu einer möglichst kompletten, zumindest potentiell in allen Lebensbereichen funktionierenden Sprache. (1988:687)

(the planned development of a language variety that has been used exclusively or preponderantly as a vernacular to as complete a language as possible, one that at least potentially can function in all spheres of life.)

Århammar (1988) is a discussion of approaches to lexical expansion in the various dialects of North Frisian from the sixteenth century to the present, and a call for a well-organized and systematic approach to the task of modernizing the language. He characterizes the earnestness of the situation in no uncertain terms:

Als übergeordneter Gesichts- und Ausgangspunkt und oberste Zielsetzung haben zu gelten die Modernisierung der nordfriesischen Hauptdialekte und die Ausdehnung ihrer Funktionalität auf alle zeitgemäßen Anwendungsbereiche, die im praktischen und kulturellen Leben Nordfrieslands eine Rolle spielen. Geschieht bzw. gelingt dies nicht, so haben die gegenwärtigen materiellen und geistigen Investitionen keinen Sinn und die nordfriesische Sprache hat als veraltendes Relikt keine Zukunft. (1988:717)

(The overriding perspective and point of departure as well as the ultimate goal must be the modernization of the main dialects of North Frisian [i.e., Frisch as an over-arching mainland dialect and the insular dialects Sölring and Fering/Öömrang] and the extension of their functionality to all contemporary spheres of usage that are a factor in the practical and cultural life of North Friesland. If this doesn't happen or is not successful, there is no point to the present material and intellectual investments and the North Frisian language, as an aging relict, has no future.)

Modernization, as conceived by Århammar, entails three subordinate tasks: TAKING INVENTORY of the lexical stock on hand, INNOVATING to fill "back orders", and finally NORMING the results, both within and, presumably, among the three variants.¹⁷ He cites five methods for innovating and norming, presumably in descending order of importance:

¹⁷ Implicit in Århammar's further discussion is that, so far as possible, the innovating development in the dialects should take place along parallel lines; by contrast, Wilts (1983) points out that the strength of the varieties of North Frisian is their uniqueness, so it would be counterproductive to try to force their directions of growth. At least one perspective among native-speaking language activists is that development that would result in even greater dissimilarity among the dialects would be highly deleterious to North Frisian as a whole; implicit in this view is the assumption that the artificiality entailed by norming would be compensated by the degree of convergence achieved.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1) Loan translation or calquing | (<i>Lehnübersetzung</i>) |
| 2) Loan transfer | (<i>Lehnübertragung</i>) |
| 3) Coinage | (<i>freie Wortschöpfung = Neologismus</i>) |
| 4) Borrowing or adoption | (<i>Wortentlehnung</i>) |
| 5) Resurrection | (<i>Wiederbelebung</i>) |

The first of these techniques, LOAN TRANSLATION or calquing, is one that, as seen in 4.1., has given Sölring a number of adapted borrowings over the centuries. It offers the great advantage of building on speakers' proficiency in another language or other languages. Clearly, the distancing, autonomizing effect of systematic calquing depends on how thoroughly the loan translations are adapted to the native linguistic system: quite naturally, the bulk of models for North Frisian would be drawn from Standard German, but adoption without adaptation would actually further dialectalization vis-à-vis High German through structural convergence. As with loan transfer and direct borrowing, recourse to other sources in making loan translations – such as to other historical contact languages like Danish, Dutch, and Low Saxon, as well as to other genetic relatives such as Westerlandersk Frysk, Seeltersk, and English – would also be natural and would present a real opportunity to reduce the reliance on a single source for innovation. In this connection, Århammar (1988:718) gives as an example for loan translation the semantic notion of *progress*, Frysk *foarütgang* (Du. *vooruitgang*): Fräsch *foarütgang*, Fer/Ööm. *föörütjgung* and Sölr. *fuarütgang* – all of which he reports having tried out successfully among native speakers.

Whereas loan translations typically involve morpheme-for-morpheme correspondences between donor and recipient language, LOAN TRANSFER entails less structural dependence on the source. COINAGE, though perhaps an intellectually attractive option for creating new words, is a method to be exploited with restraint, as Århammar notes. Its success as a technique in such languages as Finnish and Icelandic has had the advantage of continuing a long neologistic tradition not found in North Frisian, and also of building on the comparatively stronger sense of cultural and linguistic identification that generally derives from nationhood. When all else fails, so to speak, direct BORROWING from the various contact and genetically related languages is another useful type of innovation, and is significant especially with respect to incorporating internationalisms into the lexicon. Finally, the RESURRECTION of terms that have fallen into disuse (also one of Johannsen's recommendations) offers a way of retaining native (or nativized) structure, and is thus perhaps the most "organic" method of all. A case in point is the use of traditional Ööm. *förliaſang*, Sölr. *forliising* 'delivery in childbirth', in lieu of HGer. *Entbindung* as currently calqued or used as a direct borrowing on the islands.

Though implicit in Århammar's categories as a type of loan transfer and/or coinage, a potentially useful strategy for modernizing the lexicon in North Frisian that should be made explicit is the option of lexicalizing via semantic differentiation, namely extension and shift. Anecdotally, the calque *fiirJuker* 'television [set]' (Ger. *Fernseher* 'far + seer') has met with resistance as a Sölring term, while initial reactions to *skelt.weeger* and *skelt.bringer* (picture + shower/bringer) as possible terms have been less skeptical. A neologism like *hail.sen.skaar*, lit. *heel.sinew.damage*, characterized in 4.1.2.4. as a relatively expedient borrowing, could similarly convey the idea 'strained Achilles' tendon'.

The following list is offered as a coherent illustration of how techniques 1-3 of lexical elaboration could

be used in formulating terminology for linguistics, a realm for which Sölring has not traditionally been used. (Its presentation by a non-native speaker of Sölring is intended not as presumption, but in light of the circumstance that there are no native speakers of Sölring who are also linguists – from whom, of course, such formulations would properly come.) Alternative forms are given along with corresponding German terms for comparison:

Spraak.liir.doom	(language.teach/learn.SUFF '-dom') 'linguistics'; (liirdoom 'knowledge, instruction'); Ger. <i>Sprachwissenschaft</i> (Spraakweetenskep = calque)
lüt.maakin	(sound.making) 'articulatory phonetics' (coinage) Ger. <i>artikulatorische Phonetik</i>
lüt.hiirin	(sound.hearing) 'acoustic phonetics'; Ger. <i>akustische Phonetik</i>
lüt.mönstering	(sound.patterning) 'phonology'; Ger. <i>Phonologie</i>
silev.lüt	(syllable.sound) 'vowel'; Ger. <i>Vokal, Selbstlaut</i> (calqued = salev.lüt)
kant.lüt	(edge.sound) 'consonant'; Ger. <i>Konsonant, Mitlaut</i> (calqued = me.lüt)
kai.lüt	(key.sound) 'phoneme'; Ger. <i>Phonem</i>
üder.lüt	(other.sound) 'allophone'; Ger. <i>Allophon</i>
fuarem.mönstering	(form.patterning) 'morphology'; Ger. <i>Morphologie</i>
haur.fuarem	(head.form) 'morpheme'; Ger. <i>Morphem</i>
üder.fuarem	(other.form) 'allomorph'; Ger. <i>Allomorph</i>
tö.silev	(to.syllable) 'affix'; Ger. <i>Affix</i>
fuar.silev	(fore.syllable) 'prefix'; Ger. <i>Präfix, Vorsilbe</i> (calqued)
eeder.silev	(after.syllable) 'suffix'; Ger. <i>Suffix, Nachsilbe</i> (calqued)
töhop.pötting,	(together.putting),
reeg.railing	(row/order.arranging) 'syntax'; Ger. <i>Syntax</i>
jest.seeting,	(first.sentence),
haur.seeting,	(head.sentence),
ain.seeting	(own.sentence) 'independent clause'; Ger. <i>Hauptsatz</i>
taust.seeting,	(second.sentence),
öner.seeting,	(sub-/under.sentence),
tö-/üder.seeting	(to-/other.sentence) 'dependent clause'; Ger. <i>Nebensatz</i>
noom.uurt	(name.word) 'noun'; Ger. <i>Nomen, Substantiv, Hauptwort</i>
neem.uurt,	(call.word),
fuar.uurt	(for.word) 'pronoun'; Ger. <i>Pronomen, Fürwort</i>
maak.uurt	(make.word) 'verb'; Ger. <i>Verb, Verbum, Tätigkeitswort</i>
biskriiwings.uurt	(description.word) 'adjective/adverb'; Ger. <i>Adjektiv/Adverb</i>
fuarstelings.uurt	(fore-placing.word) 'preposition'; Ger. <i>Präposition, Verhältniswort</i>
forbinjings.uurt	(Prefix 'for(e)-' + bind.word + Suffix) 'connection-word=conjunction' Ger. <i>Konjunktion, Bindewort</i>

These examples are given to illustrate the possibility of providing for transparency in a program of lexical elaboration.

In most European standard languages, the terminology of linguistics and many other scientific fields consists of so-called internationalisms, adaptations of word-elements from Greek and Latin, and a natural question here would be why Sölring might deviate from the practice. One answer would be that, unlike many other languages spoken and written in Europe – particularly the standard ones – Sölring is in an extremely precarious situation with respect to its continued use. By exploiting North Frisian lexical resources rather than simply following the internationalist trend, language promoters could achieve three potentially salutary and therefore important goals:

- capitalize on internal linguistic sub-systems to enhance semantic transparency and thus also users' *perception* of linguistic autonomy;
- enable speakers to "remain within" North Frisian, thus heightening its utilitarian value (both real and perceived);
- make North Frisian structurally more independent of the national standards that surround it and (by attracting potential speakers as providing greater utilitarian value) jeopardize its existence, and thus *in fact* heighten its autonomy.

At least for pre-university levels, modern pedagogy in North Frisian currently proceeds from the perspective that instruction in North Frisian should be oriented toward second-language (or foreign-language) learning (see Wilts/Gantzel 1978:80-81; Århammar 1995b:429). To the objection that anyone using nativizing scientific terminology in North Frisian would already be familiar with the corresponding internationalisms from their knowledge of a national standard language, it might be countered that, while certainly the case for the first generation using an elaborated lexicon, subsequent generations could then have the opportunity of growing up and learning about their chosen field in what – if North Frisian is really to have a future – must become the first language of a large number of speakers. In any event, just as the direction that any program of elaboration might take would ultimately have to be determined by native speakers, so too would native-speaking specialists in various fields be the ones to determine how their particular fields could best be supplied with terminology.

Against the background of decades of minority-language concerns, Fishman (1989) argues that it would be futile (and worse) for corpus-planning for minority languages to engage in head-to-head battles with standard languages in vying for speakers' use for non-traditional topics, but with the ever-increasing impingement of technocracy and the public sphere on everyday life, it would appear that restricting use to traditional spheres can only result in steadily less usage – even given a dramatic growth in the numbers of those who are able and willing: after the loss of such traditional domains as whaling, seafaring, fishing, agriculture, the field for usage is an ever-dwindling one. It thus appears that, indeed, the issue of lexical elaboration as a prerequisite to linguistic modernization is absolutely crucial to the future of Sölring and the rest of North Frisian.

The next chapter will present an analysis of the patterns of Sölring usage in clauses and sentences.

5. Syntax

This chapter characterizes the ways in which words are connected in speech in and among clauses to convey meaning corresponding to speakers' communicative intentions. This description is based on discourse data from actual conversations, with occasional citation of data from written sources. In presentation, commas are used at boundaries between intonation units, the coherent intonational contours in which stretches of speech take place; a full discussion of intonation units and discourse issues will be found in Chapter 6.

5.1. Simple Sentences

Much of what people say takes the form of clauses and sentences that are simple in the sense that they verbalize a single concept that is more or less straightforward in meaning. Such simplicity can be reflected grammatically by the inclusion of a single noun and a single verb, although certainly some utterances in daily life contain neither or only one of these types of words:

- (1) (es dit Nordeney?
is it Nordeney?)

Nordeney liit jaa mer òn.
Nordeney lies yes middle in
'Nordeney is in the middle (of the E. Frisian Islands)'

(Juist?)
'Juist?'

uk ek. \
too not
'not that either'

- (2) (best dū salev jens tō see fēren?
have you been at sea yourself?)

nee, ik ek muar. \
no I no more
'no, not me (the time being past)'

- (3) Heest gur slōpen?
have2SG good slept
'did you sleep well?'

- (4) jaa, es langsen beeter ūs alis ūders.
yes is always better as all else
'yes, [it] is a lot better than anything else'

Such phrasal utterances contain the barest amount of information necessary to convey the speaker's intent, "omitting" as redundant and therefore superfluous elements such as nouns and verbs that could be assumed, in the circumstances of the conversation, to be implicitly understood by the listener. The fourth intonation unit in (1) includes neither a noun nor a verb, and in the second intonation unit of (2) there is no expressed verb. (3) has no expressed subject (a pattern of address that is grammaticized in Sölring, 3.2., 5.1.2.5., 5.1.4.3.), and neither does (4), where non-inclusion of the subject has not been grammaticized and is thus elliptical. Nonetheless, each of these instances was entirely adequate as communication, because in the respective speech situations, it was clear from the discourse context what was being referred to. (Which elements under what conditions might be redundant has to do with information flow and the activation status of noun referents, which are likewise considered in detail in Chapter 6.)

Although some utterances are elliptical in this sense, there are many others that are not. The present sections discuss the patterning in non-elliptical clauses in the active voice; a discussion of the passive voice follows.

5.1.1. Constituent and Word Order

The main constituents of a basic statement are generally ordered (parentheses indicate optionality or possible occurrence)

SUBJ - Verb1 - (OBJ) - (Verb2) - (Verb3) - (Oblique(s))

with the variations that Verb2 can also follow any clause-final Oblique(s) and that Obliques can occur clause-initially; in the latter case, the Subject is "displaced" from its clause-initial position to a constituent slot behind Verb1, i.e. Verb1 is consistently found as the second grammatical constituent in a clause:

Oblique(s) - V1 - SUBJ - (OBJ) - (V2) - (V3) - (Oblique(s))

In discussing constituent and word order, it will be convenient to refer to the *arguments* of a verb, which are the noun referents that participate in a verbal event (and are therefore also referred to as "participants"). In Sölring (and other Germanic languages), the subject participant is the sole argument that (with very few exceptions) a verb must have; if the verb connotes a semantic agent, this agent will be identical to the subject. An object (or "direct object") is the argument that is affected if the verbal event entails an agent (the subject) carrying out an action of some kind that affects another noun referent. An oblique argument of a verb is a noun referent that is less affected during the course of, and in this sense is more peripheral to, the verbal event than an object. A clause with an agentive subject and an affected object (a semantic patient) is highly *transitive*; a clause with a non-agentive subject and no object or an unaffected object is *intransitive*. (Between these two extremes, clauses vary along a continuum of transitivity, chiefly as to the agentivity of their subject and affectedness of object; cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980.) Both types of clauses, transitive and intransitive, may include one or more oblique participants (or none).

A verbal event is something that either happens as an action initiated by an agent or takes place as a

change of state, spontaneously or processually, while a verbal state is a condition that exists (Chafe 1994). This entails a broad distinction between actions/processes on the one hand and states of being on the other. In Sörling, as in other Germanic languages, verbal events and states can be grammatically reflected by one or two words in a clause (a third verb form can express modality).¹ If there is more than one, the verbs will often occur in non-adjacent positions in the clause. In the ordering scheme mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Verb1 denotes the finite verb form and Verb2 the non-finite one. The types of verbal elements belonging to the two classes are:

<u>CONTEXT</u>	<u>VERB1</u>	<u>VERB2</u>	<u>VERB3</u>
complex tense/aspect	auxiliary	past participle	—
infinitival complement	finite verb	Infinitive 2	—
prefixed verb in simple tense	verb stem	verbal prefix	—
modality	modal	Infinitive 1	—
passive modality	modal	past participle	uur
perfect/pluperfect modality	auxiliary	Infinitive 1	uuren

In perfect or pluperfect passive modality, there would be four verb forms, in the sequence:

Auxiliary - Participle - uur - Modal

In the *Pidersdaibok* (1.1.3.4.), the positioning of Verb2 before any non-initial Obliques that may be present in a clause is not uncommon:

- (5) **Ik haa di Breev dān tō di Dreeng.** JPHBPM
 I have the letter given to the boy
 'I gave the letter to the boy'
- (6) **dit wiar jaa en Faamen henbūti fuar en ual' Hingst** JPHBPM84
 that was yes a girl in.change for an old horse
 'That would be trading a daughter for an old horse'

By the same token, however, Verb2 also occurs clause-finally:

- (7) **Ik wel juu Faader noch en gur Tüinst.faaamen ōn din Stair forskafi.** JPMBMP84
 I want your father enough a good service.girl in your place obtain
 'I'm going to get your father a good maidservant to take your place'

Many current speakers have Verb2 following non-initial Obliques more often than preceding:

- (8) **Di iartapels uur en gansi diil bi buur.en ōnbecht.**
 the potatoes PASS a whole part by farm.PL in.built
 'Quite a lot of potatoes are grown'

¹ In the case of perfect or pluperfect passive modality and irrealis modality, the sequence is Auxiliary – Main verb in Infinitive 1 – Modal.

- (9) **pris.en sen jaa, me kuurn en me kraiter,**
 price.PL are yes with grain and with creatures
rocht en bet dial.fuar.gingen, ek?
 right a bit down.fore.gone not
 'The prices of grain and cattle have dropped pretty sharply, you know'

More rigid Verb2 finality could well have its motivation in the increased influence from Standard German, where a corresponding order is the norm.²

Regardless of how many verbal elements are present, the second constituent position in a clause will be occupied by Verb1:

- (10) **Maning mai jaa uk soker diar jit ðn, ek?**
 many like yes too sugar there yet on not
 'Lots of people like sugar in it too, don't they?'
- (11) **wū waar ek fan üüs aalern hen.braacht tō skuul**
 we became not from our parents toward.brought to school
 'We weren't taken to school by our parents'
- (12) **da ken wū di jungen jaa ek muar tō fut tō skuul gung let**
 then can we the youths yes not more to foot to school go let
 'We certainly can't let the children go to school on foot anymore'

As previously noted, if the subject is not the first element in a clause, it will directly follow Verb1, as in (12) above.

5.1.2. Argument Structure

Before discussing the syntax of Sörling in detail, it will be appropriate to elaborate on the basic notion of grammatical argument. The key elements of a clause are those that express something about ideas: events and states (which are expressed by verbs) and referents, meaning people, objects, and abstractions, which are typically expressed by nouns (including pronouns and nominalizations). (Referents, events, and states are designated by pronouns, nominalizations and what in Chapter 3 were called content words, which, as noted there, are often accented in speech.) Minimally, a full clause (unlike elliptical phrases such as those in (1), (2), and (4)) will verbalize a referent and an event or state in which that referent is involved, or, grammatically, will include a noun and a verb.

Since many (if not most) verbs often require additional information to convey meaning, the predicate will very often include such notions as time, place, and manner as they relate to the state/action and the idea. (Again, these adverbial expressions sometimes appear clause-initially.) In some cases, the notion of at least one more idea, possibly also a participant in the event, will be essential to the speaker's

² In colloquial German, Verb 2 is less consistently clause-final than in the Standard, where its position is prescribed.

meaning and must accordingly be present in the predicate. So in addition to the first participant, the subject, there will often be a non-subject participant. In most clauses, participants that are neither subject nor object are oblique; often accompanied in Sölring by a preposition, they can stand in a range of semantic relations – among them locative, benefactive, instrumental – to the grammatical subject. The clausal intonation units below illustrate some of these distinctions. The abbreviations S, O, and L stand respectively for subject, object, and oblique:

- (13) S V1 (=state)
hat es jaa sa.
 it is yes so
 'that's the way it is'
- (14) S V1 L (=state)
jü es fan Langeness
 she is from Langeness
 'she's from Langeness'
- (15) S V1 V2 (=process)
min faader es sa eeder stürwen.
 my father is so early died
 'my father died quite young'

(16) is a continuation of the speaker's discourse in (15):

- (16) S V1 L (=state)
ik wiar miist.tir bi min mooter aliining.
 I was most.time by my mother alone
 'I was alone with my mother most of the time'
- S V1 L V2 (=process)
ik ken mi ek sa gur üp hõm bidārigi.
 I can me not so good on him reflect
 'I don't remember much about him'
- (17) S V1 O L (=action)
Dü dērst jens aast üp din boter.skiiv.
 you do-2SG once cheese on your butter.slice
 'You put cheese on your piece of bread'

In Sölring, nominal expressions in simple clauses often occur according to the scheme given in 5.1.1, but speakers also frequently mention participants in other sequences. In such cases, and when, as quite often happens, a transitional (en) *da* 'then, there' opens the intonation unit, Verb1 remains in its customary position as the second grammatical constituent of a clause and the subject appears post-verbally:

Subject-Obliques-Object Argument Structure

- (18) VI S L
en da fing ik fan Hermann Göring,
and then got I from Hermann Göring
 L O
tō di tir, hōnert mark Finder.John.
to the time hundred marks finder's-reward
'and then I received from Hermann Göring, back then, a reward of a hundred marks'

Object-Subject Argument Structure

- (19) O VI S
Verpflegungs.jil fairst dū ek
care-taking.money get2SG you not
'you're not getting any expense-money'

Oblique-Subject Argument Structure

- (20) VI L S
da stōn òn Hörnem, tau ialer wüfhaur sa om en bi 65-70 jaar,
then stood in Hörnem two older women so around and by 65-70 years
'standing in Hörnem were two older women about 65-70'

Oblique-Subject-Object Argument Structure

- (21) L VI S O
fan mi fing di soldaaten jaar jil
from me got the soldiers their money
'The soldiers got their money from me'

The sections that follow discuss the various types of simple clauses in turn. The most basic distinction made is that between intransitive and transitive clauses: to the extent that it is "self-contained", i.e. not elliptical on the basis of explicit or implicit anaphoric reference, an intransitive clause will have at least one participant, the subject, and possibly one or more obliques. A transitive clause will have at least two participants, subject and object, and possibly one or more obliques. Although transitivity in Germanic languages is basically a continuum of affectedness of the non-subject participant, Sörling (as many other Germanic and non-Germanic languages) makes little morphosyntactic distinction between highly affected objects and objects that are affected to a more or less slight degree; the surest formal indicator of non-affectedness and thus obliqueness is the occurrence of a preposition with the noun in question (except in e.g. the case of dates and expressions of partitivity, which occur "bare": en kop kofi 'a cup (of) coffee', en glees weeter 'a glass (of) water'). Under certain circumstances, an oblique noun referent can be reduced in discourse, leaving a "stranded" preposition as its most prominent trace.

5.1.2.1. Intransitive Clauses

An intransitive clause is a clause in which there is no object participant, but a subject and perhaps one or more obliques. There are two basic kinds of intransitive clauses: those that express a verbal event of some kind (without involving an object) and those that express a state of being.

5.1.2.1.1. Active Intransitives

In active intransitive clauses, there is only one "obligatory" participant, the subject. (As noted above, however, overt mention of the subject can be missing in the case of the second person singular, as in (3) above. This is a grammaticized pattern; the non-mention of a subject applies only to 2SG. pronouns and is not extended to other grammatical persons.) The subject of an active intransitive clause often precedes the verb (V1) and begins an intonation unit:

S V1 LOC
(22) hi lewet òn Florida.
he lives in Florida
'he lives in Florida'

S V1 TEMP V2
(23) hi es 1983 stürwen.
he is 1983 died
'he died in 1983'

S V1 V2
(24) ik sen da döör.breeken.
I am then through.broken
'then I broke through'

However, discourse considerations also often lead a speaker to begin an intonation unit with some type of adverbial transition from what has gone before; in these cases, the subject is "displaced" from clause-initial position and occurs after Verb1. The three intonation units in (25) occurred in a survey of the speaker's grounds and outbuildings as the conversants' attention turned to the shed; the IU in (24) summed up the activity referred to in (25) several intonation units earlier.

(25) diar es et techt.
that is it closed
'it's closed (up) there'

jaa en diar sen ik,
yes and there am I
...fuar tau jaar döör.breeken.
before two year through.broken
'well, I fell through (up) there two years ago'

In another passage in the same discourse, the speaker was relating an incident in which his father confronted some unexpected guests (for a fuller context, see 6.2.1.5.). In three consecutive IUs, the

subject participant follows the verb:

- (26) jen gur dai, da seet wū jir tō kofi drink.en,
one good day then sat we here to coffee drink.NOM
... en da kumt jir en last.wain ōn [...]
and then comes here a load.wagon in
en da ging di ua| hen, en sair, wat es jir luas?
and then went the old HEN and said what is here loose
'One day, we were sitting here having coffee when a truck drives up [...]
and the old (man) went out and said: what's going on?'

If an oblique is present in the clause, it will usually follow the subject, as in (22), but it can appear clause-initially instead:

- (27) Fan di jungen heer nemen dit areft.
from the children has no-one the inherited
'None of the children inherited it'
- (28) Diar haa I jaa uunet.
there have you yes resided
'That's where you lived'
- (29) Bi hōm her ik mal fuul liirt.
by him had I very much learned
'I really learned a lot from him'

Semantically, locative and temporal obliques are found more often than other types of obliques in clause-initial position. An anthology of Jens Mungard's (preponderantly poetic) writings, *Fuar dī mīn hart heer slain* (lit. For you my heart has beat; 1.1.3.4.), in which the sequence is Benefactive –Agent – V1 –V2, is decidedly lyrical.

5.1.2.1.2. Stative Intransitives

Stative intransitives are predications not about actions of subject participants, but about some state of being that applies to the subject. Such predications are made by using the copular verbs *wiis* 'be' or *uur* 'become'. The two types of stative intransitives are existentials and equationals.

Existential predications are statements about a subject's attributes named by a modifier (30)–(31) or by an adverbial phrase (32)–(33). Either of these specifications can themselves contain an oblique:

- (30) en hi wiar gans, verrückt eeder Motor.räder.
and he was whole crazy after motor-cycles
'and he was really crazy about motorcycles'
- (31) hi uur nū tō härefst aacht.en.tachentig.
he becomes now to autumn eight.and.eighty

'he'll be eighty-eight in the fall'

- (32) jü es maning jaaren ön Amerika wesen.
she is many years in America been
'she was in America for many years'
- (33) diar sen ik maning mol wesen
there am I many time been
'I've been there many times'

Once again, transitions in discourse can entail displacement of the subject to post-verbal position:

- (34) köning ken hi jaa ek uur
king can he yes not become
'he can't become King'

Other stative predications involve *equational* or *definitional* statements about subjects rather than statements about their qualitative or quantitative attributes; in these cases, a predicate noun specifies the particular notion about the subject:

- (35) wü sen jaa frinjer fan diirter, ek?
we are yes friends from animals not
'We really like animals, you know?'
- (36) min mooter wiar en hoog.dütsk.en.
my mother was a High.German.NOM
'my mother was a (speaker of) High German'
- (37) ja wiar biiring kraanken.sester wesen ön di kriich,
they were both sick-PL.sister been in the war
'they had both been nurses in the war'

As in (37), the predicate noun can itself contain an oblique participant.

5.1.2.2. Transitive Clauses

A transitive clause is one that has an agentive subject and a patientive object; it can include one or more obliques as well. The argument structure is often SO(L), but discourse considerations will again lead to variations on this basic pattern.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------|------|------|-----------------------------------|
| | S | O | | S | O |
| (38) | ik | maaki | det | ja | ek. |
| | I | make | that | yes | not |
| | | | | I | buy |
| | | | | that | only |
| | | | | | 'I don't make it – I only buy it' |

S O L
 (39) hi diilet dit leest puutji.bet me di.
 he shared the last tiny.bit with you
 'he would share his last little bit with you'

O S
 (40) kraiter haa wū ek muar
 creatures have we no more
 'we have no more cattle'

The verbal events involved in transitive clauses are actions that entail affected patients (italicized below); the verbs (*āp-*)*bech* 'build (up), erect' and (*dial*)*riiv* 'tear (down)', *drink* 'drink' and *iit* 'eat', *forlees* 'lose', *sjuk* 'search (for)' and *finj* 'find', *maaki* 'make, do' and *dō* 'do, give', *maali* 'paint' and *skraapi* 'scrape', *sjit* 'shoot' and *spark* 'kick', *taui* 'wash' and *wreng* 'wring' all entail semantically an agent acting on a patient (here italicized):

(41) *Di Firma* heer hi da *āp.becht*.
 the firm has he then up.built
 'Then he built the company up'

(42) *Ik* haa jit salev *feen.lōn* me uurbar *maaket*.
 I have yet self moor.land with arable made
 'I myself helped to make the land arable'

(43) *Ik* ken niin *kofi* muar *drink*
 I can no coffee more drink
 'I can't drink coffee any more'

In discourse, the patient is often a participant already present in the immediate context – in discourse terms (6.1.), is *given* information – and can therefore be left unexpressed as being implicitly understandable:

(44) *Di miist.en* iit otter fuul.
 the most.NOM eat too much
 'Most people eat too much [food]'

(45) *da* haa ik di hiili dai maalet,
 then have I the whole day painted
 'Then I painted [walls] the whole day'

(46) *En injem maast* ik da of.taui,
 in-evening must-PRET I then away.wash
 'In the evening, I had to wash up [dishes]'

In passive constructions (5.1.3.), agent participants are defocused, as in (47), where no agent is mentioned, or in (48), where the agent appears as an oblique argument:

- (47) **Da waar di flug.plaats āp.becht,**
 then became the fly.place up.built
 'Then the airport was built [by workers/the government etc.]'
- (48) **Dit lōn waar fan Holōners weder iin.diket.**
 the land became from Dutchmen again into.diked
 'The land was enclosed by dikes again by Dutchmen'

Ditransitive verbs, those denoting events that can involve two core participants in addition to the subject, such as bring 'bring', dō, etymologically 'do' but more often used in the sense of 'give', lees 'read', nem 'take', skriiv 'write', smit 'throw', and stjūūr 'send' are sometimes used with both an object and an oblique (the object in (49) is a demonstrative pronoun used partitively):

- (49) **Dū heest dach sa fuul lōn jir,**
 your have-2SG indeed so much land here
kenst dū ūūs ek en bet, diar.fan dō?
 can.2SG you us not a bit there.from do
 'You have such a lot of land here, can't you give us a bit?'
- (50) **Da haa ik weder en breev tō jam stjūürt,**
 then have I again a letter to them sent
 'Then I sent another letter to them'

More often, however, either the object or the oblique is left unexpressed. In (51), the oblique, semantically a recipient, is omitted since it is of no relevance in the speaker's account of the fate of his family's property:

- (51) **da haa wū di buur.erii āpdōn,**
 then have we the farmer.NOM up.done
 'Then we sold the farm'

The sense of the verb mebring lit. 'with-bring' in (52) is the metaphorical 'entail', and no oblique is used:

- (52) **Dit bringt dit ales me, seeker.**
 that brings the all with sure
 'That's part of it, sure'

In (53), the speaker had just referred to a pension one of her acquaintances received from the Australian government. Mention of a stamp for certification, here a (direct) object, was accompanied by a gesture of applying an official stamp; there is no overt oblique argument of the verb dō 'give'. Neither semantic recipient (a certificate or passport) nor beneficiary (the acquaintance) needed to be

mentioned, the one because it was implied and inferrable, the other because she (the acquaintance) was the ongoing topic:

- (53) **Ja skel ali paar jaaren òn Australien en Stempel dō**
 they shall all few years in Australia a stamp give
 'They are to stamp certification in Australia every few years'

The speaker in (54) and (55) is relating the circumstances surrounding an exchange of letters between himself and a trade association. In (54), the prefixed verb *ònskrewen* 'write to' and the oblique make mention of the object superfluous (see (50) above for object inclusion by the same speaker on the same topic):

- (54) **Da haa ik di Innung òn.skrewen,**
 then have I the guild in.written
 'Then I wrote to the association'

This is followed two intonation units later with the same object ellipsis; the unprefix form of the verb is used as well (a citation from the trade association's letter follows):

- (55) **Da skriiv ja mi, [...]**
 then write they me
 'They then wrote me...'

5.1.2.3. Semantic Roles and the Grammar of Oblique Arguments

Oblique arguments of verbs can have any of six semantic roles: benefactive, comitative, instrumental, locative, receptive, or temporal. These co-occur e.g. with the following prepositions:

<u>SEMANTIC ROLE</u>	<u>PREPOSITION(S)</u>	<u>EXAMPLES</u>
benefactive	<i>fuur</i> 'for'	<i>fuur di</i> 'for you'
comitative	<i>me</i> 'with'	<i>kum me!</i> 'come with (me/us)'
instrumental	<i>me</i> 'with'	<i>me'n knif</i> 'with a knife'
locative	all spatial	<i>aur di dam</i> 'over the dam'
receptive	(<i>tō</i>) 'to'	<i>mi/tō mi</i> '(to) me'
temporal	<i>òn</i> 'in'	<i>òn week</i> '(in) a week'

In discourse, oblique arguments are usually reduced to the pronominal demonstrative *diar* 'there' or (and generally subsequently) even further to *er* after their introduction into a conversation. This introduction can be either by direct mention of the noun referent or by interpolation from a more general proposition (as in a question). In these cases, the preposition of the oblique is "stranded", traditionally occurring toward the end of the clause, either in final position or just before Verb2:

- (56) ***diar* kūr ik mi niin skelt *fan* maaki**
 there could I me no picture from make
 'I couldn't imagine what (was going to happen)'

- (57) (maist dū jens tō Amerikaa raisi?)
'would you like to travel to America some day?'

nee nee, diar sen ik tō ual tō
no no there am I too old to
'No, I'm too old for that'

- (58) diar heer hi ek aur snaket
there has he not over talked
'he didn't talk about it'

Two intonation units after the speaker's remark in (58), he again mentions the proposition using a postposition, this time omitting the oblique trace altogether:

- (59) jaa, hi heer ek aur, aur snaket, ek
yes he has not over talked not
'well, he didn't talk about (it), you know'

Reduction of *diar* to *er* has become rare in speech, but it is found in writing, especially earlier writing:

- (60) Hur 't di Polak me sin kum gingen es, BPM126
where it the Pole with his bowl gone is
haa ik ek tō weet.en fingen; man ik sen bang,
have I not to know.INF2 gotten but I am afraid
fuul früger heer hi er uk ek fan her.
much joy has he ER too not from had
'I never found out how the Pole got along with his bowl,
but I'm afraid he didn't havemuch luck with it either.'

- (61) Bruar es en gaav fan üüs lewer Got, BPM62
bread is a gift from our dear God
en diar.fuar skel em orntlig me om.gung
and there.fore shall one properly with around.go
'Bread is a gift of God, so it should be treated properly'

In the *Pidersdaibok*, *er* even appears in anticipation of a complement clause:

- (62) man wat tocht di er fan, om al JPHBPM83
but what thought you-OBJ ER from, around already
aur.miaren min Wüf tō uur.en,
over.tomorrow my wife to become.INF2
'but what would you think about becoming my wife the day after tomorrow'

5.1.2.4. Ambient States and Agentless Actions

Some states and actions are expressed with no reference to actual subjects, and in these cases *hat* 'it' (in

non-initial position in a clause reduced to *et*) is used as a grammatical subject. The states involve conditions that are environmentally encompassing (Chafe 1970) and are thus "ambient": *hat es leecht/junk* 'it's light/dark', *hat es eeder/leet* 'it's early/late', *hat es wārem/küül* 'it's hot/cold', and *hat es sendai/mondai/ ...* 'it's Sunday/Monday/..., etc.' all refer to conditions that obtain without the mediation of a subject. Likewise, actions describing many weather events entail no subject, agentive or not: *hat rintj* 'it's raining', *hat smiit* 'it's snowing', *hat junket* 'it's getting dark', *hat injet* 'evening's falling' (*inj* 'evening'); *hat hailit* 'it's hailing', *hat laidigt* 'it's lightning', *hat stormit* 'it's stormy', *hat tönert* 'it's thundering', *hat luuwent* 'it's becoming windless, the wind is dying down'. For the less dynamic of these actions, however, passive verbal expressions are now likely to be used rather than active ones: *hat uur junk* 'it getting dark', *hat uur inj* 'it's getting to be evening' (*uur* 'become(s)').

5.1.2.5. Ellipsis and Reduction of Core Arguments

For core arguments, ellipsis of the 2SG. pronoun as a subject is frequent; reference is clear from the verb ending:

- (63) *nee, det ken.st ek*
no that can.2SG not
'no, you can't do that'
- (64) *heest uk jens techt maaket?*
have-2SG too once tight made
'Did you close [windows] too?'
- (65) *Meen.st dit?*
mean.2SG that
'Do you mean that?'

Although 2SG. reference is always clear from the verb ending, however, the pronoun is by no means always ellipted:

- (66) *Nemst dü diar fleten ön?*
take.2SG you there cream in
'Do you take cream in [your coffee]?'

(See also (19) and (49) above.)

In any case, this is the only ellipsis that has been grammaticized, in the sense that it has become a regular syntactic pattern. In earlier sources like the *Pidersdaibok* and the plays of Erich Johannsen (e.g. Siebs 1898), presumably written to reflect contemporary spoken usage, this ellipsis was considerably more frequent; if it is indeed becoming rarer in modern usage, the trend would very likely be due at least in part to the influence of Standard German, in which pronominal ellipsis does not occur (although it can occur in colloquial speech).

Ad hoc ellipsis can be found in situations in which the speaker comments on a proposition that has just been advanced and is thus given in terms of information flow (6.1.). Often, such ellipted arguments are

objects:

- (67) (*keenst dū Meinert Kamp?*)
'do you know Meinert Kamp?'

keen ik gur
know I good
'I know (him) well'

- (68) (*jir es dit bruar sa mal gur*)
'bread is really good here'

jaa, iit ik fuul
yes eat I much
'yes, I eat (it) a lot'

3SG. subject ellipsis is also occasionally found:

- (69) *Kür binai min dreengs dreeng wiis.*
could nearly my boy's boy be
'(He) Could almost be my boy's boy'

- (70) *jaa, es langsen beeter iis alis üders*
yes is always better as all else
'yes, [it] is a lot better than anything else'

In addition to the reduced forms of non-subject pronouns discussed in 5.1.2.3., subject pronouns can reduce in non-initial position as well. There are two forms of pronoun reduction: syllabic and non-syllabic. In the former, the reduced non-initial pronoun appears as a syllable separate from the verb, and in the latter case, the pronoun is reduced to a single phonetic segment and fuses (or "cliticizes") onto the verb that precedes it. In the following table, non-syllabic reduction is indicated by apostrophe or, in the case that syllabic reduction is also possible, parentheses. Once again, only certain of the reductions are commonly used in speech or writing today; these forms are italicized (see also 3.2.):

	1st person	2nd person	3rd Masc.	3rd Fem.	3rd Neuter
SINGULAR	<i>full/reduced</i>	<i>full/reduced</i>	<i>full/reduced</i>	<i>full/reduced</i>	<i>full/reduced</i>
Subject	<i>ik 'k</i>	<i>dū zero</i>	<i>hi 'r</i>	<i>jü 's</i>	<i>hat (e)t</i>
Non-Subject	<i>mi</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>höm (e)n</i>	<i>höör 's</i>	<i>höm (e)t</i>
DUAL				<i>(all genders:)</i>	
Subject	<i>wat -</i>	<i>at -</i>		<i>jat -</i>	
Non-Subject	<i>unk -</i>	<i>junk -</i>		<i>jam -</i>	
PLURAL				<i>(all genders:)</i>	
Subject	<i>wü</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>ja 's</i>	
Non-Subject	<i>üüs</i>	<i>juu</i>		<i>jam 's</i>	

An interesting alternation in subject pronouns is seen in (71), where the speaker is relating the battlefield position of Russian soldiers during a confrontation on the Neva:

- (71) **Fuar** di **maast** **ūt** of **di** **holting**, **en** **da** **hen** **tō** **di** **hol**,
 for the had-to out of the woods and then HEN to the hole
da **her** 's **niin** **graav**, **ja** **lōp** **iipen** **diar**.**hen** **en** **sproong**
 then had they no dug-out they ran open there.HEN and sprang
diar.**iin** **ōn** **di**.**diar** **hol** **en** **sa** **fōrter**.
 there.into in the.there hole and so forth
 'Because they had to run out of the woods and then to the foxhole, they didn't
 have a trench, they ran there in the open and jumped into the hole and so on'

In the immediately preceding intonation unit, the speaker had observed that the Russian soldiers were badly exposed to enemy fire; in the first intonation unit in (71), the referents are denoted by the definite article/demonstrative pronoun *di*. The next mention of the same referent, in the third intonation unit, is post-verbal and entails cliticization, while the final mention as *ja* in the next intonation unit is in initial position; the more demonstrative *di* could have been potentially ambiguous following introduction of the three new referents *holting*, *hol*, and *graav*.

The reduced subject pronouns in (72)-(74) are respectively impersonal *hat* 'it', *ik* 'I', and *ja* 'they'. In (75), cliticization is found in a verb-initial clause:

- (72) **Luki**, **en** **da** **bleft** et **jir** **hingin**, **en** **diar** **hingin**,
 look and then stays it here hang-PRPPL and there hang-PRPPL
 'Look, and then there are a lot of loose ends everywhere'
- (73) **man** **di** **miist** **tir** **da** **snaki**'k, **ek**?
 but the most time then talk I not
 'But I do the talking most of the time, see?'
- (74) **ja** **her** **dach** **nōōricht** ... **weest** **dū**?
 they had indeed invited know you
Ōn **Kairem** **tō** **di** **Friisensaal** **her** 's **nōōricht**.
 in Kairem to the Friesensaal had they invited
 They'd sent out invitations ... you know?
 They'd invited [us] to the Friesensaal in Kairem'
- (75) **En**, ... **heer** 's **en** **Badeanstalt**,
 and have they a bathing-complex
 'And they have a swimming complex'

Objects are also reduced and cliticized:

- (76) **en** **wū** **haa** 's **imer** **koopet** **uk**.

and we have them always bought too
'And we always bought them, too'

(77) **mai.st jit en stek? ik dö et di hol.**
want.2SG yet a piece I do it you gladly
'Would you like another piece? I'll be glad to give it to you'

(78) **Nee, ik haa 't bluat fan boowen sen, ek?**
no I have it only from above seen not
'No, I've only seen it from the air, you know'

(79) **Ja, achter.ön kūr ja 't uk.**
yes behind.in could they it too
Ja! Ja kūr et uk. Ja maast et ja!
yes they could it too they had-to it yes
'Yes, afterwards they could [do] it too. Yes – they had to [be able to do it], after all!'

Pronominal clitics are found throughout Frisian, including Westerlauwersk Frysk, Seeltersk, and in Old Frisian. Although 3PL. and 3SG.fem.subj. 's might suggest morphophonological influence from German, *se*'s was the corresponding clitic in OFris. as well. In 1909, Nann Mungard (1.1.3.4., 1.6) characterized the use of clitics then as much less common than it had been in earlier times (see 3.2.).

5.1.3. Passives and Other Agent-Defocusing Constructions

Sometimes, the semantic agent of a proposition (which is most often expressed as the grammatical subject of a clause) is either unknown or, alternatively, known but of relatively little pragmatic importance to the topic under discussion. In such cases, a number of constructions are available to speakers to express their intended message while “defocusing” the semantic agent.

5.1.3.1. Passive Voice Constructions

In many instances, speakers commonly leave the agent unmentioned or mention it late in the clause, where it appears as grammatically oblique (and in spoken discourse, usually in a separate intonation unit). The more topical (direct) object – often a semantic patient – then functions as the starting-point of the clause and is accordingly the grammatical subject.

In such passive-voice constructions, the clausal verb takes the form of the past participle and is supplemented by *uur* 'become' (preterite *waar*) or *wiis* 'be' (preterite *wiar*) as an auxiliary. Which of the two auxiliaries is used depends on the dynamics of the proposition; *uur* + past participle corresponds to activities, and *wiis* + past participle to states. In both cases, the auxiliary is inflected for tense/aspect and number (in the case of *uur*, 2SG. vs. non-2SG., and a three-way distinction 2SG. vs. 3SG. vs. all other persons for *wiis*).

(80) **diar kūr niin kuurn wuksi, det waar ek plantet,**
there could no grain grow that became not planted
'No grain could grow there, it wasn't planted'

- (81) En ja uur mi stjüürt, ... fan di dochtern.
and they become me sent from the doctors
'And they [medical patients] are sent to me by the doctors'
- (82) En diar skul dan di, bröch wat jir aur di, aur di
and there should then the bridge what here over the over the
baan becht uur skul, diar-en di es jit ek becht
railroad built become should there and the is yet not built
'And that's where the bridge over the railroad was then supposed to be built,
and it's still not built'
- (83) Dit es 1937 of '38 ap. becht uuren,
the is 1937 or '38 up.built becomePPL
'It was built in 1937 or '38'

As seen in the first part of (82), passives can also be given a modal sense with the use of a modal auxiliary, in this case that of purpose with modal *skel* (non-2SG preterite *skul*); the speaker spreads the prepositional phrase (with repetition) over two intonation units, with the result that the proposition becomes syntactically complex (verb sequence V2 V3 V1, see 5.1.1.).

Some past participles used in a passive sense to denote a resultant state have been reinterpreted as attributes and undergone grammaticization as adjectives:

- (84) Ik wiar sa sjokiäret.
I was very shocked
'I was really shocked'
- (85) Da ging hi hiil dialslain weder tūs.
then went he wholly down.struck again to-home
'Then he returned home very downcast'

The source of adjectival *dialslain* 'downcast' is the verb *dialslaa* 'strike down, beat back'; in the phrase *en slochslain riin* 'pouring rain', the adjective literally means 'struck-stricken' (INF *slaa*, 3SG *slair*, PRET *sloch*, PPL *slain*).

Such participle adjectives are not frequent in attributive usage in everyday speech, but are common in proverbs:

- (86) Braadət Dūfen flö ek fan salev di Mūr iin. GWHS10
roasted doves fly not from self the mouth into
'Roasted doves don't fly into mouths by themselves'
- (87) Diar lapt eeder fängen Fesk, kumt tūs me lerig Desk. GWHS15
who runs after caught fish comes to-home with empty dish

'He who goes after caught fish will come up empty'

Functionally, passives are used both to defocus agents and to bring semantic non-agents into prominence as grammatical subjects. When the agent is known, the non-agent will function as the logical starting-point of a clause if it is more pragmatically important in terms of the overall topic or sub-topic of the portion of discourse in which it occurs. This greater pragmatic importance or "topicality" (Thompson 1987) can derive from what is being discussed generally or (often and) what has preceded most immediately. In the examples above, under discussion were (80) the farming done by the speaker's family, in general, and the family's land in particular; (81) his avocation as a natural healer, and specifically his patients; (82) developments in the speaker's neighborhood, generally, and a proposed bridge in particular; and (83) the sale of land on Söl, generally, and specifically the land sold for the site of the airport near Woningstair.

In the following stretch of discourse, the interlocutors had been discussing the kinds of animals kept on the farm by B's father, among which were pigs:

- (88)
- A: **En di swin heer ark jaar jungen fingen?** And the pigs had young each year?
- B: **Nee!** No!
Di swin heer wü ark jaar nü koopet, We bought the pigs new each year,
ark jaar wedger forkoopet, üs en- sold [them] again each year, as a-
- A: **üs gris?** as piglets?
- B: **Ja üs gris, ja.** [...2 IUs] Yes as piglets, yes.
- A: **En achterön üs et gurt uuren wiar,** And afterwards when it had gotten big,
slachtet? slaughtered?
- B: **Da waar er dan slachtet, en da waar et** Then it was slaughtered, and then it was
gur lewet. lived well.

B's final turn, the climax of this sub-topic of discourse, contains two uses of the passive. Although the grammatical subjects of the two clauses are different, the semantic agents (and notional subjects) of the two, namely wü 'we', is the same. In neither of the clauses are the agents mentioned as oblique arguments of the verb; this omission is made possible by the fact that the agents were basic to the overall topic and had been mentioned as recently as four turns earlier in this sub-topic of the discourse. The second of the two clauses is intransitive, and in this case, the pronoun *hat* 'it' (unstressed *et*) is used as an impersonal subject for the passive; as passivization of the intransitive suggests, the primary function of the construction is that of defocusing the agent.

Whether a defocused agent is mentioned or not depends on its importance to the overall proposition being expressed and its recoverability from context (Givón 1979:59-61). In (81) above, repeated here as (89),

- (89) En ja uur mi stjüürt, ... fan di dochtern.
 and they become me sent from the doctors
 'And they [medical patients] are sent to me by the doctors'

the defocused agent is mentioned as an oblique argument of the verb *stjüür* 'send', appearing in a prepositional phrase late in the clause (and in a separate intonation unit), because it is significant that patients were actually directed to the speaker in his practice of natural healing by doctors, who are practitioners of "regular" medicine. This sets up a kind of contrast between what might be expected to happen in a competitive environment and what actually did take place, and the significance of where the patients came from would be lost without overt reference to their source. Nor would one necessarily have been able to infer that it was the medical practitioners themselves who did the sending – relatives, for instance, can also send ailing family members to get medical treatment – so that neither would an unmentioned agent have been recoverable from context.

5.1.3.2. Other Agent-Defocusing Constructions

In addition to such syntactic passivization, the effect of de-focusing (backgrounding) agents while focusing attention on (foregrounding) semantic patients that are more topical can be effected lexically or by using subject-generalizing (and thus subject-defocusing) pronouns. The lexical effect derives from the inherent recipient-focus of the verb *fo* 'get, receive' (preterite *fiŋ*, participle *fiŋen*) in transitive uses.

The following example is taken from a story about a horse, *Kaimpi*, and his adventures on a farm on *Söl* (Hagge 1993); the entire narrative is written from the horse's perspective and that of the many other animals with which he shares his experiences:

- (90) "Da fairst dū leeterhen uk jit din skuur!" BH73
 then get-2SG you later-on too yet your shoes
 'And later on you'll get your shoes [i.e., be shod]'

The prediction in (90), sung by birds in honor of *Kaimpi*'s birth, is borne out a bit later:

- (91) En eeder som jaar.en wiar't sa fiir, BH73
 and after some year.PL was it so far
 dat *Kaimpi* sin skuur fiŋ en üt òn di wärel skul.
 that *Kaimpi* his shoes got and out in the world should
 'And a few years later, *Kaimpi* got his shoes [was shod]
 and was ready to go out into the world'

Throughout the story, explicit reference is made to humans in the animals' lives only when their actions affect the animals significantly, such as when they ride them in competition. Narrationally elegant is the maintenance of the animals' point-of-view based on mention of human action, significant only when it is registered by the protagonists as unexpected. Immediately after *Kaimpi*'s birth, for instance,

- (92) Sin mooter *Pakintji* sleket hōm of, en en mensk BH72

his mother Pakintji licked him away and a human
 reev hōm me stre of, dat er drüch waar.
 rubbed him with traw away that he dry became
 'His mother Pakintji licked him thoroughly, and a human
 rubbed him down with straw until he was dry'

In contrast to this event, significant as virtually the first in the foal's life, being shod was in a sense a routine happening of his later years, and one that in any case had been predicted in the birds' tribute earlier on. Under those circumstances, those doing the shoeing didn't need to be mentioned, as indeed they were not in (91). (From the animals' perspective – particularly that of the domesticated ones – humans were probably the agents of much of what happened to them, another reason tending to make it unnecessary to specify them.)

In addition to its use to refer to events low in transitivity, as in:

(93) Diar fing wū gaar niin tir tō.
 there got we at-all no time to
 'We didn't have any time for that'

(94) jaa, da fing ik jit fortelt, dat ...
 yes then got I yet related that
 'Well, then I was told that ...'

– fo is also used specifically to maintain recipient focus in spoken discourse. In (95), B is narrating an event that took place in his early years:

- | | | |
|--|------|---|
| | (95) | |
| B: Ik haa ja 1937, diar haa ik di Dolch fūnen,
wat Hermann Göring forleesen her,
jir būten ūp di Muasemer hiid. | | In 1937, I found the dagger
that Hermann Göring had lost
out here on the Muasem heath. |
| A: ach ja, diarfan haa ik wat jert,
man ek fuul. | | Oh yes, I've heard something about that,
but not a lot. |
| [1 IU] | | |
| B: En da <u>fing</u> ik, fan Hermann Göring,
tō di tir, hōnert mark Finderlohn. | | And then I received from H.G.
back then, RM 100 finder's reward. |
| [...9 IUs] | | |
| En nū haa ik en skriiwen <u>fingen</u> ,
fan en Auktionenhaus, ōn Hamburg.
Didiar dolch, di waar nū forkoopet,
fuar soowentig dūüsent mark. | | And now I've gotten a letter
from an auction house in Hamburg.
That dagger, it has now been sold,
for DM 70,000. |

Recipient focus is appropriate here because the speaker is telling about an event and its aftermath, in both segments of which he crucially received something, from his own perspective: his role devolved from that of agent (as finder) to that of recipient (of the reward and, many years later, of a letter). In both of the latter cases, recipient focus is maintained lexically by use of the verb *fo*. Had the passive voice been used instead, focus would have been placed on the reward and the letter; as NPs carrying the new information in their respective subsections of the discourse, however, these participants would probably not have served as starting points as well as *ik*, the participant foregrounded throughout. In both cases, the agents (Hermann Göring and the auction house) were known and material to the discussion; they appear as oblique arguments in prepositional phrases that cast them semantically as sources. If these participants had served as grammatical subjects, the only appropriate verb would have been *stjüür*, as in (81) and (89); as with *di dochtern* in that intonation unit, the participants here are introduced in their own intonation units.

The other means by which agents (and non-agentive subjects) can be defocused is the use as a starting-point of the generalizing pronoun *em* 'one [person]' and *dü* 'you SG' with reduced referentiality. (As in its fully referential usage, *dü* with defocusing effect can itself be omitted, but there is still person-marking on the verb; see also 5.1.2.5.):

- (96) *Min faader her damals 68 mark Rente,*
 my father had back-then 68 marks pension
diar kūr ja ek fan lewi!
 there could they not from live
Diar ken.st ek fan lewi!
 there can.2SG not from live
 'My father had a pension of 68 marks back then,
 they couldn't live on that! You can't live on that!'
- (97) *Aur wan dü gans aliining jir ün hūs set.st,*
 because when you wholly alone here in house sit.2SG
min wüf en ik, di wüf heer fuul aarber.
 my wife and I the wife has much work
 'Because when you're living all alone,
 my wife and I, the wife has a lot of work'

In (96), the speaker first makes reference to the fact that "they" (his parents) had been unable to live on such a small pension, then generalizes the assertion by repeating it with *dü* (here ellipted) in the place of referential *ja*. (Some fifty years after the inadequacy of such a pension for the parents, there was no question of the amount being enough to live on now in a referential sense.) Similarly, but in reverse sequence, *dü* in (97) is used in establishing a generalized assertion that is then specified by reference to the actual participants in the speaker's proposition, *min wüf en ik*.

In the following stretch of discourse, A and B are discussing the North Frisian dialect spoken on the neighboring island of Oomram, which is often said not to be intelligible to speakers of Sölring:

(98)

- A: Jerjüster haa ik me min jest bikeenten
ön Nuurdfriislön telefoniaret,
ja uuni üp Aamrem. Day before yesterday I talked on the phone
with my first acquaintances in North Frisia,
they live on Oomram.
- B: üp Aamrem! Ah ja. On Oomram, yes.
- A: Det wiar mal intresant,
ik haa en hualev stün Sölring snaket,
di wüfhuar bluat Aamring, det ging gur. the woman only Öömrang, that went well. That was really interesting,
I spoke Sölring for half an hour
- B: Also, Aamring ken em forstuun. So then, one can understand Öömrang.

Since A had just reported success in conversing with a speaker of Öömrang, use of *dü* by B in his last turn of this exchange would not have been unambiguously generalizing: taken in a referential sense, it would have made the turn seem oddly redundant.

In a discussion of color terms in the language, it was remarked that

- (99) Em her jer ja ek sa fuul forskelig klöören,
one had ere yes not so muciv/many different colors
üs di spraak en'stönen es.
as the language developed is
'There weren't so many different colors back when the language was developing'

In this case, *em* was a clear choice for a generalization about a collective possessor time long before either speaker or hearer were alive.

Both generalizing pronouns appear frequently in proverbs:

- (100) Dü must ek förter üt.waar ön Heef, GWHS26
you may/must-2SG not further out.wade in tidal-flats
üs dat uk weder tō Lön kum ken.g.
as that too again to land come can.2SG
'You shouldn't venture more than what you're able to come back'
- (101) Dü must di Dūüwel üt of Hūs jaagi, GWHS26
you may/must-2SG the devil out of house hunt
wan dü Got er ön haa wet.
when you God there in have want-2SG
'You have to chase the devil out of the house if you want God to be in it'
- (102) Em tört di Dūüwel ek röp, hi kumt fan salev. GWHS28
one needs the devil not call he comes from self
'The devil needn't be called – he comes on his own'

- (103) Em fair ek lecht en Stek Meet sōner Knaak. GWHS28
 one gets not easily a piece meat without bone
 'It's hard to get a piece of meat without the bone'
- (104) Em kumt ek tō Ruu, jer em en Stek suar ūp haur heer GWHS28
 one comes not to rest ere one a piece sod on/up head has
 'There's no resting until you're in the grave'

As suggested by (102)-(104), the pronoun *em* might be felt to be less ambiguously referential than *dū*, and so its use in proverbs, the nature of which is to present generalizations, might seem the more appropriate pronoun for the genre.³ Conversely, the referential ambiguity of *dū* might make it more appropriate for more didactic or moralizing propositions, as being more direct by inviting the hearer/reader of such a proverb to identify personally with the lesson or moral, as appropriate.⁴ At first reading, (101) and (102) appear to be very similar, and contentually they are. But whereas (101) would seem to be a philosophical lamentation (much as (102) and especially (103) and (104)), (101) seems to be directed more immediately and personally to the hearer/reader.

Speakers thus have at their disposal various means of defocusing agentive and non-agentive subjects while topicalizing non-agentive participants. Although not entirely functionally equivalent – all three means (one syntactic, one lexical, and one pronominalizing) – have the effect of making an agent participant less focused in discourse.

5.1.4. Noun Phrases

Noun phrases (NPs) can be made up of a bare pronoun or a noun preceded optionally by a determiner and/or one or more adjectives, which may themselves be preceded by an adverb or adverbial phrase: (DET)(ADV)(ADJ (ADJ...))N. Determiners comprise several classes of lexemes – articles, demonstratives, possessive pronouns (as well as possessor nouns), and indefinite and definite quantifiers:

(105) DETERMINERS

<u>Articles</u>			<u>Demonstratives</u>	
<i>di</i>	(m/f)	the	<i>des</i>	(m/f) that/this

³ In Wielandt/Schmidt (1966), the published collection of Sörling *spreekwurter* (proverbial sayings) from which examples (100)-(104) here have been taken, proverbs with *em* outnumber those with overt *dū* 28:9. Many of the proverbs, however, use ellipted *dū*, as seen on the verbal descence, e.g. *Forhoopi di Sken ek, jer di Haas heest* (GWHS34), lit. 'Anticipate the skin not before the hare have-2SG,' i.e. Don't count your chickens before they're hatched.

⁴ Or to "wear the shoe if it fits" in the sense of the English proverb. As in this case, many didactic proverbs in (modern) English employ the zero imperative pronoun rather than the potentially-ambiguous referentiality entailed by the 2SG pronoun.

				dijir (m/f)	this/these
				didiar (m/f)	that/this
dit	(n)	the		det (n)	that/this
				ditjir (n)	this
en	(m,f,n)	a		ditdiar (n)	that
<u>Possessive Pronouns</u>			<u>Indefinite Quantifiers</u>		
min		my		hok	a few
din		your		en paar	a few
sin		his, its		som	some
hōör		her		maning	many
ūüs		our		fuul	much/many
juu		your		sok	such
jaar		their		sa'n	such a
				wat fuar	what kind
<u>Definite Quantifiers</u>			<u>Cardinals/Ordinals</u>		
niin		no, none	nul	zero	
al, ali		all	jen	one	jest
ark		each	tau	two	taust
hiil(i)		whole	trii	three	trēr
gans(i)		whole	fjuur	four	fjaart/-st
biid		both	fif	five	fifst
enkelt		individual	soks	six	sokst
en kwart		a quarter	soowen	seven	soowenst
en trērpert		a third	aacht	eight	aachtst
hualev		half	niigen	nine	niigenst
üderhualv		one and a half	tiin	ten	tiinst

Grammatical gender, common (historical masculine and feminine) versus neuter, is distinguished in the definite article (*di* vs. *dit*), but not in the indefinite (*en*). Among the demonstratives, distinctions are made for relative proximity (whether physical, temporal, or metaphorical) and for the grammatical gender of the accompanying noun.

5.1.4.1. NP Constellations

A range of combinations of determiners, modifiers, and nouns are found in discourse. Singular count nouns are often used 'bare', without a determiner in a prepositional phrase – a pattern found in many varieties of North Frisian (see 5.1.4.2., 6.1.3.) but most pervasively in Sölring (Walker 1990:24).

(106) *NP as BARE SG. COUNT NOUN IN A PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE:*

Luki jens ūt wining wat jir luas es!
 look once out window what here loose is
 'Look out the window at what's going on'

- (107) **Diar laap di hingster bi üüs òn guart.**
 there run the horses by us in garden
 'There're horses running around in the yard'
- (108) *NP as BARE MASS NOUN:*
Ja, luki hat jaav ja, lòn wat òner weeter ging
 yes look it gave yes land what under water went
 'Yes, well there was land that had gone under'
- (109) *BARE PLURAL NOUNS as UNATTACHED NPs:*
Ja ik sii Wat? Hingster en fòlken?
 yes I say what horses and foals
 'Yes, I say, "What? Horses and ponies?"'
- (110) *NP as DET + N:*
Diar laap di hingster en di fòlken òn di guart.
 there run the horses and the foals in the garden
 'There are horses and ponies running around the yard'
- (111) **Hòör mooter kām fan Hamborig.**
 her mothe r came from Hamburg
 'Her mother was from Hamburg'
- (112) *NP as DET + ADJ + N:*
Dit haa wü üüs gansi leewent jit ek bilewet.
 that have we our whole life yet not experienced
 'That's something we haven't seen in our entire lives'
- (113) **Ja her en hualev Güterzug fuar sich aliining!**
 they had a half freight-train for 3REFL alone
 'They would take up half a freight train by themselves'
- (114) **Hi wiar di gurtst mensk, wat ik aurhaursen haa.**
 he was the biggest human what I at-all seen have
 'He was the tallest person I've ever seen'
- (115) *NP as DET + ADV + ADJ + N:*
Wü haa en rocht net jungens.tir her.
 we have a right nice childrens.time had
 'We had quite a nice childhood'

Attributive use of two or more adjectives is uncommon in speech, but it is found in descriptive passages in writing:

- (116) *NP as (DET) + ADJ + ADJ + N:*
Gans forfiirt left **Kaimpi** sin left **fuarfut**, en
 wholly startled lifted Kaimpi his left forefoot and
diar luket **höm** dach **en litj gre müs.ki** üt **ārig junk oogen** òn.
 there looked him indeed a little gray mouse.DIM out angry dark eyes in
 'Greatly startled, Kaimpi lifted his front left hoof, and there was a tiny little
 gray mouse glowering at him out of dark, angry eyes'

Extended attribution is not used. An apparent exception to this is the use of the phrase *aur di maaten*, 'extremely' (lit. 'over the measures'; also *aur ali maaten* 'over all measures') as an adverbial intensifier modifying an attributive adjective:

- (117) *Det* **wiar** en **aur di maaten faini saak!**
 that was an over the measures fine matter
 'That was really a fine thing'

An NP pattern that occurs mostly with personal relations is the type (DET +) $N_{\text{poss}} + N$:

- (118a) *NP as $N_{\text{poss}} + N$:*
Ik **sen** 1921 **diar** **bēren** uuren, en **sen** **diar**
 I am 1921 there born became and am there
uk **āp.wukset** **rund.om** **me** **naibers** **jungen.**
 too up-grown round.around with neighbors' youths
 'I was born there in 1921 and grew up there among the neighbors' kids'
- (118b) *NP as DET + $N_{\text{poss}} + N$:*
Kür **min dreengs dreeng** **wiis.**
 could my boy's boy be
 '[He] could be my son's son'

More often, however, possession is expressed by NP + DET + N, where the determiner is a possessive pronoun:

- (119) *NP as NP + DET_{poss.pron.} + N:*
nū **es** **di man sin hingst** **ek** **muar** **diar**
 now is the man his horse not more there
 'Now the man's horse is gone'

The following example occurs in a written text, where it represents direct speech:

- (120) "Let **ūūs** **nū** òn **Gots noom** **hen.lii** en **sliip.**" BPM104
 let us now in God's name HEN.lie and sleep
 'In God's name, let's lie down now and go to sleep'

The *-s* suffix here is a genitive relic that is part of the formulaic expression.

A commonly occurring NP pattern is *wat* 'what' + N, where the noun itself is an adjective nominalized by the suffix *-s* (see 3.1.2.1.2.):

- (121) *NP as wat + deadjectival nominalization:*
Ik wel di jens wat intresant.s fortel.
 I want you once what interesting.NOM relate
 'I'd like to tell you something interesting'
- (122) **Jaja, en det heer uk wat gur.s fuar sik!**
 yesyes and that has too what good.NOM for 3REFL.
 'Yes indeed, and there's something good about it too'

5.1.4.2. Definiteness

Generally, the definite articles *di/dit/di* are used with nouns other than names when reference is made to a specific referent under discourse conditions that make it possible, in the speaker's estimation, for the interlocutor to identify the particular referent. The conditions for such identifiability are discussed at length in 6.1.3.; in the present Section, circumstances in the non-use of the definite article in prepositional phrases, briefly mentioned above, will be characterized.

Traditionally, the definite article does not generally occur between preposition and noun for referents that are unambiguously identifiable (or "superdefinite") by virtue of being intimate, in the sense that they are either unique or ambiently or situationally ineluctable; use of a definite article is thus in some sense more demonstrative than its non-use. Some referents are inherently identifiable because of their immediacy and universality, such as body parts like the head and facial features, the back, arms, and legs:

- (123) **en da seet hi sin brel ūp nōōs**
 and then set he his glasses on nose
 'And then he put his glasses on'
- (124) **da lapt et mi kuul aur rech**
 then runs it me cold over back
 'Then a cold shiver goes down my spine'
- (125) **da ken wū di jungen ja ek muar tō fut tō skuul gung let**
 then can we the children yes not more to foot to school go let
 'We can't let the kids go to school by foot anymore'

Other referents, especially topographical features in the island environment, are unambiguous due to universal consciousness of their constant presence:

- (126) **ja lōp bi strōn**
 they walk-PRET by beach
 'They were walking along the beach'

(127) en ja haa ūp see gur fortiinet
and they have on sea good earned
'And they made good money at sea'

(128) jaa, ik wel jens ōn lōn
yes I want once on land
'Yes, I want [to go] ashore'

Also unambiguous are points of the compass and their directions:

(129) ja ging da tō nuurden
they went then to north
'Then they went north'

(130) da waar wū forfair tō sūdern hen
then became we transferred to south HEN
'Then we were transferred to the south'

Areas of the domestic living space are quite naturally intimate and are regularly treated as unambiguous (that is, used without a definite article after a preposition). Some of these – the front door of the house, the kitchen table, the various rooms, the roof – are unique:

(131) jū stōn hi dūūr
she stand-PRET by door
'she stood at the (outer-)door'

(132) en da seet wū altermaal hi staal,
and then sit-PRET we everybody by table
'and we were all sitting at table'

(133) en da set.st ūp stōōl wilt ja stuun
and then sit.2SG on chair while they stand
'And you're sitting there in a chair while they're standing'

Other parts of the home are not necessarily unique, but are interchangeable in their specific identity:

(134) luki jens ūt wining,
look once out window
'Take a look out the window'

(135) hi ging tō pōōster
he went to door
'He went to the door (of a room)''

Nouns denoting referents that are situationally unique and therefore unambiguous can also follow directly on a preposition. The example given in Walker (1990:24):

- (136) **diar swümt wat ūp molk**
there swims what on milk
'There's something floating on the milk'

might be used, for instance, when a pail of fresh milk is brought in or in reference to a pitcher of milk on the table during a meal.

In many contexts, certain objects are present as a matter of course – chalkboards in classrooms, cupboards in kitchens, walls in buildings. Which of several such objects is meant by a speaker is often immaterial, because it is usually their presence that is of importance rather than their specific identity. In such cases, the nouns speakers use to denote them are of reduced referentiality; the nouns in (133)–(135) above are examples of this reduced-referential status. In war, casualties inevitably occur, so in a discussion of battlefield experiences, the definite article is superfluous when talking about the fate of the wounded:

- (137) **hi skul ja ön latšaret**
he should yes in field-hospital
'He had to be taken to the field hospital'

In addition, the PREP + N combination **tō stair** (stair 'place') has been lexicalized with the meaning 'present, available':

- (138) **diar wiar niinen tōstair**
there was none.NOM to place
'There was none at hand/available'

A somewhat lesser degree of lexicalization is found in the expressions **tō lik gung** 'attend a funeral' and **fuor lik gung** 'walk ahead the pallbearers in a funeral procession' (lik 'body, corpse; funeral'. Many other customary activities entailing movement from one place to another (both physical and metaphorical) are similarly lexicalized – that is, they include a noun that is used in a less than fully referential sense. The NPs in these expressions likewise have no article: **tō hōöv gung** 'go to church (service)', **tō bër gung** 'go to bed', **tō duar kum** 'die'.

Bare NPs are also commonly found in time expressions⁵ making generic reference to the meals connected with them:

- (139) **en kōört da tūs tō naachterts.tir**
and drove then to-home to dinners.time

⁵ Both **tō kofi drinken** and **tō medai iiten** could be analyzed, alternatively, as verbs with incorporated nouns; very common in Westerlandersk Frysk (Dijk 1997), noun incorporation is in any case unproductive in Sölring.

'and then drove home around dinner time'

(140) **en da seet wū jir tō kofi drink.en**
and then sat we here to coffee drink.INF2
'and we were sitting here drinking coffee [i.e. 3-4 pm]'

(141) **da seet wū bi staał tō medai iit.en**
then sat we by table to midday eat.INF2
'we were sitting at the table for lunch [i.e. 12n-1 pm]'

However, the definite article is now also used between preposition and noun where it would more traditionally have not occurred, perhaps under the influence of German:

(142) **wū seet üüs om di staał hen,**
we sit-PRET us around the table HEN
'We sat down around the table'

(143) **sa kūr ik noch tō di heef hen.gung,**
so could I enough to the tidal-flats HEN.go
'So I was able to go to the tidal flats'

Often, both NP patterns -- with article and without -- will be used by the same speaker. (144a), in fact, occurred just a few moments before (144b) in the same discourse⁶ (here repeated from (107) and (110) respectively):

(144a) **Diar laap di hingster bi üüs on quart.**
there run the horses by us in garden
'There're horses running around in the yard'

(144b) **diar laap di hingster en di fōlken on di quart**
there run the horses and the foals in the yard
'There are horses and ponies running around in the yard'

In traditional usage, inclusion or non-inclusion of the definite article in an NP comprises a subtle distinction in a speaker's conversational perspective. This issue will be addressed more fully in 6.1.3. in a discussion of the identifiability of referents.

5.1.4.3. Pronominalization of NPs and Ellipsis of Pronouns

Referents being introduced into discourse are typically denoted by a "full" NP, that is, (DET)(ADV)(ADJ)N. Once reference is established, the appropriate pronoun (corresponding to the noun in gender, number and as to the grammatical role as subject or non-subject) is used as long as the

⁶ The version with article occurred in a detailed retelling of a rather exceptional incident, while the version without article had been used in an earlier, more global account.

pronoun is referentially unambiguous – identifiability once again being the key.

- (145) **en** **diar** **kumt** **en** **jung** **faamen** [...]
and there comes a young girl
iū **smiilet** **tō** **mi** **en** **sair**: [“...”]
she smiles to me and says
'And a young woman comes along ... she smiles at me and says...'

- (146) **da** **kām** **di** **freemern** **en** **ja** **braacht** **gans** **üder** **saaken**
then came the strangers and they brought completely other things
Then the strangers [i.e. non-Frisians] came and they brought entirely different things'

Referential ambiguity and therefore uncertainty of identifiability can arise when a given pronoun could correspond to any of several referents under discussion, or when the original referent has receded into inactivity in terms of its activation cost – discourse factors that, again, will be treated in more detail in 6.1.2.

Since pronominalization, like definiteness, is thus largely dependent on identifiability, pronouns can be ellipted since they are, in a sense, situationally redundant. In practice, ellipsis frequently occurs for the 2SG., which, as noted in 3.2., 5.1., and 5.1.2.5., is a pattern that has been grammaticized:

- (147) **Heest** **gur** **slōpen**?
have-2SG good slept
'Did you sleep well?'
- (148) **Da** **help.st** **hōm** **dach**
then help.2SG him indeed
'Then you'll surely help him'

When the situation makes reference incontrovertible, 3SG. pronouns can also be ellipted. The following excerpt occurred in a three-way conversation in which B was meeting the third person in the conversation for the first time:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| | (149) | |
| A | Det kūr di dreeng fan Benji wiis .
[...] | That could be Benji's son. |
| B | Di ialer .. wan hi 41 es , ja ja .
Kūr min dreengs dreeng wiis . | The age .. if he's 41, yes.
Could be my son's son. |

The topic of conversation in the passage from which (150) is taken was the new computer that the native speaker was getting. In clarifying that he did not yet have the computer, he omits reference to it altogether:

- (150) **(Jaa, nū** **eeder** **dat** **dū** **din** **nii** **kompjuuter** **heest-**
Well, now that you have your new computer-)

Haa ik jit ek ön hunen her.
have I yet not in hands had
'I haven't taken possession [of it] yet'

In the following excerpt, the speaker is referring to his maternal grandfather; the third clause echoes the second, which is itself a coordinate clause lacking an overt pronoun:

- (151) **hi kām fan Nor'strand, en öö, heer oler**
he came from Nordstrand and has never
wat üders snaket üs Platdütsk. Heer
what other.NOM talked as LowGerman has
oler Dütsk snaket of Sölring of Deensk.
never German talked or Sölring or Danish
'He came from Nordstrand and never spoke anything but Low Saxon.
Never spoke German or Sölring or Danish.'

Earlier in the same discourse, the same speaker had pointed out a stylistic blemish in a text under discussion and, rejecting a suggested variant expression as an improvement, explained his acceptance (as author of the text) of the incongruity in style:

- (152) **Ja, es langsen beeter üs alis üder.s**
yes is always better than all other.NOM
'Well, [it] is better than anything else'

Pronouns with first-person singular reference are sometimes ellipted in a discourse sequence in which *ik* is clearly the ongoing subject:

- (153) **di üder tau haa ik ek muar jert,**
the other two have I not more heard
weet et ek wan ja köört sen.
know it not when they traveled are
'I didn't hear the other two any more, I don't know when they drove off'

The 1SG. is also often lacking in the expression *weet et ek (muar)* 'I don't know (any longer)' and with the discourse marker *sii* 'say' in the meaning 'I say [said]':

- (154) **sii wat es nü diar da wat?**
say what is now there then what
'[I] say What's going on?'

In (155), the speaker ellipses two different subject pronouns three IUs apart:

- (155) **en ik fraaget jam sa, hur ja jam da fünen her,**
and I asked them so where they them then found had

di jen üt di uast.huk en jen di sūd.weest.huk,
 the one out the east.corner and one the south.west.corner
 _sair naan, ik kum ek fan Dütsklön, didiar
 said no I come not from Germany that
 uast.huk, _sii_ hur òn ali wārel kumst dū da fan?
 east.corner say where in all world come.2SG you then from
 'And so I asked them where they had met, the one of them from the east
 and the other from the southwest, [she] said no, I'm not from Germany,
 that eastern region, [I] say then where in the world are you from?'

(The clausal particle/discourse marker *sii* is discussed in more detail in the following Section.)

In the current database, ellipsis of pronouns for dual or plural reference was not found.

5.1.5. Clausal Particles

There are a number of particles, invariant free morphemes whose scope is an entire clause, that are used by speakers to impart some type of affective connotation to their discourse. As such, these particles can also be called discourse markers: their function is typically to mark a point in discourse at which the speaker is adding some kind of emotive meaning to the communication.

The most frequently occurring of these is *ek* (as a particle pronounced [ek], [eç] or [eʃ]), which speakers append to the end of a final clause (and, prosodically, usually allot to it its own intonation unit; 6.1.1.); the effect is an interactional one. (The word *ek* itself means 'not'; the negator is always pronounced with a final velar.) The primary function is to underscore and set off an immediately preceding proposition with a concomitant solicitation of listener participation. This participation can be a backchanneling indication that the speaker is following the discourse or a token of agreement with what has just been said:

- (156) *aur di mensken lüerst dū dit lön keen.en, ek?*
 over the humans learn.2SG you the land know.GER not
 'You get to know a country through its people, see?'
- (157) *da ging ik jit hen tō en üder Firma, ek?*
 then went I yet HEN to an other company, not
 'Then I went to a different company; see?'
- (158) *ja, det es 'n forskel, ek?*
 yes that is a difference not
 'That's some difference, isn't it?'

Use of *ek* as a tag in confirmative questions is discussed in 5.1.9.1.

The particle *sii* (pronounced [si:] or [se:]) marks a clause in discourse as emotionally charged from the speaker's perspective; it is found to occur when the speaker is presenting ideas with which he or she appears to identify strongly, as in the following excerpt from a discussion about the abandonment of

Sörling. The speaker is reporting an incident in which she had encountered a mother who refused to teach her daughter Sörling on the grounds that it would be too demanding:

- (159) *jü kür mi diar ek sa faul wederspreek.*
 she could me there not so much against.speak
Sii ðn skuul liirt jü ja Französisch, en Engelsk,
 SII in school learns she yes French and English
en wan 's wat hoog äp.kumt sii ken wil dit diar
 and when she what high up.comes SII can wanted the there
Latiinsk liir, ek? sii I forlang uk det fan juu
 Latin learn not SII you-PL demand too that from your-PL
jungens, sii. Da ken et ek swaar wiis sii fan bigen
 children SII then can it not hard be SII from beginning
me sörling jungen töhop spölet en ja dit me.liir.
 with Sörling children together played and they the with.learn
 'She couldn't say much against that [i.e. a previous remark made by the speaker] SII
 in school she learns French and English and when she's a little bigger SII might want
 to learn even Latin, right? SII you ask that of your kids ... Then it can't be difficult SII
 [if she had] played with Sörling children from the beginning, they learn it as they go along'

In at least three of its four occurrences in (159), there is no clear distinction between the discourse-marking and ellipited-pronoun variants of *sii*, and it seems possible (see also (156) above) that the former type represents a grammaticization of the latter.

In traditional usage, *man* is quite frequent as an affective clausal particle connoting exhortation or amazement, appearing particularly in enjoiners and imperatives:

- (160) *ja, da kum man iin!*
 yes then come MAN into
 'Well, come right on in!'
- (161) *Hat her man sa gööten!*
 it had MAN so poured
 'It just poured and poured'
- (162) *Dit nem dü man!*
 the take you MAN
 'Go ahead and take it'

With the meaning 'only', adverbial *man* has the synonym *bluat*, and many speakers use German *aber* 'but', so that, common as it is traditionally, *man* is not used at all in its traditional senses by some speakers. Some speakers, indeed, even use [man] in the sense of German *man* 'you, one' – as an impersonal pronoun; an example of such usage is given as (1) in 4.1.2.4.(and also as (46) in 6.2.1.1.); the systemic shift entailed is discussed in Lasswell (1995).

5.1.6. Reflexives and Reciprocals

Certain actions imply or can entail reflexivity, an identity of agent/experiencer and patient/undergoer that arises when an action is carried out to and by the same person or being. The verbs corresponding to such actions are then reflexive in use. As discussed in 3.2., the object pronouns also serve as reflexive pronouns, with less traditional use of *sik* for third person singular and plural a pattern adopted from Low Saxon and ultimately from High German. The impersonal pronoun *em* 'you, one' has the reflexive counterpart *jen* 'one' or *höm* 'him'.

Some verbs, like *jen mait dö* 'make an effort' (lit. give oneself bother), (*jen*) *önhiir* 'sound like', (*jen*) (*hen*-)*sēt* 'sit down', and emotive actions denoted by verbs like (*jen*) *frügi* 'be happy, rejoice', (*jen*) *skaami* 'be ashamed' and *wuneri* 'wonder' inherently imply that the agent (experiencer) and patient (undergoer) are the same; except in impersonal constructions with *hat*, these verbs are always used reflexively:

- (163) *Ja, wan ja jam mait dö.*
yes if they them effort give
'Yes, if they make an effort'
- (164) *Det jert höm sa gaar ek sa ün,*
that heard him so at-all not so on
'It didn't really sound like it'
- (165) *da seet hōör di jen seet hōör fuar bi mi hen*
then sat her the one sat her fore by me HEN
'Then the one sat down in front next to me'

The verb *forfiir* 'startle' is most often used reflexively:

- (166) *Jū heer hōör mal forfiirt, .. mal.*
she has her very startled very
'She was very much startled'
- (167) *en da haa wū üüs forfiirt,*
and then have we us startled
'And then we were really startled'

Some actions necessarily entail a semantic patient; in the case of *iinsjit* 'find one's range', this patient is identical to the agent, and in verbs like *skiar* 'cut', there can be such identity:

- (168) *man ja skuat jam bi üüs jin!*
but they shot them by us into
'But they found their range at our expense
[i.e. their range-finding shots landed behind our lines]'

- (169) *me di.diar knif haa ik mi sa'n litj bet skären,*
 with the.there knife have I me so a little bit cut
 'I cut myself a little bit on that knife'

The verb *koopi* 'buy' entails a semantic beneficiary that can be identical to the subject:

- (170) *Achter.ön haa 's jam en hüs.ki üp Söl koopet,*
 behind.in have they them a house.DIM on Söl bought
 'Later on they bought a little house on Söl'

For actions and states that most commonly entail distinct patient and agent, as well as for emphasis/intensification, the morpheme *-salev* can be appended to the pronoun to make reflexivity unambiguous:

- (171) *Ark es höm-salev di naist.* GWHS21
 each is him-self the next
 'Each person is closest to him-/herself'

Other actions, like those expressed by the verbs *haati* 'hate', *keenliir/keenenliir* 'meet, get to know' and *lef haa* 'love', can imply the mutual participation of two or more entities. If, in these cases, object pronouns are used, they are the same as in cases of reflexivity:

- (172) *Ja wiar biiring kraank.en.sester wesen*
 they were both sick.NOM.sister been
ön di kriich, en haa jam sa keen.en.liirt.
 in the war and have them so know.GER.learned
 'They had both been nurses in the war and that's the way they met'

The verb *bifrii* 'marry' is used both transitively and intransitively:

- (173) *ja haa sik diar bifriit,*
 they have 3REFL there married
 'They got married there'
- (174) *Jü es nü bifriit, min faamen.*
 she is now married my girl
 'She's married now, my daughter'

The unprefixd verb *frii* 'court; marry' (cognate with OE *frēogan* 'free, manumit; love, honor' and ultimately Eng. *friend*, Sölr. *frinj*) is also used both with and without an object:

- (175) *E' Hamburger Vetter fan min man heer en Isländer.in friit*
 a Hamburg cousin from my man has an Icelander.GER married
 'A cousin of my husband's from Hamburg married an Icelander'

- (176) **wan wü friit,**
when we married
'when we got married'

Expressly reciprocal is the pronoun **arküder** 'each other', which may be prefixed by a preposition to denote semantic obliqueness between the arguments of the verb:

- (177) **det her ja al, öner ark.üder regelt**
that had they already under each.other arranged
'They'd already arranged that among themselves'
- (178) **wan di mensken düchtig döör.ark.üder wület uur**
when the humans vigorously through each.other rummaged become
'When people [of different backgrounds] are thoroughly mixed'
- (179) **diar sen ja me.ark.üder ön gispreek kemen**
there are they with each.other in conversation come-PPL
'Then they started talking [to each other]'
- (180) **dit kām alis mung.ark.üder,**
that came all among each.other
'It all got mixed up'
- (181) **dit sen döör di storem.flören üt.ark.üder rewen**
that are through the storm.floods out each.other torn
'They [regions] were torn apart by the storm tides'

In (178), (180) and (181), the adverbial expressions have become virtual verbal prefixes: **döörarküderwül** 'mix thoroughly', **mungarküderkum** 'mix up' and **ütarküderriiv** 'tear apart'. Similarly, the adverbial in (179) has become part of the collocation **me arküder ön gispreek kum** 'start a discussion, strike up a conversation'.

5.1.7. Comparison

Sameness or difference between two ideas is expressed in a comparative construction. An expression of sameness can take the form **lik/sa/aliksa + ADJ/ADV + üs:like/so/just as ... as'**:

- (182) **(Hur gurt es Reykjavik?)**
how big is Reykjavik)
- Sa gurt üs Flensburg filecht.**
so big as Flensburg perhaps
'Maybe as big as Flensburg'

For two NPs corresponding to given referents, both occur as subject pronouns:

- (183) *hi es alik. sa gurt üs ik*
 he is alike. so big as I
 'He's as large/tall as I'

Difference is expressed by using negations like *ek sa* 'not so/as', *nōnt sa* 'nothing so/as' and *nemen sa* 'no-one so/as':

- (184a) *dīt es ek sa gurt üs dīt ūder*
 that is not so big as the other
 'That's not as big as the other one'

- (184b) *Nemen ken sok sa gur üs hi.*
 no-one can such so good as he
 'No one can do that as well as he can'

Alternatively, two (or more) given referents can be grouped together as the lone grammatical subject with a clause-final attribution:

- (185) *Wat biiring sen lik gurt.*
 we2 both are like ual
 'We're the same age'

If the ideas being compared is a state or action, a complement clause is commonly used:

- (186) *Nee, det skul sa bliiv üs {det sa wiar}*
 no that should so stay as that so was
 'No, it should stay the way it was'
- (187) *aber hi sair sa lung üs {hi det ken}*
 but he said so long as he that can
 'But he said as long as he can'
- (188) *hat uur sa snaket üs {di mooter snaket*
 it becomes so talked as the mother talks/talked
me di jungen,} ek?
 with the children, not
 'People speak the way [i.e. the language] their mother
 speaks/spoke to them as children, right?'

Comparison can be coordinated with extended NP reference in the comparative "bracket":

- (189) *diar wiar jit ek {sa fuul hūüsing en sa fuul Verkehr*
 there were yet not so many houses and so much traffic
ön Muasem ... üs} deling
 in Muasem as today

There weren't so many houses nor as much traffic in Muasem as [there is] today'

In comparisons of states and activities, the second verb is commonly ellipted, leaving a verbless NP (see also (183) above):

- (190) **det sen ali gibirgsflussen was temelk,**
that are all mountain-rivers what quite
temelk hart laap, sa ūs juu Grand Canyon diar.
quite hard run so as your Grand Canyon there
'They're all mountain rivers that flow pretty fast, like your Grand Canyon [flows]'
- (191) **det jert hōm binai sa ōn ūs Jap sin snak**
that hears him nearly so in as Jap his talk
'That sounds like Jap's words [i.e. as Jap (Peter Hansen) would talk]'
- (192) **Jū lūnt sa riin ūs klokenspōl,** *Ūs ains*
she sounds so pure as bell.play
'It [Sölring] rings as pure as bells [ring]'

Quite often, however, comparison is expressed and understood anaphorically. (192) is taken from a discussion about how many people currently speak Sölring; the speaker contends that there are as many speakers abroad as on Söl itself – a point he had made explicitly several IUs previously (for the full context, see 2.6.2.3.):

- (193) **en dit sen lecht jit.jens sa maning**
and that is light yet.once so many
'And that's easily as many more again [speakers as there are on Söl].'

Generic comparison is lexicalized in expressions with *ūs mōōgelk* 'as possible': *sa gau ūs mōōgelk* 'as fast/quickly as possible', *sa gur ūs mōōgelk* 'as good/well as possible', *sa fuul ūs mōōgelk* 'as much as possible', *sa aaft ūs mōōgelk* 'as often as possible'.

If the relevant quality is, in discourse terms, given information (6.1.2.), the adjectives *lik* 'like' or *likdeling* 'alike, the same' (-*deling* < *denig* < *dōn* 'done', cp. *hurdeling* 'how', see footnote 9, 3.5.2.) can be used as the predicate:

- (194a) **man nū sen ja lik**
but now are they same
'But now they're the same'
- (194b) **di sen likdeling ... diar es aurhaur niin forskel.**
they are alike there is at-all no difference
'They're the same ...there's no difference at all'

In case of a qualitative difference between two NPs in which the more topical NP qualitatively

exceeds the less topical, the comparative suffix *-er* is added to the adjective or adverb expressing the quality. If the second NP is overt, the conjunction *üs* again links the NPs:

- (195) *hi es dach fuul gurt.er üs ik*
 he is indeed much big.COMP as I
 'But he's a lot bigger than I'
- (196) *ja sen nū al wat lungsom.er uuren,*
 they are now already what slow.COMP become-PPL
 'They've slowed down some now'

In discourse, comparison naturally often extends over a number of clauses and IUs:

- (197) *ik haa muar di di litjet Motorräder,*
 I have more the little motorcycles
hönert kubik, hönert.föftig kubik, en sa fiider,
 hundred cubic hundred.fifty cubic and so forth
en min bröder, min jünger bröder,
 and my brother my younger brother
di her gurt.er maskiinen, [...]
 the had big.COMP machines
ja gurt.er maskiinen, bit trii.hönert
 yes big.COMP machines, until three.hundred
en fif.hönert kubik.
 and fivehundred cubic [centimeters]
 'I had the smaller motorcycles, around 100-150 cc, and my younger
 brother had bigger motorcycles, up to 300 and 500 cc.'

Some adjectives and adverbs have irregular comparative (and/or superlative) roots:

		<u>COMP.</u>	<u>SUPERL.</u>
<i>eeder</i>	'early'	<i>jer</i>	<i>jest</i> ('earliest/first')
<i>fiir</i>	'far'	<i>förter</i>	<i>fiirst</i>
<i>fuul</i>	'much/many'	<i>muar</i>	<i>meest</i>
<i>gur</i>	'good'	<i>beeter</i>	<i>beest</i>
<i>hol</i>	'gladly'	<i>lewer</i>	<i>lefst</i>
<i>litj</i>	'little' (adv.)	<i>mener</i>	<i>menst</i>
<i>lung</i>	'long' (temporal)	<i>leenger</i>	<i>leengst</i>
<i>lüng</i>	'long' (spatial)	<i>leenger</i>	<i>leengst</i>
<i>maning</i>	'many'	<i>muar</i>	<i>meest</i>
<i>ual</i>	'old'	<i>ialer</i>	<i>ialst</i>

If a more topical NP is qualitatively lesser than a less-topical NP, the adjective/adverb expressing the quality is preceded by (*wat/fuul*) *mener* '(a little/a lot)less' or *ek sa (mal)* 'not (quite) so' and is unsuffixed:

(198) sok diirter sen wat mener jüür tō hual.en
 such animals are what less expensive to hold.INF2
 'Animals like that are somewhatless expensive to keep'

(199) dit es deling ek muar sa gurt
 the is today not more so big
 'Today, it's no longer so big'

If the terminus comparandis is given in the immediate discourse, the less topical of the two NPs can be ellipted:

(200) Det es al gur inoch, man dit üder es beeter.
 that is already good enough but the other is better
 'That's good enough, but the other one is better'

Temporally, comparisons of unlike ideas can be forward-looking (201) or retrospective (202):

(201) ja her jit ek sa di Geschwindigkeit, wat ja deling haa.
 they had yet not so the speed what they today have
 'They weren't as fast then as they are now.'

(202) Em her jer ja ek sa fuul forskelig klöören,
 one had earlier yes not so many different colors
 üs di spraak en'stönen es.
 as the language developed is
 'There weren't that many different colors back then when language developed'

Once again, comparison can be implicit within the clause and anaphorically inferable. In (203), *diartō* 'to/for that' is an anaphoric preposition used to refer to speaking Low Saxon, which the speaker had just reported doing less than proficiently:

(203) Ik meen ik wel ek komisch snaki.
 I mean I want not strange talk
 Ik haa ek sa fuul gileegenhair diartō
 I have not so much opportunity there.to
 'I mean, I don't want to speak poorly. I don't have that much opportunity
 [to do it as I would like, i.e. to be able to develop proficiency (in Low Saxon)].'

In a number of cases, the second half of the comparison is left unexpressed because the comparison is generic:

<p>diar wiar ek sa fuul dit es ja ek sa gurt</p>	<p>(204) 'there wasn't that much' 'it's really not that big'</p>
---	--

hat wiar ek sa gifiarelk snaki da ek sa aapig! dit es ek sa eenfach diar sen ek muar sa maning önerwai	'it wasn't that dangerous' 'don't speak so strangely' 'that's not that easy' 'there are no longer that many [people] on the streets'
--	--

In response to a proposition about a quantity or quality, comparison can take the form of **muar (mener) üs + NUM/ADJ** or **beeter (ringer) üs + NP**:

- (205) **(sen diar mesken düüsent?**
'Are there perhaps a thousand?')

muar üs düüsent
more than thousand
'More than a thousand'

- (206) **es langsen beeter üs alis üder.s**
is always better than all other.NOM
'[it] is still better than anything else'

A heightened comparative difference can be expressed by modifying an adjective/adverb by **fuul** 'much, many'. Further intensification is achieved by prefacing combinations of other adverbs such as **dach** 'indeed', **mal** 'very', **sa** 'very, so' or **ünskeks** 'extremely' to the whole and/or lengthening stressed syllables (here indicated by '='):

(207) det es al beeter that is already better	'That's better'
det es al fuul beeter	'That's much better'
det es al fu=<u>u</u>=l beeter	'That's really a LOT better'
det es ünskeks fuul beeter	'That's MUCH better'
det es ü=<u>n</u>skeks fuul beeter	'That's immeasurably better'

For comparison among three or more NPs involving a qualitative difference, the superlative suffix **-st** is used on the adjective. Other NPs are not mentioned directly; instead, the set of referents from which the superlative is being singled out can be specified in a relative clause or a prepositional phrase:

- (208) **hi wiar di gurt.st mensk {wat ik sen her}**
he was the big.SUP human what I seen had
'He was the biggest person I'd ever seen'

- (209) **ja waar di rik.st liren üp hiili Söl,**
 they became the rich.SUP people on whole Söl
 'They became the richest people on all of Söl'

Often, however, the set of referents is left unexpressed, being understandable from the preceding discourse:

- (210) **(hoken skel hen?**
 Who should go?)

Dü – dü best dach di ialst.
 you you are indeed the oldest
 'You – after all, you're the oldest'

- (211) **(hur gung wü nü hen?**
 Where are we going now?)

Tüs – dit es di naist.
 to-home that is the next
 'Home – that's the closest'

As in most communicative situations, a speaker's referential intent in making a comparison can be at least partially elliptical because the listener is able to make appropriate contextual inferences.

5.1.8. Presentative Constructions

The presentative construction NP + PRON_{res} + VP is used frequently in speech. Although not as frequent as the straightforward SV pattern, presentatives can occur very often in discourse and apparently function to focus the listener's attention on an NP-referent new to the discourse while giving the speaker time to formulate the proposition relevant to it: typically, there is an intonation unit boundary between NP and PRON_{res}. When the NP is a grammatical subject, as in the examples above, the resumptive pronoun can be any of the personal pronouns as well as demonstrative *di/dit, des/det, diar* or *dänen*.

- (212) **Sin Schwieger.dreeng, hi her et aur.nomen,**
 his in-law.boy he had it over.taken
en hi heer di Firma richtig, hoog.braacht her.
 and he has the firm really high.brought had
 'His son-in-law, he had taken it over, and he'd really made the company prosper'
- (213) **üüs hüs, hi es sent 1741 ön üüs bisits**
 our house he is since 174 in our possession
 'Our house – it's been in the family since 1741'
- (214) **di Jugend jir, di es bimüüt, om dit Sölring weder tö liir.en jir**

the youth here the is trying OM the Sölring again to learn.INF2 here
 'Young people here are making an effort to learn Sölring again'

(215) en di buuren.stairer, dānen wiar sa om di twüntig hektar
 and the farmers.places those were so around the twenty hectares
 'And the farms were about twenty hectares'

(216) en diar stön di gansen stööler,
 and there stood the whole chairs
 en staaler en di gansi kraam, det kumt diar ales iin
 and tables and the whole stuff that comes there all into
 'And that's where all the chairs and tables stood, that all goes in there'

The construction is also found following main clauses, and in these cases PRON_{res} + Predicate is functionally equivalent to a relative clause:

(217) en da haa ik frinjer, dānen sen 1928 üt.wanert naa Amerikaa
 and then have I relatives those are 1928 out.wandered toward America
 'And I've also got relatives who immigrated to America in 1928'

(218) wü haa jir jen uunet, ön naiberskep, di es fan Helgolön
 we have here one resided in neighborhood the is from Heligoland'
 'There was one living here in the neighborhood who's from Dēat Lun'

The presentative in (219) topicalizes an adverbial; significant in the ensuing discourse is when the discovery was made and the status of the dagger in the present (for fuller context, see (95) in 5.1.3.):

(219) ik haa ja 1937, diar haa ik di Dolch fūnen [...]
 I have yes 1937 there have I the dagger found
 'In 1937, I found the dagger...'

In (220), the fronted NP becomes an object:

(220) min üder grootfaader, höm haa ik ek keen.en.liirt,
 my other grandfather him have I not know.GER.learned
 hi stuarev ja al1910.
 he died yes already 1910
 'I didn't get to know my other grandfather, he died back in 1910'

5.1.9. Interrogation

The syntactic characteristics of interrogatives depend on which of four types of questions are being asked.

5.1.9.1. Confirmative Questions

Of great frequency in discourse is use of the clausal particle *ek* (see also 5.1.5) as a tag inviting listener participation or indicating expected agreement. There is rising intonation on the tag, so that both forms have an interrogative connotation; both encourage at least some degree of confirmation from the listener, from agreement (as in (221)) to cognizance ((222) and (223)). In form, confirmative questions are asked in declarative word order.

- (221) *ja, dit es sa'n broket noom, ek?*
yes that is so a colorful name not
'Yes, that's really a colorful name, isn't it?'
- (222) *en hof es uk gurter üs en buuren.stair, ek?*
a Hof is too larger than a farmers.place, not
'A "hof" is also bigger than a farm, you see?'
- (223) *wü sen ja frinjer fan diirter, ek?*
we are yes friends from animals, not
'We really like animals, you know?'

Some speakers use *wat* 'what' (often apocopated to [vɔ]) as the confirmative interrogative particle:

- (224) *Diar ken I al wat snaki, wat?*
there can youPL already what talk wat
'So you're already conversing, aren't you?'
- (225) *Det es ja en bigebenhair, wa'?*
that is yes an event what
'This is really something special, isn't it?'

The speaker in (224) and (225) had just arrived on the scene of a discussion to which he had been invited and was most likely using these confirmative questions primarily as an interactional means of injecting his presence into the situation.

5.1.9.2 Interjectory Questions

Akin in function to questions by which a speaker seeks to evoke some kind of listener interaction are questions by which a listener expresses surprise at a speaker's preceding remark. Such questions can echo part or all of the preceding remark directly; the intonation can signal a question, surprise, or a combination of the two:

- (226) *(min wüf kumt üt Rendsborg)*
'My wife is from Rendsburg')

üt Rendsborg?!
'from Rendsburg!'

- (227) **jerjüster haa ik me min jest bikeenten ön Nuurdfriislön telefoniaret, ja uuni üp Aamrem**
'The day before yesterday, I talked on the phone with my first acquaintances in North Frisia; they live on Aamrem')

üp Aamrem?!
on Oomram
'on Oomram!'

Interjected questions can also represent an interpolation on the remark that has occasioned the surprise:

- (228) **(ön Amerikaa haa wü niin rocht aast**
'In America we don't have any proper cheese')

Nee! en uk niin Quark?
no too no Quark
'No! No quark either?'

- (229) **(man ön Amerikaa jeft et sok en toastbruar... ja ik weet ek hurom ja sawat iit**
'But in America there's white bread... I really don't know why it's eaten')

Ja, überhaupt niin suurt.bruar?
yes at-all no black.bread
'What, no black bread at all?'

Just as confirmatory questions are used by speakers to check up on, as it were, the attention listeners are paying to their discourse, interjectory questions are used by listeners as they follow an interlocutor's conversation and interject a request for clarification or elaboration.

5.1.9.3 Alternative Questions

Questions to which a yes/no response would be appropriate are often asked with an inversion of the declarative order of subject and finite verb – that is, the finite verb occurs first:

- (230) **skel ik di en stek me.dö?**
shall I you a piece with.do
'Shall I give you a piece to take along?'

- (231) **wet dü jir bliiv?**
want-2SG you here stay
'Do you want to stay here?'

Ellipsis of a subject pronoun, as is common for 2SG., has no effect on verb-initial order.

- (232) **mai.st jit wat?**
 want.2SG yet what
 'Would you like some more?'

Other than by subject-verb inversion, alternative questions can be asked by means of interrogative prosody directly on declarative word order, (233) immediately preceded (232):

- (233) **dū mai.st jit wat?**
 you want.2SG yet what
 'Would you like some more?'
- (234) **dū fööLst di bi üüs itüüs?**
 you feel.2SG you by us at-home
 'Do you at home here with us?'

Interrogative prosody can take any of several forms depending on the pragmatics of the situation, particularly the intent of the speaker in asking the question. Most often, the interrogative nature of a statement is reflected in rising intonation clause-finally, as in (233)–(234) and (235):

- (235) **Ja sen al jir?** 'They're already here, are they?'

In these cases, it is the entire proposition expressed in the clause that is being questioned, but specific parts of the proposition can also be singled out as informationally most relevant by being given primary accents (here indicated by capitalization); significant changes in pitch may also signal focus for contrastive, emphatic, or ironic reasons:

- (236) **JA sen al jir?** 'THEY're already here?' (e.g., only one of them was invited)
- Ja SEN al jir?** 'They ARE already here?' (e.g. did you say "are" or "are not"?)
- Ja sen AL jir?** 'They're ALREADY here?' (e.g. "already"? they're an hour late)
- Ja sen al JIR?** 'They're already HERE?' (e.g. here? they were supposed to go somewhere else)

Ellipted pronouns are "restored" in the case of a focus on the referent, which can be occasioned by a need for repetition, contrast, clarification or other types of emphasis, in which case the non-ellipted pronoun becomes emphatic:

- (237) **Maast hol jens weder.kum.**
 may.2SG gladly once again.come
 '[You]'re welcome to come again'

(**Wat meenst dū?**)

What is that?)

Ik sii: dū maast hol jens weder.kum!
I say you may.2SG gladly once again.come
I said: you're welcome to come again'

5.1.9.4. Specifying Questions

Many questions speakers ask necessitate more elaborate responses than a confirmation of what has just been said, a brief clarification, or a yes/no answer. Such specifying questions involve interrogative words that seek to induce elaboration on a proposition or a specific part of it; these interrogatives come first in the question:

- (238) **hur** kumst dū fan?
where come you from
'Where are you from?'
- (239) **hurdeling** heest dit sa maaket?
why have-2SG that so made
'Why did you do it that way?'
- (240) **hur.fuar** ek?
where.fore not
'Why not?'

The inventory of interrogative words is large; with the exception of **wan** 'when; if' and **hur** itself, all of the interrogatives are a compound with **hur** 'where' as the first element:

hur	'where'	
huraur	'about what'	(aur 'over, about')
hurbi	'by/with what'	(bi 'by')
hurda	'how so'	(da 'then')
hurdeling	'how'	(deling < dening < dōn 'done'; 3.5.2. fn 9)
hurdoōr	'how, by what'	(doōr 'through')
hurfan	'from where'	(fan 'from')
hurfuur	'why'	(fuur 'for, -fore')
hurfuul	'how much/many'	(fuul 'much, many')
hurhen	'to where, whither'	(hen 'from here, to there') ¹
hurlung	'how long'	(lung 'long (temporal)')
hurmaning	'how many'	(maning 'many')
hurme	'with what'	(me 'with')
hurom	'why'	(om 'around')

¹ Like Engl. *hence* and Ger. *hin*, *hen* < IE **ko-* 'this'; there has been semantic restriction (to 'from here') and specialization to temporalness and causality in modern English. In this grammar, *hen* is glossed HEN.

hurōn	'in what'	(ōn 'in')
hurtō	'to/for what'	(tō 'to')
hurūp	'on what'	(ūp 'on')
wan	'when; if'	

In practice, specifying questions are often asked with **hur** as the interrogative. This usage may stem from a short-form function of the locative interrogative, which is clearly "basic" to the inventory in some sense:

- (241) **Hur** ual best dū?
 where old are-2SG you
 'How old are you?'
- (242) **Hur** ken et bluat ōn.gung?
 where can it only in.go
 'How can that be?'
- (243) **ja, hur** ken ja bluat dit-- sa'n Transport aur di dam bitaali?
 yes where can they only that so a transportation over the dam pay
 'Well, how can they afford to pay for the freight across the dam?'

Historically, **hur** (Fer/Ōōm. *huar*, cp. OFris. *hwer*) supplanted **hū** 'how' (cp. Fer/Ōōm. *hūdening*, *hūdanang*, OFris. *hu*, *ho*; *hūen* and Möller 1916 s.v. *hur*) in all the interrogatives, both compound and simplex. The use of **hur** 'where' in the place of *hurdeling* 'how' now is very likely reinforced for modern speakers by familiarity with the monosyllabic counterpart in German, *wie* 'how'.

5.1.10. Negation

In addition to purely morphological means for negation, the use of e.g. such privative and reversative affixes as *ün-* 'un-' (see also 3.1.2.1.1.), *mes-* 'mis-' (3.3.2.1.1.2.), and *-luas* '-less' (3.4.2.1.), there are a number of function words that are used to negate all or part of a proposition in discourse. The inventory of these is not large:

<u>NEGATOR</u>		<u>EXAMPLES OF USAGE</u>	
ek	'not'	Hūner, diar bōli, bit ek. 'Dogs that bark bite not (don't bite)'	GWHS45
naan, nee	'no'	Naan, dit es ek min aart. 'No, that's not my way'	
nārigen	'nowhere'	Ja wel nārigen muar tō fut hen! 'They no longer want to go anywhere on foot'	
nemen	'nobody'	Nemen koopet en Kat ōn Sak 'No one buys a cat in a cat in a sack =	GWHS53

you shouldn't get into something without
knowing what to expect'

niin	'no' (DET)	Wiis truu, en truu niin Mensk.	GWHS66
		'Be true, and trust no no one'	
nönt	'nothing'	Wü dör jam dach nönt	
		'We wouldn't do anything to them'	
oler	'never'	Diar heer oler hoken üp di üder skööten.	
		'Nobody ever shot at the other side'	
nimer	'never'	Dit haa ik nimer jert.	
		'I've never heard that before'	

Negations are intensified by use of the particles **gaar** 'at all', **gans en gaar** lit. 'wholly and at all', and **aurhaur** 'at all' (lit. over head) (as well as the German correspondence *überhaupt*):

- (244) **Diar staant gaar nönt ön wai.**
there stands at-all nothing in way
'There's nothing at all in the way'
- (245) **ja kūr sik gaar niin hūs of niks laisti,**
they could 3REFL wholly no house or nothing afford
'They couldn't afford a house or anything'
- (246) **Dit es gans en gaar ek rocht.**
the is wholly and at-all not right
'That's not all right right'
- (247) **aur det her aurhaur niin sen, ek?**
because that has at-all no sense, not
'because there would be no sense to it whatsoever, you know?'

Occurrences of double negation are found, but rarely. The first two examples below are from written sources, and the third from spoken data:

- (248) **Man hat skul fan di aaler-beesten wiis en diar** FSL8273
but it should from the all-best.GER be and there
maast nārigen niin Fül.ig.hair of Blör biklūwi.
must-PST nowhere no foul.ADJ.NOM or blood adhere
'But it had to be of the absolute best, with no impurity or blood
sticking to it anywhere.'
- (249) **Liren, diar hōör nimer niin Ärig dōn her,** BPM108

people who her never no bad done had
'people who had never done her any harm'

- (250) ik haa oler niin üder uurt jert üs Sölring
I have never no other word heard as Sölring
'I never heard a word in anything but Sölring'

As all three examples suggest, use of the double negative is emphatic. In (248), occurring in an article about payment of tribute and the exacting conditions placed on it, the two negatives underscore the criterion of purity that was essential for the acceptability of the tribute (a yearling calf). The speaker in whose discourse (250) occurred was stressing the fact that, although his mother had immigrated to Söl, she had nevertheless spoken only Sölring to him – an invaluable aid in his own acquisition of the language and a measure of how thoroughly she had learned Sölring herself.²

Use of the two most frequent negators, *ek* and *niin* is illustrated in the proverb:

- (251) Skiljen sen niin Haasen, ja laap ek wech. GWHS59
debts are no hares, they run not away
'Debts aren't hares, they don't run away'

That is, *niin* negates full NPs and *ek* is primarily adverbial. Quite frequent is *ek muar* + V, where the state or activity expressed by the verb fails to obtain or no longer obtains, physically or metaphorically:

- (252) ja iit ek muar, ja schling' det wech.
they eat not more they devour that away
'They don't really eat, they gobble it down'
- (253) di üder tau haa ik ek muar jert
the other two have I not more heard
'I didn't hear the other two'
- (254) maning ken det überhaupt ek muar hiir.
many can that at-all not more hear
'Many people can't hear it any longer'

² In a letter about the differences between life in Argentina and on, Andreas Hübbe (1.1.3.4.) writes about opportunities to use Sölring: *em jert niin Uurt, fan nemen*, lit. and one hears no word from no-one 'one doesn't hear a word from anybody' (FSL6/7362). The two negative expressions are separated by a comma, suggesting that Hübbe was thinking of two distinct but related ideas (represented here by object and oblique). In the conversational example *ik se et ek fuar niin gur ðn ik, se ik ek gur ðn* 'I don't think it's going to be any good, don't think it's going to be good', the speaker uses two negations in the first clause and another in the echoic clause.

The speaker in (255) is referring to the language now spoken in northeast Germany on territory that was historically settled by speakers of Frisian (1.1.2.). Although the area is referred to in German as "Ostfriesland" 'East Frisia', Frisian forms only a substrate in the local language; the remnant of historical eastern Frisian survives only in Seeltersk (1.3.1.):

- (255) **Uast.friisk es jaa ek muar friisk, det es en Plat me friisk uurter.**
 east.Frisian is yes not more Frisian that is a Platt with Frisian words
 "'East Frisian" is no longer Frisian; it's Low Saxon with Frisian words'

In (256), the phrase *ek muar* is used twice in what amounts to a counter-presentative construction (see 5.1.8.); the second occurrence is with the verb ellipted:

- (256) **Naja, aber ik liiv, det ken wü ek muar tōbeek drai,**
 well but I believe that can we not more back turn
di Entwicklung ek muar.
 the development not more
 'Well, but I think it can no longer be reversed,
 the way things have developed'

Directly negated below are adverb (257) and pronoun (258) (where the pronoun bears a strong primary accent), but the scope of negation in both cases is the entire proposition:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (257) Hat es ek fiir.
it is not far
'It's not far' | (258) Ik wiar't ek.
I was it not
'It wasn't me' |
|---|--|

In effect, both *ek* and *niin* can negate entire propositions, as in **Ja kum miaren ek** 'They're not coming tomorrow' (and might not be coming at all) and **Ja heer niin forlof fingen** 'They didn't get permission' (weren't allowed to). In practice, prosodic characteristics differentiate potentially ambiguous negational scopes of *ek*:

- (259) **Ja kum miaren ék**
=> They're not coming tomorrow (as anticipated, e.g. due to changed plans)
- (260) **Ja kum miaren èk**
=> They're not coming tomorrow (but some other day);
- (261) **Já kum miaren ek...**
=> They're not the ones who are coming tomorrow;
- (262) **Ja kúm miaren ek...**
=> They're not coming tomorrow, they're leaving...

For similar prosodic effects in interrogation, see 5.1.9.3.

5.1.11. Imperatives

Imperative sentences are generally verb-initial (Infinitive 1); for second person addressees (singular, dual, or plural), the subject is usually not overt:

- (263) Kōōr of gung ek sa waker!
drive or go not so fast
'Don't drive or walk so fast'
- (264) Snaki da ek sa aapig!
talk then not so apeliike
'Don't talk so affectedly'
- (265) Let et di gur smak!
let it youOBJ good taste
'Let it taste good = Enjoy [your food]'

A second-person subject can be included, however; the following two imperatives, one without and the other with an overt subject, occurred eight intonation units apart in the speech of a the same person:

- (266) Nū set di hen, ūders jaa uur ūūs kofi kuul.
now sit youOBJ HEN otherwise yes become our coffee cold
... Nem dū mol orntlig fleten ōn,
take you once properly cream in
'Now sit down, or our coffee will get cold. ...Take plenty of cream in [it]'

The expression *Dit let man wiis!*, lit. that let but/MAN be 'Let it be/as it is = Don't do it' is a rather mild injunction that has become formulaic with a demonstrative in initial position.

First-person plural (and dual) exhortations commonly include an overt subject pronoun:

- (267) Let ūūs man en skūūr jīt teev! (268) Let ūūs sjung!
let us but a while yet wait let us sing
'Let's wait a while longer' 'Let's sing'
- (269) Let ūūs bihual nū mur en skek *Ūūs ains*
let us keep now courage and conduct
'Let's keep up our courage and manners'

Non-verb-initial enjoiners like that in (270) occur in discourse as topic-closing additions:

- (270) (det kumt wes, man mesken uur't ek sa ring
it's coming, but maybe it won't be so bad)

ja, wū wel 't hōōpi!

yes we want it hope
'Well, let's hope so'

5.1.12. Interjections

Interjections are exclamations with which speakers abruptly take the floor to emphatically make a point:

- (271) **Tiin minūten haa ik jit tir!**
ten minutes have I yet time
'Ten minutes is all the time I've got'
- (272) **Maast hol jens weder kum!**
may2SG-PRET gladly once again come
'You're welcome to come again!'
- (273) **Hat wiar en apskailig weder! [...]**
it was a terrible weather
Hat heer man sa gööten! [...] **Ja, aber wie!**
it has but so poured yes but how
'That was awful weather!...It just poured!...And how!'

As in the last intonation unit in (273), many interjections are German, including *meine Güte!* 'my goodness' (expressing exasperation or consternation), *schade!* 'too bad' (for regret), and *doch!* 'so, after all' (used when a negative expectation is reversed or contradicted).

Global surprise (*na!*), agreement (*ja!*, *jaja!*), disagreement (*naan!*, *nee!* *neenee!*) are often expressed via monosyllabic interjections (possibly reduplicated); *ach wat!* is a token of a listener's mildly contentious surprise at a specific piece of information. Other interjections index speaker reactions to (specific parts of) foregoing information – possibly their own (as in (275)):

- (274) **(hat fortröt mi mal—**
I'm very sorry)
- Ja, mi uk!**
yes me too
'Yes, me too'
- (275) **Dit wiar praktisch fuar üüs jungen en hualev stün bilang, ek?**
that was practically for us children a half hour along not
'That was around half an hour for us kids, you know?'
- Ja, sa wiar dit! Det es en lüing wai!**
yes so was the that is a long way
'Yes, that's the way it was! That's a long way!'

5.2. Argument Elaboration and Non-Simple Sentences

Although the structure of much of communication takes the form of simple sentences, speakers often convey ideas that are more complex than can be expressed in a simple sentence. The main grammatical means of expanding ideas within a clause are the use of nominalization, modification, adverbial phrases and clauses, complement clauses, and conjoined constituents. These means will be discussed in the present section; coordination and subordination, patterns for expanding ideas outside the clause, will be considered in Section 5.3.

5.2.1. Nominalization

There are two common patterns by which generic referents are invoked. One is *wat* + ADJ.NOM, where the adjective names what the speaker is advancing as the most significant attribute of the referent and the nominalizing suffix *-s* is added:

- (276) *Ik wel di wat intresant.s fortel.*
I want you-OBJ what interesting.NOM narrate
'I want to tell you something interesting'

For referents being advanced as in some way exceeding a norm, the pattern is the definite article *dit* + the superlative form of an adjective:

- (277) *dit wiar dit wunderbar.st,*
that was the wonderful.SUPL
'That was the most wonderful thing'

5.2.2. Modification

Arguments in a proposition are elaborated by means of modification of the nouns representing them. There are various types of nominal modification.

5.2.2.1. Simple Attribution

A nominal argument expressed as a full NP is often made more specific by attribution via one or more adjectives, here preceding a predicate noun:

- (278) *en diar es üüs ailön en mal gurt help wesen.*
and there is our island a very big help been
'And in that sense, our island was really helpful'

Rather uncommon is the use of present-participial adjectives prenominally; the following present participles functioning as attributive adjectives occur in proverbs:

- (279) *En seten Iarç ken fuul biteenk.* GWHS31
a sitting arse can much think-about
'Thinking is best done sitting down'

- (280) En glemen Köö! es ek sa lecht tō miidin üs en Flam. GWHS30
 a gleaming coal is not so easy to avoidINF2 as a flame
 'Temptation is less easily avoided than sin itself'

An interesting participle form used adverbally is found in a *staatji* about a man who had fallen from a boarding ramp into the sea; in answer to a question about how the man had gotten to land again, the man's wife replies:

- (281) "I mai mi liiv of uk ek; wiit, soonk.ət dōōr.wiit." WS52
 You-PL may me believe or too not; wet, soak.PPL through.wet
 'Whether you believe it or not -- wet, soaking wet'

(The irregular verb *sünk* 'sink' has the preterite *soonk* and the past participle *sünken*; the expected form of the present participle would be, in this case, identical to the past participle: *sünken*; see 3.3.1.2.1.2.)

More common than adjectives formed from present participles are past-participial adjectives: *bööken* (aast) 'baked cheese [dish]', *ainprekelt* (hōōsen) 'own-knitted (homemade) stockings', *koopet* (märig) '[store-]bought sausage', *ainmaaket* (tjüch) 'homemade clothes', *kröölet* (hiir) 'crinkled hair' (see also 3.4.1.).

For other examples of prenominal attribution, see 5.1.4.1.

5.2.2.2. Phrasal Attribution

Prepositional phrases modifying full NPs are generally postnominal:

- (282) Di man üp taak heer fuul aarbert.
 the man on roof has much worked
 'The man on the roof worked a lot'
- (283) Hoken fan di spaarkas heer ön.röpen.
 who from the savings-bank has in.called
 'Somebody called from the savings bank'

As pointed out in 5.1.4.1., the phrase *aur di/ali maaten* 'exceedingly' (lit. over the/all measures) is an idiomatic expression used adverbially as an intensifier.

- (284) det wiar en aur di maaten faini dai!
 that was a over the measures fine day
 'That really was a great day'

5.2.2.3. Relative Clauses

Extensive modification of an NP takes the form of a relative clause. Relative clauses begin with one of several relativizers:

RELATIVIZER

diar	'who, that'
wat	'that, who'
hur	'where, that, who'
di	'he/she'
dit	'it, that'

Although the relativizer is most often the subject of the relative clause, other grammatical relations are also encountered as well. Syntactically, Verb1 (the finite verb) is often "displaced" to the end of the relative clause as in other many Germanic languages – but such "displacement" does not always occur.

Though there was perhaps once a functional distinction based on a three-way animacy hierarchy (human/nonhuman animal/inanimate) in the distribution of complementizers, the first three are now used in reference to humans, animals, and objects. **Di**, identical in form to the definite article for singular common-gender nouns and all plural nouns as well as for the common-gender and plural demonstrative, is used as a relativizer in the special function of a resumptive pronoun after presentative constructions – a function shared with both pronouns and the demonstrative **dänen** (5.1.8.); both **dī** and **dit**, the latter identical in form to the definite article for singular neuter nouns and the neuter demonstrative, are also used as pronouns following subject complement clauses (5.2.4.2.). In the following examples, each relativizer is given first with an animate referent and then an inanimate:

- (285) **diar es en gansi masi liren**
there is a whole mass people
diar jit jens snaket mi up Sölring on
who yet once talk me on Sölring in
'There are still a lot of people who address me in Sölring'
- (286) **di.diar ārem lōnen sa ūs, naja, ūs Portugal,**
the.there poor lands so as well as Portugal
en Türkei, diar ali wat me ūūs iinkum on di EWG,
and Turkey, that, all what with us into.come in the EEC
'those poor countries like, well, like Portugal and Turkey,
that all are coming into the EEC with us'
- (287) **di.diar trii jungen, wat diar hoog.dütsk snaket,**
the.there three children what there High.German talked
'those three kids who spoke High German'
- (288) **wat es dit en Vermōgen wat diar tōōgen.aur staant**
what is that a fortune what there against over stands
'What a fortune that is standing across over there'

- (289) **hi wil jen mensk haa, hur hi diar me aur snaki kūr.**
 he wanted one human have where he there with over talk could
 'He wanted to have one person he could talk to about it'
- (290) **dānen haa wū ja sen ön uk di Bad Oeynhausēn**
 those have we yes seen in too the Bad Oeynhausēn
hur ik min kuur maaket her,
 where I my Kur made had
 'We also saw a lot of them in Bad Oeynhausēn,
 where I'd done my treatment'

The relativizing function of *di* as a resumptive in presentative constructions is seen in (291)–(293)•
 (see also 5.1.8.):

- (291) **en Niels Danielsen, di wiar uk jens jir bi üüs.**
 and Niels Danielsen the was too once here by us
 'And Niels Danielsen, he came here one time too'
- (292) **En Deensk, di her ik fan litj jungēn of lüirt.**
 and Danish the had I from little child away learned
 'And Danish, I'd learned that from my youth on up'
- (293) **di ütwal fan di jung kārmingēn jung faamner,**
 the selection from the young men and young girls
di es jaa ek sa gurt.
 the is yes not so big
 'The range of choices for the young men and women,
 it's not that wide, after all'

Di and *dit* following subject complements (5.2.4.2.) are seen in the proverbs given as (294)–(296),
 where they “resume” headless relatives in presentative-type constructions:

- (294) **Wat em fent, dit heer em ek koopet.** GWHS67
 what one finds that has one not bought
 'Something that has been found hasn't been bought'
- (295) **Wat lung boricht es, dit es ek skeenkt.** GWHS68
 what long borrowed is that is not presented
 'Something that's been borrowed for a long time hasn't been given'
- (296) **Hoken di Skoch paset, di mai en ön.tiü.** GWHS43
 who the shoe suits the should him in.pull
 'If the shoe fits, wear it'

Non-locative *hur* consistently occurs with a postposed preposition, the relativized nouns being an oblique argument of the main verb of the relative clause. The following instances are found in prose writings by Jens Mungard (1.1.3.4.); the relativized noun in (297) (*fuuderkas*) functions as a semantic source in the relative clause, that in (298) (*daaler*) as a medium of exchange:

- (297) *Hi noom di ual fuuder.kas,* JMHH123
 he took the old fodder.chest
hur hi di sjip jü härefst üt fuudert her
 where he the sheep this-fall out foddered had
 'He took the old feedbox from which he'd fed the sheep that fall'
- (298) *aur 't di leest daaler es, hur.fuar em di kû fair* JMHH76
 because it the last dollar is, where.for one the cow gets
 'because it's the last dollar that gets the cow'

In (299), the relativized noun is indefinite in the main clause and partitive in the relative clause:

- (299) *üp eder sir her hi wat, hur hi nönt fan se kûr,* JMHH78
 on either side had he what where he nothing from see could
 'On each side he had something he couldn't get a glimpse of'

The relativized nouns in both (300) and (301) are semantic locatives in their relative clauses; the difference in relativizers seems to be entailed by the topicalization of *hüs* in (301) as an entity rather than a place. Both examples are taken from written texts:

- (300) *Ûp Aamrem es en Stek Inge.lön',* BPM33
 on Öömram is a piece meadow.land
hur aliwärels Gē[r]s üp wukset;
 where all.worlds grass on grows
 'On Öömram there's a piece of meadowland with plenty of grass'
- (301) *Dit Hüs, diar ja ðn uunet, lair achter di Dik.* FSL5273
 the house that they in resided lay behind the dike
 'The house that they lived in was behind the dike.'

A similar effect for which *diar* rather than *hur* is used is seen in the objectification of the cup in (302):

- (302) *Faader dör hõm di gurt Kantoor-kop,* FSL5272
 father did him the big bureau-cup
diar hi jüst salev üt drünken her.
 that he just self out drunk had
 'Father gave him the big mug that he'd just drunk out of'

Ensuingly, the boy ("hõm") himself drinks from the mug after being told to finish its contents.

Semantically, of course, this action would only make sense if there had been liquid remaining to be drunk. In the original, a hyphen between *ūt* and *drunken* suggests a prefixed verb meaning 'drank [from] completely, emptied, drained', but a comparison with the German text of which this is part of a translation makes it clear that the hyphen, presumably the result of a typesetter's error, is misleading: "Da gab ihm der Vater einen Becher, aus dem er selbst soeben getrunken hatte" (Then the father gave him a mug, *from which* he had himself just drunk).

Although relativized nouns are most often subjects and semantic agents, source nouns and nouns in other roles are relativized as well. The relativized noun in (303) is an instrument in its relative clause:

- (303) *Hat wiar dit.salev Skep,* JPHBPM88
 it was the.self ship
diar Klaas Jaien jest tō Söl' me kām.
 that Klaas Jaien first to Söl with came
 'It was the same ship on which Klaas Jaien had first come to Söl'

And relativized in (304) is an experiencer:

- (304) *Di Tau, diar dit Hiir al bigent gre tō uur.en,* FSL10323
 the two who the hair already began gray to become.INF1
 'The two [of them], whose hair was already beginning to turn gray'

As seen in (287)–(290) and (294)–(303), Verb1 is usually displaced to the end of a relative clause. In (304), Verb1 precedes an infinitive clause, and in (305) and (306), it precedes prepositional phrases that end their respective clauses (cp. (285)–(286)):

- (305) *dit wiar dit wunderbar.st wat et jaav òn min skuul.tir.*
 that was the wonderful.SUPL what it gave in my school.time
 'That was the most wonderful thing there was in my schooldays'
- (306) *Nee, òn Amerikaa hur ja wesen sen me di.diar farm*
 no in America where they been are with the.there farm
 'No, in America there where they were with that farm'

As pointed out in Keenan (1985:184), possessor NPs are not relativized in North Frisian. Though not frequent, such relativization does nonetheless occur. *Di Tau* in (304), while experiencers, are also possessors of *dit Hiir*; the relativized NPs in (307) and (308) are also possessors.³ These examples are from spoken data and from the *Pidersdaibok* respectively:

³ Both NP-referents are also agents in their subordinate clause; a relativized NP with possessor as its semantic role has not been found in the present database, e.g.:

Wü heer di wüfhaur raaket, diar hōör man noch sa kraank es.
 we have the woman met who her man enough so sick is
 291

- (307) **dat wū lecht sa maning öö Sölring haa**
 that we light so many eh Sölring have
wat jaar spraak jit hual
 what their language yet hold
 'that we easily have as many Sölring that maintain their language'
- JPHBPM69
- (308) **dü meen.st wel dānen, diar jaar liiger Lep ek rocht sa me**
 you mean.2SG surely those that their lower lip not right so with
dīt miist omhoog höl'en fo kūr ūs noch Sen'ighair tō her.
 the most on-high heldPPL get could as enough sinfulness to had..
 'You probably mean those who couldn't manage to hold up their lower lip
 like the others and were sinful as well'

5.2.3. Adverbial Phrases and Clauses

Specifications as to time, manner, and location can be made via adverbial phrases (309)-(311); purpose modifications take the form of clauses (312)-(313). Both types of adverbial specification modify entire propositions:

- (309) **Hi her di Sölring spraak ūs jungen ek liirt.**
 he had the Sölring language as child not learned
 'He hadn't learned Sölring as a child'
- (310) **ūs wan 's me iartapels ön mūr snaket.**
 as when they with potatoes in mouth spoke
 'as if they were speaking with potatoes in their mouths'
- (311) **en hōör man wiar en Dötsken fan Hessen.**
 and her man was a German from Hessen
 'and her husband was a German from Hessen'

Adverbial clauses of purpose are introduced by the conjunctions **dat** or **sa dat**:

- (312) **Dü sket snaki, dat dü wat luas uur.st.**
 you should talk that you what loose become.2SG
 'You've got to talk to get rid of things [i.e. problems]'

'We met the woman whose husband is so sick'

Keenan's actual comment is that North Frisian and some other languages "do not easily relativize possessor NPs at all"; at issue, however, would seem to be *frequency* rather than *ease* of relativization.

- (313) **dü maast imer üp sa'n litj stiin piki**
 you had-to always on so-a little stone peck
dat dü überhaupt wat ierst.
 that you at-all what heard-2SG
 'You had to keep tapping a little stone to be able to hear anything at all'

The double repetition of *dat* following the original conjunction in (314) was accompanied by prosodic indications of planning:

- (314) **Ik haa miist.tirs wan ik da, eeder di kriich**
 I have most.times when I then after the war
irgend.hur hen.köört sen, fuar.of leesen aur dit
 some.where HEN.travled am fore.away read-PPL over the
lön, eh sa.dat dat, dat dü weest wat dü sjochst.
 land uh so.that that that you know what you see
 'Most of the time when I went somewhere after the war, I
 read about the country so that you know what you see'

5.2.4. Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a clause that functions as the argument of a predication; in Sörling, such clauses can be grammatical subjects or objects. The more frequent of the two are Object Complements, which most often complete propositions begun by such verbs as *sii* 'say', *liiv* 'believe, think', *meen* 'mean, opine', *teenk* 'think', *mi tinkt* 'it seems to me', *hööpi* 'hope', and *weet* 'know factually', both as statements and indirect questions.

5.2.4.1. Object Complements

Object complements (as well as subject complements) are introduced by one of a number of complementizers; the most common of these are:

COMPLEMENTIZER

dat	'that'
hoken	'who'
hur	'where'
hurdeling	'how'
hurfuur, hurom	'why'
of	'whether'
wan	'when, if'
wat	'what'
weder	'whether'

As with relative clauses, complementation most often occurs with displacement of Verb1 to the end of its clause:

- (315) **dit weet ik nü ek, hur di fan wiar.**

that know I now not where that from was
 'I don't remember where that one was from'

- (316) **ik meen {wan em jir gurt.tain es en imer**
 I mean when one here big.pulled is and always
lewet heer {da weet em ja en gansi masi}}, ek?
 lived.has then knows one yes a whole mass not
 'I mean, when one has been raised and always lived here,
 one knows a lot, you know?'
- (317) **en da skul ik ja üp.pasi dat wü ali wainer me fing.**
 and then should I yes take-care that we all autos with.got
 'And then I was supposed to make sure that we had all the vehicles with us'
- (318) **Luki en dit haa ja jaa uk noch tö wért.in**
 look and the have they yes too enough to value.INF2
wust, dat wü jam nönt dör.
 known, that we them nothing did
 'Look, they really appreciated it that we left them alone'

In an afterthought, the speaker in (319) adjusts his statement, which ends with an object complement; in doing so, Verb1 remains at the end of the clause:

- (319) **Man ik weet noch sa.fuul dat ik, ek me 'n ünriin**
 but I know enough so.much that I not with a un.pure
giweeten tö Ruslön köör kūr ... of köör tört.
 conscience to Russia travel could or travel needed-to
 'But I know that much, that I couldn't travel to Russia
 with a bad conscience ... or wouldn't have to'

However, Verb1 in object complements does not always appear clause-finally. In (320) it precedes a prepositional phrase, and in (321), where the complementizer *dat* is omitted, the speech reported in the complement clause follows main-clause word order:

- (320) **ik weet ek fan irgend.hoken hurdelling et löpen es me jam.**
 I know not from any.who how it runPPL is with them
 'I never found out from anybody what happened to them'
- (321) **En hi sair hi heer fuul Schön.s fan di wārel sen,**
 and he says he has much beautiful.NOM from the world seen
 'And he says he's seen a lot of beauty in the world'

In (322), the object complement itself contains a relative clause, and in (323), the coordinated complements end in ellipsis of both complementizer and verb:

- (322) **ik weet noch dat en wüfhaur es {wat fan,**
 I know enough that a woman is what from
irgend.hur on Weest.dütskdön kumt} [...]
 any.where in West.Germany comes
 'I do know that there's a woman from somewhere in W. Germany...'
- (323) **Dü dit weet ik ek muar wat et wiar, {weder det Russisch**
 you that know I not more what it was whether that Russian
wiar} of {weder det Fransk wiar} of Nederlans of wat.
 was or whether that French was or Dutch or what
 'You know, I don't remember what it was, whether it was
 Russian or French or Dutch or what'

The verbs *gesi* 'guess, estimate' and *önnem* 'assume, presume' are used as virtual synonyms; both are followed by object complements:

- (324) **Ik gesi dat et sa es, ik weet et ek, man ik gesi.**
 I guess that it so is, I know it not but I guess
 'I think that that's the way it is, I'm not sure, but I think so'
- (325) **Ik nem ön dat et uk iit muar es,**
 I take on that it too yet more is
 'I imagine that it's even more than that'

When object complements are coordinated, both complement clauses can be introduced by a complementizer:

- (326) **also diar en diar forsikert, dat hi aarber heer,**
 thus there and there affirmed that he work has
en dat hi önerkunft heer.
 and that he accommodations has
 'So, [they] made sure that he had a job and a place to stay'

In the coordinate object complements in (327), the second of which is itself coordinated, the sub-coordinate clause lacks both complementizer and its own verb:

- (327) **da maast dü eeder.weegi dat wü arische**
 then had-to2SG you after.show that we Aryan
Abstammung wiar, dat diar niin Jude twesken wiar,
 ancestry were that there no Jew between was
{en am lef.st.en niin Pole of sa.wat}, ek?
 and GER dear.SUPL.GER no Pole or so.what not
 'Then it had to be proved that we were of "Aryan" ancestry, that there was no
 Jew anywhere along the way, and if possible no Pole or anything like that
 either, you know?'

Hierarchical subordination of complement clauses is found:

- (328) **man ik weet noch dat et mi pasiaret es**
but I know enough that it me happened is
{dat diar üder uurter iin.mung kām}.
that there other words into.among came
'But I do know that it happened to me that other words got mixed in'

And in (329), the object complement itself contains two relative clauses:

- (329) **det heest dū uk jüster ön din fuadrach, ek**
that have-2SG you too yesterday in your lecture not
bitaacht fingen dat wū lecht sa maning Sölring ha
considered gotten that we easy so many Sölring have
{wat jaar spraak jit hual, {wat bütions sen}}, ek?
what their language yet hold what abroad are not
'In your presentation yesterday you didn't take into account that we easily
have an equal number of Sölring that still speak Sölring who are living abroad, see?'

In purporting to render speech directly, speakers generally use no complementizer, with the effect that there is no displacement in the word order of the complement clause:

- (330) **en da sair ik sa tō min maker, ja ha**
and then said I so to my colleague they have
dach en Auto {dat hi üüs weder tōbeek.bring ken}.
indeed a car that he us again back.bring can
'and then I said to my buddy, They do have a car that he can bring us back [in]'

- (331) **en ju sair ik kum üt Ruslön,**
and she says I come out Russia
'and she says I'm from Russia'

In rendering speech as indirect, too, the complementizer *dat* is sometimes omitted, with the same (non-)effect on word order: the complement follows main-clause word order. (The example here appeared above as (321)):

- (332) **En hi sair hi heer fuul Schön.s fan di wārel sen,**
and he says he has much beautiful.NOM from the world seen
'And he says he's seen a lot of beauty in the world'

The speaker in (333) seems to combine direct and indirect speech, using a third-person pronoun in the complement clause, not including a complementizer, and switching tenses from preterite to present⁴

- (333) **En da sair hi jaa uk hi es al taachentig jaar, ek?**
 and then said he yes too he is already eighty year not
 'and then he said yes he too is already eighty years old, see?'

The following examples are from the prose writings of Jens Mungard:

- (334) **Di muasem.böör jung.gasten bisnaket dit me.ark.üder, JMHH77**
 the Muasem.citizens young.fellows talked-about that with.each.other
 {dat ja wil tö list.er dünem om mö.aier}.
 that they wanted to List.ADJ dune around seagull.eggs.
 The young men of Muasem discussed among themselves that they
 wanted to go to the dunes at List to look for gulls' eggs.

In (335), with coordinate complement clauses, there are both displaced and non-displaced complements:

- (335) **Man jü meent, {dat bi dit jil wiar en härem} JMHH56**
 but she opined that by the money was a smell
 en uk {dat et hōm sliprig ön.föölt},
 and too that it it-OBJ slippery on.felt
 'But she thought that there was an odor about the money,
 and that it felt slippery, too'

Complementation via infinitive clauses is discussed in 5.4.

Reported speech is often introduced by complementizers – indirect statements by *wat* or *dat* (see also 3.3.2.):

- (336) **En ik luket mi det ön en sair hōm wat da üt.kām,**
 and I looked me that on and said him what then out.came
 'And I looked at it and told him the result'
- (337) **En ja da fing ik jit fortelt dat di Kompagnie nü äp.dület uur**
 and yes then got I yet told that the company now up.shared become
 skul en dat diar en taust Batallion fan di üder hualev töhop.-
 should and that there a second batallion from the other half together.-

⁴ The form *sair* 'says/said' is itself indeterminate as to 3SG.Pres and the preterite for all persons (as well being the form of the past participle); in this case, the discourse context of the remark made it clear that the main verb in (333) was past tense.

stelt uur skul {en diar skul ik Reeknungs.föörer uur}.
 placed become should and there should I reckonings.leader become
 'And then I was told that the company was to be divided and a second
 batallion put together from the second half, and I was to be the new accountant'

Indirect questions are introduced by *hur* and any of its compounds discussed in 5.1.9.4 as well as by *weder* 'whether' or its synonym of. Whereas the word order in a quoted interrogative is the same as in a direct question –

- (338) *di üder sair ja Papa hurom köör.st dü mi diar ek hen?*
 the other says yes Papa why drive.2SG you me there not HEN
 'The other one says, Papa why don't you take me there?'
- (339) *en eeder di kriich taacht ik nö-ja, hur.fuar*
 and after the war thought I oh-well where.for
kürst dü dit ek eintlig maaki, ek?
 could.2SG you that not really make not
 'After the war I thought, oh well, why shouldn't you do it?, you know?'

– Verbl in an indirect question is commonly displaced to the end of its clause:

- (340) *En ik fraaget jam sa, hur ja jam da fünen her,*
 and I asked them so where they them then found had
 'And I asked them then where they had met each other'
- (341) *ja wil fan mi weet weder dit dach sa wiar,*
 they wanted from me know whether that indeed so was
 'they wanted me to tell them if that was the way it was'

In (342), there is an alternation of reported and quoted speech for both questions and statements (for the context of the excerpt, see 2.6.2.3.):

- (342) *En hi sprok mi diar ön üp Engelsk,*
 and he spoke me there on on English
{wat dat et faini weder wiar}, en {of...
 what that it fine weather was and whether I on
lön wil}, en ik sii "Jaa, ik wel jens ön lön."
 land wanted and I say yes I want once on land
"Jaa dü käm.st fan dit skep diar?" "Jaa," sair ik.
 yes you came.2SG from that ship there yes said I
 'And he addressed me in English, [saying] what fine weather it was and
 if I was going ashore, and I say yes, I'm going ashore. "Yes, you came
 from that ship there?" "Yes," I said.

Both complement clauses (one an indirect statement, the other an indirect question) have clause-

final Verb1, contrasting with verb-second order in the quotations.

5.2.4.2. Subject Complements

Some complement clauses function as sentence subjects; like those that serve as objects, subject complements are introduced by one of the complementizers listed in 5.2.4.1. There are two types of subject complements in Sölring: a sentence-initial clause that is often followed by a resumptive pronoun, and a sentence-final clause preceded by an evaluative presentative main clause that often contains a copular verb.

Complements occurring at the beginning of a sentence present a proposition that is the psychological starting-point and grammatical subject:

- (343) Hoken det mai, skel nü tö.leeng.
who that wants shall now to.reach
'Whoever wants to should help themselves now'

Most often, sentence-initial complements are followed by a resumptive adverb or pronoun:

- (344) Hur di sērk es, det wiar praktisch
where the church is that was practically
fuor üüs jungen en hualev stün bilang, ek?
for us youths a half hour along not
'Where the church is, that was for us as kids about half an hour's trek, you know?'

- (345) Hur.fan di spraak kemen es, dit weet ik ek.
where.from the language come-PPL is that know I not
'Where language came from, that I don't know'

- (346) Wan ik snaki skel, da falt mi niks iin.
when I talk shall then falls me nothing into
'When I'm supposed to talk, I can't think of anything'

The following sentence-final subject complements occur as a specification of an idea that has just been introduced in a presentative-type main clause with evaluative sense and a copular verb:

- (347) Eeder min Ansicht es et ja uk gur, {wan di mensken
after my view is it yes too good when the humans
düchtig döör.ark.üder wület uur}.
vigorously through.each.other mixed become
- (348) Hat, ja, es binai beeter {wan da en betken fresk blör tö.kumt}.
it yes is almost better when then a bit.DIM fresh blood to.comes
'It's almost better when a little fresh blood comes in'

Under discussion in (349) was an increase in local traffic in Weesterlōn and attendant hardships.

The speaker had just concluded that pedestrians and cyclists on the bike paths often conflicted, with the din from the motor traffic making it extremely difficult at times for those on foot to tell what was happening. In the stream of discourse, the observation represented by the bracketed clause functions both as a (coordinate) subject complement to the introductory copular evaluation and as an adverbial clause subordinate to the main clause concluding the observation:

- (349) **Hat es gans fürchterli- uk {wan diar üp stich**
 it is wholly awful too when there on street
sa fuul Autos sen en achter.ön klingelt hoken}, dü
 so much cars are and behind.on rings who you
weest uk gaar ek imer hur kumt dit fan?
 know-2SG too at-all not always where comes that from
 'It's really terrib- and when there are so many cars on the street and
 somebody rings [a bicycle bell] from behind, you don't always
 know where it's coming from'

Functionally, both types of subject complements, sentence-initial and sentence-final, are reminiscent of the presentative constructions discussed in 5.1.9., in that the listener is presented with information that is then elaborated upon in an ensuing clause (prosodically in one or more separate intonation units).

5.2.5. Conjoined Constituents

When two or more similar ideas are to be expressed, like constituents can be conjoined within a single clause. Grammatically, constituents are conjoined by the coordinating conjunctions *en* 'and' and of 'or'; by the comparative construction *hü + ADJ_{comp}... hü + ADJ_{comp}* (or *...safuul + ADJ_{comp}*) 'the more X ... the more Y'; or, negatively, *nochweder...of* 'neither...nor'. Conjoined constituents can be subjects, as in:

- (350) **en diar stön di gansen stööler en staaler en di gansi kraam,**
 and there stood the whole chairs and tables and the whole stuff
 'All the chairs and tables and stuff stood there'
- (351) **Weesterlön wel det ja hol en di Aussendörfer**
 Weesterlön wants that yes gladly and the outer.villages
 'Weesterlön and the outer villages want it'
- (352) **di Helgoland, en dit Sölring, dit heer fuul lik.hair me.ark.üder.**
 the Dēat Lun and the Sölring that has much like.NOM with.each.other
 'Halunder and Sölring have a lot of similarities'

verbs:

- (353) **da ging di ual hen en sair**
 then went the old HEN and said

'Then the old [man] went out and said'

- (354) **jū smiilet tō mi en sair,**
she smiled to me and said
'She smiled at me and said'

entire predications, including complements, such as:

- (355) **dū sket da üppasi {dat ales diar es en ales lapt}**
you should then up.pass that all there is and all runs
'You have to keep an eye on things and make sure everything's running smoothly'
- (356) **en da kumt jir en lastwain ön,**
and then comes here a load.wagon in
{fangt jir ön tō böören en tō springen},
begins here in to drill and to detonate
'Then a truck pulls up, begins to drill and detonate right here'

as well as objects, including adverbs:

- (357) **En min aalern her ja salev, swin en kin en molk**
and my parents had yes self pigs and cows and milk
'My parents had pigs and cows and milk themselves'
- (358) **Aber ik haa doch immerhin elev jaar, sa,**
but I have indeed even-so eleven year so
Kostenanschläge maaket en teeknung en ali
costs-estimates made and drawing and all
Rentabilitätsberechnung en wat et sa alis--
profitability-calculation and what it so all
'But I'd been at it for eleven years, doing cost analysis and making
drawings and all-- calculations of profitability and everything that--'
- (359) **En haa ik fan min ain lön tōbeek.koopet, jir, diar en jir.**
and have I from my own land back.bought here there and here
'And I from my own land I bought back here, there, and here'
- (360) **hi kūr bluat Englisch, en Afrikansk.**
he could only English and Afrikaans
'He spoke only English and Afrikaans'

and obliques:

- (361) **di bröch mut ja hen, diarme ja**
the bridge must yes HEN there.with they

naa nuurden en di süden, üt.bieg ken ek?
 toward north.NOM and the south.NOM out.turn can not
 'The bridge has to go in so that they can turn off to the north or south, see'

- (362) di üdern ja aarbert bluat fuar böter en
 the others they worked only for butter and
fuar Speck en fuar molk en-
 for bacon and for milk and
 'The others worked just for butter and bacon and milk-'

The two-part comparative construction with hü (hü + ADJ_{comp}... hü + ADJ_{comp} (or ...safuul + ADJ_{comp}) conjoins attributes that vary in some principled manner.⁵ Rare in conversation, the construction occurs often in proverbs:

- (363) Hü muar ön Strunt röört uur, hü muar stjunkt et. GWHS45
 how more in filth stirred becomes how more stinks it
 'The more you have to do with filth, the more it will affect you'
- (364) Hü gurter di Kaken, hü muar Kodern. GWHS45
 how bigger the excrements. how more maggots
 'The bigger the prize, the more competitors there are'
- (365) Hü litjer dit Maat, hü gurter di Pöös. GWHS45
 how littler the measure how bigger the purse
 'The smaller the scoop, the bigger the bag'

Use of the two-part negating construction nochweder...of 'neither...nor' is also rare in conversation but is found idiomatically:

- (366) Dit es nochweder Ploch of Härev. BPM183
 that is neither plow or harrow
 'That's neither left nor right'

(The determiner nochweder, cognate with Engl. neither (OE nāhwæðer, nōhwæðer), itself means 'neither of the two' and applies to dual constellations, e.g.

- (367) Jat haa 't nochweder dōn.
 they2 have it neither done
 'Neither of the two did it'.)

⁵ hü is cognate with Engl. how but has been supplanted in most uses by hur 'where', including in hurdeling 'how'; other than in the comparative construction, the morpheme now occurs only in hüwel 'although' (Möller 1916:119 s.v. hur).

Just as a simple sentence is sometimes insufficient to what it is a speaker wants to say, it can also be more than sufficient. In such cases, a noun phrase (as well as other constituents) sometimes occurs "unattached" (Thompson and Ono 1994) to any current predication. In (368), from a discussion about the expansion of the European Union, the unattached NPs are conjoined and followed by a relative clause:

- (368)
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Nee, det skul sa bliiv ūs det sa wiar, ja.
 ... Ik sen bang det gair ek gur.
 ...aur didiar ārem lōnen sa ūs,
 <u>naja, ūs Portugal, en Türkei,</u>
 <u>diar ali wat me ūūs iinkum</u>
 <u>ōn di EWG,</u> ik se et ek fuar niin gur ōn ik,
 se ik ek gur ōn.</p> | <p>No that should stay as it was, yes.
 I'm afraid it won't work.
 because those poor counties such as,
 well, as Portugal and Turkey,
 that all of them are coming with us
 into the EEC, I don't think it's any
 good, don't think it's any good.</p> |
|---|---|

Many unattached NPs occur in direct response to a direct or indirect request for information in the immediately preceding turn. In (369), the speaker responds to a prompting to return to a specific narrative episode with a complex prepositional phrase that has no overt predication; the relevance is clear from the phrasing of the interlocutor's prompting:

- (369) (Jūster heest fortelt fan din tir ōn Ukraina.
 'Yesterday you told about your time in the Ukraine')

Ūp tau ailōnen ōn di Njewa?
 on two islands in the Neva
 'On two islands in the Neva'

- (370) (Hur wiar det?
 'Where was that?')

Woningstair, ek fiir fan't fluugplaats.
 Wōningstair not far from the fly.place
 '[In] Wōningstair, nor far from the airport.'

5.3. Coordination and Consituent Ellipsis

Two clauses of the same informational status are often linked in discourse, resulting in what is often called a paratactic or compound sentence. By "informational status" is meant here the value a speaker apparently accords the idea expressed in a clause: in the case of coordinated clauses, each (or all, if more than two are used) conveys an entire idea by itself, i.e. is "independent". As with the conjoining of constituents, coordination of clauses is effected by use of a conjunction. In addition to copulative *en* and disjunctive *of* that are also used to conjoin constituents, *man* (now competing with German *aber* in the usage of many speakers) is used as an adversative:

- (371) {Jū es bifriit}, en {di man es uk fan jir}.
 she is married and the husband is too from here

'She's married, and her husband is from here too'

- (372) **Jen gur dai, {da set wü jir tō kofi drink.en},**
one good day then sit we here to coffee drink.INF2
-- en {da kumt jir en lastwain ön}...
and then comes here a load.wagon in
'One fine day, we're sitting here drinking coffee and suddenly a truck pulls up'
- (373) **entweder forkoopi ik fuar sjuur mark,**
either sell I for four mark
of ja enteigni 't fuar jen mark fiftain,
or they dispossess it for one mark fifteen
'Either I sell for four marks or they take it away for one mark fifteen'
- (374) **di naist inj ging wü hur.üders hen of wü fing hoken.**
the next evening went we where.other HEN or we got someone
'The next evening we went somewhere else or we received someone'
- (375) **Fuar mi gair det gur, man diar mut ik diar.tō sii:**
for me goes that good but there must I there.to say
'I can do it, but I'll have to say this about it:'
- (376) **Luki, di Norwegis – di skreft.spraak es jaa binai sa,**
look the Norwegians the writing.language is yes almost so
üs di deensk, man di spreek dit en bet üders üt, ek?
as the Danish but the speak it a bit otherwise out not
'Look, the Norwegians-- the written language is about the same as the Danes,
but they pronounce it a little differently, see?'

The shading of coordination into subordination (5.4) is seen in the coexistence of two constructions by which purpose is expressed: en + INF1/PRET (+ any objects) and the infinitive (INF2) clause, exemplified respectively in (377)-(379) and (380)-(382):

- (377) **en som.en bigent en {siung me of floiti me},**
and some.NOM begin/began and sing with or whistle with
'And some began to sing along or whistle along'
- (378) **da bigent jaa üüs lecht Feldartillerie en skuat jam iin,**
then began/began yes our light field-artillery and shot them into
'Then our light field artillery began finding their range'
- (379) **En kūr wü akuraat se en wü her dit lecht, lecht her**
and could we accurate see and we had it light light had
en siit ark enkelt of wat hen tō di.diar stellung skul.
and shoot each single away what HEN to the.there position should

'And we could see clearly and could have easily picked off every single one on their way to take up that position'

- (380) **Hat her bigent, Sölring tō liir.en en tō snakin,**
it had begun Sölring to learn-INF2 and to talk-INF2
'She had started to learn Sölring and to talk [it]'
- (381) **da haa wū diar fain seeten tō snakin,**
then have we there fine sit-PPL to talk-INF2
'Then we had a nice time sitting there to talk/and talking'
- (382) **Wū seet ali tōhop tō iit.en, en da bigent di faammer tō lachin.**
we sat all together to eat-INF2 and then began the girls to laugh-INF2

In today's speech patterns, the infinitive clause of purpose is much more common than the coordinated purposive. A construction found in OFris. and OE, the infinitive clause has doubtlessly grow in prevalence due to its resemblance of a corresponding pattern in High German, whereas the coordinated purposive, as an areal pattern (Århammar 1984a: 191, 200fn 14), has doubtlessly become less frequent as Low Saxon has increasingly been displaced in its role as a lingua franca throughout the region⁶ (1.1.3.1., 1.4.2.).

CONSTITUENT ELLIPSIS

Subjects in coordinate clauses can be ellipted if they are coreferential, as can parallel verbs for distinct subjects. Ellipsis of coreferentials does not take place, however, if the coordinated clauses are different in tense/aspect:

ELLIPTED CO-REFERENTIAL SUBJECT

- (383) **ik sen rückwärts.gingen, en wel det riin.maaki,**
I am backwards.gone and wanted that clean.make
'I was walking backwards and wanted to clean it'

NON-ELLIPTED CO-REFERENTIAL SUBJECT IN DIFFERENT TENSE/ASPECT

- (384) **ik haa det bluat jit knifen jert**
I have that only yet cracking heard

⁶ Because the coordinated purposive has become so rare, occurrences of it in the present database are few. The verbal patterns of the three instances in (377)–(379) are, respectively, PRET + INF1, PRET + PRET, and PLUP + INF1. The examples in Århammar (1984a) for Sölring are both with the first verb in the present: *Ik haa niin tir en help di* 'I have no time to help you' and *Hat es ek lecht en snaki Engelsk* 'It is not easy to speak English'. Common in Westerlandersk Frysk, and the recurrent subject of scholarly study, is the "imperativus pro infinitivo", of which Tiersma (1985: 131-1323) identifies two types.

en da weet ik niiks muar.
and then know I nothing more
'I only heard it cracking and then I don't remember anything'

Although ellipsis can occur if the second of two coordinated clauses is passive,

ELLIPSIS OF CO-REFERENTIAL SUBJECT IN PASSIVE COORDINATE CLAUSE

(385) Hi skul jaa ön latsaret en diar operiaret uur
he should yes in field-hospital and there operated become
'After all, he was supposed to go to the field hospital and be operated on'

the subject is likely to be repeated when the first of two coordinate clauses is passive, as in (386):

NON-ELLIPSIS OF CO-REFERENTIAL SUBJECT WITH PASSIVE INITIAL CLAUSE

(386) en da waar hi āpholet, en da skul hi diar en diar aarberi.
and then became he up.fetched and then should he there and there work
'And then he was picked up and then he was supposed to work in such
and such a place'

Ellipsis is found with a wide range of variation. In (387), the speaker coordinates three clauses with the conjunction *en* and uses the subject in each:

NON-ELLIPTED CO-REFERENTIAL SUBJECTS IN SEQUENCE

(387) Aur jest sen ja da ali üt.wanert
because first are they then all out.wandered
en ja sen ön.twesken ual en ja lewi ek muar.
and they are in.between old and they live not more
'Because first they all emigrated and they grew old and are no longer living'

In (388), the same speaker again repeats the subject, but the second mention is with the demonstrative pronoun *dänen* 'those [ones]' rather than the *ja* 'they' of the first clause:

NON-ELLIPSIS OF CO-REFERENTIAL SUBJECT, WHICH IS RE-EXPRESSED

(388) ja sen uk al, ön di, sa mer fan twüntig,
they are too already in the so middle from twenty
1920 üt.wanert, en dänen lewi ek muar.
1920 out.wandered and those live not more
'They emigrated back in mid-1920, and they're no longer living'

A combination of ellipsis and re-expression of a co-referential subject is found in the three coordinated clauses in (389):

ELLIPSIS AND NON-ELLIPSIS OF CO-REFERENTIAL SUBJECTS

(389) en da sen ja sa allmählich, jir blewen, en haa 'g jir,
and then are they so gradually here stayed and have they here

di lön uurbaar maaket, en haa lewet fan di buurerii.
 the land arable made and have lived from the farming
 'And then they gradually settled here and they made the land
 arable and lived from farming'

Verbal ellipsis can take place in cases of event/activity parallelism, which entails distinct subjects:

ELLIPTED PARALLEL VERB, DISTINCT SUBJECTS

(390) **Ik haa Sölring snaket en hi Afrikansk.**
 I have Sölring talked and he Afrikaans
 'I spoke Sölring and he [spoke] Afrikaans'

Ellipsis of an entire predicate is also found within a coordinate chain:

COORDINATE CHAIN WITH ELLIPSIS WITHIN COORDINATE CLAUSE

(391) **hi es jir gurt tain en**
 he is here big pulled and
 {sin faader wiar niin Sölring en sin mooter uk ek.}
 his father was no Sölring and his mother too not
 'He was raised here and his father wasn't a Sölring and neither was his mother'

In (392), where ellipsis does not occur, the parallelism of the verb *snaket* 'talked' is defective, since the verb occurs first in a relative clause of the first coordinate clause and second in the second coordinate:

NON-ELLIPTED DEFECTIVELY-PARALLEL VERB

(392) **bi üüs ön skuul, diar wiar trii jungen {wat**
 by us in school there were three children what
Hoog.dütsk snaket}. en wü üdern snaket ali Sölring
 High.German talked and we others talked all Sölring
 'In our school there were three kids who spoke High German,
 and the rest of us all spoke Sölring'

The speaker in (393) is discussing two of his cousins. Although the state being referred to is the same in the first two clauses, there is no verbal ellipsis; the predication is not entirely parallel because it applies in the second clause to a possessed referent of the coordinate NP, about which the third clause expresses an activity:

(393) **En di jen Vetter es duar, en di üder,**
 and the one cousin is dead and the other
es sin wüf duar en hi lewet nü ön Florida.
 is his wife dead and he lives now in Florida
 'One of my cousins is dead, and the other,
 whose wife is dead, is living in Florida now'

When used together, coordination and conjoining can encapsule long stretches of information in chains of clauses, as in (394), a speaker's reflection on renovations carried out on his house:

- (394) **Ja, dit sen alis dopel.wininger, me debelt glee, ek?**
 yes that are all double.windows with double glass not
Ja, en boowen, di taak haa ik alis me Steinwolle,
 yes and above the roof have I all with stone-wool
en uk di wuuger, me Steinwolle üt.isoliaret
 and too the walls with stone.wool out.insulated
en di schö' schalltecht ek?
 and the nice sound.tight not
 'Well, those are all double windows, with double panes, see? Yes, and up
 above, the roof is entirely insulated with fiberglass and the walls too –
 and they[re] nice and soundproof, you know?'

The conjunction *en* allows the speaker to conjoin an NP parenthetically (*en uk di wuuger*) as well as to sum up the reflection with a comment on the effect of the renovations just put forward. In the final clause, the missing verb could logically be *sen* 'are' (following the pronoun: *en di* (subj.) *sen* ...) or *maaket* 'made' (after the adjective: *en di* (obj.) *sen* ... *maaket* = *üt.isoliaret*). Despite the grammatical ambiguity, the listener's global understanding of the speaker's message is not impeded.

5.4. Subordination

Hypotactic or complex sentences result from the joining of two or more clauses which the speaker treats not as of the same informational status, but as one dependent on the other for its full meaning: the dependent clause is "subordinated" to the independent or main clause. In comparison to the inventory of coordinating conjunctions, the number of subordinating conjunctions is relatively large. In the chart below, these conjunctions are listed along with indications as to their functional type and whether their use commonly entails displacement (DISPL) of Verb1 to the end of the subordinate clause:

<u>SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION</u>		<u>DISPL.?</u>	<u>SENSES</u>
dat	'that'	yes	(also complementizer)
aur	'because'	no	
aur dat	'because'	yes	
om dat	'because'	yes	CAUSATIVE
fuur	'because'	no	
(om...) tō + INF2	'(in order) to'	yes	PURPOSIVE
sa dat	'so that'	yes	
wan	'when/if'	yes	TEMP/CONDITIONAL
da	'then'	yes	

ūs	'as, when'	yes	
wilt (dat)	'while'	yes	
salung ūs	'as long as'	yes	
jer (dat)	'before'	yes	TEMPORAL
eeder (dat)	'after'	yes	
sent (dat)	'since'	yes	
hen dat	'until'	yes	
olter dat	'until'	yes	
bit (hen) (dat)	'until'	yes	
hūwel	'although'	yes	CONCESSIVE
al dat	'even if/though'	yes	
ūs	'as, like'	yes	MODAL

5.4.1. Displacement

Verb1 in subordinate clauses often occurs at the end of the clause, especially if the conjunction includes *dat*, which is an optional second element of many of the subordinators. The subordinator *dat* 'that' by itself entails displacement:

(395) *En det wiar fuar mi di leest teeken dat di wārel wirklich rund es.*
 and that was for me the last sign that the world really round is
 'And that was for me the ultimate proof that the world really is round'

(396) *Luki, hi kūr dit uk, man dit es ek sa dat arken.jen det kūr.*
 look he could that too but that is not so that each.NOM.one that could
 'Look, he could do that too, but it's not the case that everybody would be able to'

The effect on word order of *dat*-inclusion in compound conjunctions is most readily apparent in subordination using *aur* and *aur dat*. There is no displacement when the subordinator is uncompounded:

(397) *wū maat gaar ek me jam snaki,*
 we liked at-all not with them talk
{aur wū föölt ūūs ün.seeker, me Hoogdütsk}.
 because we felt us un.sure with HighGerman
 'We didn't like to talk to them because we felt unsure of ourselves
 speaking High German'

(398) *en truurig Fall wiar det, {aur wū kūr hōm uk sa gur},*
 a sad case was that because we knew him too so good
 'That was a sad case because we knew him really well too'

Word order in a clause introduced by the conjunction *aur* is the same as that in a main clause, with Verb1 following the first constituent (most often the subject). In clauses introduced by *aur dat*, by

contrast, Verbl usually appears at or near the end of the clause:

- (399) **di nuar wat ... föört ek tō Brutalitāt *aur dat***
 the need what leads not to brutality because
et aurhaur niin sen heer, ek?
 it at-all no sense has not
 'necessity that ... doesn't lead to brutality because it would be pointless,
 you know?'
- (400) **Ja, ik brük jam jaa en litj bet söö=rig, ek,**
 yes I need/use them yes a little bit careful not
***aur dat* ik ... üders formentiari skej en dit**
 because I otherwise format shall and this
en dat en kraam.steken diartō tō biteenken haa.
 and that and stuff.pieces there.to to consider have
 'Yes, I use them a bit carefully, you know, because I have different formatting to do
 differently and have to take all kinds of stuff into consideration'

Subordination via compounded dat-conjunctions is infrequent in current speech but was apparently a norm in writing. The instances in (401)-(403) occur in Möller (1909), the prose of Jens Mungard, and a *staatji* by Willy Siemens:

- (401) **en sin ual' Helper skul' uk man tō-lēng,** BPM104
 and his old helper should too but to.reach
om dat et ün.seeker *wiar*, wat di naist Flör üt jam maaket.
 because it un.certain was what the next flood out them made
 'and his old helper should give a hand as well, since it was uncertain
 what the next floodtide would do to them'
- (402) **Hur.maning en jen net droom heest dū ek òn mi dremt,** JMHH96
 how.many and one nice dream have-2SG you not in me dreamed
al dat et uk man en droom *wiar*!
 al.that it too but a dream was
 'How many a nice dream you've had in me [=a corner stool],
 even if it was just a dream'
- (403) **En naiber fan Inken neemt 's Hans Laibaard,** WSHH16
 a neighbor from Inken called they Hans Laibaard
aur dat hi ek hol wat dō maat.
 because he not gladly what do wanted
 'A neighbor of Inken's was called Hans Laibaard [Lazybones],
 because he didn't like to do anything'

The above instances of dat-compounds with displaced Verbl are all from written passages; conversational occurrences with *aur* commonly entail no displacement of the finite verb, e.g.

- (404) aur dit *wiar* alis forböören, ek?
 bec. that was all forbidden not
 'because that was all forbidden, you know?'
- (405) aur di gurt skuul *es* òn Weesterlön.
 bec. the great school is in Weesterlön
 'because the big school is in Weesterlön'

Some conjunctions, such as *olter dat* 'until' and its synonyms *hen dat* and *bit (hen) (dat)*, rarely have compounded forms as conjunctions. The following examples are from written sources:

- (406) Hi maast muar weeken òn 't Weesterlön.ing BHL19
 he must-*PRET* more weeks in the Weesterlön.*ADJ*
 kraanken.hüs lii, olter dat et hòm beeter *ging*.
 sick.house lie until it him better went
 'He had to stay in the hospital in Weesterlön for several weeks until he was better'
- (407) Taachten ... *ging* mi döör Haur olter dat di Klok 1 *sloch*. FSL5361
 thoughts went me through head until the clock one struck
 'Thoughts ... went through my mind until the clock struck one'

The same writer in whose letter (407) occurs – Andreas Hübbe (1.1.3.4.) – also uses an uncompounded form with verbal displacement:

- (408) man jit siil wü langs dit Auer fan Nuurd-Frankrik, FSL5363
 but yet sail we along the coast from north France
olter wü tō dit Ailön' Quessant *kum*, ...
 until we to the island Quessant come
 'But we're still sailing along the coast of northern France
 until we reach the island of Quessant'

Con conversationally, *bit (hen) (dat)* is now often used to convey the idea of 'until':

- (409) en da... teev wü, bit hen dat ja tūs *kum*.
 and then wait we until-that they to-home come
 'And then we'll wait until they come home'

5.4.2. Inversion

When a main clause is preceded by a subordinate clause, *Verbl* can occur directly after the subordinate clause, with the subject of the main clause following:

- (410) {*Om dat* nū di Früisen ek harket,} bislööt di Kōning, BPM78
 because now the Frisians not obeyed resolved the king
 jam jaar stūf Naker tō bügen.

them their stiff necks to bend
 'Because the Frisians would not obey, the king resolved to force them'

- (411) {*Sa dat* dū òn di sprak teenkst en dremst,
 so that you in the language think-2SG and dream.2SG
sket di sprak ùs jungen liir.
 should-2SG the language as child learn
 'In order to learn a language thoroughly, it should be learned from childhood'

- (412) {*Aur dat* di jiler jit ek diip seet} her hi sin JMHH119
 because the eels yet not deep sat had he his
 kuurt.stalet aliger me, –
 short.staled stabber with
 'Because the eels weren't settled in deep yet, he had his short-handled pole along'

Very often in spoken discourse, as in (413) and (414), a resumptive particle (*diar* or *da*) introduces the main clause; there may or may not be inversion of subject and verb in the main clause:

- (413) {*Wan dū da* 5 mark heest fuar'n glee molk,
 when you then 5 marks have-2SG for a glass milk
diar es et uk noch, ek?
 there is it too enough not
 'When you've got five marks for a glass of milk, that's enough, you know?'
- (414) {*salung ùs wū en litj ailōn wiar en niin baare.lir her*},
 so long as we a little island were and no bathing people had
da intresiaret wū ùs uk bluat fuar dit wat ùp ùs ailōn pasiaret
 then interested we us too only for that what on our island happened
 'As long as we were a little island and didn't have any tourists,
 we were only interested in what happened on our island'

Inversion does not always take place:

- (415) {*Wan di winj sa kumt*}, di drait sa fūr,
 when the wind so comes that turns so far
 'When the wind comes like that, it turns very far'
- (416) {*Wan det klapet*}, ik weet miist.tir ginau hur det es.
 when it bangs I know most.time exact where that is
 'When there's banging, I usually know right where it is'

Inversion occurs most consistently if a resumptive particle is used, and – like displacement – is found more consistently in written than in spoken contexts.

5.4.3. Infinitive Clauses

Infinitive clauses have a number of functions, all of which entail subordination of some type. Common to most is identity of subject in both clauses with no expression of subject in the infinitive clause. The infinitive clause in (415) is an object complement:

- (417) **dū bigen.st {da tō spekularin}**
you begin.2SG then to speculate.INF2
'Then you start wondering what's going on'

In (416), the infinitive clause serves as a prepositional complement:

- (418) **en dit haa wū ūs jungen āp.nomen,**
and that have we as children up.taken
sōner {diar eentlig aur tō teenk.en}.
without there actually over to think.INF2
'And we just assimilated it as kids without really thinking about it'

The INF2 in (419) is an adjectival modifier; the recipient of the money would be "dū":

- (419) **Dū heest dach niin jil {tō foen}.**
you have-2SG indeed no money to receive
'You don't have any money coming to you'

A more complex modification of an object NP occurs in (420), where the infinitive clause specifies "iinsats":

- (420) **ōn di.diar haa wū lair me ūs gansi Batallion, en teeft olter dat**
in.the.there have we lain with our whole batallion and waited until
wū iinsats fing, {aur di Njewa tō gung.en diar en dial},
we deployment got over the Neva to go.INF2 there and down
'That's where we lay with our whole batallion, waiting until
we were ordered to go cross the Neva there and [go] on down'

In the following example, the infinitive clause has its most frequent function, that of conveying a notion of purpose:

- (421) **Maning jaaren leeter, da her ik min buat ōn Hōrnem {to lii.en},**
many years later then had I my boat in Hōrnem to lay.INF2
'Many years later, when I had my boat in Hōrnem'

The infinitive clause of purpose in (422) has become a fixed expression (see also 5.1.4.2.):

- (422) **en di miist.en set diar {tō naachtert iit.en}.**
and the most.NOM sit there to dinner eat.INF2
'And most people are having dinner then'

The sense of purpose is most clearly present when an infinitive clause is introduced by the conjunctive particle *om* ('around' as a preposition) (see also 5.3.):

- (423) **En da herst dü diar irgend.hoken ofitseer achter.üp**
 and then had.2SG you there any.who officer behind.on
{om tö erkundigen} hur ken.st dü hen en sa förter.
 OM to find-out where can.2SG you HEN and so forth
 'And then you had some officer or other behind you to find out
 where you could go and such'
- (424) **jü heer sik nü en hüs koopet, jü tair nü naist Friidai iin.**
 she has 3REFL now a house bought she moves now next Friday into
{Om uk stjuüren tö spaarin} jü lewet nü jit itüüs,
 OM too taxes to save-INF2 she lives now yet at-home

Although syntactically fragmented, all three infinitive clauses in (423) clearly point to the purposive (or motivational) sense conveyed by the construction:

- (425) **aL.hur ik uk wesen haa, dit jest {sa gau üs möögelk di spraak**
 all.where I too been have the first so fast as possible the language
hen tö liir.en}, ek? Tö.menst {tö forstuun.en} {om,
 HEN to learn.INF2 not to.least to understand.INF2 OM
 diar.me di mensken snaki tö ken.en},
 there.with the humans talk to can.INF2
 'Everywhere I've been, the first [thing was]: as quickly as possible to learn
 the language, you know? At least to understand in order to be able to talk
 with people'

Although infinitive clauses are most often co-referential with the subject in a main clause, this is not always so. The infinitive clause in (426), occurring in a narration about two hitchhikers, necessitated a switch of subjects in the subordinate clause:

- (426) **en di jen, üs ja da bigent me.ark.üder**
 and the one as they then began with.each.other
{tö snakın}, kür ik noch mark, ...
 to talk.INF2 could I enough notice
 'And the one, as they then began talking, I could tell...'

In cases where the main clause does not contain a semantic subject, the subject can appear as an oblique NP in the infinitive clause itself:

- (427) **En dit es eentlig diar dach, temelk lecht**
 and that is actually there indeed rather light
{tö kontroliarin} fuar di Polizei).

to check-onINF2 for the police
 'And it's really is pretty easy for the police to keep a check on things'

In a syntactically complex structure like (428), the subject appears as an oblique argument of the impersonal construction in the complement clause preceding the infinitive clause:

- (428) **en di.diar saaken sen sa jüür ðn.tõ.skafin,**
 and the.there things are so expensive in.to.obtainINF2
dat et billiger uur fuar di Firmen, (höm üs Spezialist tō holen),
 that it cheaper becomes for the firms him as specialist to fetchINF2
wan hafen üt.bagert uur skel
 when harbors out.dug become shall
 'And it's so expensive to buy those things that it's cheaper for the companies
 to have him come in as a specialist when harbors need to be dredged out'

When both arguments of the ditransitive verbs *stjüür* 'send', bring 'bring, take [a person]', and *nem* 'take' are animate, the unexpressed subject of a following infinitive clause (which conveys purpose or motivation) is taken to be the non-subject NP of the main clause. In (427), which occurs in a translation from Danish, it is the emissary rather than the emperor whose task is to check on the progress being made:

- (429) **Di kaiser stjüürt eeder kuurt tir en üder** TTWS21
 the emperor sent after short time an other
skekelk man, diar bi hōm ðn tiinst wiar, hen,
 reliable man who by him in service was HEN
{om eeder.tõ.lukin, hurdeling dit me dit weewen ging}
 OM after.to.lookINF2 how that with the weaving went
 'A short while later, the emperor sent there another reliable man
 in his service to see how the weaving was going'⁶

5.4.4. Clauses Introduced by Conjuncts and Conjunctions

Independent clauses are sometimes introduced by the conjuncts *da* 'then', *fuarbüten* 'besides; except (for)', and *diarfuar* 'therefore, for that reason'. In using such clause-initial conjuncts, speakers appear to be connecting information in the new clause to what has gone before; in this sense, the conjuncts have much the same function as conjunctions, and indeed all of the coordinators as well as many of the subordinators are sometimes used to introduce clauses that, prosodically, are independent of any following clause. In all these cases, the prosody of the clause preceding the independent one is characteristically final, generally indicating that the speaker seems to have finished a current line of thought; the new clause characteristically has beginning or continuing, "afterthought" prosody and occurs in its own intonation unit. For some speakers, initial

⁶ The original is from Hans Christian Andersen's "*Keyserens ny klæder*": *Keyseren sendte straks igen en anden skikkelig Embedsmand hen for at se, hvorledes det gik med Vævningen, og om Tøjet snart var færdigt* (Andersen 1893:138).

en occurs very frequently, more as a discourse particle than an actual coordinator, and as a result often precedes the conjuncts themselves. In the case of conjuncts and subordinators occurring initially in independent clauses, *Verb1* occurs as the second constituent, with "inversion" of the subject (if overt) to postverbal position:

- (430) *ja wet dü dit sjung? Da sjung man jen.*
 yes want-2SG you that sing then sing but one
 'Do you want to sing it? Then [let's] sing one [stanza]'
- (431) *söner mi lapt di.diar kraam ek, en forbüten ken ik ek sjiten se*
 without me runs the.there stuff not and besides can I not shooting see
 'and without me things don't work, and besides I don't like to witness
 executions'
- (432) *Jü ken ja duar wiis en ja stjüür di Rente.*
 she can yes dead be and they send the pension
Diar.fuar skel jü sik ali paar jaaren diar salev
 therefore shall she 3REFL all few years there self
 'She could be dead and they're still sending her pension;
 that's why she supposed to [go there] every few years.'

Word order within an independent clause introduced by a coordinator is the same as it would be without such linkage:

- (433) *wü wiar al bi 25 Mann. En det es tö fuul.*
 we were already by 25 man and that is too much
 'We were already up to 25 men. And that's too many'
- (434) *me jam ken.st dü Sölring di fain önerhual.*
 with them can.2SG you Sölring you-OBJ fine converse
Diar es gaar nönt ön wai. Man det heest dü uk jüster
 there is at-all nothing in way but that have-2SG you too yesterday
ön din fuadrach, ek bitaacht fingen, dat [...]
 in your lecture not considered gotten that
 'You can speak Sölring with them quite well - it's no problem.
 But in your presentation yesterday you didn't take into account that...'

Following sentence-initial subordinators, too, word order is the same as it would otherwise be: *Verb1* is displaced to clause-final position after certain subordinators (5.4.1.), e.g. *aur dat* 'because':

- (435) *Ja, ik brük jam jaa en litj bet söö=rig, ek,*
 yes I use/need them yes a little bit careful not
aur dat ik üders formentiari skel en dit en dat
 because I others format shall and this and that
en kraam.steken diar.tö tö biteenk.en haa-

and stuff.pieces there.to to think-about.INF2 have
'Yes, I use them a bit carefully, you know, because I have different
formatting to do and have to take all kinds of stuff into consideration'

but not others, e.g. *aur* and *fuor*:

- (436) *Min aalern.hüs wiar diar.aur, ja.*
my parents.house was there.over yes
Aur det wiar ja ales Bausperrgebiet.
because that was yes all building-lock-area
'My parents' house was over there, yes.
Because that area was closed to construction.'
- (437) *wü her dit lecht her en sjit ark enkelt of wat hen tö di.diar*
we had that light had and shoot each single off what HEN to the.there
stelung skul. Fuar di maast üt of di holting,
position should for the had-to out of the woods
'It would have been easy for us to pick each one off on their way
to take up that position. Because they had to come out of the woods'

(See also 5.4.1.)

For a discussion of relative clauses, see 5.2.2.3.

The following chapter characterizes how language – words, clauses, simple and complex sentences – are used by speakers in cohesive discourse to convey their communicative intent.

6. Discourse

Because properties of language are best seen in the ways language is actually used, most of the numbered examples in previous chapters have been taken from discourse data. In the current chapter, longer stretches of discourse will be presented in which it will be possible to exemplify properties of Sölring in larger contexts and how it is used in addressing topics of conversation. The analysis will be based largely on Chafe (1994), so it will be appropriate to begin with an overview of the principles of discourse study discussed there. Transcriptions are presented here following, with some modification, the conventions in DuBois et al. (1992).

6.1. Principles of Discourse Analysis and Information Flow

Chafe (1994) is a discussion of discourse principles in which these are related to human consciousness - a relation that will be referred to in the present discussion as well. Crucially, discourse is seen to represent a "flow" of ideas through time from the consciousness of one speaker-listener to another. At the heart of discourse analysis, then, is the concept of *information flow*.

6.1.1. The Intonation Unit

Most basic to studies of naturally occurring spoken language is the recognition that speech takes place in *intonation units*, relatively short bursts which represent a speaker's focus of consciousness at the moment of utterance. Intonation units are typically characterized by a number of accompanying physical phenomena, the convergence of all or some of which commonly mark boundaries between intonation units: the occurrence of pauses and breaks in timing, acceleration and deceleration, changes in pitch, the occurrence of terminal pitch contours, and changes in voice quality. Intonation units occur in three discernible but potentially overlapping types: those that convey denotative meaning (substantive); those by which a listener-speaker signals comprehension or agreement or otherwise "regulates" interaction or the flow of information (regulatory); and those that are broken off (fragmentary) either as a matter of the speaker's own volition (perhaps symptomatic of a change in verbalizing strategy) or due to some external stimulus from the environment of the conversation.

Substantive intonation units convey information about (verbal) events and states and (nominal) referents, and whereas verbal types of ideas tend to be transient, often occurring only once in a discourse, nominally-expressed ideas are generally more persistent, often recurring throughout a conversation. Overlap of IU-type is not uncommon, as when substantive units are broken off and become fragmentary, or when regulation is also substantive, as is the case when one interlocutor interposes one or more units seeking to confirm his or her interpretation of an assertion. Conversion of events and states into referents via nominalization (including pronominalization) facilitates their persistence in discourse and their subsequent participation in further events and states. Intonation units are thus the most basic functionally-relevant segments of speech, those segments that carry the flow of information between and among conversants.

The speaker in (1) is recounting experiences related to the completion of the rail causeway to the mainland (the Flindenburgdamm) during her childhood (see 1.1.3.3.):

	(1)	
a En 1927,		and 1927
b ūs di dām bëcht wiar,		as the dam built was
c da haa ūs klàs,		then have our class
d di .. gúrt lèk;		the big luck
e ūs Lehrerin kām fan Flénsburg,		our teacher came from Flensburg
f e= n da wiar wū di jést klas wat òn di		and then were we the first class what in the fall
hārefst-		in the June is the dam
g òn di jūūni es di dam,		dedicated become from Hindenburg
h iinweiht uuren fan Hindenburg;		and that have you indeed surely read
i en dit heest dū dach seeker léésen,		and ah
j en õ=		the that the train over the dam traveled
k di di dat di di tóch aur di dām kōört;		not
l ék.		that we already here in the train stepped and
m dat wū al jir òn di tóch stiigt en dat wū		that we in Flensburg out.step could
òn Flénsburg ütstiig kūr;		not
n ek?		

((And in 1927, when the dam was built, our class had the great good fortune- our teacher came from Flensburg, and we were the first class that fall- the dam had been dedicated by Hindenburg in June, you've probably read about that, and that the train was able to travel across the dam, see? That we were able to get into the train here and get out of it in Flensburg, you know?))

All three types of intonation units occur in this short discourse excerpt. (l) and (n) are regulatory IUs by which the speaker checks that her interlocutor is following the conversation. The substantive IUs in (d) and (f) end in fragmentation as the speaker breaks off to add elaborating information. There is at least one idea (event, state, or referent) verbalized in each of the substantive intonation units. The sequence (g)-(i) is both substantive and regulatory, an "aside" to the interlocutor by which the speaker provides background to the incident under discussion that develops into an editorial remark about the listener's presumed experience. In (j), the speaker is regulating the further flow of information following the editorial interruption; the intonation unit serves as a transition while the speaker plans just how to pick up her main storyline again.

A number of referents are central to the flow of information in this excerpt. These include the railroad connection (di dām), the schoolclass, the city of Flensburg, and the (generic) train. The persistence of these nominal ideas, all repeated after their first mention, contrasts with the fleeting quality of the verbal ideas involved, both states (becht wiis; lek'haa, fan X-kum, di jest Y wiis) and events (iinweiht uur, lees, kōör). The recurrence of the event idea expressed by the verbs stiigt and, prefixed, ütstiig is based on the complementary nature of the event involved in making a trip between two points.

Regulatory intonation units have at least five discernible but not necessarily distinct functions. These include 1) the primarily interactional functions of a) evoking empathy with one's interlocutor and b) expressing unsolicited agreement with what has just been said (including "backchanneling"), and 2) the primarily rhetoric-structuring (or "flow regulating") functions of c) transitioning between substantive pieces of information, d) signaling completion of a line of thought, allied to e) inviting an indication of

the interlocutor's comprehension of and/or agreement with the speaker's assertion(s). These functions are generally verbalized in consistent ways:

<u>FUNCTIONAL INDICATION</u>	<u>VERBALIZING MATERIAL</u>	<u>EXAMPLES</u>
a. empathy	dü	dü/ di heer mi's binai di biin wech.rewen (you/it has me almost the legs away.ripped) 'Hey, it nearly tore my legs out from under me'
b. agreement / confirmation	ja, jaja	ja=/ hat es sa (yes/it is so) 'That's the way it is'
	(inbreath)	--'Naan?' --<INBREATH> No? < no >
disagreement	nee, neenee	nee=/ det kenst ek (no/that can-2SG not) 'No, you can't do that'
c. transition	man (õ=)	man õ=/ wan dü wet (but uh/ when&if you want) 'But if you want'
	aber	a=ber/ dit her wü taacht (but/ that had we thought) 'Well, that's what we'd thought'
	luki (jens)	luki/ en da haa ik wust, (look/and then have I known) 'Look, and then I realized'
d. completion	ek	dit her ja langsen sair/ ek. (that had they always said/not) 'That's what they'd always said, see'
e. comprehension or agreement expected	ek?	diar sen ik tō ual tō/ ek?; (there am I too old to/ not?) 'I'm too old for that, you know?'
	wa(t)	dit es al en bigeebenhair/ wa'? (the is already an occasion/ what) 'This is something special, isn't it?'

Substantive intonation units in Sölring, on average, tend to be between three and five words in length, with a modal value in the current database of four words.

6.1.2. Referent Activation and Reflections in Speech

As conversation takes place, consisting prosodically of intonation units and conveying information from speaker to listener, ideas of all kinds come and go. Ideas that can persist in discourse – persons, objects, and abstractions referring to real-world entities, verbalized as nouns, pronouns, and nominalized events and states – have a potential immediacy to the consciousness of the interlocutors, an informational status or "activation state" at any moment of discourse that can be active, semiactive, or inactive. These states correspond to three "activation costs", degrees of cognitive effort required to conceptualize a referent or nominalization: given, accessible, and new. Both prosody and grammar are observed to interact with activation cost, in terms of accent, lexical categories, and grammatical roles.

In the discourse excerpt presented in (2), the speaker is narrating an incident that had taken place many years earlier to illustrate a bilingual misunderstanding; German portions of the discourse are italicized:

	(2)	
a	Mín fááder,	my father
b	{... es uk ön Muasem tō skuul gingen,}	is too in Muasem to school gone
c	(ja)	(yes)
d	en da-	and then
e	en frün fan hōm,	a friend of him
f	... en,	and
g	.. ja seet bi.arküder,	they sat by.each.other
h	.. en of di skuul.maister nū temelk streng wiar,	and whether the school.master now pretty
	streng wiar	strict was
i	ik weet et ek.	I don't know.
j	.. en da her di Peter Matzen,	and then had the Peter Matzen
k	sa jit hi,	so he was called
l	min faader jit jit X fuar da.	my father XXX
m	Her sin tornister büten ön taal sen-	had his backpack outside in entryway seen
n	{tornister wat ja uk fuar me di,	backpacks what they too for with the
o	boker ön.}	books in
p	ön taal stuunen.	in entryway standing
q	En hi dōrt det,	and he dared that
r	ék sū tō di skuulmaister,	not say to the schoolmaster
s	.. dat hi di èk meinnomen her ön di klás.	that he that not with.into.taken had in the
		classroom
t	.. en da her min faader s-	and then had my father s-
u	.. ü= meent,	opined
v	hi wiar da ja uk filicht en bet,	he was then yes too perhaps a bit
w	kühner,	more-daring
x	bet dristiger,	bit more-daring
y	en da heer hi sair,	and then has he said
z	"Ja wat willst du denn Detlef",	Yes what want you then Detlef

fááder, with primary accent on both the noun and determiner, as the subject of the clause that is spread across (a)-(b). From that point on, the referent is expressed pronominally with weak accent (as *hi*, *höm* or as part of *ja*) except in IUs (l) and (t), where in the structure of the discourse, entailing as it does mention of the other two male animate referents (Peter Matzen and the teacher), use of a pronoun would clearly have been ambiguous. In this sequence of references, the idea of the speaker's father is new to the discourse but nonetheless accessible to the listener – since everyone has a father – in (a), and then remains active in consciousness (and thus given information) through the balance of the discourse. Despite this status, the referent is again referred to via a full NP in (t) following the explanatory digression in (m)-(s) and the intervening mentions of the other two male referents. The final reference to the speaker's father is by name in the quoted speech in (z).

Similarly, the idea of the father's friend is introduced as a full NP in IU (e: *en frün fan höm*), pronominalized in *ja* and later as *hi* as given, and specified by name in (j) in anticipation of the same treatment in the quotation occurring in (aa). The third animate referent, the teacher, is the least important in the discourse, and unlike the other two is never specified by name. (Chafe 1994:88-89 presents a similar distinction of referential importance in Indonesian narrative, where the classifier system underscores distinctions among characters.) Instead, the teacher is mentioned as a full NP in both (h), where it too is new to the discourse but still accessible (since the notion of 'school' (semi-)activates that of 'teacher'), and in (r).

Interestingly, confusion does arise from a wholly ambiguous use of the pronoun *hi* in (y), where it is impossible to tell at first whether the pronoun refers anaphorically to the NP in (r) or that in (t), which is then pronominalized in (v). Knowing classroom procedure, the listener can recognize the quoted material in (z) as coming from the teacher and that in (aa)-(bb) from the father, but, syntactically, *hi* in (y) would seem to refer to the father. A prosodic clue to the identity of the referent expressed as *hi* in (y) is the speaker's acceleration throughout (z) followed by a decelerated pace and increased volume throughout (aa), suggesting that the question in (z) is transitional (and thus of lesser importance) between the main storyline (the father's daring) and the response in (aa)-(bb), the actual climax of the incident itself.

Of the inanimate referents, the idea of the backpack is introduced as usual by a full NP in (m: *sin torníster*). Evidently wanting to explain its significance for the listener, the speaker goes on in the "aside" in (n)-(o) to specify it as to function. From that point on, the referent remains at least accessible to the consciousness of the listener – and the next mention is as the demonstrative pronoun *dí* in (s). Its final mention in (aa) occurs in the context of the quotation (with code-switching). The entryway in the schoolhouse, the *taal*, is mentioned twice, in (m) and again in (p), circumscribed in (s), and finally named as part of the denouement in (dd). In both of its fully referential mentions, it occurs with a "zero determiner" in the prepositional phrase *ön táál*. The issues involved in use of the zero-determiner are discussed at length in 6.1.3.

As in (2), the persistence of nominal ideas, all repeated after their first mention, contrasts with the fleeting quality of the verbal ideas, both states (*streng wiar, jit, her...stuunen*) and events (*es...gingen, seet biarküder, weet, dört, sii, meinnomen her*).

In Sölring, as in many other languages, grammatical subjects generally function as informational

starting points in the sense that they are often central to an intonation unit or sequence of intonation units, are carried forward throughout sections of discourse, and "attract" various kinds of other information in order for a speaker to be able to convey coherent meaning. In terms of activation cost, grammatical subjects are always "light": given, accessible, or (rarely) new, but when new of trivial significance to the discourse in which they occur. Further, substantive intonation units tend to convey at most one new idea. In (2), the subjects in IUs (a), (h), and (j), though perhaps seemingly new and significant, were actually each accessible or given information for the listener at the time of occurrence for the reasons already mentioned; their informational "lightness" is what made it possible for the speaker to have these referents function as starting points with no danger of confusion. Two intonation units contain what might at first appear to be more than one new idea, but closer inspection reveals that, while each of these introduce two referents for the first time, only one in each is truly new. In (b), "ön Muasem tö skuul gingen", where both *Muasem* and *tö skuul gung* are presented, the foregoing conversation had been concerned with the speaker's schooling in *Muasem*, which is why the adverb *ük* was included in the IU. And the presence of the backpack in the entryway, reported in (m), involves at most one new referent, *taal*, since the idea of pupils' backpacks is one that is readily accessible in the context of going to school. (For some listeners, the idea of the entryway itself would be accessible for the same reason.)

As suggested in (2), referent activation takes place with characteristic patterns of prosody and grammar. New referents usually appear as full NPs, with a primary accent on the noun and any accompanying attributive modifiers. Many newly-introduced NPs are found in clausal predicates, as is consistently the case in (6), where new NP referents are underlined:

(6)

a Da wil ik bluat sa.fuul sii,	then wanted I only so.much say
b fan weegen <u>di spraken</u> .	about the languages
c Wan diar <u>jen</u> kumt jir,	when there one comes here
d öner bi <u>di Post</u> ek?	under by the Post Office not
e En sa üs Hermann wan wü diar	And so as Hermann when we there
Sölring snaki,	Sölring talk
f en ja ken det ek forstuun.	and they can that not understand
g En da haa ik-	and then have I
h wü haa <u>üüs noom</u> diar stuu'n bi <u>di</u>	we have our name there standing by the
Schalter	counter
i en diar haa ik sa'n <u>Sprachenschild</u>	and there have I so-a language-sign
diar stuuenen.	there standing
j En boowen üp es <u>Japánisch</u> skrewen,	and above on is Japanese written
k en da fraagi ja langsen,	and then ask they always
l "Können Sie das auch?"	"Can you [speak] that too?" [German]
m Da staant diar.öner X	There stands there.under
n ja boowen staant Japánisch,	yes above stands Japanese
o diar kumt Sölring,	there comes Sölring
p da kumt <u>Deensk</u> ,	then comes Danish
q da kumt <u>Plat</u> ,	then comes Low [Saxon]

r da kumt <u>Engelsk</u> ,	then comes English
s en tö.leest kumt <u>Dütsk</u> .	and to.last comes German
t En dit es dit wat ik snaki.	and that is the what I talk
u Man ék dit Japanisch. ...[10 IUs]	But not the Japanese [...]
v Man <u>dit</u> <u>Japánisch</u> ,	But the Japanese
u dit heer jaa--	that has yes
w dit es jaa wat <u>üders</u> .	that is yes what otherNOM
x Diar wiar jaa üt Japan en Japaner,	There was yes out Japan a Japanese
y üp <u>di</u> <u>Universität</u> <u>Kiel</u> ,	on the University Kiel
z en fing hi det jir me,	and got he that here with
aa dat ja jir ön <u>Friislön</u> ,	that they here in Frisia
bb Friisk snaki.	Frisian talk.
cc En da her hi <u>Frasch</u> liirt,	and then had he Frasch learned,
dd ek?	not

((I only wanted to say this much about languages: When somebody comes into the Post Office here below¹, you know? And if [there's] someone like Hermann and we're speaking Sölring, they can't understand it. And I've- we've got our names there at the counter and I've got a language sign standing there. On top there's writing in Japanese and so I'm always asked, Do you speak that too? Then underneath- on top there's Japanese, then Sölring, Danish, Low Saxon, English, and finally German. And that's what I speak. But not Japanese....[10 IUs]... But Japanese, it has- it's something else. From Japan there was a Japanese at the University of Kiel, and he heard that they speak Frisian here in Frisia. And then he learned Frasch, you know?))

However, the presentative construction with a resumptive pronoun (5.1.9.) is also quite common. The speaker in (7) and (8) is the same as in (6); under discussion were circumstances relevant to the non-use in Sölring of a formal 2SG. pronoun (see also 1.1.3.2.1.):

- (7) En bi di Deenen, ja sii dit uk ek.
and by the Danes they say that too not
'And the Danes, they don't say that either'
- (8) "Dü, det me dit 'T', dit let man wiis."
you that with the T, that let but be
'Hey, saying T, don't do it'

Once introduced and thus activated in consciousness, referents typically remain given in terms of their activation cost until receding into semi-activity and accessibility. If mentioned again while still active/given, referents are usually expressed by an unaccented pronoun, as in (9), reproducing a sequence from (6):

¹ The conversation was taking place in the native speaker's apartment, which was located in the story above the post office.

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| (9) 6c | Wan diar <u>jen</u> kumt jir,
f en <u>ja</u> ken det ek forstuun.
k en da fraagi <u>ja</u> langsen, | When there <i>one</i> comes here
and <i>they</i> can that not understand
and then ask <i>they</i> always |
|--------|---|--|

In (10), also reproducing a sequence from (6), the referent *en Japaner* was semi-active when introduced in (x), because talk of the Japanese language in the preceding discourse had globally activated the idea of its speakers; when the specific referent is again mentioned two IUs later, the unaccented pronoun *hi 'he'* is used:

- | | | |
|---------|---|---|
| (10) 6x | Diar wiar jaa üt Japan <u>en Japaner</u> ,
z en fing <u>hi</u> det jir me, | There was yes out Japan <i>a Japanese</i>
and got <i>he</i> that here with |
|---------|---|---|

Occasionally, as in (11)–(15), given referents functioning as starting-points are omitted altogether because the speaker can rely on their identity being clear from what has gone before. This ellipsis occurs both with 2SG., where it is grammaticized (3.2. and 5.1., 5.1.2.):

- (11) Kür.st jit diar.fan uk iarten.sop kööki?
could.2SG yet there.from too peas.sop cook
'Could [you] make pea-soup from it, too?'

and with third-person:²

- (12) (Nü dat dü din nü kompjuuter heest-
'Now that you have your new computer')
Haa ik jit ek ðn hünen her.
Have I yet not in hands had
'I don't actually have [it] yet'
- (13) Min ialer sester wiar fuar mi, en jaar, ðn Kopenhagen.
my older sister was before me a year in Copenhagen
En_skul jaa irgendwo hen.köör me di elektriske,
and should yes somewhere HEN.travel with the electric
me di stratenbaan.
with the streets.road
'My elder sister was a year in Copenhagen before I was.
And was supposed to go somewhere by streetcar'
- (14) Hermann uur nü tð härefst acht.en.tachtig.
Hermann becomes now to autumn eight.and.eighty
En köört jit salev me di wain.
and drives yet self with the car
'Hermann will be 88 in the fall. And is still driving'

² Although all of the examples here are with ellipted 3SG., 3PL. (and 3DU.) would be just as likely.

e 1741,
 f ðn min fuarfuaren. ...
 g min fuarfuaren,
 h dit wiar alis see.lir,
 i tō see,
 j bit 18=82.

1741
 in my forebears
 my forebears,
 that was all sea.people
 to sea
 until 1882

((Our house, it's been in our possession since 1741, always that of the Thiessens, [since] 1741 with my ancestors. My ancestors, they all went to sea, up until 1882.))

Twice, in (a) and (g), the speaker foregrounds referents by presenting them as full NPs in their own intonation units before going on to make some predication about them in the immediately following IUs. These predications proceed with the pronouns *hi* and *dit* used resumptively in (b) and (h); here, neither of the foregrounded referents were new. The other conversant had opened the discussion, which took place in the speaker's house, with a question about how long the speaker had been living there, so the idea of *ūūs hūs* was readily accessible by implication. The second of the topicalized referents, the speaker's forebears, was given, having been verbalized in (f) immediately prior to the left-dislocation beginning in (g). Aside from its foregrounding effect, left-dislocation thus also has the function of focusing consciousness on a referent regardless of its activation status.

6.1.3. Identifiability of Referents

In order for conversation to proceed smoothly, with interlocutors understanding and "following" each other's meaning, it must be possible for each to identify the referents invoked by the other. This crucial issue of *identifiability* depends on three factors: some degree of familiarity with the referent to both (or all) parties to the discourse ("sharedness of reference"); the use of language that sufficiently specifies the referent; and salience to the (physical, cultural, or environmental) context in which the conversation is taking place. Once again, the issue of identifiability is one that is also reflected grammatically. Perhaps the most apparent reflection is the type of article that accompanies reference to a person, object, or abstraction: with a number of complexities, the "definite" article is used with a singular noun for a referent a speaker judges a listener will be able to identify, while the "indefinite" article with singular noun is used for a referent whose identity can not yet be assumed: such non-identifiable referents are almost always new in terms of their activation cost and most often appear as oblique arguments in a predication. In Sölring, a third possibility is zero article – that is, no article at all – in prepositional phrases in which referents are immediately identifiable. The use or non-use of articles is, of course, just one aspect of determiner usage.

It was noted earlier (6.1.2.) that, in (2y) above, potential confusion arises due to the speaker's use of insufficiently identifying language, a pronoun that would have been appropriate for any of the three animate referents (as well as several of the inanimate ones) and could easily have been construed to denote the teacher rather than the father.

In the following excerpt, a different speaker is reflecting upon her early years and where she now lives, having returned to Söl after some years:

a (Best dü jir tō wārel kemen)
 b Ik sen jir tō wārel kemen,
 c !diar,
 d lik.aurfuar X des hūs
 e (@@ ek sa fiir)
 f Ja ?nich' X X
 g triientwuntig,
 h en diar wiar ja uk en gans ring tir,
 i .. em kūr niin uunings fo,
 j en et diar—
 k .. min aalern früt,
 l en dit wiar Inflation jir üp Söl,
 m ja kūr sik gaar niin hūs of niks,
 n niin- niin laisti,
 o en diar,
 p wer et diar uunet
 q diar.aur uunet min tante,
 r en jir- diar sen ik diar tō wārel kemen,
 s en diar haa min aalern jaaren lewet en da
 se-
 t sen ja
 u haa jest uuning fingen üs ik geboren wiar
 v wiar daamals uk al,
 w ek sa lecht üs deling @,
 x jüst dit.salev.
 y Man,
 z ik sen
 aa .. nū jir tōbeek.kemen
 bb en diar es min grootaalern.hūs,
 cc dit es uk nū en üder familiji wat det heer
 dd man üp dés stair haa wū üüs hūs.li
 staant
 ee diar heer,
 ff min gooki,
 gg sin sjip āp.braacht,
 hh dit weeter kām bit imer jir tō kant,
 ii en wan hi sin .. sjip üp drüch,
 jj eh stair haa skul,
 kk da waar's jir āpdrewen @en@
 ll sen ik jir dit sjip.
 mm @@@
 nn Paset dach gans gur
 oo ek?

(18)

are you here to world come
 I am here to world come
 there
 straight.across X this house
 @@ not so far
 yes ?not X X X
 twenty-three
 and there was yes too a real bad time
 one could no dwellings get
 and it there
 my parents married
 and that was inflation here on Söl
 they could REFL at-all no house or nothing
 no- no afford
 and there
 who[German] it there lives
 there.over lived my aunt
 and here- there am I there to world come
 and there have my parents years lived and
 then X-
 are they
 have first dwelling gotten as I born was
 was back-then too already
 not so easy as today @
 just the.same
 but
 I am
 now here back.come
 and there is my grandparents.house
 that is too now an otherfamily what that has
 but on that place have we our house.DIM
 standing
 there has
 my grandpa
 his sheep up.brought
 the water came until always here to edge
 and when he his sheep on dry
 eh place have should
 then became them here up.driven and
 am I here the sheep
 (laughter)
 passes indeed real good
 not

pp @@@

qq Tinkt mi noch.

thinks me enough

((-Were you born here? -I was born here, (pointing out window) there, right across in that house. -Not so far. -Not at all XXX '23, and that was a really bad time, you couldn't get a place to live, and it there- my parents got married, and there was inflation here on Söl, they couldn't afford a house or anything, and there, who lives there, my aunt lived right across over there, and here- there's were I was born. And my parents lived there for years and they got their first dwelling when I was born, back then [it] wasn't easy just like today, just the same. But I returned and there is my grandparents' house, that's a different family that has it now, but on that spot where our house stands, that's where my grandpa brought his sheep up, the water always came up to [crested] here, and when he wanted to have his sheep somewhere dry, they were driven up here and [now] I'm the sheep. Fits pretty well, doesn't it? Seems like it.))

Five types of determiners occur in (18). Besides NPs with the indefinite article in (h) and (cc):

<u>DETERMINER</u>	<u>IU</u>	<u>SPECIFYING LANGUAGE</u>
indefinite article	(h) en gans ring tir	includes attribution
	(cc) en üder familji wat det heer,	incl. a second determiner plus relative clause

– there are four different determiners that reflect the speaker's assessment that the corresponding NPs could be identified by the listener:

<u>DETERMINER</u>	<u>IU(s)</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
definite article	(hh) dit weeter (ll) dit sjip	environmentally salient anaphoric (as well as quasi-generic)
zero determiner(b), (r)	tö wärel (hh) tö kant (ü/jj) üp drüch stair (l) dit wiar Inflation (l) üp Söl	unique referent (idiom) environmentally salient salient (& contrastive) abstract referent, previewed in (h) environmentally salient (and local geographical name)
demonstrative	(d) likaurfuar X des hüs (dd) üp des stair	definite demonstrative definite demonstrative
possessive pronoun	(k) min aalern (q) min tante (s) min aalern (bb) min grootaalernhüs (dd) üüs hüsli (ff) min gooki (gg) sin sjip	{...new in this {discourse, but {... "globally" {...accessible immediate {..new but accessible salient to Söl

In this case, the nouns accompanied by an indefinite article also have at least one further type of specification: though indefinite, the NPs were specified enough so that the referents' relevance to the discourse would be clear to the listener. For the definite NPs, the demonstratives were used for concrete, "definite" (in the sense of Chafe 1994) referents whose identity was situationally immediate, since the conversation was taking place in the house and on the property in question. Most of the NPs made up of PRON_{poss} + N designate family members that, since the concept of "family relations" is universal, are sufficiently identified with just this type of determiner.

The remaining two types of instantiations of definiteness in (18) are essentially the same. As in the case of *dit weeter* in (hh), *sin sjip* in (gg) represents a concept salient on Söl and instantly familiar to everyone acquainted with the way of life of its inhabitants and their forebears. The occurrence of *dit sjip* in (ll) echoes the idea of the sheep introduced in (gg) while making generic reference to a metaphorical entity. The instances of zero-determiner usage after a preposition in this excerpt involve unmediated identifiability based on uniqueness or environmental salience, while the noun in the equational *dit wiar Inflation* in (l) is abstract.

As stressed in Chafe (1994:105), the factors identifiability and activation cost are distinct, in that identifiable NPs can be given, accessible or new. The "local" newness of the family-relation designations did not preclude them from being immediately identifiable, and in fact each of them served as a grammatical subject. That they can act as subjects despite the constraint on subject lightness is a measure of their global accessibility.

Use of zero-determiner -- that is, non-inclusion of a definite article or possessive pronoun in prepositional phrases -- is based on the factors of activation state and identifiability. After a preposition, no determiner is used before the noun if the referent is accessible by virtue of its contextual salience (in a broad sense) and is thus readily identifiable. "Environmental" salience naturally implies sharedness, and with two of the three criteria for identifiability fulfilled (namely salience and sharedness), the language necessary to identify the referent sufficiently is diminished -- in this case, to the point of elimination. In other words, the pattern of occurrence of the zero-determiner suggests a general assertion about the factors involved in establishing identifiability: the more readily identifiable a referent is by virtue of sharedness and salience, the less elaborate the language needed to specify it sufficiently for an interlocutor to be able to identify it. The crucial factor in zero-determination, then, is salience.

The "environmental salience" that makes referents identifiable and obviates the need to include a definite article or other determiner in prepositional phrases entails membership in one of the following semantic categories (examples from Siemens 1982 *passim*):

<u>SEMANTIC</u> <u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>EXAMPLES</u>
body parts	<i>ūp haur</i> 'on head', <i>ōn hai</i> 'in imagination' <i>bi/ōn hun</i> 'by/in hand', <i>ūp jerem</i> 'on arm', <i>tō fut</i> 'by foot', <i>aur lif</i> 'over body'
domestic sphere	<i>(home) ōn kōöv</i> 'in parlor', <i>ōn taal</i> 'in entry', <i>ūt (of) wining</i> 'out (of)

window', bi wuch 'on/at wall', aur bōsin 'over yard', dōōr buusem 'through barn', ūp taak 'on roof', ūp stōōl 'on chair' (*village*) tō hōōv gung 'go to church service', om tō kram 'over to store', tō skaul 'to school', ūp stich 'on road', ūp straat 'on street', tō lik 'to [corpse=] funeral'.

topography	bi/tō strōn 'at/to beach', tō weeter 'to water', tō kant 'to [water's] edge (=shore), ūp/tō lōn 'on/to land'
directions	tō uast 'to east', fan nuurden 'from north'
time	tō meddaistir 'at noontime', ūp hārefst 'in fall', fuar Jōōl 'before Christmas', tō Puask/Pingster 'at/for Easter/Pentecost'

Conceptual sharedness and accessibility can also derive from "frame activation" in the sense of Fillmore (1978): the context of going to a church service, for instance, implies songbooks, and the notion of carrying a songbook can thus be expressed me salembok òn hun 'lit. with psalmbook on hand' (Siemens 1982:31). The following two *staatjis* from Siemens (1982: 21, 11), respectively, find the protagonists first in a domestic sphere and then away from home; much greater use of the zero-determiner (marked with an underline between preposition and noun) is made in the first case:

(19)

Ūs Inken jens òn_kōōv tō_ naachttert
tō_ taal fliit, kām Jns rocht sa litjem uan
fan_ kōōken. Inken drait hōōr om en sair:
"Jēns, lapst al weder ūp hōōssoken?"
"Naan, ek gaar," swaaret Jēns, "ik haa
bluat di bōōkenaast fan_ spiiskaamer
haalet."

As Inken once in parlor to dinner to table set,
came Jens right so quietly in from kitchen.
Inken turned her around and said: Jens, run-
2SG already again on stocking socks? -No,
not at all, answered Jens, I have only the
baked-cheese from food-room fetched.

((Once when Inken was in the parlor setting the table for dinner, Jens very quietly came into the room from the kitchen. Inken turned around and said, Jens, are you walking around in your stocking feet again? -No, not at all, Jens answered, I was just taking the baked cheese out of the pantry.))

(20)

(see next page)

Inken her *üp*_fastlön wesen en her diar mal fuul sen. Jü her uk *ön* en gurt ütsteling wesen, hur muar *üs* hönert skelter hinget her. Man dit her wat rocht grapigs wesen. *Üt didiar* skelter wiar's ek klook uuren. "Naan," meent Inken, "ik taacht, ik wiar ek muar rocht wis, *üs* ik dit los, wat *öner di* skelter stön. Diar wiar jen skelt, wat *ütsaag* *üs* en kuurt en kliin kloowet strönkorev; dit wiar '*Frühlingserwachen*'. En *üder* skelt jüt '*Heimweh*' en saag *üt* *üs* en terevgluuv, wat *üp* en naaken iars fastbünen wiar. Man *üs* ik da wede *üp*_straat stön en *äpluket* *tö di* '*Museum*' en los diar '*Moderne Kunst*', da haa ik mi dach min ain taachten maaket aur liren, diar sok forröötet skramel *äpbiwaari*."

Inken had on mainland been and had there very much seen. She had too in a big exhibition been, where more than hundred pictures hanged had. But that had what right funny been. Out those pictures was she not clever become. No, meant Inken 'I thought, I was not more right wise, as I that read, what under the pictures stood. There was one picture, what out-saw as a short and small cloven beachchair; that was 'Spring Awakening'. Another picture was called 'Homesick-ness' and saw out as a peat shovel, what on a naked arse tied was. But as I then again on street stood and up-looked to the Museum and read there Modern Art, then have I me indeed my own thoughts made over people who such rotted junk keep

((Inken had been to the mainland and had seen a lot there. She had also been to a big exhibition where there were more than a hundred pictures. But that had been something really strange. She hadn't been able to make much of the pictures. No, Inken mused, I thought I'd lost my wits when I read what was under the pictures. There was one picture that looked like a beach chair that had been smashed to pieces; that was '*Frühlingserwachen*' [German]. Another picture was called '*Heimweh*' and looked like a shovel for digging peat that had been tied to a bare bottom. But when I was out on the street again and looked up at the '*Museum*' and read '*Moderne Kunst*', I had my own thoughts about people who keep horrible stuff like that.))

As suggested by the inclusion of a determiner in prepositional phrases like *üt didiar skelter* and *öner di skelter*, where the idea of pictures had been introduced just six clauses previously, zero-determination is not automatic once a referent is identifiable. Rather, zero-determination indexes the (physical, cultural, environmental) salience of a referent as the crucial component of its identifiability: pictures of modern art (viewed in a museum far from home, likely in unfamiliar surroundings) are something perceived as "strange" in every sense – and as reflected in Inken's strongly negative reaction, these particular pictures were something that could never have become "salient" to her: salience, in a subjective sense, connotes significance, familiarity, empathy. Like the demonstrative *didiar*, used as the determinant in the second mention of the pictures, the definite article *di* in the second of the two prepositional phrases has a distancing effect, one indeed from which the deictic sense of demonstratives commonly develop historically (Heine et al. 1991:181).

Conversational instances of zero-determination also abound:

- (21) *fing* ik en Schaukel.pferd, skeenkt, *tö Jööl*.
got I a swing.horse presented to Christmas
'I got a rocking-horse as a present at Christmas'

- (22) **üs man jīt ek tō skuul wiar sa ungefähr, ek?**
 as one yet not to school was so approximately not
 'when you didn't yet to school, just about, you know?'
- (23) **Jū wel ek muar dial tō weeter,**
 she wants not more down to water
 'She doesn't want to go to the beach again'
- (24) **da kōör ik me rad fuar bi strön,**
 then drive I with bike before by beach
 'Then I bike down to the beach'

Like such expressions as *tō wärel kum* 'be born' and *tō duar kum* 'die', the phrase *üp streek haa* 'to have in order' is idiomatic:

- (25) **em wel uk alis üp streek haa da, ek?**
 one wants too all on stroke have then not
 'You want to have everything in order then, you know?'

The contrast between a zero-determined NP and the same NP used with a determiner is seen in (26):

- (26) **aber ik sen, fuar en paar jaar jir bi strön wesen Julu',**
 but I am for a few year here by beach been Julius
da wiar diar uk sa'n Strömung, di gair sa twärt tō di strön.
 then was there too so a current the goes so horizontal to the beach
 'But I was at the beach a few years ago, Julius, and there was another current that
 went parallel to the beach'

Whereas *strön* in the syntagm *bi strön wiis* (and similar syntagms) refers to the beach as a general entity, the same noun as it occurs at the end of the speaker's discourse excerpted in (26) makes reference to a specific portion of the beach, and a determiner is used in the prepositional phrase. (The larger context from which the excerpt in (26) occurred is given as (27) in the following section.)

6.1.4. Discourse Topics, Hierarchies, and Intermediate Structures

Sequences of intonation units naturally group into topical clusters, "aggregates of semiactive information that segment a conversation into chunks" (Chafe 1994:135). Such discourse topics are verbalized by speakers when they are judged to be interesting in the sense of being relevant or in potential conflict with a listener's expectations. Topics, once activated, can be explored via elicitation, as in interactional conversation, or narration, by which topics are internally sustained. Topics in the give-and-take of conversation often group into supertopics, the "unifying ideas persisting in semiactive consciousness" (Chafe 1994:145) whose existence in the minds of the interlocutors occasion full activation of the "basic-level" topics in the first place. Within (basic-level) topics, interactional conversation can be steered by one or more of the conversants, while narratives generally have recognizable patterns of development, or schemas, that determine internal topic structure. Intermediate between basic-level topics on the one hand and, on the other, individual intonation units, in each of

which a speaker focuses consciousness at a given moment, are sentences, or superfoci of consciousness. Analysis of discourse data shows that in much of actual conversation and even narrative, the sequences of intonation units over which such superfoci are frequently spread often but not always result in syntactically complete sentences, whether or not prosodic features indicate finality. Instead, boundaries between superfoci of consciousness are set when the speaker seems to judge a coherent "unit of content" or "center of interest" (Chafe 1994:143) to have been reached.

The following excerpt is from a conversation in Weesterlön in which the main speakers are two brothers, B and J; also present are B's wife, G, who understands Sörling quite well but rarely speaks it, and a Sörling-speaking visitor from abroad, S. This portion of a longer conversation had begun with S's remark that he had not been to the beach on Söl, which he expected to be very crowded. J and B confirmed the crowdedness of much of the beach; B reported the possibility of finding out-of-the-way places with fewer people, then noted that the water was still too cold for swimming. J continues on the overall theme of seabathing with his own perspective on the topic of going into the water:

(27)

a B ..] Hat es mi olter kuul.	it is me too cold
b J Ik haa ja en paar jaar ek baaret me X	I have yes a few year not bathed with X
c G n=ee=	no
d B Julu-	(name truncated)
e es et .. olter kuul momentan.	it is too cold at the moment
f B ... 'a dü kumst dach weder tö baarin.	oh you come indeed again to bathe
g J Nee- ik haa jens-	no I have once
h ik haa jens e=h,	I have once eh
i es sa% wil ik gaar ek sa,	it so want I at-all not so
j .. gewichtig aber,	significant but
k ik haa min wüf jens e=h,	I have my wife once eh
l me leest kraft rausholet,	with last strength pulled-out
m S ah?	oh
n J en jü wiar bal dreent,	and she was soon drowned
o B en malöör!	a tragedy
p S ah	oh
q J en ..	and
r .. jü heer dach en paar,	she has indeed a few
s .. daagen ön di Intensivstation lair.	days in the intensive-care ward lain
t jü wel ek muar dial tö weeter.	she wants not more down to water
u en ik haa bit nü jit imer sa en bet	and I have until now yet always a bit
Rücksicht no=men.	consideration taken
v G & S ja=	yes
w J ik teenk mi,	I think me
x let et man wiis!	let it but be
y G ja ja	yes yes
z J aber,	but
aa %irgendwan eh,	sometime eh
bb mut ik dach jens sii,	must I indeed once say

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cc nū wel ik dach jens weder baari.
 dd G ja=
 ee @@@@
 ff B ik kūr ek,
 gg ik kūr det !ek forstuun,
 hh ..hurdeling jit diar tō malōōr kemen sen.
 ii J jeje
 jj B aber ik sen,
 kk fuar en paar jaar jir bi strōn wésen
 Julu',
 ll da wiar diar uk,
 mm sa'n Strō=mung,
 nn J [mhm]
 oo B ..di gair sa !twért tō di strōn.
 pp ... ik sen bluat,
 qq ..diar,
 rr !knap bit tō Mitten òn weeter wesen
 ss ... dū,
 tt di heer mi's binai di biin wech.rewen.
 uu J a'a
 vv S oi
 ww B Es ist gáns kolosal Strömung.
 xx Ken di äptrer!
 yy ..obwohl bi bi normale weder,
 zz ... diar es di Strom nicht.
 aaa aber diar ken betken unruhig es,
 bbb .. da kenst dū Pech haa,
 ccc dat dū òn sa'n Strömung X X X
 ddd J ik weet-
 eee ik weet uk ek hurdeling XXXX
 ff B wū sen jen.mol,
 ggg ..bi Hörnem sen jen.mol,
 hhh ... soowen of twelev jungen,
 iii bi !jens òn Ström' wech.rewen.
 jjj' weest dit jit?
 kkk J aja
 ll S oh= .. òn Tinem?
 mmm B òn Hörnem.
 nnn trii of sjuur dreenkt.
 ooo J det wiar Dütsken.
 ppp naja en klas,
 qq q mhm.
 rrr B en skuulklas.
 sss J Dit wiar en Lehrer.in,

now want I indeed once again to-bathe
 yes
 (laughter)
 I could not
 I could it not understand
 how yet there to tragedy come are
 yep
 but I am
 for a few year here by beach been Julu'

 then was there too
 so a current
 mhm
 that goes so crosswise to the beach
 I am only
 there
 scarcely until to middle in water been
 you
 that has me'? almost the legs away.ripped
 yes
 wow
 it is(GER) whole colossal current
 can you away.
 carry although(GER) by normal weather
 there is the current not(GER)
 but there can bit uneasy is [=become]
 then can you bad-luck have
 that you in so a current x x x
 I know
 I know too not how XXX
 we are one.time
 by Hörnem are one.time
 seven or twelve children
 suddenly in current away.ripped
 know-2SG that yet
 oh yes
 oh ... in Tinem
 in Hörnem
 three or four drowned
 that was/were Germans
 naja a class
 mhm
 a schoolclass
 that was a teacher.FEM(GER)

ttt en jū her,	and she had
uuu ..jū her jīt sair,	she had yet said
vvv nū faati juu ali õ=n,	now grasp you all in
www ... ja haa sik uk anscheinend õnfaadet,	they have REFL too apparently in-grasped
yyy .. en likert es et pasiaret.	and nonetheless is it happened
zzz B Jū reft jam wech,	she rips them away
a' dū kenst dit gaar ek fuarstel.	you can that at-all not imagine
b' S ja ja, naa' naa', naan.	yes yes, no no, no
c' J mhm.	mhm

((J: I haven't gone swimming the last few years with X. B: It's too cold right now, but you'll go swimming again. J: No, once I - I don't want to make it so important - but one time I pulled my wife out of the water with my last bit of energy, and she had almost drowned, B: a tragedy! J: and she was in intensive care a couple of days. She doesn't want to go in the water anymore, and until now I've always taken that into consideration, thinking Just let it be! But sometime I'm going to have to say, now I do want to go swimming again. B: I couldn't understand how that could happen, but a few years ago I went to the beach here, there was an undertow too, it goes horizontal to the beach. I was barely in the middle of the water, and the undertow nearly pulled my legs out from under me. There's a really huge undertow, can carry you away! Although in normal weather, there is no undertow, but it can get a little rough, and then you can have the bad luck to get caught in such an undertow XXXX. J: I don't know either how XXXX B: Once near Hömem seven or twelve kids were suddenly torn away, you remember? J: yeah S: where was that? B: in Hömem, three or four drowned. B: They were Germans, well a class. B: a schoolclass. J: There was a (female) teacher, and she'd said hold onto each other, apparently they were holding onto each other, and it happened anyway. B: It tore them away, you can't imagine what it's like!))

In unsteered conversation such as this, subtopics are introduced and bring about a drift of the overall theme in one or more directions. In this particular case, the overall thrust of the discourse, and the direction to which a great preponderance of the speakers' language was devoted, turned out to be not the relative crowdedness of the local beaches, a notion introduced by S just before the excerpted portion of the conversation, but rather various reasons for not going into the water. This supertopic then developed through three distinct basic-level topics, narrative in character and "chained" together. With certain deviations, each of these basic-level topics follow a pattern of narrative development according to the schema: orientation, complication, climax, denouement, and, optionally, a coda in which a final assessment is made (Chafe 1994:127ff).

Through successive turns in the discourse, topic development is as follows:

(see next page)

SUPERTOPIC:
Reasons not to go into the water

	NARRATIVE 1:J (g) -> (ee)	NARRATIVE 2:B (ij) -> (ccc)	NARRATIVE 3:B/J (fff) -> (c')
<u>orientation</u>	g-j: apology	jj-kk: own encounter	fff-ggg: localization lll-mmm: repeat
<u>complication</u>	k-m: rescue	ll-oo: presence of current	ooo-vvv circumstances
<u>climax</u>	n-x: result	pp-tt: danger experienced	hhh-kkk tragedy nnn result www-yyy reason
<u>denouement</u>	z-ee: wish	ww-xx: induction	zzz sum-up
<u>coda</u>	-	yy-ccc: generalization	a' generalization

Both of the first two (mini-)narratives are related by a single speaker, being the person who had actually experienced that which is being related. Listener reactions occur in IUs (y) and (uu)-(vv) to the climaxes of their respective narratives. Narrative 3, by contrast, concerns a third-party incident rather than a subjective one. Developed alternately by both B and J, it not surprisingly shows some deviation from the regular narrative schema: almost without introduction, the climax is announced early (hhh-kkk, nnn), followed by an outline of the circumstances of the tragedy (ooo-vvv) and a return to the climactic moment for an elaboration of the announcement early on.

Forming transitions between the basic-level topics, and thereby providing cohesion for the supertopic, are B's remark extending over three intonation units (ff)-(hh), with a brief reaction from J in IU (ii), and J's observation (partially obscured) in (ddd)-(eee). In the first transition, B is making an explicit link between the cause of the near-tragedy with B's wife and his own experience with the undertow. In the second, J evidently is about to link the commentary in B's just-finished narrative to the previous transition about not knowing how dangerous the undertow was: as the ascending drama of the incidents shows, what makes the undertow so dangerous is precisely that its power is unimaginable. B seems to take no notice of J's remark in (ddd)-(eee), however, and launches directly into the account of the ill-fated field trip. This account, as noted, then becomes a collaborative effort, as the two brothers both contribute to its narration.

Since the basic-level topics themselves occur in ascending order of dramatic impact, the overall effect is a similar pattern in the development of the supertopic itself (the italicized subtopics are those presented in (27)):

- (i) crowdedness of beach (S)
spots for swimming, but *water now too cold* (B)
- (ii) *private reason for not swimming & desire to swim again* (J)

another experience with the undertow (B)
incident near Hörnem (B, J)

(iii) safety measures (J, B)

An inspection of the prosody and grammar of (27) reveals that terminal pitch contour and syntactic completeness often co-occur, but that there are certain divergences as well. Co-occurrence of these features is particularly frequent in opening exchanges (IUs a,b,e,f) and in dramatic conclusions to subtopics (IUs t, oo, tt, ww). During the narrative passages, terminal pitch is found less frequently as speakers' consciousness spreads over longer stretches of information and, accordingly, includes more intonation units; what is potentially syntactic completeness becomes sequentially ordered in coordinate clauses, as in IUs (k)-(s). Even in the narrative passages, however, complement clauses are seen to occur in their own intonation units (IUs x, cc, hh, uuu as well as the acoustically indeterminate ones in IUs ccc and eee). The greatest divergence between prosody and syntax takes place in the account of the ill-fated field trip beginning at IU (fff). No terminal pitch is found before either of the IUs (www) or (a'), even though both are syntactically main clauses; the lack of terminal pitch suggests that the speaker's focus of consciousness in these cases extended beyond explication (in IUs vvv and zzz, respectively) to causation and summary. Conversely, the sequence (mmm)-(rrr) includes five terminal pitches, only two of which (nnn, ooo) come at the end of clauses or partial clauses. It is as if the finality of the tragedy is reflected in the speakers' discussion of the incident.

The following excerpt is the portion of conversation that followed directly the second, longer narrative presented in section 2.6.2.3. S is visiting W, a retired sea captain, and his wife A in Muasem. First there is an extended narrative by W ((a)-(d')), and after some brief interaction in which A starts to expand on what happened ((e')-(n')), W resumes with a shorter narrative ((o')-(k'')).

In terms of topic organization, the longer narrative is interesting for its lack of a clear climax. W begins with introductory remarks which provide the listeners with spatial and temporal orientation:

	(28)	
a Eeder di kriich jir,		after the war here
b ja		yes
c her wü niin skeepen e=n,		had we no ships and
d ...jir,		here
e ...Söl,		Söl
f jert jaa.tö di E=ngelsk,	belonged yes to the English
g ... e=h,		eh
h ... jir wiar Engländer,		here were English
i üs biseeting jir.		as occupation here

((After the war, we had no ships here on Söl, Söl was occupied by the English, ...))

The complication begins with more background information of a general nature:

	(29)	
j En,		and
k .. em fing niin forlof,		one got no permission
l fan di .. Engelsman,		from the Englishman
m ... üp déénsk,		on Danish
n .. skeepen tō faaren.		ships to travel
n ... Dit wiar al diar daamals jit sa'n,		that was already there back-then yet so a
o straawiar,		controversy (?)
p ..skel deensk uur,		shall Danish become
q skel det dütsk bliiv,		shall that German remain
r en sa fiider.		and so forth

((... and they wouldn't permit you to sail on Danish ships. There was still some back and forth then about whether it should become Danish or remain German and such. ...))

and then turns more subjective:

	(30)	
s .. En di rederii ön Kopenhagen,		And the shipping-company in Copenhagen
t A.P. Möller,		A.P. Möller
u ... hi skreev mi da,		he wrote me then
v ... ik skul raisi tō Bremerhaven.		I should travel to Bremerhaven
w Bremerhaven wiar en .. amerikansk enklave,		Bremerhaven was an American enclave
x .. det wiar ék engelsk.		that was not English
y .. en %ik kum diarhen,		and I come there.HEN
z ... en ik her sa'n litj,		and I had so a little
aa tjüch.sak me.nomen,		stuff.sack with.taken
bb ik sair tō min wüf,		I said to my wife
cc hat es nü en paar daagen Jööl,		it is now a few days Christmas
ddd .. ik kum entweder weder tō Jööl,		I come either again to Christmas
ee of ik bliiv tau jaar wech.		or I remain two years away
ff ... En da ön Bremerhaawen,		and then in Bremerhaven
gg da ging ik me di koptain,		then went I with the captain
hh .. me di deensk koptain,		with the Danish captain
ü Rasmussen jit hi=,		Rasmussen was-called he
jj hen tō di=,		HEN to the
kk .. American Port Captain,		American Port Captain
ll en hi sair da,		and he said then
mm .. ik weet noch jit dat di d-		I know enough yet that the
nn eh deensk koptain sair heer		eh Danish captain said has
oo Gentlemen,		Gentlemen
pp want to sign on		want to sign on
qq –diar wiar jen muar.		there was one more
rr .. En da sair h-		And then said

ss Oh ja,	Oh yes
tt why not,	why not
uu please go ahead.	please go ahead
vv Luki @@	look
ww Det wiar di forskel dach @	that was the difference indeed
xx wiar ik wech.	was I away
(S uh huh)	uh huh
yy en da	and then
zz ..tört ik ek muar luuri üp di engel-	needed I not more wait on the Engl-

((... And the shipping company in Copenhagen, A.P. Möller, wrote me that I should go to Bremerhaven. Bremerhaven was an American enclave, it wasn't English. And I went there, and I'd taken a small duffel bag with me, I said to my wife, it'll be Christmas in a couple of days, I'll either be back for Christmas or be gone for two years. Then in Bremerhaven I went with the captain, with the Danish captain, Rasmussen was his name, to the American Port Captain, and he said, I remember well that the Danish captain said, Gentlemen, want to sign on? -- there was another guy along. And then h[e] said, Oh yes, why not, please go ahead. Look, that was a big difference, and I was gone. (uh huh) and then I no longer had to wait around for the English, ...))

The sequence starting at (aaa) presents a spatial shift in the narrative, and what sounds like a potential climax in (fff), especially since it echoes the idea of represented by wech 'away' in (xx), becomes anticlimactic instead with the explanation that follows in (ggg)-(kkk):

	(31)
aaa En @da kām nū@ aur tō,	and then came now over to
bbb New York,	New York
ccc en kām uk weder tōbéék,	and came too again back
ddd ...en da [se'] ja jit tō Hamborig,	and then ??? they/yes yet to Hamburg
eee en da taacht ja al,	and then thought they/yes already
fff nū haali ja di weder wéch.	now fetch they you again away
ggg Man,	but
hhh ön.twesken wiar det äpheewen.	in.between was that upward. lifted
iii Ön.twesken kūr em uk,	in.between could one too
jjj gur X-	good X
kkk fair em uk forlof fan di Engländer.	gets one too permission from the English

((...and then I went over to New York and came back again, and then X on to Hamburg, and yes [I] thought immediately, now they're going to take you away. But in the meantime it [the ban] had been lifted, in the meantime you could readily- you could get permission from the English....))³

A mild climax then follows:

(32)

³ The form [ja] here is indeterminate, since this pronunciation, which corresponds to High German *ja* 'yes; after all', has supplanted native Sölring [jɔ:]/[jo:] <jaa>. Cf. 2.3.

lll En da sen ik tau jaar,
 mmm ..rund om di wārel gingen,
 nnn .. me det skep.
 ooo Langsen fan New York tō New York,
 ppp .. Panama Canal üt,
 qqq ..Japan,
 rrr alerweegen Indien,
 sss Suez Canal tōbeek,
 ttt en weder runt .. om.

and then am I two year
 round around the world gone
 with that ship
 always from New York to New York
 Panama Canal out
 Japan
 everywhere India
 Suez Canal back
 and again round around

((... And then I went around the world on that ship for two years. It was always from New York to New York, out the Panama Canal, [to] Japan, everywhere India, back [through] the Suez Canal, and back around again. ...))

and this is enlarged upon in a denouement presenting, quite literally, a return to normalcy:

	(33)	
uuu Tau mol,		two times
vvv weesterfuur,		westerly
www en jen mol,		and one time
xxx uasterfuur.		easterly
yyy ... Me weest.koors en uast.koors,		with west.course and east.course
zzz kumt em weder tōbeek,		comes one again back
a' tō di.salev stair.		to the.self place

((...Two times to the west and once to the east. Traveling west and east, you always return to the same spot...))

In the coda, the speaker sums up the significance of the experience:

	(34)	
b' En,		and
c' fuar mi di leest teeken,		for me the last sign
d' dat di wārel wirklich rund es.		that the world really round is
(@@@)		(laughter)

((...And for me that was the ultimate proof that the world really is round. @@@))

Speaker A next starts to continue the narrative, which is then resumed by W. With A's remarks providing a transition from the longer narrative, no substantial orientation is necessary, but there is a reaction from S seeking confirmation of an idea:

d^o det paset hōm ek rocht. that suited him not right
 ((...It was OK for me to visit during the day, but that I was going to stay overnight, that didn't really
 suit him. ...))

and, finally, repeated as part of the coda:

	(38)
e ^o Hi fraag@et:	he asked
f ^o wan wet@ dü tüs?	when want you homeward
g ^o @Hi-	he
h ^o hi kūr-	he could
i ^o hi kūr eeder snaki,	he could early talk
j ^o @XXXX tüs bi bër XXXX	XXXX homeward by bed XXXX
k ^o .. wan wet dü tüs?	when want you homeward

((... S: @@ W: He asked, When are you going home? He could talk early, XXXhome in
 bedXXXXX, when are you going home?))

Aside from issues of topic development and organization, the longer narrative (intonation units (a)-(d^o)) is interesting for a number of reasons. A slight shift in the speaker/experiencer's point-of-view occurs in (eee)-(fff), where W is reporting what could only have been his own thoughts upon sailing back to Hamburg (where the English were in authority):

(39) ddd ...en da [se¹] ja jit tō Hamborig,
 and then ??? they/yes yet to Hamburg
 eee en da taacht ja al,
 and then thought they/yes already
 fff nū haali ja di weder wéch.
 now fetch they/yes you again away

The unstressed form *ja* could mean 'they' or 'yes', which is often used as a discourse particle in the sense of 'indeed, after all', so its occurrence in all three intonation units is ambiguous as to meaning. The most recently specified subject had been the pronoun *ik* in IU (zz); the intervening sequence (aaa)-(ccc) contained no overt subject, but it seems clear that the idea of the first-person subject was being carried forward elliptically. In any case, the (ultimately groundless) fear spelled out in IU (fff), containing the 2SG. non-subject pronoun *di*, takes the form of a reported thought, one in which W is purporting to quote his misgiving as it actually took place. Sequences of reported speech occur in (cc)-(ee) and, with code-switching, in (oo)-(uu).

Shifts in tense/aspect are found in each of these cases of reported speech and thought, from the preponderant preterite verb forms to present. Because most verbs in Sölring -- all regular verbs and, among the irregulars, *hiir*, *sii*, *skiin*, *teev*, *tört*, and *treer* -- have inflected forms that are indeterminate as to Preterite or 3SG.Pres. (e.g. *jert* 'hears/heard', *sair* 'says/said', *skintj* 'seems/seemed', *teeft*

'waits/waited', *tört* (ek) 'needs/needed (not)', and *trat* 'steps/stepped'),⁴ only two other intonation units, (y) and (kkk), contain verbs that are incontrovertibly present in form:

(40) y en %ik kum diarhen,
and I come there.HEN

(41) kkk fair em uk forlof fan di Engländer.
got one too permission from the English

Both instances mark significant moments in the narrative. The speaker's trip to Bremerhaven to get work, recounted in (y), was the crucial step in actually securing a vessel, and the fact that the English finally lifted their ban on sailing aboard Danish ships was (perhaps) the essential reason W was not in fact taken off board upon the ship's return to a port of English jurisdiction. This use of the present tense in (kkk), contrasts with the preterite found in (k):

(42) k .. em fing niin forlof,
one got no permission

and there is indeed an indication that W reformulated his expression of this important circumstance in his narration; (kkk) repairs a formulation begun with a modal preterite:

(43) iii öntwesken kūr em uk,
inbetween could one too
jij gur X-
good X-

In what seems most like a climax, the sequence (III)-(ttt), then, there is a final shift in tense/aspect to the perfect:

(44) III En da sen ik tau jaar,
and then am I two year
mmm .. runt om di wārel gingen,
round around the world gone
nnn .. me det skep.
with that ship

(The following intonation units, (ooo)-(xxx), list places along the ship's route without including a verb.)

The single instance of left-dislocation in either of the longer or the shorter narrative in (28)-(38), found in (s)-(u), involves a referent that was seemingly new to the discourse:

⁴ In addition, because vowel length is often relativized in fast speech, present tense *heer* 'has' and preterite *her* 'had' can also be indistinguishable; see 3.3.1.2.2.3.

(45) s En di reederii òn Kopenhagen,
 and the shipping-agent in Copenhagen
 t A.P. Möller,
 u ... hi skreev mi da,
 he wrote me then

Even though for people involved in commercial shipping ventures, such as sea captains, the idea of a shipping agent might be immediately activated in the context of commercial shipping, the speaker here seems not to have assumed such accessibility on behalf of his listeners. The extensive identifying language that follows *di reederii*, both a prepositional phrase specifying the location of the agent and the apposition of the company name, suggest that the speaker felt the referent needed some elaboration (*òn Kopenhagen* also provides the very relevant information that the shipping agent was in Denmark).

6.2. Code-Mixing and Code-Switching

As seen in a number of the examples already presented in this chapter, Sörling discourse rather frequently incorporates, to greater or lesser extents, material from other languages. *Codeswitching* and *codemixing* are phenomena that involve the inclusion in conversation not only of individual words and phrases from a second language, but also sounds and bound morphemes as well as whole passages of discourse. In this section, *switching* codes will mean the use of non-Sörling material by a speaker as a result of what seems to be a more or less conscious decision to do so, while *codemixing* will refer to the use of second-language material with little or no apparent consciousness of the use of non-Sörling material. The distinction between the two, which is made by some researchers (e.g. in Gibbons (1987), but not by others (e.g. in Myers-Scotton 1993), seems merited by analysis of the Sörling data and more generally of language use in North Frisia: although the distinction between mixing and switching is hardly clear-cut and analytically entails some subjectivity, it is nonetheless useful in capturing the two broad phenomena that are behind in use of non-Frisian language in Frisian discourse (see 6.2.2., footnote 8).

A meaningful discussion of codeswitching and codemixing in Sörling can only proceed from a consideration of the sociolinguistic factors that have shaped the development of the speech community historically. To summarize the discussion of these in 1.1. and 1.4.: throughout the historical period in which Sörling has been spoken, the language has been surrounded at very close quarters by a number of different but related languages. For centuries, speakers of Sörling made their livelihoods in situations of intense language contact in activities such as whaling, commercial fishing, and trading. In these activities, Danish, Dutch, Low Saxon and High German were the languages of contact, and bi- and multilingualism among many of the inhabitants of Söl, particularly the males, was one result.

Today, as a consequence of political, economic and social developments over the past 150 years, the rich tradition of language contact has narrowed to a heavy reliance upon the national standard language of Germany as virtually the sole source of borrowings and other contact phenomena. Given the very significant role High German plays in the lives of today's speakers of Sörling – all of whom are totally proficient in German – reliance on the national standard is a constant of Sörling life. Commercially, culturally, and, increasingly, domestically, German has become the functionally predominant medium of communication for most speakers of Sörling, and under these circumstances it would be surprising if

German had not attained a position of very considerable psychological importance, becoming a cognitively indispensable part of the lives of Sölring speakers.

Under these circumstances, speakers of Sölring have a certain predisposition to take recourse to German in their own discourse. This predisposition is strengthened by the genetically-derived structural similarity between the two languages. With the absorption into Sölring of an increasing number of features from German grammar over the years – phonology, semantics, lexis, and morphosyntax – the distinction between Sölring and German has blurred, one result being that today's speakers might often be unaware that they are actually mixing the two in their patterns of speech. (Recall the observations by Runge in 4.1.2.4. and Hofmann in 4.1.2.2., and cf. Lasswell (1998).) As suggested by the term "mix", there are no doubt varying degrees of consciousness involved in using structures that, from the perspective of traditional Sölring, are alien in the sense that they derive not from the native grammatical system, but rather from the grammar of German. From a synchronic perspective, many structures have simply become a part of modern speakers' Sölring.

Although High German is not the only non-Sölring language speakers use in their discourse, as a matter of either switching or mixing, it certainly is by far the most common. The historical contact languages Low Saxon and Danish can also appear in discourse, as can English, as in (30) in 6.1.4. Despite the absence of historical recordings, it seems certain that Low Saxon, as the regional *lingua franca* in the past, and Danish, as an administrative language and a language of close proximity, formerly played much greater roles in Sölring discourse, but as their historical importance has diminished, so has their significance in the speech of speakers on Söl (see 1.1.2.-1.1.4.).

It will be useful to characterize instances of codeswitching and codemixing according to criteria of speakers' apparent motivations for incorporating non-Sölring material into their speech. The following discussion will focus on the internal, external, and intermediate types of motivations for these phenomena.

6.2.1. Internal Motivations for Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

Despite the functional and psychological importance of German on Söl, not all instances of codeswitching and codemixing among Sölring speakers derive from this circumstance. The data suggest at least five distinct (though certainly not discrete) types of internal motivations⁵ for using a second (or third) language during discourse:

- 1) by habit, the speaker apparently being unaware that mixture is taking place ("zero motivation");⁶

⁵ Since motivations in this sense are psychological in nature and a speaker's consciousness is normally not open to inspection, the appropriateness of the term "apparently" is evident. The general sociolinguistic conditions of the functional indispensability and cultural dominance of German are factors basic to individual psychological motivations.

⁶ It could be argued that habitual use of structures from German are, from the synchronic standpoint, not instances of code-mixing (6.2.), but the present analytic perspective is not strictly synchronic.

- 2) in order to encode concepts that are not readily encodable in Sölring ("encoding motivation");
- 3) to clarify and elaborate ("clarifying motivation");
- 4) to achieve certain rhetorical effects, as by the use of interjections and discourse organizers ("rhetorical motivation");
- 5) to present quoted material in its original form ("quotative motivation").

In the following sections, each of these internal motivations will be discussed in turn.

6.2.1.1. Zero-Motivation

Ultimately, codeswitching of this type derives from full bilingualism and interference between codes. In this case, speakers of Sölring appear to use German unawares, that is, to mix German morphology and lexis into their discourse, as a result of the trend of structural convergence and dialectalization of Sölring with respect to the national standard. The excerpt in (46) is revealing because it makes explicit the factors involved in a significant amount of mixing occurring in the usage of at least one speaker. The speaker is a young woman living on the mainland; part of this excerpt was also discussed in 4.1.2.4.⁷

<p>a <u>aber</u> ik haa jit nimer <u>so viel</u> om taacht b of ik dit tösjuk en sok saaken üp Sölring c tö siien. Ik <i>snaki</i> <i>eenfach</i> <i>luas</i> en ... <u>mixi</u> d det ales of <u>also</u> diar kumt sa Dütsk en e Sölring en hat gair ek üders <u>weil</u> didiar f uurter keen ik bluut üp Dütsk, <u>ja?</u> ... Nee, g hat es <u>richtig</u>, <u>aber</u> ... ik sü uk ek 'kram', h ik sü 'koopman' det es binai, det es muar i Plat, teenk ik, ... sü wü uk 'koopman'.</p> <p>...(wärewin) ...</p> <p>j <i>Ach so</i>, luki det keen ik uk ek 'ik gung tö k <u>iinkoopen</u>!' ik keen en masse ual Sölring l uurter <u>überhaupt</u> ek muar.</p> <p>(Em wel dat di spraak—) m Aurlwet ja. Nee, det liiv ik det det n funktioniareet uk ek ... <i>ik ken et mi jeden-</i> o <u>falls</u> ek <i>fuarstel</i>. ... hat jeft <i>fuul tö fuul</i> p saaken dänen em deling üp Sölring <u>gar</u></p>	<p>(46)</p> <p>but I have yet never so much about thought whether I it [a word] look-for and such things in Sölring to say. I talk simply away and ... mix it all up so there comes so German and Sölring and it goes not otherwise because those words know I only in German, yes? No, that is correct, but ... I say too not 'kram', I say 'koopman' that is almost, that's more Platt, think I, ... say we too 'koopman'.</p> <p>(the word <u>wärewin</u>?)</p> <p>Ach so, look that know I too not 'ik gung tö <u>iinkoopen</u>!' I know a mass old Sölring words at-all not more. ...</p> <p>(One wants that the language —) survives, yes. No, that believe I that that functions too not. ... I can it me in-any-case not imagine. ... there give many to many things</p>
---	---

⁷ Here as in the earlier presentation, words taken directly from German will be underlined and expressions apparently modeled on German are italicized; subsequently, however, highlighting of Germanisms will be restricted to those types that are specifically under discussion in each subsection.

q ek muar sii ken. En *det jert sich uk*
r *weder künstlich ön, finj ik.*

(em wel ek, dat S. en dütsk dialekt uur)

s *Ja* det haa ik ek om taacht. Det stemet ja
t uk. Hat es en ual spraak, *aber irgendwas*
u es *wahrscheinlich* stuunenblewen. ... di
v ganze *Fortschritt* ...en da da uur det
w *tatsächlich* sa dat *man nämlich*—ik
x snaki ja uk weder ön *ganze Sätze* hur
y *bestimmt* fif uurter Dütsk sen... Ik haa
z dit *Gefühl* dat ik *ganz üders* me min
aa aalern forbünen sen üs üder liren det
bb mai min *iindruch* wiis. *Filecht* es et *eher*
cc *Blödsinn* *aber* aaft teenk ik det wat es
dd betken *Geheimsprache* oder wat ...
ee *eegentlich*... ik *haa det Gefühl*, et es en
ff betken düeper.

((That's so, but I've never thought much about looking for it [a certain word] to be able to say it in Sölring. I just talk naturally and mix it all up, there's German and Sölring together and there's no other way because I only know those words in German, see? No, that's right, but ... I don't say "kram" [store], I say "koopman" [merchant], that's almost, that's more Low Saxon, I think ... [in LS] we say "koopman" too. (... "wärewin" [run errands, go shopping].) Ach so, you see, I don't know that one either, "Ik gung tö iinkoopan" [I'm going shopping]! There're a lot of old Sölring words that I don't know at all. ... (People want the language—) To survive, yes. No, I don't think it'll work. I can't imagine it at any rate. ... There are far too many things nowadays that one can't say in Sölring. And it sounds really artificial to me. (There are people who don't want the language to become a dialect of German.) Yes, I hadn't thought about that. That's right. It's an old language, but something seems to have stood still somewhere. ... all the progress. ... and then it really does happen that one just — I too speak in whole sentences where five of the words are German. I have a feeling that my relationship to my parents is much different than other people's — maybe that's just my impression, maybe it's just nonsense, but I often think [with Sölring, my parents and I have] something of a secret language. ... actually, I have a feeling it [our relationship] goes a little bit deeper.))

The italicized expressions in (46) are Sölring assimilations of German morphosyntactic patterns; in order of occurrence, the correspondences are: *rede einfach los* 'talk away', *ich kann es mir...nicht vorstellen* 'I can't imagine [it]', *viel zu viel* 'much too much', *das hört sich auch wieder künstlich an* 'that sounds artificial', *find' ich* (with final consonance from German) 'I find ~ to me, in my opinion', *ganz anders* 'completely different', and *(ich) habe das Gefühl, (daß)* '(I) have the feeling (that)'. These instances of codemixing are symptomatic of the high degree of influence from German in the speaker's usage of Sölring. Aside from the assimilated Germanisms, this passage contains a large number of unassimilated expressions from German, but it is perhaps most revealing for the explicit

which one today in Sölring at-all
not more say can. And it hears REFL too
again artificial in, find I.

(one wants not, that S. a German dialect
becomes)

Yes that have I not about thought that is-
correct yes too. It is an old language, but
something is probably standing-stayed. ... the
whole progress... and then then becomes that
really so that one namely—I talk —
yes too again in whole sentences where surely
five words German are. ...I have the feeling that
I wholly others with my parents
connected am as other people that may my
impression be. Maybe is it rather
nonsense but often think I that what is
little-bit secret language or what.
really ... I have the feeling it is a
little-bit deeper.

comments on the speaker's reasons for using German and the results of this usage. (For further discussion, see 4.1.2.4.)

Older speakers, too, embed German words in their Sölring discourse with little discernible motivation; in (47), the attributions in German "stand in for" Sölr. *mal bliid* 'very happy' and a range of possible synonyms.

- (47)
- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| a | Det jert höm sa gaar ek sa ön, | It sounded REFL so at-all not so in, |
| b | dat ja dröönken wiar. | that they drunk were |
| c | Ja wiar bluas <u>mächtig lustig</u>, | They were simply very merry, |
| d | <u>vergnügt</u>. | amused |

((It didn't really sound like they were drunk. They were just real merry, having a good time.))

In some cases, German lexis in Sölring discourse clearly derives from speakers' patterns of expression in the national standard. The speaker in (48) is the same as in the previous example:

- (48)
- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|----------------------|
| a | hat wiar sa, | that was so, |
| b | wiar sa, | was so |
| c | <u>Gang und Gäbe</u>. | <i>Gang und Gäbe</i> |

((It was so, so normal.))

The idiomatic German coordinate NP in (48c) is quite common in the national standard, where it typically occurs with copular verb just as it has here.

- (49) **Hi wiar en Seele fan Mensch.**
he was a soul of human
'He was a wonderful person'

The mixed phrase in (49) is a partial assimilation of Ger. *eine Seele von Mensch*; rather than totally assimilating the expression as ~*en siil fan mensk* and thus fashioning a calqued idiom, the speaker has left the contentful lexemes in the original and fitted them to Sölring structure words.

- (50)
- | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| a | Sven Simon <u>neemt hi sik</u>. | he called himself S.S. |
| b | Det wiar <u>üt di taust Ehe</u>. | that was from the second marriage |
| c | En hi <u>heer sik dit leewent nomen</u>. | And he took his life. |

((He called himself S.S. He was from the second marriage. And he took his own life.))

This sequence is revealing in that all three IU's show influence from German. Traditionally, names are reported in Sölring using the middle verb *jit* 'be called'; *neemt .. sik* in (50a) seems to be modeled on

the German reflexive *nennt sich* 'call oneself', with *sik* a loan from Low Saxon that is used alongside trad. Sölr. *höm* 'him(self)/it(self)', *hōör* 'her(self)', *jam* 'them(selves)' and is undoubtedly reinforced by its correspondence to HG *sich* (the source of LS *sik*; see 3.2.). In (b), Ger. *Ehe* 'marriage' stands at the end of a prepositional phrase with *üt* 'out of, from', the phrase apparently calquing Ger. *aus der zweiten Ehe*; in discussing the offspring of a man who had been married several times, as here, the speaker might have said something like ~*Det wiar fan sin taust wüf* 'that was from his second wife', but the pattern actually used seems to have been quite natural to the speaker; it is likely that the topic had been discussed in German before. The expression in (c) again parallels the national Standard, cp. Ger. *Er hat sich das Leben genommen*; the IU involves no overt German lexis, but the same proposition might have been conveyed as ~ *hi heer sin ain leewent nomen* 'he took his own life' or, with emphatic reflexive, ~*hi heer hōmsalev duar maaket* 'he made himself dead = killed himself'.

Altogether, the pervasiveness of zero-motivated codeswitching points to the magnitude of structural influence on Sölring from the German national standard. Due to the long and intimate connection between the two languages, it would be impossible to identify all occurrences of innovation in current usage (as indeed it is difficult even to come up with a satisfactory operational definition of the notion "innovation" in this context), but a wide spectrum of structures clearly influenced by German can nonetheless be noted. In general, it can be observed that such influence tends to be greater among younger than among older speakers, but for some lexemes, and some lexical domains, it appears that German counterparts have supplanted traditional Sölring terms even for older speakers – a measure of how far back contact influence reaches. (For further discussion, cf. Lasswell 1998b.) One of these lexical domains is that of kinship terms. In (51), a speaker in his seventies first uses the German for 'relatives' and then follows it up with the Sölring term:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|
| | (51) | |
| a <i>ik haa <u>Verwandte</u>,</i> | | I have relatives |
| b <i>also frinjer,</i> | | that is relatives |
| c <i>dānen uuni ön Milwaukee.</i> | | those-ones reside in Milwaukee |

((I have *Verwandte* ['relatives'], relatives that is, they live in Milwaukee.))

In (52), a speaker in her late seventies first circumscribes a kinship relationship in Sölring and then supplies the German term for the person so related; the older Sölring term (a loan from Danish) is most 'aunt'.

- | | | |
|--|------|-----------------------------------|
| | (52) | |
| a <i>Eh, mi falt blos iin,</i> | | Uh, me falls only into, |
| b <i>en sester fan min faader,</i> | | a sister of my father |
| c <i>en <u>Tante</u>,</i> | | an aunt, |
| d <i>jü es maning jaaren ön Amerika wesen.</i> | | she is many years in America been |
| ((It just occurs to me, a sister of my father, an aunt, she was in America for many years.)) | | |

Similarly, Ger. *Onkel* 'uncle' is often heard in place of Sölr. *oom* (OE *ēam*, Dan. *oom*), and Ger. *Enkel* 'grandchild' or the mixed forms *Enkeljungen* (Sölr. *jungen* 'child/ren') and *Enkeldreeng* (Sölr. *dreeng* 'boy/son') compete with Sölr. *jungensjungen*, lit. 'children's child/ren' and *jungensdreeng*.

Perhaps more as a matter of phonetic interference than anything else, Sölr. *sester* 'sister' sometimes cannot be distinguished acoustically from Ger. *Schwester*.

6.2.1.2. Encoding Motivations

Much, and perhaps most, of the codeswitching and codemixing that occurs on Söl is done to fill lexical-semantic "gaps" in Sölring, the absence of Sölring terms for concepts and referents for which the German denotations are familiar to speakers. Since native culture on the island has in a sense been outstripped by German elements, some of these gaps derive from "deficient" development in Sölring vocabulary, others from the presence of non-native cultural accouterments such as institutions, events, values and the like, including the technological referents and concepts alluded to by the speaker in (46) as part of "*dī ganze Fortschritt*." In many cases, the "deficiency" of the native lexicon is only relative, since Standard German has lexicalized concepts that could rather easily be circumscribed in Sölring, but as a matter of convenience often are not. This is the speaker motivation that most obviously interacts with discourse topic, discussed further below in 6.2.2. as an intermediate factor in codeswitching (Cf. Lasswell 1998.)

The speaker in (53) is the same as in (46); under discussion is the prospect of her changing professions:

	(53)	
a ik nem ðn ik maaki en nii ütbildung,		I take on I make a new education
b det maat ik,		that wanted I
c also en beten,		thus a bit
d .. ðö <u>Pflicht</u>		oh obligation
e .. also ik würd ganz hol,		that-is I would wholly glad
f .. ðö <u>Schneiderin</u> maaki,		oh tailor make
g of of .. <u>Goldschmied</u> ,		or or goldsmith
h ik keen ek dit uurt üp Sölring.		I know not that word on Sölring

((I imagine I'll retrain, I'd like to, that is, [have] a little obligation, well I'd quite like to become a tailor or goldsmith, I don't know the Sölring words for that.))

In (53f-g), the speaker uses German to name the occupations she finds attractive; even though these have Sölring counterparts, *skruader* and *gulsmēr*, it is evident that these were unfamiliar, and it probably seemed quite natural to use the labels from the national standard. In (d), *Pflicht* is used directly from German, despite its clash with native phonology (the initial affricate showing the effects of the High German Sound Shift) and indeed what might be called the "global availability" of more traditional *plicht*, with unshifted consonance in the onset.

In some realms, Sölring labels simply do not exist (see 4.2.3.). The following extract occurred in the same conversation as (46) and (53); the speaker was asked if she could tell a little about her work as a nurse:

	(54)	
a Ja, ik ken en betken fortel.		yes I can a bit tell
b Also hat es ðö es et wü,		well it is uh is it we

c det wiar ek ganz eenfach
 d aber ik ken jens forsjuk
 e Öö öö ik fang miarlungs ön,
 f wü haa Schichtdienst [...]
 g dü best entweder dü staañst öö,
 h neben di dochters en,
 i also dü instrumentiarest da,
 j iivst di saaken öö,
 k oder dü best öö di Springer,
 l weet ik ek hur det jeft det üp Sölring.

that was not whole simple
 but I can once attempt
 uh uh I start mornings
 we have shift-service
 you are either you stand uh
 beside the doctors and
 that-is you pass-instruments then
 give.2SG the things uh
 or you are uh the jumper
 know I not where that gives that on Sölring

((Yes, I can talk about it some. Well, it's uh it's we – it won't be very easy but I can give it a try. uh I start in the morning – we work shifts – you're either you stand next to the surgeons and – that is, you give them the instruments and other things, or you're the troubleshooter [...] [I] don't know whether you can say that in Sölring.))

In (54c), the speaker prefaces her remarks with an observation on the prospective difficulty involved in the discussion. The difficulty seems clearly not to arise from an unfamiliarity with the topic, but rather with the frequency of codeswitching such a discussion would entail.⁸ The technical terms in (f) and (i) belong to the sphere of German hospital work; Sölring vocabulary simply does not offer a one-word alternative to either *Schichtdienst* 'shift work' or *Springer* 'jumper' (and (l) comments specifically on this with regard to the latter). In (i), the speaker has applied the native verbal morpheme and inflected it to form the assimilated counterpart of Ger. *instrumentiert* 'to manage a set of hospital instruments during a surgical procedure' as a direct means of presenting the semantic content; (g-h) and (j) are a circumscription of what is involved. German words occurring later in the same discussion – *Herz- und Gefäßchirurgie* 'cardio-vascular surgery', *Intensivstation* 'intensive care ward', *Ambulanz* 'emergency ward', and *Notfälle* 'emergencies' – were used to talk about referents for which ready Sölring denotations are simply lacking. (See also (64) and the discussion in 6.2.2.)

6.2.1.3. Clarifying and Elaborating Motivations

Closely related to the encoding motivation for switching codes is the perceived need to use German to clarify and elaborate on a concept or proposition that has just been advanced in Sölring. Of course, enlargement upon a topic or participant after introduction is natural in discourse; in cases of codeswitching, German would seem to be selected for this task primarily due to its denotative function, but perhaps also for its connotative associations:

a wü haa aaft ön Hamburg uunet.
 b En diar haa ik sa léngt om Söl.
 c Forstaanst dü?
 ((ja ja))

(55)

we have often in Hamburg resided
 and there have I so yearned around Söl
 understand you
 yes yes

⁸ A related factor for the anticipated difficulty could well be that many speakers' discussions of topics from their professional lives take place most often – if not exclusively – in German.

d Sehnsucht nach Sylt.

yearning for Söl

((We often lived in Hamburg. And there I felt such a yearning for Söl. Do you understand? (yes) Yearning for Söl.))

The speaker in (55) was talking to a non-native speaker of Sörling to whom the verb *leengen* might not have been familiar; and although the switch to German in (d) might well have been primarily in consideration of this circumstance, it seems to have resulted at least partially from a natural impulse on the speaker's part as well.

- (56)
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| a En sin wüf heer uk Sörling liirt, | and his wife has too Sörling learned |
| b jü wiar uk ek fan jir. | she was too not from here |
| c En spölt uk jens komeedi me. | and played too once theater with |
| (jü snaket gur) | she talks good |
| d Ja, jaja, det wiar man sa litj.en, | yes, yes yes, those were but so little.NOM |
| e sa <u>Sketche</u> , | so sketches |
| f wiar ek sa'n gurt stek, | was not so a big piece |

((And his wife learned Sörling too, she wasn't from here either. And she did some acting too. (she speaks well) Yes, but those were just smaller sketches, nothing really big.))

In (56e), the speaker uses a German term (borrowed from English) to refer more precisely to what she means, the circumscriptions in (d) and (f) being as close as she evidently felt she could get without switching codes.

- (57)
- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a Aber di.diar trii jungen, | but the.there three young-ones |
| b wat diar Hoogdütsk snaket, | what there High-German talked |
| c dit wiar alis fan di, | that was all from the |
| d baan.lir, [...] | [rail]road.people |
| e Fan di baan.liren, | from the road.people |
| f also fan di <u>Reichsbahn</u> , | that-is from the Reichsbahn |
| g <u>Bundesbahn</u> , | Bundesbahn |
| h En ja snaket ja bluas Hoogdütsk. | and they talked yes only High- German |

((But those three kids that spoke High German, they were all from railroad families. From railroad families, that is [to say] from the Reichsbahn [name of the German rail system until 1945], the Bundesbahn [name of the German rail system after 1945] and so they only spoke High German.))

The proper nouns in (57f-g) specify what had been referred to more generally in (d-e). The use of both names is interesting, because the second one seems to "update" for the speaker's considerably younger interlocutor the first, the *Bundesbahn*, lit. 'Federal-rail', having superceded the *Reichsbahn*, lit. 'Imperial-rail', after 1945.

6.2.1.4. Rhetorical Motivations

Speakers sometimes switch to German for reasons that might best be characterized as rhetorical effects. Such tendencies seem to be symptomatic of speakers' affective attachment to German and no doubt reflect habit as well (cp. (48) and (49) in 6.2.1.1.). Interjections are common, e.g. *Gott sei dank* 'thank God', *mein Gott* 'my God', *meine Güte* 'my goodness', *wunderbar* 'wonderful', *ja richtig!* 'right!', *Mensch!* 'horrors!', *ach nein!* 'oh no!', *Schade* '[that's a] pity', *leider* 'unfortunately' and *entsetzlich* 'terrible', as are discourse organizers like also 'that is, well', *ach so* 'oh, I see' and *siehst dü* (often in reduplication as ['zi:stə'zi:stə]).

Such interjections can also appear in the representation of thought, as in (58), and of speech (cp. (61) in 6.2.1.5.):

	(58)	
a <i>Diar teenskt dü,</i>		there think you
b <i><u>ach dü liebe Güte,</u></i>		oh you dear goodness
c <i>jir lewi ja uk wes wü jens,</i>		here live yes too surely we once
d <i>sa fuul forskel es det gaar ek.</i>		so much difference is that at-all not

((And then you think, oh my goodness, we'll be living here sometime ourselves, there's not so much difference after all.))

Finality and abruptness are sometimes conveyed by formulaic expressions from German, as in (59b) and (60x) in the following section.

	(59)	
a <i>Ik maaki min Geschäft techt,</i>		I make my business tight
b <i><u>Schluß, aus, vorbei.</u></i>		closed, out, past

((I'm going to close my business. Lock, stock, and barrel.))

6.2.1.5. Quotative Motivations

As complete bilinguals, speakers of Sörling have great facility in switching to and from German within a discourse to present communications that originally took place in that language (see also 6.1.2.). This facility would seem also to derive from the long tradition of diglossia and multilingualism throughout North Frisia as well as the ubiquity of German on the island. The communications thus quoted can be oral, written or even thought (as in (58) above). In the following passage, the speaker is relating the events by which his family's piece of land has grown progressively smaller over the years:

	(60)	
a <i>Jen gur dai!</i>		one good day
b <i>da set wü jir tö kofi drink.en</i>		then sat we here to coffee drink.INF2
c <i>...da kumt jir en l=ast.wain ön?</i>		then comes here a load.wagon in
d <i>Fang' jir ön tö,</i>		start here in to
e <i>...tö, tö tö s- böhren en en tö sprengen,</i>		to and to to drill and to detonate
f <i>'t wiar wunter.dai!</i>		't was winter.day

g En da ging di ual hen en sair wat es jir
 luas?
 h Ja jir kum baraken hen.
 i ... Ja sair hi öö hö-
 j diar diar m- diar mut ik jít er.fan biskiir
 fan haa dü
 k mut ik dach weet öö rrrrröner jir!
 l Hat wiar X X X e'?
 m Ja nü nü,
 n 'aja, en en paar stünen leeter,
 o ..käm diar jen, fan di, fan di .. Partei,
 p of ja wat weet ik.
 q Tja, nun um den Endsieg,
 r zu sichern,
 s sair ja,
 t müssen wir Ihnen das Land enteignen.
 u Wenn Sie da nicht freiwillig mit
her.geben,
 v dann muß das eben, .. so gehen.
 w En dann und dann haben Sie zu
erscheinen zur Unterschrift,
 x zack, fertig, ab. [...]
 y Jest üs ik üs ik dit weder äp.skrewen haa,
 z da haa ja sair jir fan fan di fan di,
 aa fan di Bundesvermögensverwaltung,
 bb da .. haben wir kein' Einfluß drauf,
 cc das ist die Besatzungsmacht.
 dd Det wiar di Engländer e'?
 ee En üs di Engländer da wech wiar,
 ff diar= sair ja Ja,
 gg also das ist,
 hh u=nterschrieben,
 ii und das eh is grundbuchmäßig
eingetragen worden,
 jj Sie können das wieder kaufen.
 kk Sie haben Vorkaufsrecht.
 ll ...Aber zurück .. kriegen Sie nichts mehr.

mm En da haa ik,
 nn fan min ain lön töbeek.koopet,
 oo jir diar .. en jir.

and then went the old HEN and said what is
 here loose
 yes here come barracks HEN
 yes said he uh
 there there must I yet that.from notice
 from have you
 must I indeed know uh ONOMAT. here
 it was XXX not
 yes now now
 well and a few hours later
 came there one from the from the Party
 or yes what know I
 well now in-order the final-victory
 to secure
 said they
 must we you-DAT the land dispossess
 when/if you there not willingly with
 here.give
 then must that even so go
 and then and then have you to
 appear to-the signature
 ONOMAT., ready, away
 first as I as I that again up.written have
 then have they said here from the from the
 from the Federal-capital-administration
 there have we no influence on-it
 that is the occupation.force
 that was the English not
 and as the English then away were
 there said they yes
 thus that is
 signed
 and that eh is ground-book-like
 .. registered become
 you can that again purchase
 you have fore-buy-right
 but back get you nothing more

and then have I
 from my own land back.bought
 here there and here

((One day were were sitting here having coffee and a truck pulls up. [They] start drilling and using explosives. It was winter. And my father went out and said "What's going on here?" "We're putting up barracks." "Yes," he said, "I've got to be informed first, I've got to know [so?] get outta here!" It was XXX, see? Well now, then, a few hours later comes a guy from the Party or wherever. Well, "Now in order to ensure final victory," they said, "we've got to take your land away. If you don't go along with it voluntarily, then it'll have to happen just like that. And then and then is when you've got to show up for the signing," that was it. Not until I'd gotten it all down on paper, they said here at the Federal Capital Administration, "We have nothing to do with it, that's [a matter for] the occupational authority." That was the English, right? And when the English had gone, they said "Well, you know, it's been signed and is properly registered in the property rolls. You can buy it back. You have rights of first purchase. But you're not getting anything back just like that. And then from my own land I bought back [pointing out window] here, there, and here.))

In (60), the speaker appears to switch with great ease between Sölring and German in narrating and representing direct speech, with no disfluencies nor "carryover" of one code into another after a quotation (as is frequently observed in other cases of codeswitching similarly motivated, cp. (61) and (62) below). It appears, too, that the speaker's quotations in (60) carefully reflect the original languages used: Sölring in the initial exchange in (60g-h) and (j-k), where the workers who had been sent to begin the project were likely locals; German in the confrontation with the workers' ultimate boss in (q-w), with a narrational aside in Sölring in (s); and German again in the postwar response from administrative authorities in (bb-cc) and (gg-ll), interrupted by narration in (dd-ff). The speaker finishes his narration with a return to Sölring beginning in (mm).

While (60) is marked by a high degree of precision in manipulating codes for quotative purposes, at least some speakers tend to carry language material across boundaries that would separate quotes from non-quotes. In (61), the speaker was talking about a train whistle having to be sounded late at night; interestingly, there is not the slightest break in timing in her delivery of (c), so the return to Sölring actually occurs within the intonation unit.

	(61)
a En wü haa maning.mol sair,	and we have many.time said
b <u>meine Güte</u> ,	my goodness
c <u>da geht doch bestimmt kein Mensch</u> aur	there goes indeed certainly no human over
di straat,	the street
d hurom skel det,	why shall that
e aber hi skul det.	but he should that

((And we said many times, "My goodness, there's surely nobody crossing the street, why does he have to do that?" But he had to [sound the whistle].))

In (62), the same speaker carries Sölring morphophonology – pronunciation of the 1SG. pronoun as [ɪk] rather than as Ger. [ɪç] – into a German quotation, beginning in line (h):

(62)

(see next page)

a ik haa sa maningmol tō min man sair,
b Wat sen ik bliid wesen,
c üüs tau dreenger,
d ja sen da sa aurhen kemen,
e det wiar damals uk jens di tir,
f dat et bigent me di.diar litj.Motorräder,
g en ik haa immer sair tō jam,
h Ik bezahl euch den Führerschein,
i den bezahl ich euch,
j aber laß' die Finger von den
Motorrädern,
k ik haa ja überhaupt ek muar ruhig wiis
kür!

I have so many.time to my husband said
what am I happy been
our two boys
they are then so over.HEN come
that was back-then too once the time
that it began with the.there little.motorcycles
and I have always said to them
I pay you-DAT the driver's-license
it pay I you-DAT
but let the fingers from the
motorcycles
I have yes at-all not more peaceful be
could

((I said to my husband many times, How happy I am, our two boys, they got over it, because that was the time that it began with those small motorcycles, and I always said to them, "I'll pay for your driver's licenses, that I'll pay for, but keep your hands away from the motorcycles," I wouldn't have known a moment's peace!))

Although the bulk of quotatively-motivated codeswitching involves representation of direct speech, writing in German can also occasion manipulation of codes to reflect the original. The speaker in (63) is discussing his family history (see also 1.1.3.2.1.):

a min fuarfaaren,
b dit wiar alis see.lir, [...]
c ja sen uk mächtig spaarsam wesen,
d en ja haa üp see gur fortiinet,
e denn ja wiar bi di Walfischfang,
f bi di Walfischfang naa Grünlön.
g -- ja ... üders,
h ja sen en gansi mase tō see blewen,
i wat oler weder kemen sen.
j Ja, ön di sêrk.boker,
k diar staant:
l um, Vermisst,
m of über Bord gefallen,
n staant diar, ja.

(63)

my forebears
that was all see.people
they are too very thrifty been,
and they have on sea good earned
because they were by the whale-fish-catch
by the whale-fish-catch to Greenland
yes ... otherwise
they are a whole mass to sea remained
what never again came are
yes in the church.books
there stands
uh Missing
or over board fallen
stands there yes

((My ancestors, they were all seafarers [...] they were very thrifty, and they earned good money at sea, because they were on whaling expeditions, on the whaling expeditions to Greenland. Well, what else? Many of them died at sea, never returned. Yes, in the church books, it's written Missing or Fell overboard, is written there, yes.))

In (63m), the speaker separates the two citations of written German with the Sölring conjunction of 'or'. Whether or not the speaker might have been disposed to carry German straight through the sequence (l)-(m), the phonetic dissimilarity between of and its German counterpart oder 'or' would no doubt have the effect of diminishing the likelihood of such a phenomenon.

6.2.2. Discourse Topic as a Determinant in Code Occurrence

Between the internal (6.2.1.) and the external factors (6.2.3.) affecting the switching and mixing of codes is an intermediate factor determined by speakers' communicative agendas, that of discourse topic. This is actually the encoding motivation on a pervasive scale: in a conversation between two acquaintances, the discussion might begin with family matters, move on to finances, then to taxes and politics. The topic, in this hypothetical scenario, would be getting increasingly less private and potentially more specialized. For many terms relevant to a discussion of finance, taxation, and politics, Sölring lacks labels for things that derive from and belong to the sphere of German culture, and the choice the interlocutors would have to make as topics continue to shift would be whether to continue speaking Sölring and simply use German labels where labels seemed to be lacking (or were perceived as unavailable) in Sölring, or to shift entirely into German at some point in the proceedings, i.e. whether to mix German words into a still predominantly Sölring discourse, or to switch codes altogether.⁹ A brief sampling of nouns thus mixed into discourse in the current database includes the following:

Rentabilitätsberechnung	'calculation of profitability'
Kostenanschläge	'estimates of expense'
Strassenbauamt	'street-construction office'
Bundesvermögensverwaltung	'Federal capital administration'
Ordnungsamt	'office for civil order'
Finanzamt	'office for finances'
Kautions	'security deposit'
Provision	'commission'
Steuerabzüge	'tax withholdings'
Steuerermäßigung	'reduction in taxes'
Freibeträge	'deductibles'
Gesetzesentwurf	'legislative draft'

One of the best examples of the choice of codes thus confronting speakers of Sölring on a daily basis - and once again, this is no doubt a modern reflex of the tradition of diglossia and multilingualism throughout the region - is the young nurse's account of her duties in the hospital given in (54) 6.2.1.2., repeated here:

	(64)
a Ja, ik ken en betken fortel.	yes I can a bit tell
b Also hat es öö es et wü,	well it is uh is it we
c det wiar ek ganz eenfach	that was not whole simple
d aber ik ken jens forsjuk.	but I can once attempt

⁹ Again, the "choice", though clearly not necessarily a conscious one, would be nonetheless a real alternative in which the mixing/switching distinction becomes relevant. (See also 6.2.)

e Öö öö ik fang miarlungs ön,	uh uh I start mornings
f wü haa <u>Schichtdienst</u> [...]	we work in shifts
g dü best entweder dü staanst öö,	you are either you stand uh
h neben di dochters en,	beside the doctors and
i also dü <u>instrumentiarest</u> da,	that-is you pass-intruments then
j iivst di saaken öö,	give.2SG the things uh
k oder dü best öö di <u>Springer</u> [...]	or you are uh the jumper
l weet ik ek hur det jeft det üp Sölring.	know I not where that gives that on Sölring

((Yes, I can talk about it some. Well, it's uh it's we – it won't be very easy but I can give it a try. uh I start in the morning – we work shifts – you're either you stand next to the surgeons and – that is, you give them the instruments and other things, or you're the troubleshooter [...] [I] don't know whether you can say that in Sölring.))

It seems unlikely that the speaker had engaged in a discussion in Sölring of the details of her profession before, so the immediate reaction to a request to do so was a comment on the challenge involved: probably much more natural would have been a complete switch to the medium of German for the discussion.¹⁰ Quite interesting, but of indeterminate significance, is the rather frequent occurrence of hesitation phenomena (along with circumscriptions, as noted previously) that could be indices of discourse planning, indications of the speaker trying to come up with Sölring terms for the notions finally encoded in German as *Schichtdienst* and *Springer*. The occurrence of filled and unfilled pauses immediately preceding use of German words, in any case, is a phenomenon that can be observed in a fair proportion of encoding-motivated codeswitching on Söl, as in (65), where the speaker is talking about refugees who came to the island in the wake of World War II (see 1.1.4.3):

	(65)
a da wiar en gansi mase liren diar jit,	then was a whole mass people there yet
b jens snaket mi üp Sölring ön,	one talked me on Sölring in
c ik sii hur.fan kannst dü XX doch Sölring,	I say where.from can you XX indeed Sölring
d dü best 'n--	you are a--
e eeder di kriich naa Söl kemen,	after the war to Söl come
f <!üs jungen üp straat liirt!>	as child on street learned
((ja jaja))	yes yesyes
g Di,	the
h ... <u>Gehirn</u> es sa jung.	brain is so young

((There were a lot of people still there, one of them spoke to me in Sölring, I say "How can you [speak] Sölring, you're a-- came to Söl after the war, learned [it] on the street as a child! (yes) The brain is so young.))

¹⁰ It should be noted that the healthcare setting was not only highly technologized, it was also entirely German. The speaker had a single (and distant) Frisian colleague (a speaker of Öömrang) in the hospital, which was located in the provincial capital of Kiel, located outside of Nordfriesland.

The Sölring word for 'brain' is *brain* (the form *jung* is identical in Sölring and German); the denouement of the anecdote, starting in (h), however, is broken up into two intonation units separated by a relatively long pause, perhaps a sign that the speaker was vaguely aware of a native word for 'brain' and hesitated slightly before using the German term for it instead. In other cases, speakers have been observed to regularly preface switches into German for specific terms with *sa tō siien* 'so to say', which itself perhaps is a calque on Ger. *sozusagen*. In this particular case, it should be noted that the discourse patterns of the speaker in (65) otherwise exhibit rather pronounced codemixing traits, such as the calqued separating-prefix verb (mi) *ön.snaki* 'address, talk to' (Ger. (jemanden) *ansprechen*) in (b) and, in (c), the phonetically German forms [kanst] and [dɔx] (cp. Sölr. [kɛnst], [dax]) – the latter perhaps also influenced by the quotative nature of their occurrence.

6.2.3. External Factors in Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

Beyond the internal linguistic and "intermediate" (topic-conditioned) factors involved in a speaker's use of another code within Sölring discourse, speakers' shifts into German can also be conditioned by external factors of the speech situation itself: the identity of interlocutors, their interpersonal dynamics and the physical setting of a conversation. These external factors interact with topics under discussion and with speakers' internal motivations to determine alternations in code. Private surroundings such as the home are generally conducive to the use, more or less exclusively, of Sölring, while more public physical contexts (such as in schools and government agencies)¹¹ will tend to promote increased use of German. While the issue of bilingual competence is much less an issue on Söl than in other contact situations, since *all* persons who speak Sölring also speak German at least as well, interlocutor dynamics can play an overriding role in how much switching is done in a given discourse. As a matter of principle, the more conservative and tradition-conscious speakers often show a greater tendency to remain within Sölring throughout a discourse – i.e., to resist codeswitching just as they might avoid mixing in unassimilated non-Sölring material – than will those with less conservative or idealistic attitudes. In addition, the language in which two Sölring (and other North Frisians) happen to meet frequently remains the medium of communication throughout their relationship. In one family in the village of Muasem, for instance, the grandparents (both in their sixties) speak Sölring to each other, but the grandfather reported speaking German to his mother-in-law, even though the latter and her daughter (his own wife) interact in Sölring: he had been introduced to his future mother-in-law in German at a time when speaking the national standard was considered more elegant, and their own interaction had consistently taken place in that medium over the course of decades.

In an overview of sociolinguistic patterns of language use in North Friesland, Walker (1990:4-6) summarizes the interplay of external factors bearing on codeswitching and choice of code:

In conversation it [the local variety of N.Frisian] can be used in all contexts within the village, assuming the partner also speaks Frisian. A language switch can, however, be induced by a change in the subject of conversation, e.g. to a technical subject, or if a non-Frisian speaker joins the conversation. There is a basic rule that each person will

¹¹ Many older Sölring are reported to be visibly relieved upon finding a native speaker of Sölring working in the often intimidating world of bureaucracy (at the city hall in Weesterlön) (Inge Gieppner-Carstensen, pers. comm.).

have assigned all his friends and acquaintances a specific language, which is usually the language the two people first met in. Thus, for example, two people who first meet in a High German discotheque will probably always speak High German to each other, even though they may speak Frisian to each other's family and friends. The exception to this rule are the more language-conscious members of the Frisian language movement, who will usually try to switch to Frisian if they discover the partner also speaks this language.

A Frisian farmer's wife can serve to illustrate language use in a Frisian community. At home she speaks Frisian to her husband and children. In order to go shopping she writes a shopping list – in High German. She goes over to the baker. Here she speaks Low German, as the baker speaks no Frisian. He came from East Germany after the Second World War. She goes to the butcher where she speaks Frisian to the butcher himself, as he comes from the village, and High German to the butcher's wife, as she comes from outside North Frisia. The farmer's wife gives Frisian lessons in evening classes which the butcher's wife attends. Here they speak Frisian with each other, at least as far as they are able. In the normal daily context of the butcher's shop they revert to the normal linguistic patterns of High German. In the bank the farmer's wife switches languages according to who is serving her.

Beyond these external factors, the uncompromising use of Sölring undoubtedly plays a significant role for at least some speakers in manifesting solidarity and establishing in-group associations vis-à-vis non-Frisian elements of society; the importance of language in "identity marking" (Gibbons 1987:88) is naturally heightened in speech communities in which the society as a whole is dominated by another language. Yet it is clear that, to the majority of speakers of Sölring, German is no longer a foreign language, nor do most speakers perceive the national standard as a threat. As is sometimes pointed out on Söl, however, it is the proclivity to switch all too readily to German to accommodate non-Sölring that is one of the trends responsible for the decline of the language.

Once again, it is only elaboration of the lexical wherewithal of Sölring (4.2.4.) – or more generally, of its overall grammatical expressiveness – that, by making the language usable in a wider range of contexts, can respond to the challenge of increasing impingement of what were formerly non-public domains upon personal and domestic life, thereby offering Sölring and the rest of North Frisian – among thousands of minority and non-standard languages around the world – the viability for continued and increased usage that would promote their survival well into the new millennium.

In the following chapter, some final remarks will be made by way of conclusion to this study.

7. Concluding Remarks

The foregoing pages have sought to accurately characterize the people and the language of Söl as North Frisians and, more generally, as Frisians. It will now be appropriate to close this study with some final remarks and observations. In a book that aspires to be comprehensive (though not exhaustive), it might seem natural that a lengthy introduction (such as Chapter 1 in the present book) would necessarily be complemented by a conclusion of comparable size and scope that would lend to the whole a certain sense of symmetry and "closure". In the present case, it is heartening, in a human sense, that a definitive conclusion cannot be written – at least not one in which symmetry would derive (the Introduction having started "at the beginning") from the finality of an epitaph.

As has been pointed out again and again, observers have been predicting the imminent demise of North Frisian for centuries (Steensen 1994b). One of the last remaining Germanic "Kleinsprachen" (small languages), still used by up to some half million people in Europe and abroad, is now on the verge of entering the third millennium, but as no one will dispute, its eastern and northern varieties are in manifest danger of not making it into the twenty-second century. These concluding remarks, as a sort of anti-conclusion, will address what seem to be the most significant of the many issues bearing on the future of Sölring and the rest of North Frisian.

The overriding issue facing North Frisian is, of course, survival. Resilient though the language has been over the centuries, its demographic base has now shrunk – especially on Söl – to truly minimal proportions. To expand on one of the crucial insights in this connection from Chapter 1: except in the Bökingharde, on Feer and, to a lesser extent, on Öömram, today's native speakers of the varieties of North Frisian are on average seventy years old and above, with few to very few native speakers in the adolescent generation or below. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, a marked difference in vitality was registered, at least subjectively, in the space of six years by Boy Peter Möller of Kairem in the prefaces to the two publications of his that have become standard works for Sölring (1.6.). At the beginning of his *Leesbok* (1909), he wrote:

Die nordfriesische Sprache [...] ist in raschem Niedergange begriffen. Wenn nicht ernstliche und liebevolle Anstrengungen gemacht werden, dem nordfriesischen Volksstamme dies uralte Erbgut der Väter zu erhalten; wenn es nicht gelingt, den Nordfriesen selber die Augen zu öffnen, daß sie im Begriffe stehen, einen durch Jahrhunderte gehüteten Schatz achtlos zu verlieren: so wird der nordfriesische Laut in absehbarer Zeit auf immer verstummt sein. Mit der Sprache eines Volksstammes aber fällt seine Eigenart, seine geistige Physiognomie, sein besonderer Charakter, und er verliert sich unterschiedslos und bedeutungslos in der großen, breiten Masse.[...] Höffen wir, daß trotzdem die alte Kraft noch nicht gebrochen ist! Überall regt sich neuerdings wieder das Interesse für charaktervolle Eigenart, für Bodenständigkeit, für frisches, naturwüchsiges Volkstum. In diesem Sinne möchte auch vorliegendes Buch ein Mithelfer und Mitstreiter werden, das Vermächtnis der Väter zu erhalten und es kommenden Generationen unversehrt zu übermitteln. (1909:III)

(The North Frisian language [...] is rapid decline. Unless serious and dedicated efforts are made to save this age-old heritage of our forebears for the North Frisian people, unless it proves possible to open the eyes of North Frisians themselves to the fact that

they are in danger of losing unawares a treasure that has been guarded and kept through the centuries: then the sound of North Frisian will soon have reverberated for the last time. But along with the language of a people are lost its uniqueness, its spiritual and intellectual physiognomy, its special character, and it loses itself without a trace in the great, homogenous mass. [...] Let us hope that, despite everything, the strength of old has not been broken! In recent years, there has been a renewed interest for special characteristics, for connectedness to our roots, for fresh, naturally vibrant ethnicity. This, too, is the sense in which the present book aspires to be a co-worker in the struggle to maintain the bequest of our forebears and to pass it along intact to coming generations.)

Six years later, the general tenor of the remarks opening Möller's *Uurterbok* (1916, completed 1915) was much altered:

Die nordfriesischen Mundarten [...] sind im Aussterben begriffen, und daher ist es im Interesse der Sprachwissenschaft dringend geboten, altes wertvolles Sprachgut zu retten und vor seinem völligen Untergange für die Nachwelt festzulegen. [...]

...Wenn es mir aber gelungen sein sollte, ein Werk zu schaffen, welches für die Gegenwart und für kommende Tage, wenn der Laut meiner Heimatsprache längst verklungen ist, treulich Zeugnis ablegt, so bin ich vollkommen belohnt.

(1916: 3, 6)

(The North Frisian vernaculars [...] are dying, and thus the urgent need, in the interest of linguist science, that old, valuable traces of the language be saved and preserved for posterity from irretrievable loss.)

If these were one native speaker's perspectives from the early part of the century, the viewpoint of Marie Tångeberg of the Bökingsharde and the *Forining for nationale friiske* (1.2.2.3.) offers an articulate expression of what language survival can mean to Frisians in the 1990s':

Wir wollen nicht figurieren und überleben in den unseligen und unsinnigen Reklamespots mit "Friesen-ditt und Friesen-datt", nicht vergilben in friesischen Sagen und Märchen der Schulbücher, nicht in der Sprachwissenschaft als interessantes sprachliches Relikt seziiert werden, sondern – wir wollen leben, leben in der Sprache, im Wissen und in der Vermittlung unserer Geschichte und unserer Volkskultur – und das frei von chauvinistischen Denken oder einer Nabelschau. Wir wollen weltoffen sein und verbleiben.

(1990:54)

(We don't want to play a role and survive in the wretched and nonsensical commercial advertisements touting 'Frisian-this and Frisian-that', nor to grow musty in the Frisian sagas and legends of the schoolbook, nor to be dissected by academics as an interesting linguistic relict: rather, we want to live, live in language, in knowledge, and in the passing along of our history and our ethnic culture – and this free from chauvinistic thinking or undue introspection. We want to be and remain open to world.)

As Jakob Tholund of Feer, former president of the Frisian Council (1.2.2.3.) and one of the leading spokesmen for the modern Frisian Movement, has observed, for all the prophecies of doom and imminent demise, there is little point in fatalism:

A fresk sprük as ei duad. An so loong üüs at fresk ei duad as, skal't ei sterew, so loong skal't lewe. Wi kön altumaal halep, dat at leewent faan üsens sprük rik – and ferlicht sogoor uk lastig as. Huaram skel wi leewen bluat spikeliare: Wan gung't at nü wel tu aanj? At jaft mensken, jo san so baang föör a duas, dat's oler rocht lewe. So skal det üs ei gung. Wi haa det uu so gud: Üüs letj skööl haa wi en aanj sprük! Det wel wi geneet - an wi wel ei leewen uun surig ambiluup, dat at nü ferlicht bal tu aanj gungt mä't fresk. Ham kön wat du. Leet üs man düchtig ged¹ saamle för üsens sprük. (1993:17)

(The Frisian language is not dead. And so long as Frisian isn't dead, we won't let it die, so long will it live. We can all help that the life of our language is rich – and maybe even fun. Why should we continually be speculating about when it's going to end? There are people who are so afraid of dying that they never really live. That's not what we want. We really have it good: small as we are, we have our own language! That's something we can relish – let's not always go around worrying that Frisian's nearing the end. We can do something. Let's get busy gathering up nutrients¹ for our language.)

In much the same vein, Hans Hoeg of Kairem remarks:

Wel wü üüs aur di tökumst fan di nuurdfriisk spraak en spraakaarber önerhual, en di spraakaarber en fundament dö, da ken wü dit bluat da, wan wü üüs jest me höör grünlag bifaati. Dit jit, wü skel dit, wat wesen heer, en dit, wat wü haa, üüs naier biluki en se, wat wü möögelk maaki ken. (1979: 117)

(If we want to talk talk about the North Frisian language and work on its behalf and to give the language campaign a real basis, we can only do it if we first examine the language carefully. That is, we must look at what it has had and what it now has and then see what can be done.)

The sentiments thus expressed are crucial to prospects of survival for a shrinking language minority: activism. In Tholund (1990:114), this call to activism is formulated as three "categorical imperatives" (transl.):

1. We North Frisians must be fundamentalists!
2. We North Frisians must be autonomists!
3. We North Frisians must be an-archists!

¹ Fer/Ööm. ged literally means 'fertilizer, manure'; Tholund closes his remarks with "Leew loonslidj, leet üüs ged saamle för üsens ual en uu so rik sprük! Uk en sprük brükt ged – an ged för en sprük stjonkt ei" (Dear compatriots, let us gather manure for our old and so very rich language! A language, too, needs fertilizer – and fertilizer for a language doesn't stink).

These imperatives are meant not in the sense of instigating violence or civil disorder, but foremost as attitudinal stances – making Frisian a fundamental aspect of speakers' lives; realizing that, as a distinct group, Frisians have every right to consider themselves a people apart, and to take charge of their own destiny, not relying on the power of the state – as prerequisites and motivations to effectual commitment to their ethnicity, of which culture and language are two essential and inseparable aspects.

Survival that is meaningful, in Tångeberg's sense cited above, will both require and promote activism, and it is clear that the kind of activism potentially most useful is the kind that starts with transmission within the family. As Christina Tadsen of Oomram has outlined, however, the demographic basis in much of North Frisia is very tenuous (Tadsen 1997), so that natural transmission is becoming less and less of an option viable enough to counterbalance losses from attrition. The dilemma facing language-conscious North Frisians today, then – and the prospective bane of the current campaign to maintain and revitalize North Frisian: of the contemporary Frisian Movement (1.2.2.) – is that there are so few potential mother-tongue speakers left that, if the language is to survive beyond a few more generations, its speakers will have to come from the ranks of current non-speakers and their progeny. That is, much as autonomism and self-reliance are worthy attitudinal goals, much as activism on the part of the individual is absolutely essential if the struggle to pass on the language is to succeed, the current reality is that, without recruiting new speakers, the demographic base of the language will simply have shrunk away altogether in the not-too-distant future.

One of the many reasons behind generations of attrition and language shift (1.1.3., 1.1.4.), is the "missing link" phenomenon brought about by parents' refusal during the sixties and seventies to teach their children Frisian. Referring to the interruption of natural, inter-generational transmission within the family, and the findings of Els Oksaar's research project on multi-/bilingualism at the University of Hamburg, Nils Århammar, arguably the person with the most thorough grasp of today's language situation in North Frisia as a whole, observed that

Der regionalsprachliche "Schlüssel zur Welt" (ob es "di sölring kai", "di frasche käie" oder "die plattdüütsche Schlötel" ist) eröffnet seinem Besitzer den ungleich besten Zugang zu der einmaligen, maritim geprägten nordfriesischen Heimat, zu ihrer Geschichte, ihrer geistigen und materiellen Kultur, zu dem an Traditionen reichen geselligen Leben der Nordfriesen und schließlich – und nicht geringer einzuschätzen – den Zugang zu den Herzen der hier lebenden Menschen. Und das alles sollten Eltern mit Vorbedacht ihren Kindern vorenthalten wollen um des sehr fragwürdigen, ja schon längst überholten und widerlegten Argumente des besseren Schulerfolgs und Fortkommens willen, dabei den heimatlichen Identitätsverlust und die Entfremdung ihrer Kinder durch Abschneiden der kontinuierlich-sichernden Sprachwurzeln im Kauf nehmend?! Das klingt ganz unwahrscheinlich, und darum läßt sich die Nicht-Weitergabe der nordfriesischen Muttersprache durch die Eltern oder einen Elternteil bzw. durch die Großeltern, wohl nicht zuletzt auch aus deren Uninformiertheit über die oben geschilderten neuen Erkenntnisse erklären. (1990:22)

(The "key to the world" – one's own regional language, whether Sölring, Frasch, or Low Saxon – opens up to those who possess it what is by far the best means of access

to the unique, maritime-based North Frisian homeland, to its history, its spiritual and material culture, to the rich traditions of the social life of its people and also – not least of all – to their hearts. ...And parents should be keeping all of this from their children in the interest of highly suspect, indeed long-since disproven and discredited arguments about heightened chances for success at school and for upward mobility – at the conscious risk of losing their children's native sense of identity and alienating them by cutting off the linguistic roots that would ensure continuity with their heritage?! That would be hard to believe, and that's why the failure to hand down the North Frisian mother tongue by parents or a parent (or by grandparents) surely derives at least in part from being uninformed about the more recent findings discussed above.)

If the prospect of recruiting new speakers is today more positive than it has been in the recent past, it is nonetheless crucial that the potential of current educational measures not be overestimated. Considering that lessons in Frisian, though offered throughout the region, are extra-curricular activities available for only a few hours a week and generally only to students in the third to sixth grades (1.2.2.3.), it must be admitted that their direct contribution toward the maintenance of Frisian, at present, can be little more than negligible.

Tadsen (1997), discussing the long-standing lack of North Frisian institutionalization – that is, use in public arenas like the church and in education – documents some of the quandaries that characterize instruction in Öömrang: grades are not assigned, so the usual motivator for students is missing; since most lessons are geared toward second-language learners, native speakers are underchallenged; the amount and level of instruction is inadequate to foster fluency in those instructed. On questionnaires distributed to students and their parents, generally favorable attitudes toward Frisian in the school were expressed, but over sixty percent of respondents rejected the prospect of compulsory instruction. Tadsen summarizes the vicious circle that faces her native language, a vicious circle:

der den Rückgang beschleunigt. Ohne Institutionalisierung verliert die Sprache an Funktionen, andererseits erzeugt gerade die Funktionslosigkeit Vorbehalte gegenüber einer Institutionalisierung. Für die Sprachgemeinschaft ergeben sich daraus Legitimationsprobleme, deren Bewältigung auf das Individuum abgewälzt werden.
(1997:148)

(that accelerates the decline. The language loses functions because it is not institutionalized, while the very lack of functionality produces reservations about institutionalizing it. For the speech community, the result is problems of legitimization whose solutions are shunted off on the individual.)

Addressing support measures for the minority languages of the British Isles, Gunther (1981: 64-65) rightly points to the "inexcusably undervalued" issue of "nativisation, the learning of a language as mother tongue", and suggests that a minority language must be nativized "in crèches, kindergartens, play-groups, etc. which should be offered as a facility by the local authority or through private initiative." Further, he finds that "schools, colleges and media coverage, so often seen as the be-all and end-all of activist minority policies, are in fact only effective as an institutional back-up to provide the immersed environment for the native speaker to process and expand his/her language skills." This

means that there is a tension between how much the individual, as an individual, can do; the extent to which individuals can (and are willing to) work together to raise the level of community awareness to the point that it will support widespread, institutionalized efforts such as more comprehensive instruction in schools; and how much the individual can realistically trust to the offices of organizations designed to lead (or, in the case of governments, pledged to support) a campaign to support their minority language.

There is much in the current situation of North Frisian that it shares with the hundreds and thousands of minority languages around the world (Krauss 1992). As Fernell (1981) demonstrates with respect to Irish Gaelic, even with the availability of massive state funding, the "salvation" of a shrinking language minority depends crucially on the will of the people of the speech community. Indeed, the availability of state-administered funds may even prove to be a palliative that lulls those who should most appropriately be "gathering nutrients" at the grassroots level into a false sense of security, that things are once and for all on the right path. But without the commitment and assiduous efforts of the individual speakers whose birthright an endangered language acutally is, money, even well spent and optimally invested, can bear no lasting fruits, because language is preeminently an instrument of the human spirit, of something for which there is and can be no substitute.

To be sure, there have been promising developments in recent years toward providing for coming generations of speakers -- the establishment of the Nordfrüsk Instituut in Bräist/Bredstedt as a central institution dedicated to promoting the language, of the Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle and a professorship for Frisian at the University in Kiel, and of the chair for Frisian pedagogics at the Pädagogische Hochschule in Flensburg (...). But as described in Section 1.2.3., the chair in Kiel was still vacant after two years, and the chair in Flensburg was retracted for at least the time being. Behind these cuts lie the vagaries of economics and decisions in favor of financial austerity, but politicians (and educators) who choose to save money in the short term at the expense of society's weak are following an ethically dubious course. Alluding to present and future German-Danish programs aimed at implementing the spirit of the post-War resolutions of tolerance for each others' minorities (1.1.4.3.), Thomas Steensen of the Mittelgoesharde and current director of the Instituut in Bräist explains that the:

Bundesland Schleswig-Holstein, die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und das Königreich Dänemark lassen sich die Förderung der beiden Minderheiten jedes Jahr -zig Millionen Mark oder Kronen kosten. Das ist gut so! ... Obwohl es immerhin auch nicht viel weniger Nordfriesen gibt als deutsche Nordschleswiger und dänische Südschleswiger, müssen sie mit einem Bruchteil der Fördersummen auskommen. Und das, obwohl sie sich unzweifelhaft in einer viel schwierigeren Situation befinden. (1997:2)

(The province of Schleswig-Holstein, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Kingdom of Denmark spend millions of marks and crowns on promoting their two minorities, and that's good! ... Although there are not many fewer North Frisians than German North Schleswigans or Danish South Schleswigans, they have to make do with a fraction of the total -- and this, although they find themselves in an unquestionably more difficult position.)

The situation becomes potentially even more inequitable when, after the loss of the professorship in Flensburg, further budget cuts are being considered:

Die Politikerinnen und Politiker in Schleswig-Holstein müssen sich im klaren sein, daß sie damit die Friesen vom "Modell Schleswig" vollends abtrennen würden – und das in einer Zeit, in der man mit viel Geld gerade das Europäische Zentrum für Minderheitenfragen in Flensburg etabliert, um den Blick auf das deutsche-dänische Bilderbuch-Grenzland zu lenken.
(1997:2)

(The politicians in Schleswig-Holstein must be realize that, in so doing [i.e. reducing funds], they would be cutting the Frisians completely out of the "Modell Schleswig" – and that at a moment in which large amounts of money are being spent to establish the European Center for Minority Issues in Flensburg in order to focus attention on the storybook German-Danish border region.)

Encouraging though some political and state-sponsored developments have been, then, and despite the potential for wide-ranging institutionalization – representation in the media, the courts, public services, administration, and economic and social life, in addition to education and cultural activities – in the new European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, it would be ill-advised for North Frisian language activists to put an inordinate amount of faith in what outside agencies might offer by way of assistance.

Once again, however, given the typical makeup of today's North Frisian family, in which rarely are both parents ethnically Frisian (1.2.1.; Tadsen 1997:144), Frisians have no choice but to look to non-Frisians for help – but only, in the words of Nils Århammar (1990), as "Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe, nicht mehr und nicht weniger!" (Help to self-help, no more and no less!). After assessing the potential of schools and political institutions for having a positive effect on the future of North Frisian, Århammar goes on to observe:

Aber auch die Friesen selbst, Eltern und Großeltern, Verwandte und Bekannte, unorganisierte oder in Vereinen oder Arbeitskreisen Tätige, müssen mehr als bisher informiert und mobilisiert werden. Ihnen müssen die Augen dafür geöffnet werden, daß die friesische Sprache in ihrer nordfriesischen Vielfalt und Eigenart etwas ganz Seltenes und Kostbares ist. [...] Gefragt und gefordert sind wir alle: die Landes-, Kreis- und Kommunalpolitiker, die Frisisten, Friesischdozenten und -lehrer, die friesischen Vereine, die friesische Basis. Von deren aller Einsicht und Engagiertheit wird es abhängen, ob die *jister* gestartete Aktion zur Erhaltung und Revitalisierung des Nordfriesischen *maaren* Erfolg haben wird. In internationalen Minderheitskreisen verfolgt man diesen buchstäblich in letzter Minute unternommenen Rettungsversuch mit großer Sympathie und Spannung. Wird Nordfriesland am Ende vielleicht ein Vorbild für andere, ähnlich bedrohte Kleinsprachen abgeben können? Wir wollen das zuversichtlich hoffen.
(1990:23)

(But also Frisians themselves – parents and grandparents, relatives and acquaintances, those working on their own or in associations or groups – have to be informed and

moblized more than previously. It has to be made clear to them that the Frisian language in its North Frisian manifestation and diversity is something rare and precious. [...] Demands are placed on all of us: politicians at the level of state, district, and community; Frisianists, academics, and teachers; Frisian associations, and the Frisian grassroots. The understanding and commitment of each of them will determine whether the recently-undertaken campaign to preserve and revitalize North Frisian will be crowned with success in the future. In the worldwide context of minority languages, this struggle, undertaken literally at the last moment, is being followed with great sympathy and interest. Will North Frisia perhaps be able, in the end, to offer a model for other minority languages that are similarly threatened? This is our earnest hope.)

As Winter (1993) details, personal motivation is the key to inducing speakers to use a language – and indeed in both transmission and learning. No less is this the key to activating native speakers to work on behalf of their language: inspired though it might (and surely must) be by a strain of idealism, sustained activism crucially depends on a perception of benefit, and it is here that the organizations now at work in North Frisia can provide an impetus. Skillful implementation of the provisions of the European Charter could do much toward heightening the visibility of the language in society, thus providing added impetus for both learners and transmitters, and this is certainly a goal to be worked toward: but in the meantime, there is not a moment to be lost.

This returns the focus to the issue of lexical elaboration (4.2.4.,6.2.3.), because it is only through elaboration of its internal, structural resources that North Frisian will be invested with the utilitarian value for necessary for its speakers – and potential speakers – that can serve as a realistic motivation for using it in the dual role natural to language, that of ἔργον and ἐνέργεια. In the process of elaboration, decisions will have to be made on the principle of purism vs. compromise (Dorian 1994, Thomas 1991). How puristically language planning should proceed has of course to be decided in each community concerned, but Dorian makes an interesting observation about purism as it relates to Frisian's closest genetic relative (1.4.1.):

it may prove the wiser course to accept considerable compromise rather than make a determined stand for intactness, where threatened languages are at issue. If a language survives, after all, it has a future. If it can never be exactly what it once was, it may yet be something more than it now is. Gifted speakers and writers may eventually appear who will coax new richness of expression from it, and tease it into forms that will be uniquely its own, even if not those of its past. Ælfric might well have been horrified at what Chaucer called English, had he lived to see it, since English emerge in a markedly altered state, both lexically and grammatically, from two centuries of domination by the Norman French and their language. But if Chaucer wrote in a sharply modified and even gallicized form of English, by comparison with that of Ælfric, that did not prevent Chaucer from writing masterful and enduring literary works. Purity need not be a requirement for persistence, and compromise need not be the death knell, for small languages any more than for larger ones. (1994:492)

Along a continuum of purism, a guiding principle of minimal adaptation of loanwords (and syntagms) might prove motivating to new speakers – while accelerating the "dialectalizing" tendencies already

present (Lasswell 1995, 1998), and quite possibly alienating the more traditionalist speakers, precisely those whose language expertise is invaluable in offering living witness to the past. On the other hand, however, a zealously puristic approach would entail relatively less transparency in learning that, along with factors like a perception of old-fashionedness, could repel the very neophytes on whose motivation to learn and keep learning the survival of the language would depend. Easy though it might be to characterize "moderate purism" as, in principle, the ideal compromise, consistent attainment of this ideal would be a matter of difficult negotiation – and implementation of its results resulting in widespread acceptance perhaps even more arduous.

If and until instruction in schools can be dramatically upgraded, both quantitatively and, in terms of faculty professionalization, qualitatively, kindergartens must be thought of the places in which seeds can be planted that could one day bear fruit in the form of committed new speakers – even though, if today's kindergartens indeed serve as a bridge to future generations for whom everyday use of an elaborated, fully functional North Frisian is a reality, the language then spoken would undoubtedly be considerably different from today's.

"Pädagogische Landgewinnung" (pedagogical gains of land, an allusion to Frisians' age-old struggle against the sea: Tångeberg 1990) as a transition to nativization, measures for institutionalization; formulation and implementation of a plan to elaborate the language to invest it with the means to cope with the functions of modern life: great are the challenges that face those who would support Sölring and the other varieties of North Frisian. In confronting these challenges, North Frisians have a number of allies, not least of all their ethnic sisters and brethren in the province of Fryslân in the Netherlands and well as in the Seelterlound of eastern Frisia. They too, albeit in different measures, face much the same issues as northern Frisians, and working together to confront them is vital to the interests of all concerned.

In closing, may the primary requisite of individual commitment in the future be once more called to mind (Hoeg 1979:120): "Wan arken üp sin staid òn poositiv sen sin staid ütfeft, da ken wü wes diarne reekeni, dat wü en gur stek forüt kum" – (if each one in his own place conscientiously fulfills his task, then we can expect to make good progress).

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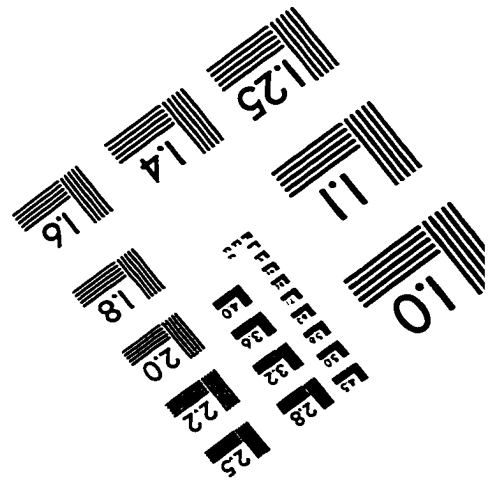
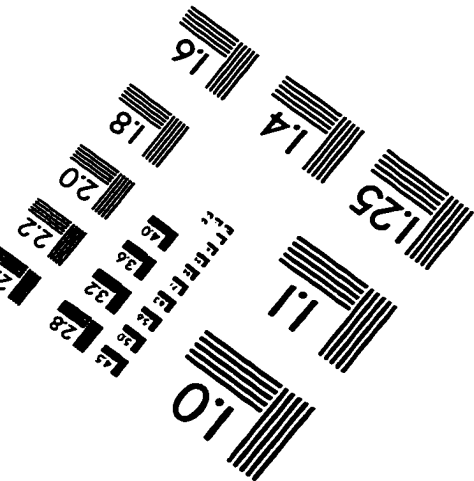
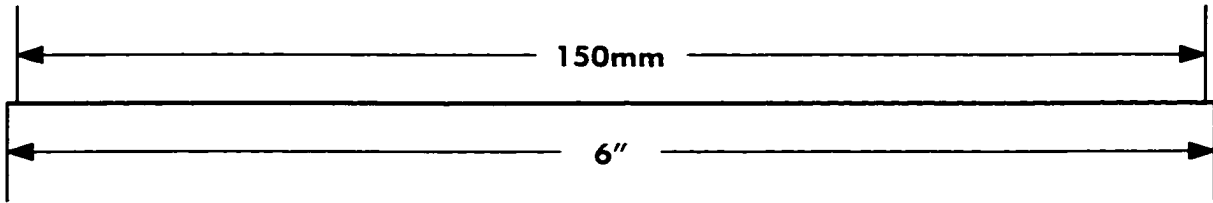
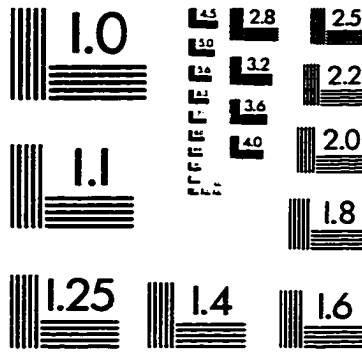
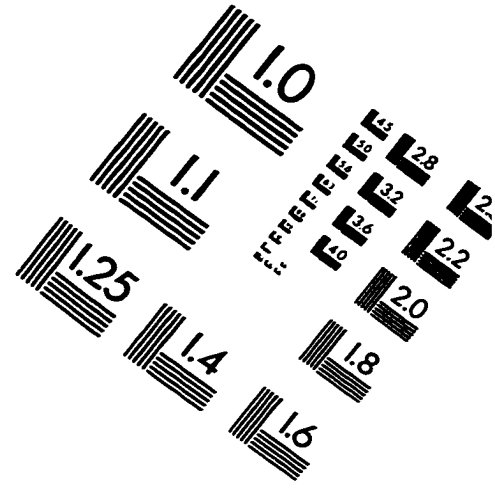
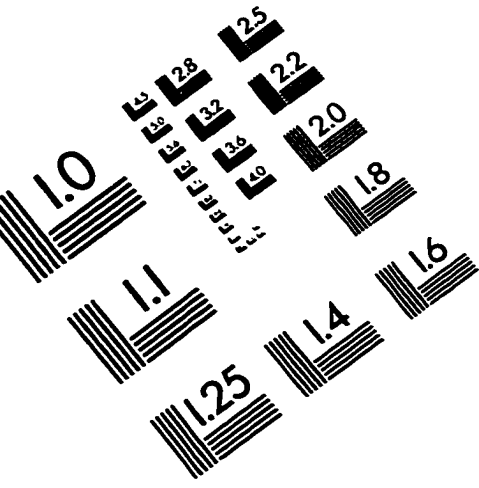
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