Low German

(East Frisian dialect)

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For Tom

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ABBREVIATIONS

AUX	auxiliary
DEIC	deictic
HG	High (Standard) German inseration
INF	infinitive
OBL	oblique
PART	past participle
PAST	past-tense
PL	plural
PTCL	particle
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive

0.   INTRODUCTION

Low German or *platdütsch* (also *platdütsk*) is a West Germanic language spoken mainly in the northern areas of Germany: in the states of Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, Bremen, Hamburg, and Mecklenburg-Western Pommerania along the coasts of the North and Baltic seas, as well as in Upper Rhine Westphalia and Brandenburg. Dialects of Low German are also spoken in the district of Groningen in the Netherlands. Low German is considered to be the modern descendant of Old Saxon, an intimately close relation of Old English documented mainly through the ninth-century *Heliand* manuscript. Low German developed from the group of dialects referred to as Middle Low German, which are documented from the thirteenth century onwards. Low German is characterised by the retention of the Old Germanic stops *p, t, k* in all positions (against their shift to affricates or fricatives in Upper German dialects), as well as the retention of the Germanic long vowels *ū* and *ī* in words like *hūs* 'house' and *īs* 'ice' (against their diphthongisation in Upper German, Dutch, and English).

Low German flourished as the language of trade and culture not just in northern Germany but also around the entire North Sea and Baltic areas between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was adopted by the Hanseatic League as a standard written language, replacing Latin in the fourteenth century, and continued to be the prestige language and lingua franca of the region until the economic and political collapse of the *düdesche Hanse*, triggered by competition from the growing power of southern German cities. Low German was gradually replaced by Upper or High German – first as a language of commerce, documents, and religion, and ultimately as the main spoken language as well. The entire Low German dialect continuum is today considered an endangered language, and transmission in the family to a younger generation of speakers has been declining dramatically since the late 1960s.

The present grammatical outline is based on the variety of the Krummhörn community in the southwestern part of East Frisia, as spoken in particular in the village of Campen. Examples draw primarily on a corpus of tape-recorded conversations and narratives.

0.1   The emergence of East Frisian Low German (EFLG)

East Frisia is a peninsula in the northwestern corner of Germany, bordering on the Netherlands. It is part of the state of Lower Saxony and has a population of ca. 450,000. The region's economy was traditionally, and until quite recently, based on agriculture, mainly dairy and cereals, some fishing, and shipbuilding.

Until the fourteenth century the language of the region was Frisian. Most written records in Frisian are legal documents, dating from between 1276 and 1450, but there are indications that Frisian continued to be spoken up until the sixteenth century, albeit by a minority in the region (Foerste 1938). During the fourteenth century power struggles emerged among the influential landowners or *Hovetlings*. After a century of civil war, the Hanseatic League decided to intervene. Their main reason for intervention was Frisian collaboration with pirates, who had become a threat to North Sea trade, and were offered shelter by some of the Frisian chieftains in exchange for a share of the loot. The Low German speaking pirates who found shelter in large numbers in East Frisia may have been the first group of speakers to introduce Low German into the area, though even earlier Low German had begun to play an important role as the language of trade and a lingua franca for commuication outside the region. Between 1408 and 1453 fleets of Hanseatic war ships occupied East Frisia three times. Between 1433 and 1453 a Hanseatic force occupied the city of Emden, the economic and political centre of the region. The Hanseatic occupation of Emden must have had a particularly strong impact on the linguistic development of the region. Foerste (1957) claims that Emden's middle class were among the first to adopt

Low German, the Hanseatic lingua franca, not just as a written but also as a spoken language. Structural differences between EFLG and the surrounding Low German varieties (such as the plural concord marker -n, compared to -t in neighbouring regions; see below) indicate that East Frisia imported Hanseatic Low German.

Once Low German was adopted in the region, it embarked on a distinct development path. The Southwest of East Frisia was sealed off from the South by almost impenetrable areas of moors. Contacts to the South and East, e.g. with the city of Oldenburg, were therefore restricted. The main isoglosses in East Frisia continue to divide the Southwest from the Northeast, which did maintain contacts with Low German varieties of neighbouring regions to the south. Low German had been established in East Frisia by the time the Reformation reached the region around the year 1520. Due to political instability, no single political power succeeded in establishing the preeminence of one of the many strands of the Reformation. Until the late sixteenth century Catholics coexisted with both Lutherans and Calvinists. The city of Emden, however, fell under Calvinist influence fairly quickly due to a large number of Calvinist refugees who had fled the Netherlands during the Spanish wars. Among these refugees were many craftsmen and merchants who added to the affluence and influence of Emden. Emden and the Southwestern part of East Frisia became Calvinist and developed a strong economic and cultural dependency on the Netherlands. In the Southwest of the region Dutch served as a written language as well as the language of business, administration, prayer and teaching for approximately 250 years.

The Northeast of East Frisia, however, became Lutheran and remained in close contact with its Lower Saxon neighbours. By the sixteenth century, Hanseatic standard or written Low German was already in decline. Calvinist East Frisia adopted Dutch as a written and standard language, while the Lutheran areas turned to High German (cf. Kempen 1981). Both parts of East Frisia continued however to use Low German as a spoken vernacular. Only in 1744, when East Frisia fell to Prussia, did the influence of the Netherlands decline, although for a short period, between 1806 and 1810, East Frisia was part of the Dutch state. From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards the Southwest also adopted Standard German as a high variety. At the same time suppression of Low German began. Once again it was Emden's middle class that led the shift – this time to Standard German. Gradually, Low German became associated with the lower social classes and the rural areas.

0.2 Characteristic features of EFLG

0.2.1 Lexicon

EFLG absorbed a Frisian substratum, traces of which can still be found in modern spoken varieties of EFLG. The modal verb *dürn* 'may' and the retention of *h*-forms in the oblique personal pronouns *hum* 'him' and *hör* 'her' are generally regarded as relics of Frisian (Remmers 1994). The most significant domain of Frisian influence, however, is the lexicon, especially names, place-names and field-names (Ebeling 1995). Remmers (1995, 1996) lists 136 words of Frisian origin in modern EFLG. The distribution of these words by semantic domain is noteworthy: 27% are connected to agriculture, 12% to nature, 10% to the home and the village, and 10% to the sea, dikes and drainage. Our own informal survey among six speakers of EFLG from the same village, conducted in 2001, showed declining familiarity with these words (older speakers were familiar with 36% of these words, the middle generation with 21%, and the younger speakers with only 17%). This can be seen in connection with the declining relevance of agriculture, dikes and drainage in everyday life.

Dutch influence has also left its mark on EFLG vocabulary. Foerste (1938) identified 500 words of Dutch origin in EFLG, though even at the time of his survey only a minority of

these words were generally known. Foerste attributed this to the fact that most of the Dutch words were part of the technical terminology known only in specific areas of trade, commerce, and engineering. Rapid commercial and technological development over the last 150 years might explain the loss of Dutch borrowings. In addition there had also been a tendency since the 1890s to avoid words of Dutch origin, while the Southwest was trying to catch up with the rest of the region by introducing Standard German as a prestige variety and written language. Most of the 500 lexical items which Foerste listed are no longer in use. Our own informal survey in Campen showed that only 42 words from Foerste's list were understood, and only 30 were still in use, among them the adverb *nooit* 'never', and the numeral *twalf* 'twelve', attested only in the Southwest, and the verb *proutn* 'to speak' and quantative *häil* 'entirely, very', both characteristic of EFLG (against adjoining regions *schnakn* 'to speak' and *gans* 'very').

0.2.2 Structure

A bundle of structural isoglosses separates the linguistic landscape of East Frisia from the Low German dialect continuum stretching to the east and south, generally between Westphalia and the North Sea and Baltic coasts, and specifically the areas east of the line Jever-Oldenburg (see also Janßen 1937):

In morphology and morpho-phonology, EFLG shows -n for the plural concord marker on verbs, while the adjoining regions to the east have -t, giving way again to -n along the Baltic coast; EFLG preserves the *a*-preterite in verbs like *kuam* 'came', *gaf* 'gave', *zach* 'saw', *was* 'was' (elsewhere *keem*, *geef*, *zeech*, *weer*); there is no umlaut, and instead plural formation is usually with -n in words like *gauzn* 'geese', *fautn* 'feet' (elsewhere *gööis*, *fööt*); and EFLG retains the nasal in the oblique 1.PL *uns* 'us' (elsewhere *uus*).

In phonology, there is rounding in *störm* 'storm', *bröər* 'brother' (adjoining regions *stoorm*, *broour*), but no rounding in *koupn* 'to buy', *mut* 'must' (against *köpn*, *möt*). One of the most outstanding features of EFLG is the extensive diphthongisation: *åəl* 'old', *kåəl* 'cold' (against *ool*, *kool*), *züən* 'sun' (*zuun*), *liəgn* 'to lie' (*leegn*), *zeägn* 'to say' (*zäägn*), *broukn* 'broken' (*brååkn*).

0.3 Current sociolinguistic situation

Until the mid-twentieth century most East Frisians lived in villages, each centered around a number of large farms. Those few villagers who were not employed as farmworkers worked as craftsmen, fishermen or bargees. Drastic inequality existed between landowners and farmworkers, and poverty and provincial backwardness sometimes marked social and cultural life in these times. The traditional structure of village society, however, helped to preserve a situation of stable diglossia between Standard German and Low German. Standard German served as a written language and high-variety. Low German was the first language of most children born in the area. Only in school did they learn to speak and to write Standard German (called *dütsch* as opposed to *plat* for Low German), which was used in formal and institutional domains only.

This changed dramatically after World War II. Most of the slave labourers from the occupied countries who were forced to work on the local farms or in Emden's shipyards during the war had to learn Low German. After 1945, German refugees from the East moved into the area, and the only language they had in common with the local population was Standard German. Nonetheless, unlike in areas of Eastern Lower Saxony (Erdmann 1992), this migration of Standard German speakers did not lead to language shift in East Frisia, although most villages had to cope with a 20% increase of inhabitants between 1945 and 1947. The children of these immigrant families usually acquired Low German very quickly. During the second half of

the twentieth century, agriculture, the main employer in the region, declined. But apart from a large Volkswagen plant in Emden, industry never became a strong economic factor in the region. When shipbuilding too entered a crisis, unemployment surged.

The region's economy now relies heavily on service industries and the public sector, with manufacturing industries counting for only a third of the gross domestic product. Since the 1980s tourism has become a growing sector of major economic importance. The economy as well as cultural and social life is focussed on the few urban centres – where Standard German plays a dominant role. There are no craftsmen, bargees, shops, schools or post offices left in the Low German speaking villages, and sometimes even the local pub has had to shut down. The growing influence of media, especially television, and a restrictive language policy in schools since the early 1960s are the main reasons why Low German is nowadays a language in decline. There are no monolingual speakers left. Parents stopped speaking Low German to their children because they feared disadvantage at school. Among children and teenagers only very few native speakers of Low German are left, although a majority understand it.

The general attitude towards the language, however, has changed. Low German is regarded nowadays as part of the regional culture and heritage, and some effort is being put into preserving it. The *Ostfriesische Landschaft*, a corporation with medieval origins, represents and administers East Frisian interests in the fields of culture, science and education in close collaboration with local authorities, and is the main force behind attempts to preserve Low German (Isaksson Biehl 1999). In 1992 it founded the so-called *Plattdütskbüro* (Centre for Low German) in order to coordinate Low German activities in the region. Among its initiatives were a pilot project 'Low German at School' between 1991 and 1995 (Gerdes 1996) and a recent attempt to introduce bilingual education in thirty kindergartens. An organisation for Low German writers, *Oostfreeske Taal* ('East Frisian Language'), was founded in 1990 and publishes a quarterly journal called *Diesel*. The problem of EFLG literature is not so much a lack of texts but rather a lack of readers (Klöver 2001). In spite of quite a successful attempt to establish codification rules for writing EFLG in 1988, most people still find it difficult to read in Low German (Klöver 1999). Amateur theatre is dominated by Low German theatre societies, some of them organised under the umbrella of *Arbeedsgemeenskupp van oostfreeske Spöldelen* ('Organisation of East Frisian Theatre Societies'). In primary schools, Low German reading competitions are organised on a regular basis. Local newspaper and magazines present columns in Low German. Folk music with Low German lyrics is very popular. Radio Bremen has few but regular broadcasts in Low German, which can be received in the region. Recently the internet has begun to play a role in Low German written communication – not only in East Frisia but across Germany, Europe and the United States (Klöver 1999, 2000). The internet also provides a Low German course for beginners. The future of Low German, however, very much depends on parents of young children: Can they be persuaded to speak Low German to their children, or is the fear of educational disadvantage still too dominant?

A survey of language attitudes towards Standard German and Low German (Reershemius 2002), carried out in the village of Campen in the southwestern Krummhörn area, shows that 70% of the inhabitants speak Low German actively: For 53.6% Low German is their native language, a further 18.4% consider themselves bilinguals. The survey shows that the age group of 41-50 year olds have made a conscious decision against Low German earlier in their lives. Most native speakers of Low German from this age group have ceased to speak the language at work, in public and in their families. Members of this generation were young adults in the 1960s and 1970s when social and economic changes and modernisation took place and the traditional structure of village life fell apart. Low German tended to be connected with backwardness, and the dominant fear was that Low German speaking children would face problems at school and would not be able to compete in an environment which depended increasingly on educational success.

Low German is somewhat stronger in the less formal domains, e.g. the family, among friends and in the neighbourhood as well as in half-formal settings such as in the pub, supermarket, playground or post office. But due to structural changes in rural life, such semi-formal contexts tend to have shifted from the local villages towards the nearest town, where all interaction takes place in Standard German. Due to the fact that the adult working population as well as schoolchildren spend the day outside the village in a Standard German speaking environment, Low German is declining even in the informal domains. For an increasing number of children, members of the older generation, such as grandparents, are the only contact with Low German. But in the younger age groups a majority claim not to have relatives in the village beyond the nuclear family.

It is apparent that many speakers do not raise their children in Low German although they would wish them to have Low German as a native language. Two contradictory viewpoints seem to prevail: On the one hand speakers are well aware of the value of their language, but on the other hand they still fear that their children could face disadvantages at school if Low German were their first language. Low German media or other cultural or social activities connected with the language are highly welcome and appreciated as long as they belong clearly to the areas of entertainment or leisure. They tend to be rejected the more they play a role in the organisation of day-to-day life.

0.4   Research on EFLG

Research on Low German began in the second half of the nineteenth century. A circle of historians and librarians had got together in Hamburg under the name of the *Hamburg Society of German Studies* in order to read the Heliand and Beowulf. This circle later created the *Society for the Study of Low German*, founded in 1874. In the twentieth century academic chairs were established for the study of Low German language and literature at the universities of Hamburg (1910), Rostock (1919), Münster (1951), Kiel (1952), and Göttingen (1958).

The earliest studies on Low German were philological, involving editions and interpretation of older Low German texts. They included Karl Schiller's and August Lübben's *Dictionary of Middle Low German*. Conrad Borchling, who later became Professor for Low German at the University of Hamburg, undertook a so-called manuscript expedition between 1897 and 1904 in order to locate and identify Low German manuscripts in Germany, Scandinavia and the Netherlands. His co-worker Agathe Lasch published her *Grammar of Middle Low German* in 1914, and became Professor of Low German in 1926. Lexicographic coverage of East Frisia includes the *East Frisian Dictionary* published by Cirk Heinrich Stürenburg in 1857, and the three volume *Dictionary of the East Frisian Language* by Jan ten Doornkaat Koolman, which appeared between 1879 and 1884.

Descriptive dialectology shows only partial coverage of East Frisia. In 1843, Eduard Krüger published his *Overview of the Contemporary Low German Language, especially in Emden*. An interesting document of nineteenth century Low German, this work is not always accurate and sometimes does not take into consideration regional differences between the varieties. J. Hobbings's dissertation on *The Sounds of the Dialect of Greetsiel is East Frisia*, published in 1879, focuses on a specific local variety, concentrating however only on phonology. In 1936, Tjabe Wiesenhann published his brief *Introduction to East Frisian Low German* with an overview of the phonology and morphosyntax of the dialect of the Rheiderland district. A more detailed, yet with a phonological focus is Arend Remmers's description of the dialect of Moormerland-Warsingsfehn, published in 1997.

East Frisia is also included in larger dialectological surveys, such as Wenker's questionnaire survey which began in 1876 (and from which the *Atlas of the German Language*

in Marburg later emerged). Based on the material collected via this survey, Janßen (1943) published the *Classification of the Dialects of East Frisia and Neighbouring Areas*, so far the only discussion of regional variation within EFLG. Janßen (1943) summarises the East Frisian data collected in two other surveys, the Westphalian Enquete of 1936, and the Low German Dictionary of 1938-1939. Other modern studies of Low German dialects, such as Panzer and Thümmel 1971, Cordes and Möhn 1983, or Lindow et al. 1998, tend to make just occasional reference to EFLG.

Recent studies of Low German are largely devoted to the sociolinguistics of language use and the competition between dialect and standard. One of the largest surveys of language use in the Low German speaking area was conducted by the *Bremen Society for Applied Social Psychology* in 1984, and the results for Lower Saxony, the province containing East Frisia, are discussed by Stellmacher (1995). East Frisia is included in Northern Lower Saxony, which, by contrast to Southern Lower Saxony, is considered as a rather stable dialect area. There are however a number of studies that document a decline in the use of Low German. Of the 600 pupils surveyed by Kruse (1993) in Emden and vicinity, only 42% of those in the twelfth school year spoke Low German, compared with 36,3% in the the eighth year and 31,4% in the fourth year; while 23,8% of urban children spoke the dialect, in rural settlements the number was 70,2%. Buhr (1994) compared 187 pupils in the town of Aurich and the village of Riepe; in the town, only 5% spoke Low German and 36,6% understood it, while in the village 27,1% had active and 54,1% passive knowledge.

Another area of interest is language contact. Borchling (1928) was a pioneer of contact studies in EFLG, commenting on the somewhat surprising result that there is little Westphalian influence on the East Frisian dialect. Foerste (1938) devoted a book-length study to the influence of Dutch on EFLG, and in a series of studies, Remmers (1994, 1995, 1996) takes an inventory of the Frisian substrate lexicon in EFLG (cf. also Scheuermann 2001 and Ebeling 2001 on Frisian toponyms). On the other hand, the synchronic study of bilingualism and the influence of Standard German on the dialect is still in its early stages (but see Reershemius 1997, 2000).

On the whole, the state of EFLG research reflects what Goossens (1974, 1986) has described as a characteristic feature of research on Low German in general: absence of a wide range of structural descriptions of individual dialects, and a focus instead on issues of status and Low-High German diglossia, as well as on selected issues in the history of the lexicon and sound system.

0.5 The present study

The present study describes a variety of EFLG as spoken in the village of Campen, in the municipal community of Krummhörn, approximately 15 kilometres west of Emden. The earliest references to the village are believed to date back to around 900, and concern the export of wool products. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the village is mentioned quite often in documents, treaties, and court proceedings. The building which today houses the Reformed Church, and was until the Reformation the Catholic Church, was built between 1250 and 1270. A census carried out in 1771 in Campen shows a total population of 265 (see Ohling 1970:109). The majority consisted of crofters and farm labourers, with only around 10 independent farmers (only some of whom were land owners), and a small class of craftsmen. In the mid-nineteenth century there were still only 10 independent farms in the community. The population decreased during the second half of the nineteenth century from around 400 in 1861 to 315 in 1885.

The community embraced the Reformation by the mid-seventeenth century at the latest, joining the Calvinist movement's Reformed Church. In the mid-nineteenth century, a group led

by the local farmer Heye Gossen Heikens broke away from the mainstream Reformed church and joined the Dutch-based Old Reformed movement. Heikens preached in Dutch, and authored several theological publications in Dutch. The Dutch language continued to play a role in the local Old Reformed church until the twentieth century.

Campen now has a population of 520. The village covers an area of some 500 hectars farmland, but following the decline of agriculture since the 1950s, there are now only three active farms left, each run by just one person. Most residents work outside the village, many of them in the shipyards or the Volkswagen production line in Emden. The population of former farm labourers , now employed in industry, has built new houses outside the old village centre, and there are two such development areas in the village. Tourism is now one of the most important economic sectors in the region, and many of the older buildings and farmhouses have been converted to bed & breakfast hotels. The population is ageing as a result of emigration from the region, or into Emden, and the community is turning gradually into a rural suburb of Emden.

Up to 70% of the residents of Campen are active speakers of Low German. The examples contained in this outline are based on tape-recorded and transcribed conversations with native residents of the village, of all age groups between 18-75. We rely, however, apart from targeted elicitation, primarily on a selection of six interviews of up to one hour each, with speakers aged 18 (male), 33 (female), 46 (female), 56 (female), 63 (female), and 78 (male), recorded in the speakers' own homes in Campen between January 1996 and June 2000. Themes cover personal history, work and agriculture, community life and interpersonal relations.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 Vowels

The inventory of vowels has altogether eleven quality oppositions. There are nine primary vowels: /i e ä a ə ü ö u å/. Three vowels appear only in a short form: /e/, /ə/ and /ö/. Of those, /ə/ appears only in unstressed positions, while /e/ is found only in stressed positions. The other vowels have length opposition. The open phonemes /a ä å/ have a straightforward length opposition with no difference in quality: *al* = [al] 'already', and *aal* = [aːl] 'all, everything'. The closed phonemes /i ü u/ have alternating quality realisations that correlate with length, the short sounds being more central: [iː]–[ɪ], [yː]–[ʏ], [uː]–[ʊ]; cf. *iis* = [iːs] 'ice', *is* = [ɪs] 'is'. There are two additional vowels. The first is [oː], and is part of the diphthong /ooi/. The second is [eː], and might be regarded as a long phoneme /ee/. It appears however only in stem positions preceding /r/: *reern* 'cry', *peern* 'pears', *eerst* 'yet, only now'. The consonant /r/, in turn, is realised in non-prevocalic position as a central short vowel [ɐ]: [hɔːɐ] *håår* 'hair'. The partial assimilation of /ee/ = [eː] to [ɐ] renders in effect a closed vowel with mid-length, followed by a central colouring, i.e. [eˑɐ]. The resulting hiatus is often bridged by a subtle glide [ʝ], thus: [ʀeˑʝəɐn], [ʀeˑʝɐn], [ʀeːɐn] *reern* 'cry'.

Vowel sounds:
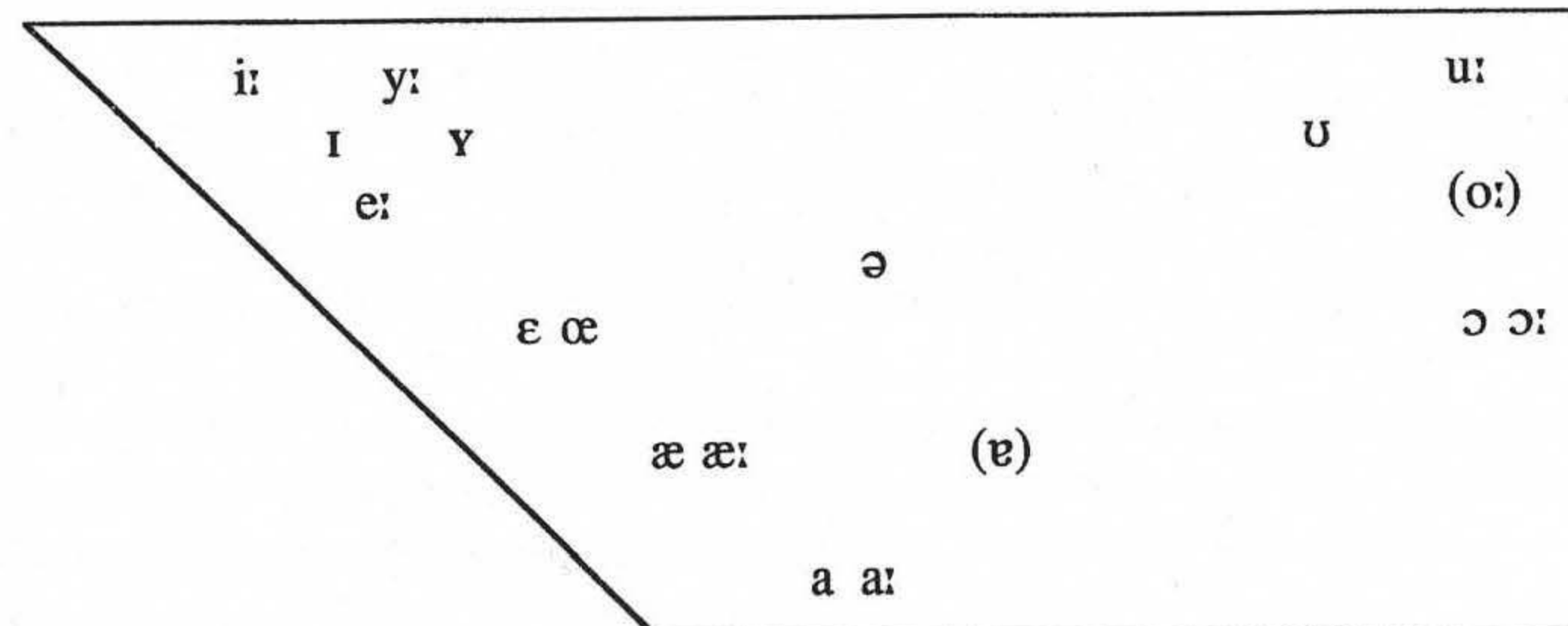
1.1.1 Short vowels

i	[ɪ]	*fis* 'fish', *in* 'in'
e	[ɛ]	*helpn* 'help', *denkn* 'think'
ä	[æ]	*rächt* 'right', *wäch* 'away'
a	[a]	*gat* 'hole', *zant* 'sand'
ü	[ʏ]	*lücht* 'light', *züstə* 'sister'
ö	[œ]	*fröst* 'frost', *för* 'for'
ə	[ə]	*akə* 'field', *gəzunt* 'healthy', *himəl* 'heaven'
u	[ʊ]	*ful* 'full', *hunt* 'dog'
å	[ɔ]	*zålt* 'salt', *måkn* 'do'

1.1.2 Long vowels

ii	[iː]	*biitn* 'bite', *riik* 'rich'
ee	[eː,eˑɐ]	*leern* 'learn', *peern* 'pears'

ää	[æː]	*fäär* 'four', *däär* 'animal'
aa	[aː]	*taan* 'tooth', *aam* 'arm'
üü	[yː]	*füür* 'fire', *lüü* 'people'
uu	[uː]	*uut* 'out', *duuw* 'dove'
åå	[ɔː]	*fåådə* 'father', *schkååp* 'sheep'

1.2 Diphthongs and Triphthongs

EFLG has a strikingly large inventory of diphthongs and triphthongs. There are altogether seventeen diphthongs and two triphthongs. The largest group contains movements toward a front closed position /i/, from front open-mid and open as well as from back positions:

ei	[ɛɪ]	*zei* 'said', *dei* 'did', *kreign* 'get', *beitə* 'better'
eäi	[ɛæɪ]	*kneäi* 'knie', *neäi* 'new'
öäi	[œəɪ]	*köäi* 'female calf', *tröäi* 'sweater', *möäi* 'tired'
äi	[æɪ]	*zäi* 'she', *däi* 'the', *zäin* 'see', *bäin* 'leg'
ai	[aɪ]	*daist* 'you do', *tain* 'ten'
aai	[aːɪ]	*baaint* 'both', *zaain* 'to sow', *aai* 'egg'
ui	[ʊɪ]	*luintjən* 'ignite', *pluintjən* 'splash'
ooi	[oːɪ]	*mooi* 'pretty', *nooit* 'never', *hooi* 'hay'

Diphthongs: Target /i/
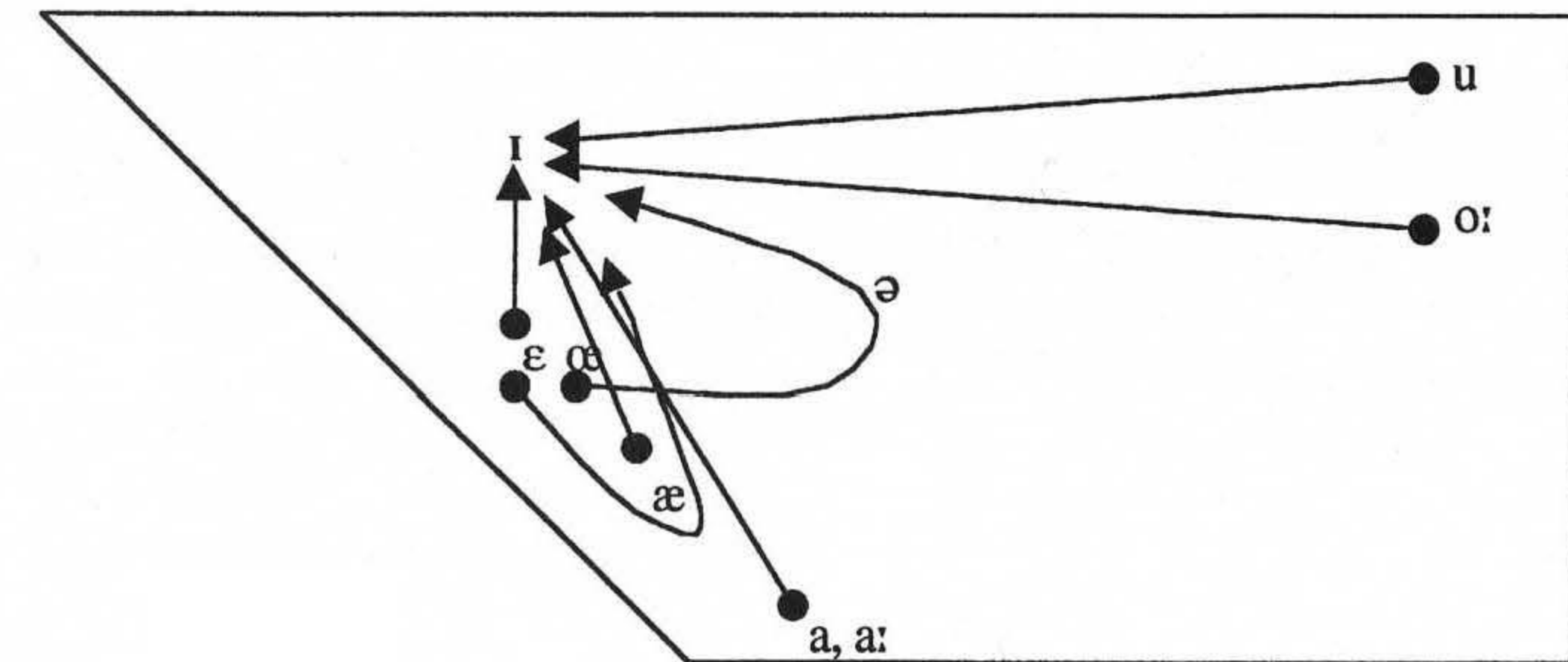
Paralleling this formation, there is another group of diphthongs that target the closed back position /u/, starting in front open-mid and open as well as in back open-mid vowels:

öu	[œʊ]	*dröum* 'dream', *föugəl* 'bird', *höur* 'her'
au	[aʊ]	*blaut* 'blood', *dau* 'then', *gaut* 'good'
aau	[aːʊ]	*haaun* 'hit', *baaun* 'build'
ou	[oʊ]	*boum* 'tree', *ouk* 'also'

Diphthongs: Target /u/
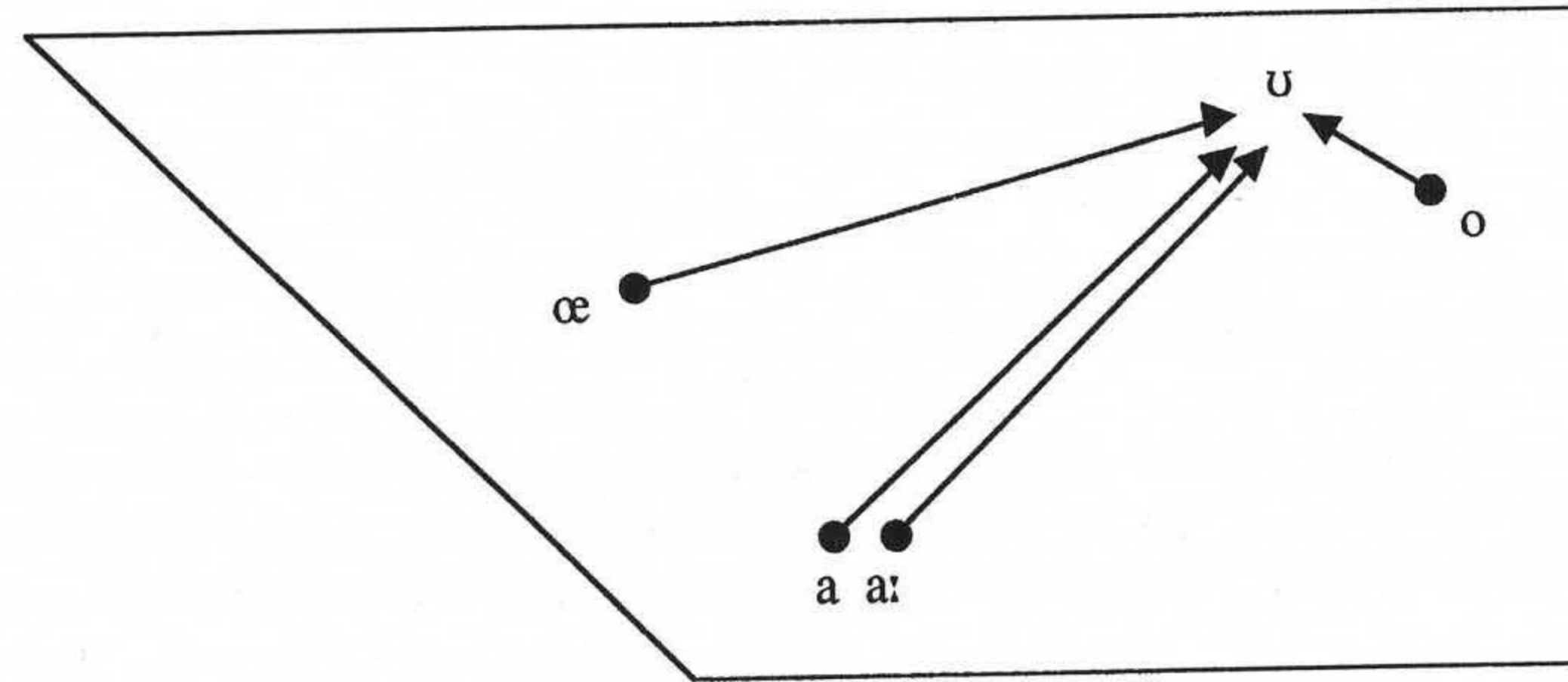
Another group of diphthongs begin in closed and open-mid positions and end in the centre

iə	[iə]	*filiəcht* 'maybe', *diəcht* 'dense, shut'
üə	[yə]	*züən* 'sun', *schtüən* 'hour', *lüətjə* 'small'
öə	[œə]	*bröər* 'brother', *zöəln* 'should'
uə	[uə]	*tuəng* 'tongue', *wuən* 'wound'
åə	[ɔə]	*åəl* 'old', *kåəl* 'cold'

Diphthongs: Target /ə/
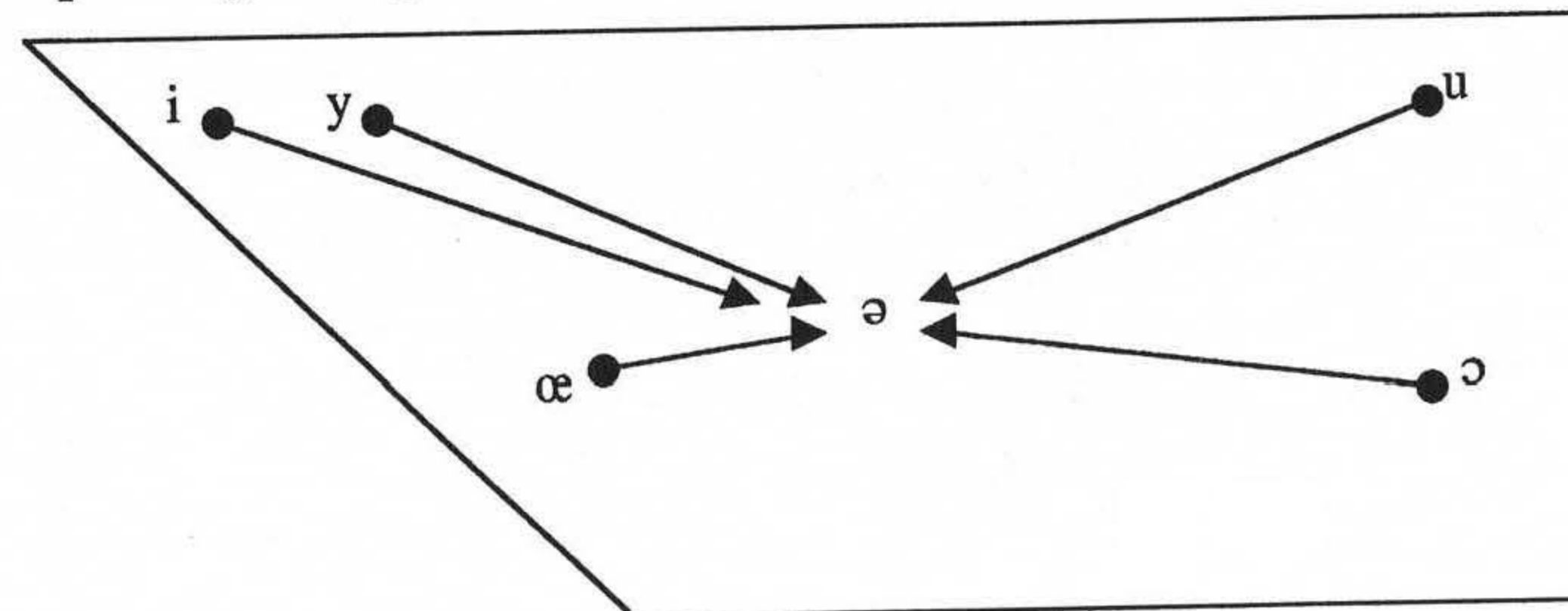
Finally, there are two additional diphthongs:

| eä | [ɛæ] | *zeägn* 'say', *zeäs* 'six' |
| äü | [æʏ] | *fäült* 'feels' |

Diphthongs: Others
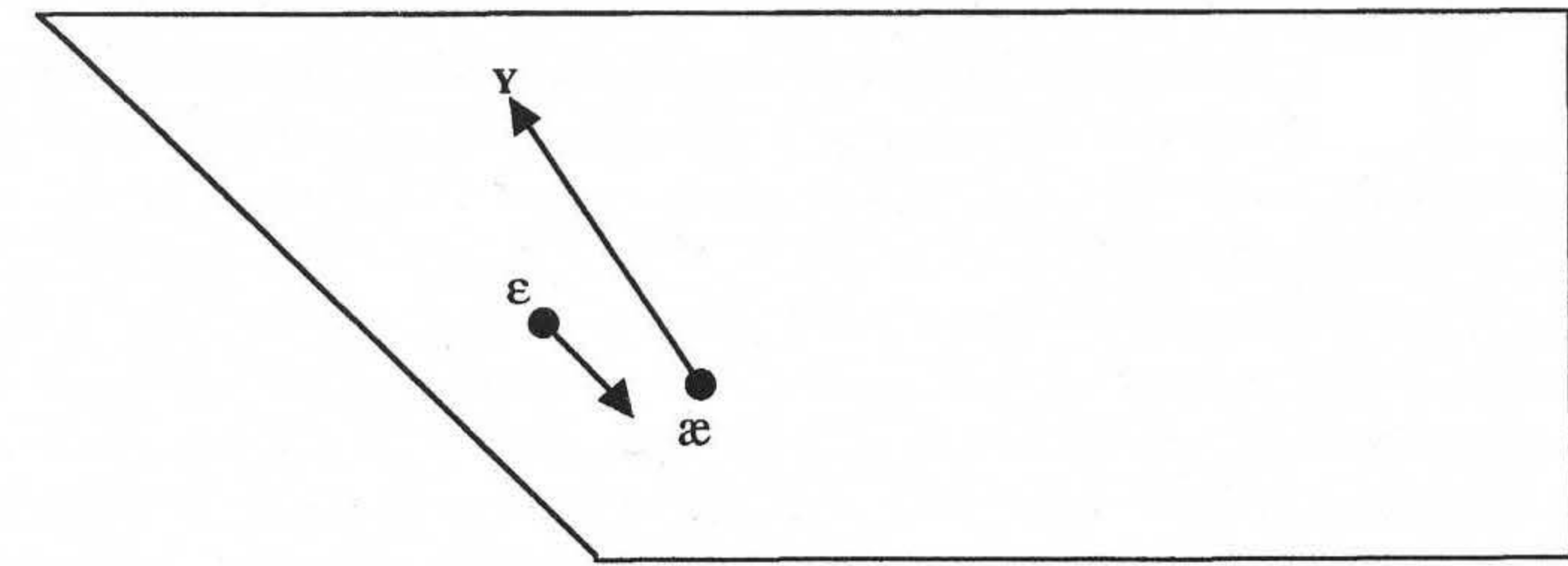
1.3 Consonants

1.3.1 Stops
The three stop positions — bilabial /p,b/, alveolar /t,d/, and velar /k,g/— show voice opposition in prevocalic position: *kau* 'cow' and *gau* 'some', *tau* 'to' and *dau* 'then':

p	[p]	*piip* 'pipe'
t	[t]	*tiit* 'time'
k	[k]	*köukn* 'kitchen'
b	[b]	*bäin* 'leg'
d	[d]	*däil* 'part'
g	[g]	*geil* 'yellow'

Normally only voiceless stops occur in final position, but voice is retained in positions that succeed vocalic inflectional endings: *dat zün häil gaud lüü* 'these are very good people' (<*gaudə*), *n doud kaat* 'a dead cat' (< *doudə*), *ik häit* 'I am called' but *ik heid* 'I was called' (< *heidə*). A glottal stop /ʔ/ usually precedes word-initial vowels.

1.3.2 Fricatives

f	[f]	*föugəl* 'bird', *öufel* 'bad'
w	[v]	*wulf* 'wolf', *duuw* 'dove'
s	[s]	*fis* 'fish'
z	[z]	*zant* 'sand'
ch	[x]	*houch* 'high', *wäch* 'road', *lücht* 'light'
ç	[ç]	*tüüç* 'stuff', *heiç* 'hedge'
sch	[ʃ]	*schkau* 'shoe', *schtåån* 'stand'
h	[h]	*häit* 'hot'

The labiodentals /f,v/ may appear both in prevocalic and in final position. Among the alveolars, voiced /z/ usually appears in prevocalic position, exceptions being positions preceding syllabic nasals which result from final syllable reduction: *fräizn* 'freeze', *waazn* 'grow'. Voiceless /s/ usually appears in non-prevocalic position, with the exception of morphological prefixes: *sååbns* 'in the evening' (< *s'ååbents*), *smidåchs* 'at noon'. Other fricatives are voiceless and lack voiced counterparts. The velar fricative /ch/ appears only in postvocalic position. It is in complementary distribution with the palatal fricative /ç/, which follows only the most closed front vowels /i/ and the /ü/-allophone [yː] as in *tüüç* 'stuff', but not [ʏ] (*lücht* 'light'). Postalveolar /sch/ usually appears in initial clusters, an exception being *tüschn* 'between'

(alongside *tüskn*). The present copula *is* as well as, apparently by analogy, the past copula *was* show assimilated forms to the particle *ja* that result in a postalveolar articulation: *dat ische/ wasche* 'it is/ was (indeed)'. The glottal fricative /h/ is restricted to word-initial positions.

1.3.3 Other consonants

tj	[tç]	*kluintjə* 'sugar cubes'
	[tʃ]	*pluintjən* 'splash'
ts	[ts]	*tsöumtech* 'seventy'
j	[j]	*jung* 'young'
m	[m]	*man* 'man'
n	[n]	*rin* 'into', *nacht* 'night'
ng,nk	[ŋ]	*ring* 'ring'
l	[l]	*lååtn* 'let'
r	[r, ʀ]	*rouk* 'smoke'

Affricates are on the whole marginal. The palatal affricate /tj/ occurs mainly in the diminutive suffix. In the speech of many speakers it is interchangeable with a postalveolar affricate [tʃ]. The dental affricate /ts/ appears primarily in Standard German loans; a rare occurrence apart from those is the word *tsöumtech* 'seventy'. The bilabial and alveolar stops /p b t d/ (as well as the velar nasal) assimilate to following nasals, resulting in nasalplosives [n̥] and [m̥], as in *ååbnt* 'evening', *geibn* 'give', *loupn* 'run', *lååtn* 'let' etc. Adjoining nasals are also assimilated, resulting in nasal gemination: *wounn* 'reside' (< *wounən*); minimal pair *fun* 'found (1/3.SG)', *funn* 'found' (1/2/3.PL). Both /ng/ and /nk/ are realised as [ŋ]: *denkn* [dɛŋn̥] 'think', *drinkn* [dʀɪŋn̥] 'drink', and *ring* [ʀɪŋ] 'ring' against *rin* [ʀɪn] 'into'. The remaining consonant sounds are the alveolar lateral approximant /l/ and the trill /r/, which appears as an alveolar [r] in the speech of the older generation, but has shifted to a uvular [ʀ] in the speech of the younger generations. Both appear only in prevocalic positions, complemented by the allophone [ɐ] postvocalically. Finally, there is a palatal approximant /j/.

Consonants:

p	b		t	d		k	g			
	m			n			ŋ			
		f	v	s	z	ʃ	ç	x		
									(ʔ)	h
			ts		(tʃ)	tç				
						j				
			l							
			(r)					ʀ		

1.4 Historical phonology

1.4.1 Continuation of Old Saxon vowels

A core of EFLG simple vowel phonemes is a direct continuation of Old Saxon vowel phonemes. Among the short vowels, OS short /a/ is continued as /a/ in *gat* 'hole', *zant* 'sand', *dach* 'day', *nacht* 'night', *gast* 'guest', *gras* 'grass', and so on (OS *gat, sand, dag, naht, gast, gras*). OS short /e/ is continued as a short (open) /e/ in closed syllables in stressed positions: *denkn* 'think', *helpn* 'help' (OS *thenkian, helpan*). Short /i/ continues OS /i/ in most positions: *schkip* 'ship', *fis* 'fish', *fingə* 'finger', *blint* 'blind', *drinkn* 'drink' (OS *skip, fisk, fingar, blind, drinkan*). OS /u/ continues in *jung* 'young', *hunt* 'dog', *gezunt* 'healthy', *wulf* 'wolf' (OS *jung, hund, gisund, wulf*), while /o/ is succeeded by an open /å/ as in *dåchdə* 'daughter' (OS *dohtar*).

Of the OS long vowels, only the three closed phonemes are continued: OS /î/ is /ii/ in most positions —*fiif* 'five', *riik* 'rich', *biitn* 'bite', *diin* 'your' (OS *fîf, rîk, bîtan, thîn*), and OS /û/ is /uu/ in most positions — *huus* 'house', *uut* 'out', *duuw* 'dove', *luut* 'loud' (OS *hûs, ût, dûbha, hlûd*). OS /ê/ remains /ee/ only in positions preceding /r/: *leern* 'learn' (OS *lêrian*). The OS long diphthong /âi/ appears as /aai/ in *zaain* 'sow' (OS *sâian*).

1.4.2 Changes to Old Saxon vowels

Typical of the general trend in modern Germanic languages is the reduction of vowels in unstressed positions. The process characterises already the transition to MLG. Vowels in inflectional endings tend to disappear altogether: *breikn* 'break' (OS *brekan*). Others are reduced to /ə/: *akə* 'field' (OS *akkar*). There are a number of other changes to the quality of OS plain, short vowels. Vowels with /a/-quality are often backed — *måkn* 'make', *zålt* 'salt' (OS *makon, salt*), and *håår* 'hair', *zååt* 'seed', *ååbnt* 'evening', *schtåån* 'stand' (OS *hâr, sâd, âband, stân*). There is opening of OS /e/ to /ä/ in stem positions preceding a velar fricative — *rächt* 'right', *wäch* 'road' (OS *reht, weg*). On the other hand, OS /o/ is closed to /u/ in *ful* 'full' (OS *fol*). Rounding of back vowels is common especially around sonorants: *fröst* 'frost', *mörgn* 'morning', *hörn* 'hear', *schkült* 'fault', *dörst* 'thirst', *zömə* 'summer' (OS *frost, morgan, hôrian, skuld, thurst, sumar*). A rounded vowel also succeeds historical /swe/ in *züstə* 'sister' (MLG *süster*, OS *swestar*). Compensatory lengthening of OS short vowels appears around historical medial fricatives (*laagn* 'laugh', *waazn* 'grow', OS *hlahhian, wahsan* > MLG *lachen, wassen*), in place of clusters containing /r/ (*schwaat* 'black', *aam* 'arm', OS *swart, arm*) as well as other clusters and geminates involving sonorants (*taan* 'tooth', *aal* 'all', OS *tand, all*), or in cases of loss of a final syllable (*nåån* 'name', OS *namo*). The OS sequence /auw/ is continued as a long diphthong /aau/ as in *haaun* 'hit' (OS *bihauwan*, MLG *houwen*).

The most outstanding development in the vowel system is the extensive diphthongisation. OS short /e/ in stressed positions is generally lengthened in the modern LG dialects, and it appears in EFLG as /ei/: *eitn* 'eat', *geil* 'yellow', *neibəl* 'fog', *beitə* 'better' (OS *etan, gelu, nebhal, betara*). Immediately preceding stops there is a parallel development of OS short /o/: *oupn* 'open' (OS *opan*). Diphthongs ending in a central vowel appear for OS short /u/ to compensate for the reduction of syllables in *tuəng* 'tongue', *wuən* 'wound' (OS *tunga, wunda*) and in *züən* 'sun' (OS *sunna*). We find the same process with OS short /a/ around simplified final clusters in originally inflected forms such as *åəl* 'old', *kåəl* 'cold' (OS *alda, kalda*), in predicative position however *ål* and *kål*. OS short /u/ and /i/ may become a rounded diphthong in the environment of bilabial sounds: *fougəl* 'bird', *öufəl* 'bad', *zöubn* 'seven' (OS *fugal, ubhil, sibhun*). Further diphthongs emerge in positions representing OS short /e/, as a result of assimilation of medial glottals, partly already in MLG, giving MLG /ê/: *zeäs* 'six' (OS *sehs*, MLG *sês*), *zäin* 'see' (OS *sehan*, MLG *sên*), *tain* 'ten' (OS *tehan*, MLG *tein*), as well as *zeägn* 'say' (OS *seggian*, MLG *seyen*), *aaid* 'harrow' (OS *egiða*).

The OS long vowels /ô/ and /ê/ also undergo diphthongisation. The earliest is the diphthongisation of OS /ô¹/, deriving from Germanic /ô/, to /au/ in EFLG: *blaut* 'blood', *flaut* 'flood', *faut* 'foot', *maudə* 'mother', *schkau* 'shoe', *gaut* 'good', *raupn* 'call' (OS *blôd, flôd, fôt, môdar, skôh, gôd, hrôpan*). This process began already in OS, as attested by diphthongised forms such as *buok* 'book' for *bôk* (EFLG *bauk*) in the *Heliand* C-manuscript (cf. Taeger 1984). The diphthong then continues as MLG /uo, ou/ (cf. Lasch 1914: 94-95; Gallée 1891:66ff), with monophthongisation in the central regions (Dutch *boek*; cf. also Standard German *Buch*). The diphthong is sometimes rounded in EFLG where a medial dental fricative has been lost: *bröər* 'brother', *möəi* 'tired' (OS *brôðar, môði*). OS /ô³/ appears to undergo a similar development as / ô¹/: *gaus* 'goose' (OS *gôs*). The diphthongisation of OS /ô²/ (from Germanic /au/), continued in MLG as /ô/, appears to be a later development. The resulting sound is /ou/: *boum* 'tree', *rout* 'red', *rouk* 'smoke', *koupn* 'buy', *ouch* 'eye', *houch* 'high', *loupn* 'run' (OS *bôm, rôt, rôk, kôpon, ôga, hôh, hlôpan*). Here too there is rounding in the environment of some bilabial sounds: *dröum* 'dream' (OS *drôm*). OS /ê/ (MLG /ê/) is succeeded by /äi/: *zäil* 'rope', *bäin* 'leg', *häil* 'whole', *schtäin* 'stone', *häit* 'hot' (OS *sêl, bên, hêl, stên, hêt*). A further diphthong /ooi/ results from the loss, in MLG, of a medial velar through assimilation to the palatal vowel: *hooi* 'hay' (OS *hôgias*, MLG *hooy, hoy*). Arguably, a number of other diphthongs and triphthongs are, at least in historical perspective, derived from such incidences of hiatus which arise through the loss of a medial consonant: *aaid* 'harrow', *möəi* 'tired', *öəi* 'ewe' (OS *egiða, môði, ewi*).

While the OS diphthongs /au/ and /âi/ are continued (partly, in the case of /au/, with changes of quantity), there are a number of OS diphthongs that are succeeded by different diphthong qualities. OS /ûa/ aligns itself with the lengthened /au/ group: *baaun* 'build' (OS *bûan*). OS /ei/ becomes /aai/, as in *aai* 'egg' (OS *ei*). A group of OS diphthongs containing /io, ie, êo/ as well as the combinations /wê, iuw/ are succeeded in MLG by /ê/ and appear in EFLG as /äi/ and /eäi/. The first appears in various positions: *däip* 'deep', *läif* 'nice' (OS *diopo, liof*), *zäi* 'she' (OS *sie* or *sia*). The second appears in the environment of /n/ and following /r/: *kneäi* 'knie' (OS *knio*), *schneäi* 'snow' (OS *snêo*), *tweäi* 'two' (OS *twêne*), *neäi* 'new' (OS *niuwi*), *dreäi* 'three' (OS *thrie*). A monophthong succeeds OS /io/ in a position preceding /r/ in *däär* 'animal', *fäär* 'four' (OS *dior, fior*). OS /iu/ was monophtongised in MLG to /ü/. It appears in EFLG both as a long vowel /üü/ in *füür* 'fire', *lüü* 'people' (OS *fiur, liudi*), and as a short /ü/ in *frünt* 'friend' (OS *friund*); it also succeeds OS /io/ before a velar fricative in *lücht* 'light' (OS *lioht*).

1.4.3 Overview of the development of Old Saxon vowels in EFLG

OS			EFLG	
a	*gat*	'hole'	a	*gat*
	all	'all'	aa	*aal*
	tand	'tooth'		*taan*
	swart	'black'		*schwaat*
	wahsan	'grow'		*waazn*
	hlahhian	'laugh'		*laagn*
	salt	'salt'	å	*zålt*
	fader	'father'	åå	*fåådə*
	namo	'name'		*nååm*
	helpan	'help'	–	*helpn*
e	*thenkian*	'think'	e	*denkn*
	etan	'eat'	ei	*eitn*

(cont.)	OS			EFLG
	reht	'right'	ä	*rächt*
	sehan	'see'	äi	*zäin*
	seggian	'say'	eä	*zeägn*
	sehs	'six'		*zeäs*
	tehan	'ten'	ai	*tain*
	ewi	'ewe'	öəi	*öəi*
	egiða	'harrow'	aai	*aaid*
	twelif	'twelve'	a	*twalm*
i	*blind*	'blind'	i	*blint*
	liht	'easy'	iə	*liəcht*
	himil	'sky'	ə	*himəl*
	sibhun	'seven'	öu	*zöubn*
o	*dohtar*	'daughter'	å	*dåchdə*
	fol	'full'	u	*ful*
	opan	'open'	ou	*oupn*
	frost	'frost'	ö	*fröst*
	morgan	'morning'		*mörgn*
u	*hund*	'dog'	u	*hunt*
	skuld	'fault'	ü	*schkült*
	sumar	'summer'	ö	*zömə*
	wunda	'wound'	uə	*wuən*
	sunna	'sun'	üə	*züən*
	ubhil	'bad'	öu	*öufəl*
	ful-	'feel'	äü	*fäül*
â	*sâd*	'seed'	åå	*zååt*
	thâhta	'thought'	åə	*dåəcht*
ê	*bên*	'leg'	äi	*bäin*
	twêne	'two'	eäi	*tweäi*
î	*fîf*	'five'	ii	*fiif*
ô¹	*blôd*	'blood'	au	*blaut*
	hôrian	'hear'	ö	*hörn*
	brôðar	'brother'	öə	*bröər*
	môði	'tired'	öəi	*möəi*
ô²	*bôm*	'tree'	ou	*boum*
	drôm	'dream'	öu	*dröum*
	hôgias	'hay'	ooi	*hooi*
ô³	*gôs*	'goose'	au	*gaus*
û	*hûs*	'house'	uu	*huus*
	bûan	'build'	aau	*baaun*
au	*bihauwan*	'hit'	aau	*haaun*
ei	*ei*	'egg'	aai	*aai*

(cont.)	OS			EFLG
ie	*sie*	'she'	*äi*	*zäi*
	thrie	'three'	*eäi*	*dreäi*
io	*diop*	'deep'	*äi*	*däip*
	knio	'knee'	*eäi*	*kneäi*
	dior	'animal'	*ää*	*däär*
	lioht	'light'	*ü*	*lücht*
iu	*fiur*	'fire'	*üü*	*füür*
	friund	'friend'	*ü*	*frünt*
	niuwi	'new'	*eäi*	*neäi*
âi	*sâian*	'sow'	*aai*	*zaain*
êo	*snêo*	'snow'	*eäi*	*schneäi*

1.4.4 The development of Old Saxon and MLG consonants

The development of consonants is characterised by the continuation, by and large, of initial consonants, the weakening of some final consonants, and the reduction or loss of a series of medial consonants. Changes to initial consonants involve, already in MLG, the succession of /th/ through /d/ (*thenkian > denken > denkn* 'think') and the reduction of /hl/, /hr/ and /hw/ to /l/, r/, /w/ (*hlôpan> lôpen > loupn* 'run', *hrôpan > rôpen > raupn* 'call', *hwô > wô > wau* 'how').

EFLG stands out among the Low German dialects in its development of initial clusters consisting of a dental-alveolar sibilant and consonant : OS and MLG *sc* or *sk, skr, sl, sm, sn, sp, st, sw*. The sibilant in EFLG is generally a postalveolar — *schlååpn* 'sleep', *schmiitn* 'throw', *schniidn* 'cut', *schpeäin* 'spit', *schtåån* 'stand', *schwiin* 'pig'. This however seems like a recent development, as there is still some variation among the oldest group of speakers, and forms such as *smit* 'smith', *sneäi* 'snow', *staak* 'strong', or *ståån* 'stand' can also be heard from some speakers. Hobbing (1879) still describes combinations in *s-* throughout for the Greetsiel dialect (*sk-, sw-, sp-, st-, sm-, sn-*). The characteristic feature, and one that appears to be consistent in our sample and not subject to variation, is the unique development of the combinations *sk* and *skr* to *schk* and *schkr*: *schkååp* 'sheep', *schkau* 'shoe', *schkåmt* 'ashamed', *schkült* 'fault', *schkriibn* 'write', *schkip* 'ship', *schkoun* 'clean' (OS *skâp, skôh, skama, skuld, skrîbhan, skip, skôni*).

Initial *s* is voiced to /z/: *sie, sia > sê, sie > zäi*. There is also voicing of this and other fricatives in intervocalic positions and in adjacency to voiced consonants, resulting in grammatical alternations such as *gaus* 'goose — *gauzn* 'geese', *kalf* 'calf' — *kalwə* 'calves'.

In medial positions there is — in some cases already in MLG — simplification of geminates (*akkar > acker > akə* 'field'), and loss of velar and glottal fricatives and of semi-vowels: *sehan > sên > zäin* 'see', *hlahhian > lachen > laagn* 'laugh', *tehan> tein > tain* 'ten', *bihauwan > houwen > haaun* 'hit', *seggian > seyen > zeägn* 'say'. Historical medial dental fricatives are either lost — *brôðar > brôder > bröuər* 'brother', *môði > möəi* 'tired' — or are assimilated to the following consonant, as in the case of nasals: *snîðan > schniidn* 'cut'. With medial bilabial voiced fricatives there are several options, owing to the continuation of bilabial fricative phonemes. They may be retained as voiced fricatives (*diubhal > düüvel > düüwəl* 'devil'), or as voiceless fricatives (*ubhil > övel > öufəl* 'bad'), or as stops (*nebhal > nebel > neibəl*), or become assimilated to nasals (*sibhun > söven > zöubn* 'seven'). Nasals in medial

position may assimilate adjacent stops: *undar > unə* 'under'. The cluster *sk* varies in medial position, and *tüskn* 'between' and *minskn* 'people' are found alongside *tüschn* and *minschn*.

In final positions EFLG shares a general tendency toward the reduction of some clusters: *tand > tan(t) > taan* 'tooth', but *hand > hant* 'hand'; *ald > alt > åəl* 'old' and *kald > kolt > kåəl* 'cold' (but *salt > zålt* 'salt' and *skuld > schkült* 'fault'). Final *-er* is reduced to /ə/ — *akkar > acker> akə* 'field', *môdar > môder > maudə* 'mother', *fader > fåådə* 'father' — and *r* is lost in postvocalic clusters: *swart > schwaat* 'black', *arm > aam* 'arm'. Final stops are devoiced, while the final velar stop *-g* becomes a voiceless fricative: *dag > dach* 'day'. This fricative undergoes palatalisation after front closed vowels: *tüüç* 'thing' (< *tiug*). The assimilation of stops to final nasals, following the reduction of final syllables, results in the emergence of nasal plosives: *lâtan > lâten > lååtn* 'let'.

2. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Nouns

Nouns have two inherent properties: gender, and animacy. EFLG, like other Low German varieties, has a two-gender system: common (or non-neuter) and neuter. As in Dutch or Scandinavian languages, common nouns tend to continue historical masculines and feminines, while neuter nouns generally continue historical neuters. Overt morphological manifestation of gender is limited to the agreement patterns in the sets of expressions that function as definite articles, demonstratives, and anaphora (common *disə/ däi*, neuter *dit/ dat*), and is confined to the singular, the plural showing no gender agreement at all. Anaphora are also sensitive to animacy, with animate nouns classified by natural gender taking *häi* 'he', *zäi* 'she/they', *dat* 'it'.

Nominal derivation shows similar formations as in other Germanic languages. Nouns consist primarily of plain stems (*huus* 'house', *kaak* 'church'), with derivational suffixes used most commonly for the formation of abstract nouns from verbs (*schlåpereäi* 'accommodation', *schlååp-* 'sleep'; *anwänst* 'habit', *anwänt* 'become accustomed to'), or for the formation of diminutives (*ruuntjə* 'shirt', *taaukəs* 'spikes'). Derivational prefixes indicate relational (local or temporal) dimensions relative to the nominal stem (*förmidach* 'morning', *utlänər* 'foreigner'), or aktionsart dimensions in nouns deriving from verbal stems (*bezöuk* 'visit', *uutdrükn* 'expressions', *anwänst* 'habit'). Compounding is common: *döskmaschkiin* 'threshing machine', *zöndachskläir* 'Sunday clothes'.

2.1.1 Number

There are three distinct plural morphemes: *-n*, *-s*, and *-ə*. The most widespread is *-n* (*kneäi–kneäin* 'knee', *bauk–baukn* 'book', *schkååp–schkååpn* 'sheep', *kaat–katn* 'cat', *nöut–nöutn* 'nut', *weik–weikn* 'week', *zöun–zöunn* 'son', *hunt–hunn* 'dog'). This class also incorporates older Germanic plurals in umlaut, of which no trace is left in EFLG: *faut–fautn* 'foot–feet', *taan–tann* 'tooth-teeth', *gaus–gauzn* 'goose-geese'. The suffix *-n* assimilates preceding nasals and dentals, resulting in a long nasal: *schwiin–schwiinn* 'pig', *punt–punn* 'pound', *aam–aamm* 'arm'. Final stem consonants often alternate in positions preceding the suffix: *dåch–dåågn* 'day', *huus–huuzn* 'house'. The suffix *-s* is largely confined to particular sound segments, which inlcude ə+sonorant in the original (historical) final stem position, sometimes giving final *-ə* (*apəl–apəls* 'apple', *bröər–bröərs* 'brother', *züstə–züstəs* 'sister', *fingə–fingəs* 'finger'; also *jung–jungs* 'boy'), and the derivational markers *-kə*, *-tə*, *-tjə* (*schkåpkə–schkåpkəs* 'lamb'). The plural suffix *-ə* is limited to a number of neuter nouns: *ding–dingə* 'thing', *aai–aaiə* 'egg', *kint–kinə* 'child', *kalf–kalwə* 'calf', *lam–lamə* 'lamb'. A small number of nouns have zero-plurals: *fis–fis* 'fish', *schkau–schkau* 'shoe'. Quantifiable nouns may show zero-plurals in conjunction with numerals: *dräi punt* 'three pounds', *fäär maak* 'four Marks', *mit fäär man* 'with four persons', *tain jår* 'ten years'. The suffix *-lü* (*<lüü* 'people') forms the plurals of *man–malü* 'man–men' and *fraau–fraulü* 'woman–women'.

2.1.2 Definiteness

Definiteness is expressed through the definite articles (common *däi*, neuter *dat*, plural *däi*), which are reduced to *t* in positions following prepositions: *in t köuken* 'in the kitchen', *nå t schkaul* 'to (the) school'. The indefinite article is *n*, from the numeral *äin* 'one'.

Definite articles are often missing in conjunction with global institutions, which are treated as inherently determined:

(1) *Un dau wa'n wii de ååbns um tain üür nåch up båånhåf.*
    and then were.PL we there in.evening at ten hour still at train.station

    'And then we were still there at ten in the evening at the train station.'

2.1.3 Local relations and case roles

Case is expressed through prepositions for nouns; case marking appears only with pronouns, where nominative and oblique are distinguished (see below).

Overview of local prepositions

in	*in*	out	*uut*	at	*bii, an*
inside	*binn*	outside	*buutn*	next to	*teign*
into	*in … rin*	out of	*uut… ruut*	in the vicinity of	*in nåbəskup fan*
to	*nå*	towards	*up tau*	along	*an … lang*
to [contained]	*in*	until	*bit nå*	past	*an… fəbii*
in front of	*för*	behind	*achtə*	below	*unə*
over	*ouwə*	on	*up*	above	*rouwə*
opposite	*teignouwə*	between	*tüschkn*		
through	*dör*	around	*um*		

Local prepositions, expressing spatial relations, are summarised in the table. Case relations largely make use of these and further prepositions. Like the object of physical location without containment, the possessor may be expressed by *bii*:

(2) *Zäi hät käin gält bii zük.*
    she has no money at REFL

    'She has no money with her.'

cf.

(3) *Häi was j bii t döskmaschkiin.*
    he was PTCL at the threshing.machine

    'He was with the threshing machine.'

Temporal location on the other hand is expressed by *up*:

(4) *Ik kuam up miin gebursdach tau t schkaul uut.*
    I came.1SG on my birthday to the school out

    'I left school on my birthday.'

The recipient is a rather prominent oblique case-role; it takes the plain oblique case with pronouns, and the preposition *teign* with nouns:

(5) *Zäi hät hum n bräif schkreibn.*
she has him a letter written.PART

'She wrote him a letter.'

(6) *Zäi zei hum dat.*
she said.3SG him DEIC

'She said that to him.'

(7) *Ik häb teign Krischtiin leätst zeächt: ...*
I have.1SG to K. recently said.PART

'I recently said to Christine: ...'

The benefactive and goal are expressed by *för*; the dative-reflexive by the reflexive pronoun

(8) *Ik häb dat för dii dåån.*
I have.1SG DEIC for you done.PART

'I did it for you.'

(9) *Häi aabait för gält.*
he works for money

'He works for money.'

(10) *Häi hät zük aabait zöəcht*
he has REFL work searched.PART

'He searched for work [for himself].'

Material source is expressed by *uut*:

(11) *Dat huus is uut holt.*
the house is out wood

'The house is [made] of wood.'

Partitive, source, and reference objects are marked by *fan*:

(12) *Dreäi fan hör frünn.*
three from her friends

'Three of her friends.'

(13) *Zäi kumt fan Emdn.*
she comes from E.

'She comes from Emden.'

(14) *Zäi prout fan hum.*
she speaks from him

'She speaks of him.'

(15) *Äin bilt fan äin peert.*
a picture from a horse

'A picture of a horse.'

Sociative roles (comitative and instrumental) take *mit*:

(16) *Zäi is mit hör maudə gåån.*
she is with her mother gone.PART

'She has gone with her mother.'

(17) *Zäi hät dat mit n mäst schneidn.*
she has that with a knife cut.PART

'She cut it with a knife.'

Privative roles are marked by *zünə* and *buutn*:

(18) *zünə auto ...*
without car

'without a car ...'

(19) *buutn zöndachs...*
except on.Sunday

'except on Sundays...'

The object of comparison, finally, appears in the nominative, introduced by the particle *as*:

(20) *Däi was nät zou ålt as ik.*
DEIC was just so old as I

'He was exactly as old as I.'

(21) *Zäi is groutədə as häi.*
she is bigger as he

'She is taller than he.'

Case relations in combination with anaphoric objects are expressed by *dåår* followed by the respective adposition. It is common for these two expressions to be separated, and for the adposition to assume the final position in the phrase:

(22) *Åbə leibn daun s dåår ouk wal nå.*
but live.INF do.PL they there also PTCL after

'But [as far as living is concerned] they do live accordingly'.

(23) *Dåår zit t düwəl in, zeägn däi dan, in däi färnzei.*
there sits the devil in say.PL DEIC then in the television

'The Devil sits inside, they say then, in the television.'

2.1.4 Possession

Possession may be expressed either through the possessive suffix -s (*däi brügns maudə* 'the bridegroom's mother'), or by the preposition *fan* 'of' (*däi züstə fan G.* 'G.'s sister'). Less frequent is the construction involving a possessive pronoun: *miin fåådə ziin peert* 'my father's horse [lit. 'his horse']'.

2.2 Pronouns

2.2.1 Personal pronouns

The system of personal pronouns retains case distinction between nominative and oblique. Forms of the 3.SG distinguish in addition animates from inanimates, and natural gender. The possessive pronouns do not inflect, and so they do not agree with the possessed object:

		Nominative	Oblique	Possessive
1.SG		*ik*	*mii*	*miin*
2.SG		*du*	*dii*	*diin*
3.SG	m.	*häi*	*hum*	*ziin*
	f.	*zäi*	*hör*	*hör*
	neutr.	*dat / t*	*dat / t*	*ziin*
1.PL		*wii*	*uns*	*uns*
2.PL		*jii*	*jau*	*jau*
3.PL		*zäi*	*hör*	*hör*

The 2.PL pronoun *jii* is also used, somewhat archaically, as a formal counterpart to 2.SG *du*, though the formal pronoun that is more commonly used is *zäi*, copying Standard German *Sie*.

2.2.2 Demonstratives and referentiality

Deictic and anaphoric expressions form a continuum that mirrors the intensity of their focusing properties. The situative deictic forms are *disə* (common, with a tendency to assimilate the neuter form, and plural) and *dit* (neuter singular). They can be used to refer to an entity located in the speech situation, or overlapping in time with the speech situation, as well as to elements of text or discourse that are viewed via their situational (perceptual) properties:

(24) *Imə in disə tiit.*
always in DEM time

'Always in this time [of year]'

(25) *Däi kinə häm äin dach låådə feerien as dit jåår.*
the children have.PL one day later holidays as DEM year

'The children have holidays one day later than this year.'

(26) *Ik mut ditmål ouk, mut ik zeägn dat was zou interessant.*
I must DEM.time too must.1SG I say.INF DEIC was so interesting

'I must also this time, I must also say it was so interesting.'

(27) *Un aal disə häilə zååkn hät häi mii dan ouk fətält.*
und all DEM entire things has he me then too told.PART

'And then he also told me all these things.'

(28) *Äin kan dit un anə kan dat.*
One knows DEM and other knows DEIC

'One knows this and the other knows that.'

Reference to a specific, explicitly demarcated or disambiguated entity from the discourse context is made through *däi* (common and plural) and *dat* (neuter):

(29) *Däi hät ja fiif kinə, näi? Un däi is ja bii ziin fraau wäch.*
DEIC has PTCL five children not and DEIC is PTCL at his wife away

'He has five children, right? And he left his wife.'

(30) A: *Un dåår hä jii jə ouk mål zou n Jugendraum måkt, näi?*
and there have you.PL PTCL too once so a youth.room made.PART not
B: *Jå, däi häm wii zülmst upbaaut, mit fäär man.*
yes DEIC have.PL we REFL built with four man
A: 'And there you also made a clubroom, right?
B: 'Yes, we built it ourselves, with four people.'

(31) *Däi wounn jə up anə ziit, M., dåår wåår nu W. wounn daunt,*
DEIC live.PL PTCL on other side M. there where now W. live.INF do.PL
dåår is miin schweigerin jə grout wårn, in dat huus, näi?
there is my sister-in-law PTCL big become.PART in DEIC house not

'They used to live on the other side, M's, where W's now live, that is where my sister-in-law grew up, in that house, right?'

(32) *Jå, außer • tapeten un zou wat aal, dat kumt noch aal neäi.*
yes except[HG] wallpaper and such all DEIC comes still all new

'Yes, except for wallpaper and all, **that** will all be renewed'

The animate anaphoric pronouns *häi/zäi* are reserved for continuous reference in discourse. In conversation, there is often downscaling of the referential device from discourse-deictic *däi* to anaphoric *häi/zäi*, as an entity is gradually established and becomes more prominent, more continuous, and so more expected:

(33) *Däi hät ouk eerst nåår probleimə hat, hirheer tau koumn.*
DEIC has too first PTCL problems had.PART here to come.INF
Dat fun häi inengənd.
DEIC found he confining

'At first he also had tremendous problems coming here. He found it confining.'

(34) **Däi** *fəmis* *ik häil düchtech.* **Häi** *wäit* *går* *näi, wau schlimm ik, zeäch* *ik imə,*
DEIC miss.1SG I very much   he knows even not how bad   I say.SG I always
ik löuf **häi** *wäit* *går* *näi, wau schlimm ik* **hum** *fəmisn* *dau.*
I believe.2SG he knows even not how bad   I him miss.INF do.1SG

'I miss him very much. He doesn't even know, how badly I, I always say, I think he doesn't even know, how badly I miss him.'

(35) *Dan was de* *nåch n man,* **däi** *fətäl mii dan /*
then was there still a man DEIC told me then
Däi *häb* *ik dau fråächt,* *of Herford n grout båånhåf was,* *wail* *ik dår*
DEIC have.1SG I then asked.PART if H.   a big station is.SUBJ because I there
umschtiign mus, *näi?*
transfer.INF must.SUBJ not
Un dau hät **häi** *mii dan hiir/*
and then has he me then here
Jå, un zou kuam wii in t *gespräch un* **häi** *fråäch zou:*
yes and so came we in the talk [HG]   and he asked.3SG such

'Then there was another man there, he told me then/
I asked him then whether Herford was a large station, because I had to change trains there, right?
And then he [gave] me/
Yes, and so we began talking and he asked like this:'

The contrast between discourse-deictic and anaphoric expressions may also be employed for demarcation and separation of two distinct referents:

(36) *Dan har* **häi** *n mooi schwaat antsuch was dåår un* **däi** *mus*
then had.3SG he a pretty black suit   was there and DEIC must.PAST
häi *dan anhäm.*
he then wear.INF

'Then he had a pretty black suit there was and he had to wear it then.'

Zero-anaphora constructions may mark topic continuity in tightly integrated clauses:

(37) a. *Un* **däi** *is ja* *bi ziin fraau wäch.*
und DEIC is PTCL at his wife away
b. *Jå.*
yes
c. *Hät nu n anə* *fraau kännleert.*
has now another woman met.PART

a. 'And he has left his wife.
b. Yes.
c. (He) has now met another woman.'

Overview of referential categories

	common/plural	neuter
Situative deixis	*disə*	*dit (disə)*
Contextual/discourse deixis	*däi*	*dat*
Continuous anaphoric	*häi* (M) *zäi* (F, PL)	*dat*
Definite article	*däi*	*dat*

Back-reference to prepositional objects and spatial relations is achieved by the deixis *dåår* 'there', in conjunction with a preposition marking the relevant case role or spatial relation, or a verbal particle marking the directionality of the action:

(38) **Dåår** *zit t* *düwəl in, zeägn däi* *dan, in däi färnzei.*
there sits the devil in say.PL DEIC then in the television

'The Devil sits inside, they say then, in the television.'

(39) **Dåår** *gait ja* *schtrååt ouk weer* **lang.**
there goes PTCL road too again along

'That is also where the road goes along.'

(40) **Dåår** *kan man häil schleächt wat* **tau** *zeägn.*
there can one very bad what to say.INF

'It is very difficult to say anything about that.'

(41) **Dårum** *is däi heiç* **dåår** *ouk hänkoumn.*
therefore is the hedge there too there come.PART

'That is also why [=therefore] the hedge came there.'

2.2.3 Reflexives

Reflexive pronouns are used in reflexive, reciprocal, and medio-passive constructions. The oblique pronouns are also used as reflexives for the first and second person, while the third person has a separate reflexive form *zük*:

(42) *Ik kan mii förschtäln.*
I can me imagine.INF

'I can imagine.'

(43) *Dat* *hät zük n biitjə fəleift.*
DEIC has REFL a little faded.PART

'It has faded out a little.'

(44) *Bayern is ja* *imə* *för zük.*
B. is PTCL always for REFL

'Bavaria is always on its own.'

(45) *Häi fäült zük aläin.*
he feels REFL alone
'He feels lonesome.'

(46) *Dåu musn   däi zük eerst tuutn   un drükn.*
then must.PAST.PL DEIC REFL first kiss.INF and hug.INF
'First they had to kiss and hug.'

(47) *Du   bruukst dii   um käin tau kümern.*
you.2SG need.2SG you.2SG.OBL for nobody to worry.INF
'You don't have to worry about anybody.'

(48) *Ik frooi   mii.*
I rejoice.1SG me
'I am glad.'

Reflexive focus is expressed by *zülm(st)* 'self':

(49) *Däi häm wii zülmst upbaaut.*
DEIC have we self built.PART
'We built it ourselves.'

2.2.4 Interrogatives

'what'	*wat*
'where'	*wåår*
'when'	*wänheer*
'why'	*wårum*
'how'	*wau*
'how much'	*wau föul*
'which'	*wäfə*
'who'	*wäl*
'whose'	*wäl ziin*

2.2.5 Indefinites

We follow Haspelmath (1997) in identifying types of indefinite pronouns according to information status, and for each semantic domain (Person, Object, Location and Time). Thus for the domain 'Objects', the relevant types are Direct Negation ('he had nothing'), Indirect Negation ('I don't think he had anything'), Question ('does he have anything?'), Free-Choice ('anything he has'), Comparative ('better than anything'), Conditional ('if you are looking for something'), Irrealis ('he wants to buy something – anything'), and Specific, either known or unknown ('he saw something', 'I have something for him').

Overview of indefinite pronouns

	Person	Object	Location	Time
Direct Negation	*nüms/käin/käinäin*	*nix*	*naargəns*	*nooit*
Indirect Negation	*irgəntäin*	*irgəntwat*	*irgəntwår*	*irgəntwänə*
Question	*äin*	*irgəntwat*	*irgəntwår*	*irgəntwänə*
Free-Choice	*älkäin*	*aal*	*irgəntwår*	*irgəntwänə*
Comparative	*anesäin*	*anəswat*	*anəswår*	*irgəntwänə*
Conditional	*wäl*	*irgəntwat*	*irgəntwår*	*irgəntwänə*
Irrealis	*wäl*	*irgəntwat*	*irgəntwår*	*irgəntwänə*
Specific	*wäl*	*wat*	*irgəntwår*	*irgəntwänə*

The most differentiated type is Direct Negation, which makes use of particular, lexicalised expressions in each semantic domain. In the other types, indefinite expressions are usually based on interrogatives for the respective semantic domains. These appear either on their own, or in combination with a number of indefinite markers. The most prominent indefinite marker is *irgənt-*. There is a comparative form *anəs-*, and for Persons a free-choice form in *älk-* (*älkäin* 'anybody'). Expressions that do not rely on interrogatives are found in the semantic domains Person, where the indefinite article (numeral 'one') *-äin* appears in the factual forms, and Object, where the free-choice form *aal* 'anything' is originally the adjective *aal* 'everything, all'. The types Conditional, Irrealis, and Specific are generally not differentiated. The following examples illustrate the use of indefinite pronouns:

Direct Negation:

(50) *Nüms / käinäin hät dat   dåån.*
nobody nobody has DEIC done.PART
'Nobody did it.'

(51) *Nix   hät häi hat.*
nothing has he had.PART
'He had nothing.'

Indirect Negation:

(52) *Ik löuf   näi, dat häi irgəntwat wust   hät.*
I believe.1SG not that he anything known.PART has
'I don't think that he knew anything'

(53) *Ik löuf   näi, dat häi irgəntwår was.*
I believe.1SG not that he anywhere was
'I don't think that he was anywhere.'

Question:

(54) *Hät äin   dat dåån?*
has anybody DEIC done.PART
'Has anybody done that?'

(55) *Hät häi irgəntwat hat?*
has he anything had.PART

'Did he have anything?'

Free-Choice:

(56) *Älkäin har dat daun kunt.*
anyone had DEIC do.INF could.PART

'Anyone could have done that.'

(57) *Irgəntwänə mut häi koum.*
sometime must he come.INF

'He must come sometime.'

Comparative:

(58) *Zäi hät dat beitə måkt   as anəsäin.*
she has DEIC better made.PART than other

'She has done it better than anyone.'

Conditional:

(59) *Wän du wäl züchst,   dan zeäch mii bəschkäit*
if you who see.2SG then say me message

'If you see anybody, then let me know.'

Irrealis:

(60) *Häi wil wäl hairådn, däi gält hät.*
he wants who marry.INF REL money has

'He wants to marry somebody who has money.'

(61) *Häi wil irgəntwat koupn.*
he wants something buy.INF

'He wants to buy something.'

Specific:

(62) *Ik häb wäl/wat funn.*
I have.1SG who/what found.PART

'I have found somebody/something.'

(63) *Häi gung   irgəntwår hän.*
he went.3SG somewhere to

'He went somewhere.'

2.2.6 Quantitatives

Adjectival 'all' is expressed by *aal* (*aal lüü* 'all people'). *aal* can combine with other expressions for the free-choice indefinite 'everything/whatever' (*wat … aal*), to quantify back-reference (*aal dat* 'all that'), or to stress inclusiveness of demarcated entities (*aal .. häil* 'all … whole'):

(64) *wat däi lüü   aal fəgeitn*
what the people all forget.PL

'all those things that people forget'

(65) *Dat hät K. mii al   aal fətält.*
DEIC has K me already all told.PART

'K. already told me all that.'

(66) *aal disə häilə zååkn*
all DEM whole things

'all these (entire) things'

Total inclusiveness can also be expressed by plain *häil* (*häil zöumə* 'the whole summer'), which is also an intensifier for adjectives (*häil mooi* 'very pretty'). Other quantitatives include *jäidə* 'every', *äintsich* 'the only', and *fast* 'almost', all Standard German loans, and the explanatory *zou n* 'such a' (*zou n huuskə* 'such a house/cottage'). Identity is expressed through *zülwəch/ zülfəg/ zülwiich* 'same', identity of attributes through *nät zou … as* 'just as … as':

(67) *Däi häm imə t zülwiichs tiit.*
DEIC have.PL always the same   time

'They always have the same time.'

(68) *an t zülfəgə schtei*
at the same place

'at the same place'

(69) *Däi was nät   zou ålt as ik.*
DEIC was exactly such old as I

'She was just as old as I.'

Other quantitatives are *mänich* 'many', *männichäin* 'many (named entities)', *biitjə* 'a little', *äinəgən* 'some (named entities)', *änkəld* 'one by one', and *n schtük of wat* 'some'.

2.3 Numerals

Cardinal numerals

one	*äin*	sixteen	*zestäin*
two	*tweäi*	seventeen	*zöumtäin*
three	*dreäi*	eighteen	*achtäin*
four	*fäär*	nineteen	*neigntäin*
five	*fiif*	twenty	*twintǝch*
six	*zeäs*	twenty-one	*äin-n-twintǝch*
seven	*zöum*	thirty	*daatǝch*
eight	*aacht*	forty	*fäätǝch*
nine	*neign*	fifty	*fiiftǝch*
ten	*taain*	sixty	*zästǝch*
eleven	*älm*	seventy	*tsöumtǝch*
twelve	*twalm*	eighty	*tagntǝch*
thirteen	*datäin*	ninety	*neigntǝch*
fourteen	*fätäin*	hundred	*hunǝrt*
fifteen	*fiiftäin*	thousand	*duuzǝnt*

Ordinal numerals:

first	*eertsǝ*	eleventh	*älmdǝ*
second	*twäidǝ*	twelfth	*twalmdǝ*
third	*daadǝ*	thirteenth	*datäindǝ*
fourth	*fäädǝ*	twentieth	*twindechstǝ*
fifth	*fiifdǝ*	thirtieth	*daatechstǝ*
sixth	*zäsdǝ*		
seventh	*zöumdǝ*		
eightth	*achdǝ*		
ninth	*neigndǝ*		
tenth	*taindǝ*		

2.4 Adjectives

2.4.1 Inflection

Adjectives precede the noun in attributive function, and do not generally inflect for either gender. number, case, or definiteness:

(70) a. *dat grout wicht*
'the big girl'

b. *in t grout kaak*
'in the big church'

c. *zou grout ougn*
'such big eyes'

d. *n grout bǝdriif*
'a big farm'

(71) a. *däi lüǝtjǝ jung*
'the little boy'

b. *in t lüǝtjǝ kaak*
'in the small church'

c. *n lüǝtjǝ huus*
'a small house'

A small number of adjectives do however retain a split between predicative and attributive forms, which goes back historically to the presence of attributive adjectival inflection. These adjectives form several distinct groups. An inflectional ending *-ǝ* is preserved in attributive function in a group of monosyllabic adjectives in *-k*, and those that end with the adjectival derivational suffix *-ǝlk/-lk*, while the predicative forms show no ending:

(72) a. *n dikǝ kaat*
'a fat cat'

b. *zou dikǝ ougn*
'such wide eyes'

c. *häi is dik*
'he is fat'

(73) a. *n nüdǝlkǝ zååk*
'a pretty thing'

b. *Däi zååk is nüdǝlk.*
'This thing is pretty.'

Another class of adjectives preserves a phonological reflex of the older inflectional ending, having lost the ending itself. The first group ends in a consonant that goes back to a voiced consonant, which has undergone de-voicing. This consonant however retains voice in attributive function, reflecting the preservation of voice in intervocalic position before the loss of the old inflectional ending: thus attributive-inflected *gôde*, predicative *gôd* 'good' > attributive-inflected **gaudǝ* , predicative *gaut* > attributive *gaud*, predicative *gaut* :

(74) a. *Dat zün häil gaud lüü.*
'These are very good people.'

b. *Dat is gaut!*
'That's good!'

(75) a. *n doud kaat*
'a dead cat'

b.   *H. is dout ...*
     'H. is dead ...'

Another group of quasi-declinable adjectives preserve a cluster *-lt* in final position in predicative function, but show reduction of the final cluster to *-l* with compensatory diphthongisation of the stem vowel, in attributive position, thus *kald> kålt*, but *kalde > *kålde > *kåələ > kåəl*:

(76) a.   *däi kåəl wintə*
           'the cold winter'

     b.   *(t) is kålt in buutn*
           'it is cold outside'

(77) a.   *däi åəl schkaul*
           'the old school'

     b.   *däi was net zou ålt*
           'she was just as old'

The adjective *lüətjə* 'little, small' shows an exceptional predicative form *lüətjət*:

(78) a.   *däi lüətjə jung*
           'the little boy'

     b.   *häi is lüətjət*
           'he is little'

2.4.2   Comparison
The comparative marker is *-ədə* (*grout* 'big', *groutədə* 'bigger'), the superlative marker is *-stə* (*groutstə* 'biggest'). The table illustrates a number of modifications and irregularities:

Comparative and superlative forms

Adjective		Comparative	Superlative
'big'	*grout*	*groutədə*	*groutstə*
'fat, wide'	*dik*	*dikədə*	*dikstə*
'long'	*lang*	*langədə*	*langstə*
'small, little'	*lüətjət*	*lüətjədə*	*lüətjəstə*
'dear, expensive'	*düür*	*düürdə*	*düürstə*
'far'	*wiit*	*wiidə*	*wiitst*
'few'	*min*	*minə*	*minst*
'cold'	*kålt*	*kålə*	*kålst*
'old'	*ålt*	*ålə*	*ålst*
'late'	*lååt*	*lååtədə*	*leäst*
'a lot'	*föul*	*meer*	*mäist*
'good'	*gaut*	*beitə*	*beäst*

2.4.3   Adverbs
Lexical adverbs deriving from adjectives do not have unique forms and are generally identical with those adjectives. Location adverbs typically derive from prepositions through addition of the suffix *-n*:

Overview of spatial adverbs

inside	*binn*	outside	*buutn*
above	*boubn*	below	*unə*
in front	*förn*	behind	*achtn*
alongside	*teignouər*	in between	*detüschkn*
amidst	*in't midn fan*	opposite	*teignouwə*

Temporal adverbs are formed from nouns expressing time of day by means of a prefix *s-* and a suffix *-s*: *smörgns* 'in the morning', *smidachs* 'at noon', *snåmidachs* 'in the afternoon', *sååbns* 'in the evening', *snachs* 'at night', as well as *mååndachs* 'on Mondays'. For quantification, variation is found between a synthetic formation — *twäi måål dåchs* 'twice daily' — and an analytic formation – *twäi måål up dåch* ; also *jäidə mååndach* 'every Monday'. Deictic reference is marked by *fən-* for proximate time: *fəndååch* 'today', *fənförmidach* 'this morning'. The remote expressions are *mörgn* 'tomorrow', *ouwermörgn* 'the day after tomorrow', *güstern* 'yesterday', and *förgüstern* 'the day before yesterday'.

Days of the week, seasons of the year

Monday	*mååndach*	summer	*zümə*
Tuesday	*dingsdach*	autumn	*haarst*
Wednesday	*mitweik*	winter	*wintə*
Thursday	*dünədach*	spring	*fröujåår*
Friday	*fräidach*		
Saturday	*zåtədach*		
Sunday	*zündach*		

Temporal relations are expressed by prepositions:

(79)   *för twäi dååch*
       before two day
       'two days ago'

(80)   *in twäi dååch*
       'in two days'

(81)   *nå twäi dååch*
       'after two days (=two days later)'

(82)   *bit mörgn*
       'until tomorrow'

(83)   *ziit güstern*
       'since yesterday'

(84) *fäär dååch*
      four day
      'for four days'

The phasal adverbs are *noch* 'still', *noch näi* 'not yet', *al* 'already', *näi meer* 'no longer'. Focus particles include *ouk* 'also, too', *man* 'only', and *zougår* 'even' (from Standard German) (see also Quantitatives above). Reversal and repetition is expressed by *weer* 'again, back'.

3. VERB MORPHOLOGY

The most prominent verbal category in EFLG is the finite verb, which is inflected for person and number as well as for tense and mood. The most outstanding feature of the verbal system is, as elsewhere in Germanic, the presence of several distinct inflection classes of the verb, characterised primarily through the formation of the preterite and the past participle, and partly also through variation within the present paradigm.

Categories of the verb are the tenses (present-future, preterite, perfect, pluperfect), modality (indicative, subjunctive), voice (active, passive), and marginally aspect (progressive; other aspectual distinctions are contained in the functions of the tenses). Non-finite verb forms are the infinitive and the past participle (used primarily in the formation of the perfect and pluperfect); the present participle is restricted to Standard German loans or calques. Auxiliaries (in conjunction either with the infinitive or a participle) form the basis for some of the tenses (perfect, pluperfect), of most modal categories, and for the passive and progressive.

3.1 Verb derivation

3.1.1 Lexical derivation
Most verbs are inflected forms deriving directly from verbal stems. Verb derivation is only marginally overt, employing verb derivation markers such as *-əln* (*schkleiəln* 'to need'), *-ərn* (*klütərn* 'to hammer'), *-kən/-jən* (*füitjən* 'to oil'), or *-ään/-äärn* (characteristic of Romance loans, e.g. *oupərään* 'to operate'). Compound verb stems may include either an adjective and a verb (*leiçmåkn* 'to empty') or two verbs (*kännleern* 'to get to know').

3.1.2 Aktionsart
Derivational prefixes may modify the meaning of the lexical verb stem. Prefixes constitute a fixed class, and although combinations of aktionsart prefixes with stems are on the whole lexically fixed, in principle the inventory of prefixes also serves as a basis for new lexical creations and sometimes even for on-the-spot lexical modifications, making aktionsart a productive lexical (though not quite grammatical) device.

There are three sets of aktionsart prefixes. The first, smallest set consists of intensifiers that are inseparable from the verb stem. Examples are *bə-* (*bədräign* 'to deceive', *bəleibn* 'to experience'), *fə-* (*fəzuupn* 'to drown', *fəklöumn* 'to freeze to death'), and *gə-* (*gəfaaln* 'to appeal'). The second set derives from location expressions, which are cognate with existing prepositions or location expressions and so analysable, but similarly inseparable from the verb stem: *unə-* lit. 'under' (*unəhåln* 'to converse'), etc. The third and largest group also consists of analysable location expressions, which however are separable from the verb stem in the finite form of main clauses, i.e. they immediately precede the verb stem when the finite verb is in the second constituent position in the sentence. Like their counterparts in the second group, these location expressions serve as spatial metaphors for the progression and projection of an action or event: *an-* lit. 'on' (*anhäbn* 'to wear'), *åf-* lit. 'off, away' (*åfhååln* 'to pick up'), *dör-* lit. 'through' (*dörfräizn* 'to freeze solid'), *hän-* lit. 'to' (*hänfårn* 'to drive to a named destination'), *in-* lit. 'in' (*inlåtn* 'to let in'), *mit-* lit. 'with' (*mitkriign* 'to understand'), *nå-* lit. 'after' (*nåkiikn* 'to inspect'), *uum-* lit. 'around' (*uumschtiign* 'to transfer'), *up-* lit. 'up' (*upschpeern* 'to lock up'), *för-* lit. 'in front' (*förschteln* 'to imagine'), *weer* lit. 'again' (*weerkoum* 'to return'), and more.

3.2 Passive

Passives are formed analytically, using the verb *wårn* 'to become' as a finite auxiliary, in conjunction with the past participle of the lexical verb:

(85) *Wau wårt   dat   dan måkt?*
      how AUX.3SG DEIC then done.PART

      'How is that done?'

(86) *Dat wur   nooit in t   lüətjə kaak   måkt.*
      DEIC AUX. PAST.3SG never in the little   church done.PART

      'That was never done in the small church.'

(87) *Äintsichstə wat nu   baaut   wårt ...*
      only   what now built.PART AUX.3SG

      'The only thing that is now being built ...'

(88) *as kinə döupt   wurn ...*
      when children baptised.PART AUX.PAST.3PL

      'when [the] children were baptised ...'

3.3 Person concord

Person concord distinguishes between singular and plural, and among the individual persons in the singular (first, second, and third). With the exception of the 3.SG, the endings are the same in both inflected tenses, the present and preterite (in the latter, they follow the preterite affix -*də*):

1.SG	–
2.SG	-st
3.SG	– / -t
PL	-n

In the 3.SG, the ending is zero in the preterite, as well as in the present of some classes of verbs. These include historically weak verbs such as *mäin* 'thinks', *reer* 'cries', the historical preterite-present verbs such as *zal* 'shall', *wil* 'wants', *kan* 'is able to' (but *dür-t* 'may'), and among the strong classes the verbs *bäi* 'offers' and *bäich* 'bends' from inflection class II (see below), *drach* 'carries' from class VI-b, and the verbs *douch* 'qualifies', *schpeäi* 'spits', and *leiw* 'lives'.

Person forms often vary in respect of the shape of the verb stem, as a result of the distinct influences of syllable structures resulting from the combination with the individual person markers. Changes to the stem vowel occur in both the 2.SG and 3.SG for some verbs: long *ii* in the stem is shortened in *rit-* cf. *riitn* 'to tear', *lid-* cf. *liidn* 'to endure', etc., there is raising in *nim-* cf. *neimn* 'to take', and preservation of a short form of the historical vowel in *bräk-* to *breikn* 'break', *ät-* to *eitn* 'to eat', *flüch-* for *fläign* 'to fly', *lüch-* for *läign* 'to tell a lie' (and by analogy *züch-* in *zäin* 'to see'), and closure or rounding of the historical vowel before diphthongisation in *kum-* to *koumn* 'to come', *giw-* to *geibn* 'to give', *röp-* to *raupn* 'to call' (see below).

In the plural, original stem consonants are often preserved in the final nasalplosive that assimilates stem final stop with the plural inflection ending -*n*, while the singular forms often undergo fricativisation of this segment: *schkriibn* 'write.PL' (singular *schkriiw-*), *geibn* 'give.PL' (singular *geiw-*), *bäign* 'bend.PL' (singular *bäich-*), *drågn* 'carry.PL' (singular *drach-*), *löubn* 'believe.PL' (singular *löuf-*), *bäidn* 'offer.PL' (singular *bäi-*), and so on. The first person sometimes shows loss of the final stem consonant: *ik schnii* 'I cut', *ik lii* 'I endure', *ik biən* 'I bind'.

3.4 Verb inflection classes

Low German inherits the Germanic distinction between strong and weak verbs, and within the strong verbs, a number of distinct vocalic inflectional classes. The vowels indicated represent the vocalic formation of the stem in the forms for the present stem (from which the infinitive also derives), the preterite stem, and the past participle. A general feature of EFLG is the uniformity of the preterite stem: thus singular and plural *nam-* 'took', but MLG singular *nam-* plural *nêm-*, OS singular *nam-* plural *nâm-*.

3.4.1 Strong verbs

Class I: *ii – ei – ei*
This class derives from the Germanic class in *î – ai – i*, represented in OS as *î – ê – i – i* (*snîðan – snêð – snidun – gisnidan* 'to cut') and in MLG as *î – ê – e – e* (*snîden – snêd – snedden – (ge)snedden*):

	Preterite	Past Participle
schniidn 'to cut'	*schnei*	*schneidn*
schkriiwn 'to write'	*schkreif*	*schkreiwn*
biitn 'to bite'	*beit*	*beitn*
riitn 'to tear'	*reit*	*reitn*
schmiitn 'to throw'	*schmeit*	*schmeitn*
kriign 'to get'	*kreiç*	*kreign*
liidn 'to endure'	*lei*	*leidn*

The present tense is 1.SG *ik schniid*, with shortening of the vowel in the 2-3.SG: *du schnidst, häi schnit*. The verb *kriign* 'to get' shows alternation of the final stem consonant with a fricative in the singular preterite (but plural preterite *kreign*), as well as in the singular present: *ik kriich, du krichst, häi kricht*. In *liidn* 'to suffer', the 1.SG drops the final consonant in the present stem (*ik lii*, but *du lidst, häi lid*), and all singular persons drop it in the preterite: *ik lei, du leist, häi lei*.

Class II: *äi – ou – ou*
This class represents Germanic *eu/û – au – u*, giving OS *io/û – ô – u – o* (*biodan – bôd – budun – gebodan* 'to offer'), and MLG *ê – ô – o – o* (*bêden – bôt – boden – (ge)boden*).:

	Preterite	Past Participle
bäidn 'to offer'	*bou*	*boudn*
bäign 'to bend'	*bouch*	*bougn*
läign 'to tell a lie'	*louch*	*lougn*
fläign 'to fly'	*flouch*	*flougn*

In the present, the singular forms are reduced: *ik bäi, du bäist, häi bäi*, but *wii bäidn* 'we offer'. With verb stems ending in a velar, present singular forms show a fricative: *ik bäich, du bäichst, häi bäich* ('bend'). Verbs in -*l*- before the stem vowel show reflections of the OS stem vowel, which is rounded, in the 2-3.SG: *ik läich, du lüchst, häi lücht* ('tell a lie').

Class III: *i/e/å – u – u/å*

This class was uniform in Germanic (*i – a – u*), but was split already at an early stage into three groups. The first contains a nasal, and appears in both OS and MLG as *i – a – u – u* (OS *findan – fand – fundun – gifundan*, MLG *finden – fant – funden – (ge)funden*):

	Preterite	Past Participle
finn 'to find'	*fun*	*funn*
drinkn 'to drink'	*drunk*	*drunkn*
binn 'to tie'	*buən*	*bunn*

With *binn* 'to tie', the 1.SG is diphthongised in the present (*ik biən*), and all singular forms are diphthongised in the preterite: *ik buən, du buənst, häi buən*.

The second group has a lateral in the stem, continuing the group *e – a – u – u/o* (OS *helpan – halp – hulpun – giholpan*, MLG *helpen – halp – hulpen – (ge)hulpen*):

helpn 'to help'	*hulp*	*hulpn*

A variant is *träkn* 'to pull' – *truk – trukn*, while in MLG *treken* is usually attested as weak (Lasch 1914: 235).

The verb *wårn* 'to become' represents, along with other verbs in a trill, a third class in *e – a – u – u/o* (OS *werðan – warð – wurðun – giworðan*, MLG *werden – ward – worden – (ge)worden*). In EFLG, the infinitive assimilates to the past participle:

wårn 'to become'	*wur*	*wårn*

Class IV: *ei – a/ou – ou*

This is Germanic *e – a – ê – u*, which is continued as two separate classes in OS: nasal stems (*niman – nam-nâmun-ginuman*) and liquids (*brekan – brak – brâkun – gibrokan*), which in MLG fused into one (*nemen – nam – nêman – (ge)nomen, breken – brak – brêkan – (ge)broken*). A distinction is introduced again in EFLG. The MLG scheme is continued with nasal stems:

neimn 'to take'	*nam*	*noumn*

The present 2-3.SG are *du nimst, häi nimt*. A special case is the verb *koumn* 'to come', historically also part of this class, with its 2-3.SG present *du kumst, häi kumt*, preterite *kwam*, participle *koumn*. Liquid stems such as *breikn* 'to break' split off from the class as a result of a generalisation of the participle vowel to the preterite stem, giving *ei – ou – ou*:

breikn 'to break'	*brouk*	*broukn*

Class V: *ei/i – a – ei/aa*

The class goes back to Germanic *e – a – â/ê*, is OS *e – a – â – e* (*gebhan-gaf-gâbhun – gigebhan*) and MLG *e – a – ê – e* (*geven – gaf – gêven – (ge)geven*), with a variant having a present stem in *i* (OS *sittian, liggian*):

	Preterite	Past Participle
geibn 'to give'	*gaf*	*geibn*
eitn 'to eat'	*at*	*eitn*
zäin 'to see'	*zach*	*zäin*
zitn 'to sit'	*zat*	*zeitn*
liəgn 'to lie'	*lach*	*leign*

Present forms are *du gifst, häi gift* and *du ätst, häi ät*. The diphthong quality in the verb *zäin* 'to see' goes back to a MLG lengthened stem vowel *sên*, resulting from the contraction of OS *sehan*, while the final stem consonant in the preterite form *zach* continues the original OS stem. Present forms are *du züchst, häi zücht*. The present stem of *liəgn* 'to lie' derives from a lengthening of the vowel in the MLG present tense to *lît < ligit* (Lasch 1914: 235). The singular present stem ends in a fricative: *ik liəch*.

Class VI: *å – u/å – å*

The Germanic alternation *a – ô* was continued in OS and MLG: OS *faran – fôr – fôrun – gifaran, dragan – drôg – drôgun – gidragan*, in MLG with a lengthened vowel in the present stem: *vâren – vôr – vôren – (ge)varen, drägen – drôg-drôgen – (ge)dragen*. The long vowel MLG *ā* is backed in EFLG to *å*. The class is then split into two. In the first group, a back vowel (*ô > u*) is retained in the preterite:

fårn 'to drive'	*fur*	*fårn*

Other members of this sub-group are *schtåån* 'to stand', present *ik schtå, du schtaist, häi schtait*, *håln* 'to hold', and *gåån* 'to go', with the present *ik gåå, du gaist, häi gait*, preterite *gung*, participle *gåån*. The second group shows analogous levelling of the stem vowel, giving *å* in the preterite:

drågn 'to carry'	*dråch*	*drågn*

The present tense shows retention of the older stem vowel: *ik drach, du drachst, häi drach*.

Class VII: *a – u – a, å – äi/ei – å, au – äi – au, ou – ei – ou*

This class is the most diverse, and constitutes a class in its own right strictly for historical reasons. It contains reflexes of verbs which in Germanic had reduplicated past tenses. The reduplication is lost already in the oldest attested layers following Gothic, giving rise to various analogies to other inflection patterns. The first subgroup shows OS *a/â – e – e – a* (*fâhan – feng – fengun – gifangan*) and MLG *a – e – ie – a* (*vangen – venc – viengen – (ge)vangen*), giving in EFLG *a – u – a*:

fangn 'to catch'	*fung*	*fangn*

The second group shows in OS and MLG the pattern *â – ê – ê – â* (OS *slâpan – slêp-slêpun – gislâpan*, MLG *slâpen – slêp – slêpen – (ge)slâpen*). Predictably, we find a diphthong succeeding the long closed vowel in the preterite:

schlåån 'to sleep'	*schläip*	*schlåån*

The present tense is *ik schlååp, du schlöpst, häi schlöpt*. This second group shows a variant, in which the diphthong is *ei*:

lååtn 'to let'	*leit*	*lååtn*

It is possible that MLG had, alongside the preterite form *lêt*, also a preterite form *lette*, as in *råden-redde* 'to guess' (cf. Lasch 1914: 238, Gallée 1891: 258). A short vowel in MLG would explain the diphthong *ei* rather than *äi* in EFLG. The present of *låtn* is *ik låt, du lätst, häi lät*.

A third group within the class shows a diphthong in all positions. There are two patterns, both succeeding OS *ô – io – io – ô* (*hrôpan – hriop – hriopun – gihrôpan, hlôpan – hliop – hliopun – gihlôpan*), MLG *ô – ê – ê – ô* (*rôpen – rêp – rêpen – (ge)rôpen, lôpen – lêp – lêpen – (ge)lôpen*), the first continuing OS *ô¹* (MLG *uo*, Standard German *rufen*, Dutch *roepen*), giving rise to EFLG *au*, the second from OS *ô²*(MLG *oo*, Standard German *laufen*, Dutch *lopen*), giving EFLG *ou*:

raupn 'to call'	*reip*	*raupn*
loupn 'to run'	*läip*	*loupn*

The present tense formations are also similar: *ik raup, du röpst, häi röpt; ik loup, du löpst, häi löpt*.

3.4.2 Weak verbs

Weak verbs form their preterite through a consonantal suffix *-də* rather through vowel alternation in the stem (but see also 3.5.1 below). The participle is formed through attachment of the suffix *-t*. EFLG incorporates some historically strong verbs, such as *schkiinn* 'to appear', or *biiən 'to ask'*, into the weak inflection class:

	Preterite	Past Participle
mäinn 'to think'	*mäində*	*mäint*
schkiin 'to appear'	*schkiində*	*schkiint*
reern 'to cry'	*reerdə*	*reert*
proutn 'to talk'	*proutədə*	*prout*
biiən 'to ask'	*biədə*	*biəd*
löubn 'to believe'	*löufdə*	*löuft*
leibn 'to live'	*leiwdə*	*leiwt*
leern 'to learn'	*leerdə*	*leert*
schtäln 'to put'	*schtäldə*	*schtält*

Some verbs that have shifted recently into the class of weak verbs, still retain vowel alternation in the stem. The verb *häitn* 'to be called' has the preterite *ik heid* 'I was called', the stem consonant assimilating the preterite suffix, but the suffix becomes visible in the second and third persons singular, *du heidəst* 'you were called', *häi heidə* 'he was called'. The past participle remains strong: *häitn*. The verb *dougn* 'to be good' represents OS preterite-present *dugan – duhta – dugun*, which appears to have become weak already in MLG (cf. (Lasch 1914: 245). The EFLG preterite is *douchdə*, and only the past participle *dåcht* continues to show vowel alternation. Another preterite-present-turned-weak-verb is *dürn* 'to be allowed', its preterite formation with inserted consonant *dürsdə* continuing a common OS formation of past-tense preterite-presents in *-sta*, assimilating in all likelihood the actual predecessor form in OS *thorfta*. Stem vowel alternations are preserved in the verbs *täln* 'to count', *denkn* 'to think', and *brängn*

'to bring', which were weak but irregular already in OS; in the case of *denkn* and *brängn* the preterite suffix is lost. On the other hand, new stem vowel alterations emerge in the historically weak verbs *häbn* 'to have' and *zeägn* 'to say', here too replacing the weak preterite affix as preterite markers:

	Preterite	Past Participle
häitn 'to be called'	*heid(ə)*	*häitn*
dougn 'to be good'	*douchdə*	*dåcht*
dürn 'to be allowed'	*dürsdə*	*dürt*
täln 'to count'	*tåldə*	*tält*
denkn 'to think'	*dåch*	*dåcht*
brängn 'to bring'	*bråch*	*bråcht*
häbn 'to have'	*har*	*hat*
zeägn 'to say'	*zei*	*zeächt*

3.4.3 Preterite-present verbs

All Germanic languages inherit a set of verbs, mainly expressing modality, whose present stems are based on historical preterites. The past tense relies here primarily on vowel alternation to *u* in the preterite/ participle, while the verbs *wäitn* 'to know' and *mutn* 'must' remind us of OS preterite forms in *-s-* (OS *uuissa, môsta*):

	Preterite	Past Participle
wiln 'to want'	*wul*	*wult*
zaln 'shall'	*zul*	*zult*
köunn 'can'	*kun*	*kunt*
wäitn 'to know'	*wus*	*wust*
mutn 'must'	*mus*	*must*

The verb *köunn* 'to be able to' has singular present forms in *kan-*, while the other members of the group form regular present tense conjugations (*ik zal* 'I shall', *wii zaln* 'we shall' etc.).

3.4.4 The verbs 'to do' and 'to be'

The verb *daun* 'to do' continues, through regular sound change and levelling of singular and plural forms in the preterite, the predecessor forms OS *dôn – deda – dêdun – (gi)duan*, MLG *dôn – dede – dêden – (ge)dân*:

daun 'to do'	*dei*	*dåån*

The present formation is *ik dau, du daist, häi dait*.

The verb *wein* (also *weizn*) 'to be' is suppletive:

The verb *wein* (*weizn*) 'to be'

	Present	Preterite	Past Participle
1.SG	*bin*	*was*	
2.SG	*bist*	*wast*	
3.SG	*is*	*was*	*wäst*
1.PL	*zünt*	*wasn*	
2.PL	*zünt*	*wasn*	
3.PL	*zünt*	*wasn*	

The plural has an interrogative variant *bin(t)*: *bint-jii* (also *zünt-jii*) 'are you.PL?', *bin-wii* 'are we?'.

3.5 Tense and modality

3.5.1 Tense formation

There are four tenses: the present-future, the preterite (also used as a subjunctive; see below, 'Modality'), the perfect, and the pluperfect. The present-future is based on the conjugated present stem of the verb. Future tense is not expressed through explicit morphology, and future time reference depends on a contextual interpretation:

(89) *Dat wårt   al   n kompläitn wark.*
      DEIC becomes already a complete work

      'It will really be a full-scale operation.'

(90) *Un dåår helpst   du   dan düchdiç mit.*
      und there help.2SG you then much   with

      'You will then be helping quite a lot.'

(91) *Dat blift aal zou.*
      DEIC stays all such

      'It will all stay this way.'

(92) *Un dau, as ik up däi strååtnkrütsung stun, dau zei ik: hiir kumst   du*
      and then as I up the crossroad   stood then said I here come.2SG you
      nooit weer.
      never again

      'And then, as I stood at the crossroad, I said: you will never return here.'

The perfect and pluperfect are based on the past participle, in conjunction with the finite auxiliaries *häbn* 'to have' and *wei(z)n* 'to be':

(93) *Ik häb t   ouk lang näi zäin.*
      I have DEIC also long not seen.PART

      'I haven't seen it for a long time either'

The auxiliary *weizn* appears only with verbs of motion and change of state: *gåån* 'to go', *koumn* 'to come', *wårn* 'to become':

(94) *Un zou is däi mit däi lüü   weer na boubn hängåån.*
      and so is DEIC with DEIC people again to above toward.gone.PART

      'And so he went with those people back upstairs.'

(95) *Dåår is miin schweigərin jə grout wårn.*
      there is my sister-in-law PTCL big   become.PART

      'That is where my sister-in-law grew up.'

The verbs *schtåån* 'to stand', and *zitn* 'to sit', which express states rather than motion, take the auxiliary *hebn*:

(96) *Dau häb   ik dåår up stråånkrütsung ståån ...*
      then have.1SG I there on crossroad   stood.PART

      'Then I stood at the intersection ...'

(97) *Hät ouk dåår in tuun unət   buschn zeitn.*
      has also there in garden under.the bushes sat.PART

      '(She) also sat there in the garden under the bushes'

The verb *weizn* 'to be' is semantically ambiguous in this respect, and is used with both auxiliaries:

(98) *Du bist dat wänt wäst.*
      you are DEIC used been.PART

      'You were used to it.'

(99) *Wii häm jə eerst äin zåtedach dəbii wäst.*
      we have PTCL only one Saturday DEIC.at been.PART

      'We have only been working at it on a single Saturday.'

The pluperfect is formed using the participle in combination with the preterite form of the auxiliary:

(100) *Häi was insgəzamt zöubmål   an t gəhirn oupəräät wårn.*
      he was altogether seven.times on the brain operated AUX.PART

      'His brain had been operated on altogether seven times.'

The preterite consists of the conjugated preterite stem. Stem formation varies according to inflection class (see above), the strong verbs showing present/preterite distinctive vowel alternation within the stem. Historically, weak verbs add a suffix *-də* to the present stem. While still present in formal speech or citation form, the tendency is for the suffix to disappear: We thus find

(101) *Däi woundə ...*
　　 'He lived ...'

but also:

(102) *Däi woun jə　up anə　ziit.*
　　 DEIC lived PTCL on other side

　　 'She lived on the other side.'

Overview of tense formation

	Present	Preterite	Perfect	Pluperfect	Subjunctive
'to see'	*ik zäi*	*ik zach*	*ik häb zäin*	*ik har zäin*	*ik zach*
'to reside'	*ik woun*	*ik woun(də)*	*ik häb wount*	*ik har wount*	*ik woun*
'to go'	*ik gåå*	*ik gung*	*ik bin gåån*	*ik was gåån*	*ik gung*

3.5.2　Use of tenses

While the opposition between present-future and the past tenses is straightforward, this is not entirely the case for the distinction between the preterite and perfect tenses. Both indicate past tense and so a completed and remote event or action, and there is some overlap in their distribution. On the whole, the perfect is used when a statement is made about a completed event which has some bearing on the present here-and-now (time of speech or speech situation), that is, the consequences of the completed action or event extend to the present:

(103) *Un dan ... zünt aal ålə　wårn.*
　　 and then　are　 all older become.PART

　　 ' And then ... everybody became older'

(104) *Däi häm wii zülmst upbaaut,　mit　fäär man.*
　　 DEIC have we self　up.built .PART with four man

　　 'We've constructed it ourselves, with four people.'

This extension into the here-and-now can be rather abstract, relating for instance to the sum of a speaker's personal experience:

(105) *Jå, dåår bin ik nu　jə　näi meer wäst,　ik bin jə　al　in t　neäi*
　　 yes there am I　now PTCL not more been.PART I am PTCL already in the new
　　 schkaul wäst.
　　 school　been.PART

　　 'Yes, I wasn't there anymore, I was in the new school.'

(106) *Häiə-w näi mål n kaat funn,　boubn?*
　　 have we not once a cat　found.PART　above

　　 'Didn't we once find a cat, upstairs?'

(107) *Ik häb　t　ouk lang näi zäin.*
　　 I　have.1SG DEIC also long not seen.PART

　　 'I too haven't seen it for a long time.'

The preterite, on the other hand, lacks such extension into the present or here-and-now, and is used, prototypically at least, for remote one-time, single events:

(108) *Un dåår zach　Baukmöu däi kaak.*
　　 and there saw.3SG B.　　 the church

　　 'And then Baukmöu saw the church.'

(109) *Ik schtun/ gung　dåår in aptail　in Emn un ... dau kuam　zäi də*
　　 I　stood　went.1SG there in compartment in E.　and　then came.3SG she there
　　 ouk in un dau mäin　ik eers zäi was Frau M.
　　 too in and then thought.1SG I　first she was Mrs. M.

　　 'I stood/ went there into the compartment in Emden and ... then she too came in and then I thought at first she was Mrs M.'

These inherent properties may be drawn on for a variety of functions. The opposition may be aspectual, with the perfect expressing completed events, while the preterite is used to express ongoing states, non-completed or habitual events:

(110) *Däi hät ouk eerst nåår probleimə hat,　hiirheer tau koumn.*
　　 DEIC has also first PTCL problems had.PART here　to come.INF

　　 'At first he also had tremendous problems coming here.' [perfect; completed]

(111) *Un dau /harn　net　fiimtwinech maak zou nåch bii zük, däi baain.*
　　 and then had.PL exactly five.twenty mark such still at REFL the both

　　 'And then/ they still had exactly　twenty-five marks with them, the two of them.' [preterite; ongoing]

Another type of contrast is the use of the perfect to convey single, completed events whose consequences extend into the present (as above), while the preterite conveys habitual completed events that have no bearing on the present:

(112) *Ik bin zäsndaadech in t schkaul koumn.*
　　 I　am　six.and.thirty in the school come.PART

　　 'I came to school in thirty-six.' [perfect; single event]

(113) *Melkwågn kuam　jə al　um zeäs üür, dan mus　mälkn ja al*
　　 milk.car　came.3SG PTCL already at　six　hour then must.PAST milk PTCL already
　　 dåån　wein.
　　 done.PART be.INF

　　 'The milk truck used to come already at six o'clock, by then the milking had to be done.' [preterite; habitual]

However, there are also instances where the two tenses do not differ semantically and the opposition between them is not aspectual, but is rather used to mark out contrasts between portions of the discourse. Here, it is the juxtaposition of the two tenses itself which is functional, and not the opposition of their internal meanings:

(114) *Dåår hät ål Baukmöu wount   up äin ziit, un up anə ziit woun dan höur dåchdə.*
there has old B.   lived.PART on one side and on other side lived   then her daughter

'Old Baukmöu lived [perfect] on one side, and her daughter used to live [preterite] on the other side.'

The internal meaning may be drawn on and exploited for backgrounding and foregrounding functions in the pragmatic structuring of narrative sequences. The perfect, having the extended-consequence reading, is used for backgrounding, while the preterite is used for foregrounding:

(115) *Däi häb   ik dau frååcht,   of Herford n grout båånhåf was (...)*
DEIC have.1SG I then asked.PART if H.   a big   station is.SUBJ
Jå, un zou kuam wii in t   gespräch un häi frååch   zou: (...)
yes und so came   we in the talk [HG] and he asked.3SG so
Un dan häb   k dat dan fətält,   dat ik nå miin man   hänfårn   wul.
and then have.1SG I DEIC then told.PART that I to my   husband travel.INF want.SUBJ
Un dan fətäl   häi dat häi zou n schwår unfal   hat   har   för fäär jåår.
and then told.3SG he that he such a heavy   accident had.PART has.SUBJ before four year

'I asked [perfect] him then whether Herford was a large station (...) [background]
Yes, and so we began talking and he asked [preterite] this: (...) [foreground]
And then I told [perfect] him that I wanted to travel to my husband. [background]
And then he told [preterite] that he had a bad accident four years ago [foreground]'

Like the perfect in these instances, the pluperfect may also be used for backgrounding functions:

(116) *Dåår har häi an't   böun zou n påår håkn måkt   in t   kälə, ... då*
there had he on the ceiling such a few hooks made.PART in the cellar   there
håk   häi däi rat   dan in un dan hung däi ja.
hooked he the bike then in and then hung DEIC PTCL

'He had fixed some hooks on the ceiling in the celar, and he hooked the bike onto it and it just hung there'

3.5.3 Modality
There are two non-indicative moods, the imperative, and the subjunctive. The imperative is formed on the basis of the present stem. The singular form has no person ending — *gåå! 'go!'* — while the plural form preserves the older 2.PL person ending in -*t*: *gååt! 'go!'*. There are two distinct types of subjunctive. The first draws on the form of the indicative preterite of strong verbs. It is used to express distance or doubt concerning the factuality or truth value of the event or state:

(117) *Ja, däi musn   nu eibn biaabait   wårn.*
yes DEIC must.SUBJ.PL now PTCL processed.PART AUX.PART

'Yes, they should now be worked on'

(118) *Dåår kan ik mii näit förschtäln, wåår wii däi wal tau bruukn musn.*
there can I me not imagine.INF where we DEIC PTCL to need.INF must.SUBJ.PL

'I cannot imagine what we might need them for.'

It also marks out predicates of clauses expressing indirect speech:

(119) *Miin man   zeächt, dåår mus   käin äin meer hängåån.*
my   husband says   there must.SUBJ nobody more toward.go.INF

'My husband says, nobody should go there again.'

(120) *Un dau zei   däi: Jå, däi kaat har   däi anwänst, wän däi kåfes*
and then said.3SG DEIC yes the cat has.SUBJ the habit   when DEIC suitcases
zach,   dan läip   häi imə t lüü nåå.
sees.SUBJ then runs.SUBJ he   always the people after

'And then she said: Yes, the cat has a habit, when it sees luggage, it always runs after the people.'

The second type of subjunctive employs the infinitive with the auxiliary *daun* 'to do'. Its use is optional, and serves to mark the predicate of various kinds of subordinate clauses:

(121) *Wän äin nu zeägn dait: ...*
if   one now say.INF does

'If somebody were now to say: ...'

(122) *Dat wul   zäi zük nu näit / näit gəfaaln   lååtn, dat häi nu hiir hör*
DEIC wanted.3SG she REFL now not   not allow.INF let.INF that he now here her
haaun dei.
hit.INF does.SUBJ

'She didn't want to allow it now, that he should hit her now.'

(123) *Ik wäit   wal, wat du nu denkn daist.*
I   know.1SG PTCL what you now think.INF do.2SG

'I know, what you are now thinking.'

(124) *Ik löuf,   häi wäit går näi, wau schlim ik hum fəmisn dau.*
I think.1SG he knows at.all not how bad   I him miss.INF do.1SG

'I think he doesn't even know how much I miss him.'

(125) *Dåår is jə   käin äin meer reächtschkåpn, däi in huus nåch plat proutn   dait.*
there is PTCL nobody more really   DEIC in house still LG speak.INF does

'There isn't really anybody anymore who still speaks Low German at home.'

(126) *Wåår nu A.W. wounn dait, dåår hät H.M. wount.*
where now   live.INF does there has   lived.PART

Where A.W. now lives, that's where H.M. lived.'

3.5.4 Aspect and focus

The only aspectual category that can be combined with the various tenses is the progressive aspect, which indicates an ongoing action. It is used quite commonly, and is based on the auxiliary verb *weizn* 'to be', in conjunction with the preposition *an* 'at', the definite article, and the infinitive form of the lexical verb (*an t X weizn*):

(127) *Du bruukst dii um käin tau kümern, of du dan ååbns um tain*
you need.2SG you.OBL of nobody to care.INF whether you then in.evening at ten
nåch irgəndwåår an t klütern bist, dat schtört ja käin.
still somewhere on the hammer.INF are.2SG DEIC bothers PTCL nobody

'You don't have to pay attention to anyone, if you are then hammering somewhere at ten in the evening, that doesn't bother anyone.'

With some verbs of appearance, manner may be expressed through the addition of an infinitive:

(128) *dau kuam zäi dåår anloupn.*
then came.3SG she there to.run.INF

'then she came running'

Verbs can be focused through exposure of the infinitive of the lexical into first constituent position, followed by the auxiliary *daun* 'to do':

(129) *Åbə leibn daun s dåår ouk wal nå.*
but live.INF do.PL they there also PTCL after

'But [as far as living is concerned] they do live accordingly'.

3.6 Negation

Negation is expressed by the negative particles *näi* and *käin*, or by negative indefinites. As in Standard German, the choice of negative particle depends on the status of the verbs and its constituents. Negation of intransitive verbs, transitive verbs with definite or determined objects, and of modal infinitives is achieved through *näi* (also *näit*), which occupies the rightmost position preceding the non-finite verb component (participle or infinitive):

(130) *Bin jii nå näi dåår wäst?*
are.2SG you.PL still not there been.PART

'Have you not been there yet?'

(131) *N häil bült köunn näi aleän wein.*
a very many can.PL not alone be.INF

'Many cannot be on their own.'

(132) *Nei, dat wäit ik näi.*
no DEIC know.1SG I not

'No, I don't know.'

(133) *Ik häb t ouk lang näi zäin.*
I have.1SG DEIC also long not seen.PART

'I haven't seen it for a long time either.'

The particle *näi* can also serve as a focus negator, negating an adverb or another constituent immediately following it. Furthermore is can appear as a tag, or as a conditional-focus negator:

(134) *Åbə ik wus t näi gənaau, näi?*
but I knew.1SG DEIC not exactly not

'But I did not know it exactly, right?'

(135) *Näi dat häi wat teign däi lüü har.*
not that he what against DEIC people has.SUBJ

'Not that he should have anything against those people.'

The negator *käin* precedes indefinite or undetermined direct objects:

(136) *Däi häm ouk käin färnzei.*
DEIC have.PL also no television

'They don't have a television set either.'

(137) *Ik har ouk käin gält upnoumn.*
I had.1SG also no money received.PART

'I hadn't received a cash advance either.'

(138) *Däi hät käin schkült hat.*
DEIC has no guilt had.PART
'It wasn't his fault.'

Negative indefinites can appear as the only negators in a sentence:

(139) *Dåår mus käin äin meer hängåån*
Nobody should go there anymore.

(140) *Dåår is jə käin äin meer reächtschkåpn, däi in huus nåch plat proutn dait.*
there is PTCL nobody more really DEIC in house still LG speak.INF does

'There isn't really anybody anoymore who still speaks Low German at home.'

(141) *Wail anəs is ja nix in Campn, wåår man hängåån kan.*
because otherwise is PTCL nothing in C where one to.go.INF can

'Because there isn't anywhere else in Campen where one can go to.'

3.7 Modal verbs

Modal verbs are finite verbs that have as complements the infinitive of the main lexical verb. Complement verbs of motion may sometimes be omitted, when the direction of movement and/or its goal are overtly expressed:

(142) *Nät as miin tant un miin unkəl **wuln** mål nå "Witthus" hän un n tas*
just as my aunt and my uncle wanted.PL once to W. toward and a cup
tei drinkn.
tea drink.INF

'Just as my aunt and my uncle wanted to [go to] "Witthus" and drink a cup of tea.'

Volition is expressed by the verb *wiln* (past *wul-*), 'to want', and ability by the verb *köun* (past *kun-*) 'to be able to':

(143) *Ik fin imə, dåår **kan** man häil schleächt wat tau zeägn.*
I find.1SG always there can one very bad what to say.INF

'I always find, one can hardly say anything about that.'

(144) *Dat **kan** k mii förschtäln.*
DEIC can I me imagine.INF

'I can imagine that.'

(145) *Un dan **häb** k dat dan fətält, dat ik nå miin man hänfårn wul.*
and then have.1SG I DEIC then told.PART that I to my husband travel.INF want.SUBJ

'And then I told him that I wanted to travel to my husband.'

(146) *Un hiir dau kuamn däi anən ja weer un **wuln** däi kaat åfhååln.*
and here then came.PL the others PCTL back and wanted.PL the cat pick.up.INF

'And all of a sudden the others came back and wanted to pick up the cat.'

Several modal verbs cover the domain of necessity and obligation. The verb *mutn* (past *mus-*) 'must' tends to express acceptance of and compliance with a universal obligation or material or situational necessity:

(147) *Dat **mut** imə jäidə för zük entscheiden.*
DEIC must.3SG always each for REFL decide.INF[HG]

'Everyone **must** decide that for him/herself.'

(148) *Dåår **mutn** al twäi lüü dəbii wein.*
there must.PL already two people there.at be.INF

'There **should** really be two people [involved].'

(149) *Dan har häi n mooi schwaat antsuch was dåår un dä **mus***
then had.3SG he a pretty black suit was there and DEIC must.PAST
häi dan anhäm.
he then wear.INF

'Then he had a pretty black suit there was and he had to wear it then.'

(150) *Åbə leibn daun s dåår ouk wal nå, **mut** ik echt zeägn, näi?*
but live.INF do.PL they there also PTCL still must.1SG I really say.INF not

'But they do still live there, I really have to say, right?'

(151) *Mälkwågn kuam jə al um zeäs üür, dan **mus** mälkn ja al*
milk.car came.3SG PTCL already at six hour then must.PAST milk PTCL already
dåån wein.
done.PART be.INF

'The milk truck used to come already at six o'clock, by then the milking had to be done.'

The absence of necessity of obligation is expressed by the negated form of another verb, *bruukn* 'to need', while the negated form of *mutn* 'must' has a specifically prohibitive meaning:

(152) *Du **bruukst** dii um käin tau kümern.*
you.2SG need.2SG you.2SG.OBL for nobody to worry.INF

'You don't have to worry about anybody.'

(153) *"**Bruukst** häil näit zeägn" zei s.*
need.2SG very not say.INF said.3SG she

"You really don't need to say" she said.

(154) *Dåår **mus** käin äin meer hängåån.*
there must.SUBJ.3SG no one more toward.go.INF

'Nobody should go there anymore.'

The verb *düürn* (past *dürs-*) 'may' expresses explicit permission, and the verb *zöuln* (present singular *zal-*, past *zul-*) signifies an inexplicit external force or authority acting on the subject of the action:

(155) *Däi **dürs** nooit in diskou, nooit ååbns mål wäch.*
DEIC may.PAST.3SG never in disco never in.evening once away

'He was never allowed to the disco, never [allowed] to go out in the evenings.'

(156) *De **zal** ja sogar n teater, zou n podest, **zal** də hänkoumn.*
there shall.3SG PTCL even[HG] a theatre such a platform shall there to.come.INF

'There is even supposed [to be] a theatre, a kind of platform is supposed to be do there.'

(157) *Wat **zul** daumåls wal n rat köst häm åbə?*
what shall.PAST.3SG then PCTL a bike cost.PART have.INF but

'But what would a bicycle have cost at that time?'

(158) *Achnfätech **zuln** gəfangənə aal in huus weizn.*
forty-eight shall.PAST.PL prisoners all in house be.INF

'In forty-eight the prisoners were all meant to be home.'

4. SYNTAX

4.1 Simple sentences

4.1.1 Declarative clauses

Main declarative clauses have the finite verb in second position. The finite verb can be complex, consisting of a verb and a directional particle, in which case the particle will appear at the end of the verb phrase; or it can be an auxiliary, in which case the participle will appear at the end of the verb phrase:

(159) *Häi **was** jə bi t döskmaschkiin*
he was PTCL by the threshing.machine

'He was with the threshing machine.'

(160) *Ik **kuam** up miin gəbursdach tau t schkaul **ut**.*
I came.1SG on my birthday to the school out

'I left school on my birthday.'

(161) *Dat **hät** schpåås **måkt**.*
DEIC has fun made.PART

'That was fun.'

(162) *Ik **häb** teign Krischtiin leätst **zeächt**: ...*
I have.1SG to K. recently said.PART

'I recently said to Christine: ...'

The subject may, as in the above examples, occupy the first position in the sentence. If another constituent — an object or an adverb of time, place, or manner — occupies the first position, however, subject and verb undergo inversion, and the subject follows the finite verb:

(163) *Dat **kan** k mii förschtäln.*
DEIC can.1SG I me imagine.INF

'I can imagine that.'

(164) *Däi **kriign** jii də ouk.*
DEIC get.PL you.PL then also

'So you are getting that one too.'

(165) *Dau **was** du neigntäin jåår.*
then were.2SG you.SG nineteen year

'You were nineteen years old then.'

(166) *Dan **kuam** nåch n anə fraau.*
then came.3SG still a other woman

'Then came yet another woman.'

(167) *Dåår helpn   wii ouk mit.*
there help.PL we also with

'We also help out there.'

Subject constituents may be left out under certain conditions. In the 2.SG, person concord enables the omission of pronominal subjects:

(168) *Schtauns   manchmål, wat däi lüü   aal fəgeitn.*
wonder.2SG sometimes what the people all forget.PL

'Sometimes you are amazed at what people leave behind'

Across utterances in discourse, subject omission (zero-anaphora) may indicate topic continuity and tight integration of the sentence into a preceding sequence of actions and events as portrayed earlier in the discourse context:

(169) A: *Jå, däi mus/   hiir in tuun   wul   däi wachn.*
yes DEIC must.PAST.3SG here in graden wanted.3SG DEIC wait.INF
D: *Of in tuun* ((laughs)) *wachn.   Ja, wirklich!*
or in garden   wait.INF yes, really[HG]
A: *Hät ouk dåår in tuun   unət   buschn zeitn.*
has also there in garden under.the bushes sat.PART

A: 'Yes, she had to/ here in the garden, she wanted to wait
D: Or to wait in the garden. Well, really!
A: (She) also sat there in the garden in the bushes.'

(170) *Un dau wa'n   wii də ååbns   um tain üür nåch up båånhåf.*
and there were.PL we there in.evening at ten hour still on station
Harn däi wagåns jå   nåch näi leiç.
had.PL the carriages PTCL still noch empty

'And there we were still there at the train station at ten in the evening. (We) had not yet emptied the carriages.'

4.1.2 Interrogative clauses
Yes/no-questions are marked by the placement of the finite or auxiliary verb in the first position (as well as by question intonation):

(171) *Bliibn däi räume   zou oudə ...?*
stay.PL the rooms[HG] such or

'Will the rooms stay like this or ...?'

(172) *Zün dan däi feerien neiçst jåår um däi   tiit?*
are.PL then the holidays next year at DEIC time

'Are the holidays next year at the this time?'

(173) *Häiə-w näi mål n kaat funn,   boubn?*
have we not once a cat found.PART above

'Didn't we once find a cat, upstairs?'

Other questions have the interrogative in first position, followed by the finite verb in second constituent position:

(174) *Wäl dåch   dåår dan an?*
who thought.3SG there then on

'Who had thought about that?'

(175) *Wat fədäins du   dau?*
what earn.2SG you.SG there

'What do you earn there?'

(176) *Wänheer bis   du   inschkault?*
when   are.2SG you.SG schooled.PART

'When did you enter school?'

(177) *Wau ålt was   du   dau?*
how old were.2SG you.SG there

'How old were you then?'

4.1.3 Imperative and interjection clauses
Imperative clauses have the verb in initial position, and in the imperative form. Interjection clauses may be marked by interrogatives: *wat mooi dingə!* 'what beautiful things!'

4.2 Complex sentences

Complex clauses can be divided into two categories: coordination and subordination. The difference is marked by syntactic rules on the order of constituents and especially the placement of the finite verb in subordinated clauses (see below). The entire domain of clause combining is very prone to the influence of Standard German, and many conjunctions, for both coordination and subordination, are imported from the Standard, or used alongside borrowed forms from the Standard.

4.2.1 Coordination
The coordinating conjunctions are *un* 'and', *of* (alongside *oudə* cf. Standard German *oder*) 'or', and *man* (alongside *åbə* cf. Standard German *aber*) 'but'. The additive conjunction *un* marks the beginning of clauses as well as utterances, events and acts of speech:

(178) *Un hiir dau kuamn däi anən ja weer un wuln   däi kaat åfhååln.*
and here then came.PL the others PCTL back and wanted.PL the cat pick.up.INF

'And all of a sudden the others came back and wanted to pick up the cat.'

In sequencing acts or events at the discourse level, *un* is often followed by the deixis *dau* 'then' (or its Standard German counterpart *dan*):

(179) a.   *Un dau zei   s: "Nei, Frau B."*
and then said.3SG she no   Mrs B

b. **Un dau** *zei* *ik:"Ja," zei* *ik.*
and then said.1SG I yes said.1SG I

a. 'And then she said: "No, Mrs. B."
b. And then I said: "Yes," I said.'

(180) a. **Un dan** *häb* *k dat* *dan fətält,* *dat ik nå miin man* *hänfårn*
and then have.1SG I DEIC then told.PART that I to my husband travel.INF
wul.
want.SUBJ

b. **Un dan** *fətäl* *häi dat häi zou n schwår unfal* *hat* *har* *för*
and then told.3SG he that he such a heavy accident had.PART has.SUBJ before
fäär jåår.
four year

a. 'And then I told him that I want to travel to my husband.
b. And then he told that he had a bad accident four years ago'

Variation between native LG forms and Standard German borrowings is found also in the domain of contrast expressions:

(181) a. *Däi* *håln* *gəwaltich tauzåmn, däi* *lüü.*
DEIC keep.PL powerfully together DEIC people
b. **Man** *wän dåår äin uut wil ...*
but if there one out wants

a. 'They keep strictly together, those people.
b. But if one of them want to leave ...'

(182) a. *Zäi zünt näit schleächt, näi, zäi zünt näit, dat zäi irgəntwii ...*
they are.PL not bad no they are.PL not that they somehow
b. **Åbə** *däi kinə zünt rotsfräch!*
but the children are.PL naughty

a. 'They are not bad, right, the are not, that they somehow ...
b. But the children are very ill-behaved!'

An additional coordinator is the concessive *obwohl*, also a Standard German loan, and originally a subordinating conjunction. Operating at the discourse level, *obwohl* does not trigger the verb-final order that is typical of subordinated clauses, hence it may be considered to have shifted into the category of coordinators:

(183) H: *Ik mäin,* *wän* *du* *zöumtwindich jåår bis* *kan* *ja* *nu ouk*
I mean.1SG when you.SG twentyseven year are.2SG can.3SG PTCL now also
nüms *fəlangn* *dat du* *aleän blifst.*
nobody demand.INF that you.SG alone remain.2SG

B: *Näi.*
no

H: *Un ee/ obwohl* *ik fin* *imə* *dat kan nie jemand fəlangn,*
and uh although [HG] I find.1SG always that can never somebody demand.INF

egål *wau* *ålt du* *bist.*
same how old you.SG are.2SG

H: 'I mean, when you are twentyseven years old nobody can expect you to stay on your own.
B: No.
H. And uh/ although I always find you cannot expect that from anybody no matter how old they are.'

4.2.2 Subordination

Semantic interdependency of clauses in which one clause is subordinated, such as the use of a clause as a complement or object of a main clause, or as an attribute to the main clause, can be expressed through a paratactic arrangement:

(184) *Miin man* *zeächt, dåår mus* *käin äin meer hängåån.*
my husband says there must.SUBJ none one more there.go.INF

'My husband says, nobody should go there again.'

(185) *Ik fin* *imə,* *dåår kan man häil schleächt wat* *tau zeägn.*
I find.1SG always there can one very badly something to say.INF

'I always find, i is very difficult to say anything about that.'

Actual syntactic (hypotactic) subordination is marked out by the appearance of a conjunction at the beginning of the subordinated clause, and the placement of the finite verb at the end of this clause (possibly followed by an adverbial constituent):

(186) *Ik frooi* *mii zou dat däi* **weerkumt.**
I rejoice.1SG me so that DEIC returns

'I am so happy that he is returning.'

(187) *Un dan* *fətäl häi dat häi zou n schwåår unfal* *hat har* *för* *fäär jåår.*
and then tells he that he so a bad accident has had.PART before four year

'And then he told [me] that he had had such a bad accident four years ago.'

(188) *Un dau, as ik up däi strååtnkrütsung stun,* *dau zei* *ik: hiir kumst* *du*
and then as I on the crossroad stood.1SG then said.1SG I here come2SG you.SG
nooit weer.
never again

'And then, as I stood at the crossroad, I said: you will never return here.'

Subordinations (hypotactic constructions) include relative clauses, embeddings, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and purpose clauses. Relative clauses that modify head nouns are introduced by the indeclinable relativiser *däi*:

(189) *Dåår is jə* *käin äin meer reächtschkåpn, däi in huus nåch plat proutn* *dait.*
there is PCTL none one more really REL in house still LG speak.INF does

'There isn't really anybody anymore who still speaks Low German at home.'

(190) *Nu is də weer n anə generatsjoun **däi** n biitjə jungədə is.*
now is there again an other generation REL a little younger is
'Now there is again another generation that is a little younger.'

(191) *Wau häitn   däi   nu, **däi** dåår zünt?*
how are.called.PL DEIC now REL there are.PL
'What are they called, those that are here?'

Relative clauses may also specify locations, in which case they are introduced by *wåår* 'where'. Locations can be re-focussed by *dåår* providing a point of reference for the relative clause. The relative clause may also appear in exposed initial position, in a cleft-construction, with the main clause often introduced by the correlative *dåår*:

(192) *Wail anəs   is ja   nix   in Campn **wåår** man hängåån   kan.*
because otherwise is PCTL nothing in C.   where one there.go.INF can
'Because there isn't anywhere else in Campen where one can go.'

(193) *Däi woun   jə   up anə ziit, M., **dåår wåår** nu W. wounn daunt.*
DEIC lived.3SG PTCL on other side M. there where now W. live.INF do.PL
'She lived on the other side, M., where now W.s live.'

(194) ***Wåår** nu A.W. wounn   dait, **dåår** hät H.M. wount.*
where now A.W. live.INF does there has H.M. lived.PART
'Where A.W. now lives, that's where H.M. lived.'

Embeddings are constituents of the matrix verb which classify information that serves as a complement to the verb without actually supplying this information; they are therefore similar to questions, which highlight a gap in knowledge, and outline and classify the nature of this information gap, but do not themselves deliver the missing informatio, and so in a sense they constitute 'indirect questions'. They are introduced by a set of conjunctions corresponding to the interrogatives for the respective domains, or by the dummy *wåår* in conjunction with a directional specification (preposition-derived particle):

(195) *Ik wäit wal, **wat** du   nu denkn   daist.*
I know PTCL what you.SG now think.INF do.2SG
'I know, what you are know thinking.'

(196) *Dåår kan ik mii näit förschtäln, **wåår** wii däi wal **tau** bruukn   musn.*
There can I me not imagine.INF where we DEIC PTCL to   need.INF must.SUBJ.PL
'I cannot imagine what we might need them for.'

Complement clauses can be sub-divided into several types, whereby the kind of semantic relation between the main clause and its complement correlates with the type of complementiser used to mark the beginning of the complement clause: Complements of epistemic verbs are introduced by *dat*:

(197) *Ik löuw   näi, **dat** häi irgəntwat wust   hät.*
I believe.1SG not that he anything known.PART has
'I don't believe that he knew anything.'

(198) *Un dan häb   k dat dan fətält, **dat** ik nå miin man   hänfårn   wul.*
and then have.1SG I that then told.PART that I to my husband travel.INF wanted.1SG
'And then I told him that I wanted to travel to my husband.'

(199) *Ik frooi   mii zou **dat** däi weerkumt.*
I rejoice.1SG me so that DEIC returns
'I am so happy that he is returning.'

Complements of modal (non-factual) verbs show several sub-types. The first includes modal verbs proper. Their complements are not overtly marked, if there is identity between the subject of the main clause (modal) verb and that of the complement verb. The complement verb then appears in the infinitive:

(200) *Ja, däi musn   nu eibn biaabait   wårn.*
yes DEIC must.SUBJ.PL now PTCL processed.PART become.INF
'Yes, they should now really be worked on.'

(201) *Dat mut dåår ja   bliibn.*
that must there PTCL stay.INF
'That has to stay there.'

Complements of additional or derived modal verbs — verbs or impersonal constructions whose primary function is not to express modality — show a somewhat similar structure. When the subjects of both parts of the construction are identical, the embedded verb appears in the infinitive, and is not marked by a complementiser. However, the infinitive is introduced by the preposition/ particle *tau*:

(202) *Du   bruukst dii um käin   **tau** kümern.*
you.2SG need.2SG you for nobody to   preoccupy.INF
'You do not need to take care of anybody.'

(203) *Däi hät ouk eerst nåår probleimə hat,   hiirheer **tau** koumn.*
DEIC has also first PTCL problems had.PART hither to come.INF
'At first he also had tremendous problems coming here.'

(204) *Un du   bist   dat wänt wäst   in t dörp **tau** wounn.*
and you.SG are.2SG that used been.PART in the village to live.INF
'And you were used to living in the village.'

Finally, modal complements that do not show subject-identity but where one (main clause) subject exerts authority on another (complement clause) subject — so-called manipulation

clauses — are introduced by *dat*. The complementiser is usually followed by an overt marker of the subject of the complement clause, and the verb is finite, often appearing in the subjunctive:

(205) *Ik mäin,   wän   du   zöumtwindich jåår bis,   kan   ja   nu   ouk*
      I mean.1SG when you.SG twentyseven year are.2SG can.3SG PTCL now also
      nüms   fəlangn,   dat du   aleän blifst.
      nobody demand.INF that you.SG alone remain.2SG

      'I mean, when you are twentyseven years old nobody can expect you to stay on your own.'

(206) *Dat wul   zäi zük nu   näit / näit gəfaaln lååtn,   dat häi nu   hiir   hör*
      that wanted.3SG she REFL now not   not allow.INF let.PART that he now here her
      haaun dei.
      hit.INF did.3SG

      'She didn't want to allow it now, that he should hit her now.'

The structure of purpose clauses is similar (here, irrespective of subject-identity):

(207) *Däi brügns   maudə har   in jäidə hant zou n laang schteiwəl, dat hör*
      the groom.POSS mother had.3SG in every hand such a long   boot   that her
      aam jung hiir blout näi zou fəzuupn   dei.
      poor boy here just not so drown.INF does.SUBJ

      'The bridegroom's mother had in every hand a long boot, so that her poor boy would not drown.'

Adverbial clauses give a variety of modificiations to main clauses; we will survey just a selection here. On the whole the type of adverbial clause and the semantic modification it delivers is marked out by the choice of conjunction. Temporal clauses distinguish between simultaneity of one-time events, marked by *as*, and repetitive-habitual overlap of events, marked by *wän*:

(208) *As   ik tau t   schkaul gung...*
      when I to the school went.1SG

      'When I went to school ...'

(209) *As   wii kuamn was däi heiç   de   näi.*
      when we came.PL was the hedge there not

      'When we came that hedge wasn't yet there.'

(210) *Däi kaat har   däi anwänst, wän   däi   kåfəs   zach,*
      the cat has.SUBJ the habit   when DEIC suitcases sees.SUBJ
      dan läip   häi imə   t lüü   nåå.
      then runs.SUBJ he always the people after

      'The cat has the habit, when it sees luggage it follows the people.'

(211) *Wän ik reperatuurn an t   schkau har un dat ... dat   hät miin maudə altiit*
      When I repairs   on the shoe   had and that   that has my   mother always
      bətålt   dan.
      paid.PART then

      'Whenever I had repairs on my shoes and that ... my mother always paid for it then.'

The conjunction *as* is also used for comparison:

(212) *Bliibn däi dåår zou as däi nu   zünt?*
      stay.PL they there such as they now are.PL

      'Will they stay as they are now?'

Causal clauses are introduced by *wail*, from Standard German:

(213) *Un dat is nu, wail   wii aal zou n biitjə uutnanəgåån   zünt.*
      and that is now because we all so a little dispersed.PART are.PL

      'And it is now [like this], because we have all gone our separate ways.'

Conditional clauses are introduced by *wän* and usually have their verb in the subjunctive :

(214) *Wän äin nu   zeägn dait: ...*
      if one now say.INF does

      'If somebody were now to say: ...'

(215) *Wän du   wäl   züchst,   dan zeäch mii beschkäit.*
      when you.SG PTCL search.2SG then tell   me matter

      'If you are looking for somebody, then let me know.'

Indirect questions are introduced by *of*:

(216) *Däi häb   ik dau frååcht,   of Herford n grout båånhåf was.*
      DEIC have.1SG I then asked.PART if H.   a big   station is.SUBJ

      'I asked him then whether Herford was a large station.'

Comparative-conditional clauses combine the markers *as wän*:

(217) *Un däi keikn   ja aal as wän däi zeägn wuln: ...*
      and they looked.PL PTCL all as if   they say.INF wanted.PL

      'And they all looked as if the wanted to say: ...'

5. DISCOURSE SAMPLE

The participants in this conversation are two women in their 60s, residents of Campen, who belong to the Reformed church. The general theme of the conversation are the tensions between the Old Reformed and the Reformed church parishes in the village. E.'s daughter has married a member of the Old Reformed church, and joined that church herself. E.'s interpretation of this action is that parish life is more active in the Old Reformed church. The conversation then centres for a while around the Reformed pastor and his endeavours to establish better relations between the two congregations. Both participants hold the view that the Old Reformed congregation is not genuinely interested in improving relations. As an illustration of what they consider to be Old Reformed fanaticism they discuss the case of Old Baukmöu — the story given here.

E: *Däi ål Baukmöu, däi häm ... / Dat was ...*
the old B.   DEIC have.PL that was

Old Baukmöu, they ... / That was ...

Mut   ik eim ouwəleägn: Baukmöu was B.H.s   ouma.
must.1SG I PTCL think   B   was B.H.POSS grandmother

I just have to think: Baukmöu was B.H.'s grandmother.

Un däi häm   dår wount, hiir boubn, wäitn   s jə wal, wår
und DEIC have.PL there lived.PART here above   know.PL you PTCL PTCL was
Frau S., up anə ziit.
Mrs S. on other side

And they lived there, up here, you know, there was Mrs S., on the other side.

Dat is nu ja   fəköft, dår woun ja   R. und M., woun dår ja.
that is now PTCL sold.PART there live.PL PTCL R and M   live.PL there PTCL

That is now sold, R. and M. live there now.

Un dat / dår hät ål Baukmöu wount   up äin ziit, mit Majnerd oum,
and that there has old B   lived.PART on one side with M   uncle

And Old Baukmöu lived there on the one side, with uncle Meinhard,

un up anə ziit woun   dan höur dåchdə, wat däi M.H. is,
and on other side lived.PAST.3SG then her daughter what the M.H. is

and on the other side there used to live her daughter, which is M.H.,

mit däi G.H., däi .../ G. is jə   doud ...
with the G.H. REL   G. is PTCL dead

with G.H., who ... / G. is dead ....

G: *Däi kän   ik wal, G. wascha mälkmeitə.*
DEIC know.1SG I PTCL G was.PTCL milk-inspector

I know him, G. was a milk inspector.

E: *Jå. Un däi G. is nu   jə   ouk schtürbn, näi?*
yes and the G is now PTCL also dead.PART not

Yes, and G. is now also dead, isn't he?

G: *Jå.*
yes

E: *Un / ja, da-s   reächt.*
and yes that-is correct

Yes, that's right.

Un däi/ un däi wountes   nåch äin ...
and DEIC and DEIC lived.PAST.3SG still one

And he/ and he lived one more ...

G: *Un däi züster fan G. was jə   weer A., näi?*
and the sister of G was PTCL again A   not

And G.'s sister was A., right?

E: *Dat is richtig.*
that is correct [HG]

That's right.

G: *Nu häb ik dat aal weer up schtei!*
now have I that all again on stand

Now I've got everything!

E: *Un nu zatn   däi baai / wasn   däi in dat dübəlthuus.*
and now sat.PL the both were.PL DEIC in the double.house

Well, the two of them were sitting/ they were in the double house.

Däi ålkəs   wounn dan hiir nå t kaakziit   un zäi wounn nå t anə ziit.
the elderly lived.PL then here to the church.side and they lived.PL to the other side

The elderly ones lived here on the side of the church, and they lived on the other side.

G: *Ja.*
Yes.

E: *Un dåår was dåår ouk mål ...*
and there was there also once

And then once there was ...

In / hiir wän däi dan bi uns kaak langungn, zeächt M. dan nåch imə,
in here when DEIC then at our church along.went.3PL says M then still always

And/ here, when they went past our church, M. always says,

Un Baukmöu ouk hän.
and B   also there

And Baukmöu went there too.

Un dåår zach Baukmöu däi kaak   un   dan   mus   zäi schpeäin.
and there saw B   the church and then must.PAST.3SG she spit.INF

And Baukmöu saw the church and then she had to vomit.

"Un dat hät s dəfan,"   zei   miin maudə.
and that has she there.from said.3SG my   mother

"And that's what she gets from it", said my mother.

"Da-s hör schtrååf" zei   miin maudə dau.
that-is her punishment said.3SG my   mother then

"That's her punishment", my mother then said.

Ik häb   dat näit bəleift,   man dat wäit   ik fan miin maudə heer, näi?
I   have.1SG that not experienced but that know.1SG I from my mother   from not

I hadn't witnessed it, but I know about it from my mother, you know?

G: *Dat is jə   gaut!*
    that is PTCL good

    That's a good one!

E: *Ja. Dåu mus   zäi breikn. Dåår is zäi...*
    yes then must.PAST.3SG she vomit   there is she

    Yes, she had to vomit. She …

    Wäit   ik näit, is jə   zeikə schleächt wäst,   oudə wat, man dau
    know.1SG I not   is PTCL surely unwell   been.PART or   what but   then

    mus-s   schpeäin un dat was hör schtrååf,   zei
    must.PAST.3SG-she vomit.INF and that was her punishment said.PAST.3SG
    miin maudə dau.
    my   mother then

    I don't know, surely she had been unwell, or something, but then she had to vomit and
    that was her punishment, my mother said.

    Häm   mit schkaulkinə ... Wän də   wat   mit mäster un zou wat was,
    have.PL with schoolchildren … when there what with teacher and so   what was
    dat was jə   imə   hiir.
    that was PTCL always here

    With the schoolchildren they … When there was something with the teacher and
    something like that, it was always here.

G: *Dat was jə   in t grout kaak.   Jå.*
    that was PTCL in the big   church yes

    It was in the big church. Yes.

E: *Dat wur   nooit in t lüətjə kaak måkt.   Nie!*
    that became.3SG never in the small church done.PART never[HG]

    It was never done in the small church. Never!

G: *Nei. Nei, nei. Dat was klår näi?*
    no   no   no   that was clear not

    No. No, no. That was clear, wasn't it?

E: *Dat gaft   går näit, näi? Dat was imə dåår.*
    that gave.3SG at.all not not that was always there

    That never happened, right? It was always here.

    Un / un hiir .../ Jå, un dan mus   zäi schpeäin.
    and and here   yes and then must.PAST.3SG she vomit.INF

    And/ and here …/ Yes, and then she had to vomit.

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