

09:30 Ynrin en kofje, seal: kantine

10:00 Iepening (S. Dyk), seal 1: Sânwâlden

10:05 plenêre lêzing, seal 1: Sânwâlden

Arjen Versloot: *A Historical Analysis of the Diminutive Suffix in Frisian*

PARALLELSESJE 1, SEAL 1: SÂNWÂLDEN

PARALLELSESJE 2, SEAL 2: ERFGUODKEAMER

11:00 Dijkstra, Heeringa & Van de Velde
*/t/-Deletion in some West-Frisian
(relative) pronouns*

Rolf Bremmer
*The Presence of Middle Low German
in Old East Frisian Texts*

11:30 Kofje and tea / Coffee and tea

12:00 Nanna Hilton & Willem Visser
“Stimmen”: *Crowd-sourcing Variation
in Frisian*

Levi Damsma
*Middelnederlânske ynfloed
yn it Aldwestfryske Ald Skeltarjocht*

12:30 Postma
*Frisian breaking
from a Pomeranian perspective*

Demolin & Van de Velde
*Electroglottografie en nieuwe inzichten
in de Friese klanken*

13:00 Lunsj – Lunch

14:00 Liefke Reitsma
*Frisian verb clusters in a regional context:
towards a North-Netherlandic Sprachbund?*

Hindrik Sijens
*'Droege kost? In drûch woarstje smakket
better'. Oer de staving fan it /u/-lûd.*

14:30 Sloos, Garcia & Van de Weijer
Syllabic nasals in West-Frisian

Anne Merkuur
*Productivity drives spreading:
The case of Frisian past participles*

15:00 Kofje/Tee – Koffie/Thee

15:30 Temmo Bosse
*Die friesischen Wenkermaterialien
aus der Wiedingharde*

Jarich Hoekstra
'Wrotte en wrame.'
Ferbale hendidadys yn it Frysk

16:00 Robert Kleih
Die nordfriesische Diaspora in den USA

Jonkman & Wolf
*De folchoarder fan de saneamde 'Te-
konstruksjes': Is grien of read de kwestje?*

16:30 Buorrel – Borrel

SEAL 1 FOARSITTER: S. DYK

SEAL 2 FOARSITTER: E. HOEKSTRA / W. VISSER

Sprekkers alfabetysk

1. Temmo Bosse (Univ. Flensburg)
Die friesischen Wenkermaterialien aus der Wiedingharde
2. Rolf Bremmer (Univ. Leiden)
The Presence of Middle Low German in Old East Frisian Texts
3. Levi Damsma (Univ. Gent)
Middelnedêrlânske ynfloed yn it Aldwestfryske Ald Skeltarjocht
4. Didier Demolin^{1,2} & Hans Van de Velde² (¹GIPSA-lab Grenoble ²Fryske Akademy KNAW)
Electroglottografie en nije ynzichten in de Friese klanken
5. Jelske Dijkstra, Wilbert Heeringa, Hans Van de Velde (Fryske Akademy KNAW)
De hûn dy yn 'e tún stiet (the dog that stands in the garden): /t/-deletion in some West-Frisian (relative) pronouns
6. Nanna Hilton¹ en Willem Visser^{1,2} (¹Universiteit Grins ²Fryske Akademy KNAW)
"Stimmen": Crowd-sourcing Variation in Frisian
7. Jarich Hoekstra (ISFAS - Frisistik, CAU Kiel)
Wrotte en wrame – Ferbale hendidadys yn it Frysk
8. Reitze Jonkman en Henk Wolf (NHL-Stenden Hegeskoalle Ljouwert)
De folchoarder fan de saneamde 'Te-konstruksjes': Is grien of read de kwestje?
9. Robert Kleih (Univ. Flensburg)
Die nordfriesische Diaspora in den USA
10. Anne Mercuur (Fryske Akademy KNAW)
The case of Frisian past participles
11. Gertjan Postma (Meertens Institute Amsterdam)
Frisian breaking from a Pomeranian perspective
12. Liefke Reitsma (Ministry of Foreign Affairs / Univ. Groningen)
Frisian verb clusters in a regional context: towards a North-Netherlandic Sprachbund?
13. Hindrik Sijens (Fryske Akademy KNAW)
'Droege kost? In drûch woarstje smakket better'. Oer de stavering fan it /u/-lûd yn it Frysk
14. Marjoleine Sloos¹, Andrea Ariza Garcia¹ and Jeroen van de Weijer²
(¹Fryske Akademy KNAW ²Shanghai International Studies University)
Syllabic nasals in West-Frisian
15. Arjen Versloot (Univ. Amsterdam)
A Historical Analysis of the Diminutive Suffix in Frisian

Temmo Bosse (Univ. Flensburg)

Die friesischen Wenkermaterialien aus der Wiedingharde

Der deutsche Dialektologe Georg Wenker und seine Nachfolger erhoben seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert über Fragebögen umfangreiches Dialektmaterial aus dem Gebiet des damaligen Deutschen Reichs. Unter den 50.000 Formularen mit den Übersetzungen der sogenannten Wenkersätze sind neben den deutschen und niederdeutschen Sprachproben auch zahlreiche Exemplare in den Minderheitensprachen des damaligen deutschen Staatsgebietes zu finden. Die friesischsprachigen Übersetzungen stammen dabei vor allem aus Nordfriesland, es existieren aber auch einige Bögen aus dem Saterland und von Wangerooge. Besonders wertvoll ist dieses Material in Bezug auf jene Dialekte, die heute ausgestorben oder stark bedroht und zudem insgesamt nur spärlich überliefert sind. Die friesischen Wenkermaterialien wurden in der Frisistik des 20. Jahrhunderts kaum wahrgenommen und weitgehend als unzuverlässig eingestuft. Im Vortrag sollen als Beispiel für das friesischsprachige Material die Formulare aus der Wiedingharde vorgestellt werden. Der Dialekt der Wiedingharde ist die nördlichste Festlandsmundart der nordfriesischen Sprache und weist einige Besonderheiten auf. Es soll gezeigt werden, ob und in welcher Form sich diese Dialektmerkmale in den Übersetzungen wiederfinden lassen und welche Erkenntnisse sich daraus in Bezug auf die Zuverlässigkeit der friesischen Bögen gewinnen lassen.

The Presence of Middle Low German in Old East Frisian Texts

Until today, the mapping of Middle Low German (MLG) interference in Old Frisian (OFris) manuscripts has been rather stepmotherly dealt with. It would appear that especially the nineteenth-century grammarians have underestimated this influence. Neither Willem van Helten in his *Altostfriesische Grammatik* of 1890 nor Theodor Siebs in his monumental *Geschichte der friesischen Sprache* of 1902 paid any special attention to MLG as an interfering factor in medieval Frisian texts; instead, they sufficed to signal every now and then the MLG origin of a word or a form. Sjölin is the only modern editor of an Old Frisian manuscript who has addressed the problem. He opined (1970: 227) that the MLG influence on the OFris of the Fivelgo Manuscript was “nur in geringen Maße vorhanden”, but the survey he presents of MLG forms in F is far from complete (Bremmer 1996: 9–10). Århammar (2004: 3300-2), it is true, in a survey of Frisia-German language contact devoted a section to MLG loans in OFris, but his survey remains necessarily short and rather general. To redress this lacuna, I have investigated the major OEFris legal manuscripts, originating from the geographical space between the Lauwers and the Weser, to see to what extent they reveal traces of MLG. In doing so, I have collected a body of phonological, morphological and lexicological evidence. In addition, I have identified instances of MLG spelling conventions. Including syntax into my survey would have overloaded my burden too much for the scope of this paper.

Århammar, Nils (2004). “Das Deutsche im Sprachkontakt: Friesisch-Deutsch”, *Sprachgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, red. Werner Besch e.a., 2e herz. druk, 4 delen. Berlijn, 1998–2004, 330–3317.

Bremmer, Rolf H. Jr (1996). “Old Frisian Dialectology and the Position of the ‘Ommelanden’”, *A Frisian and Germanic Miscellany, Published in Honour of Nils Århammar*, red. Adeline Petersen e.a. Odense: Odense/Bredstedt, 1–18.

Bremmer, Rolf H. Jr (2008). “Saxon Loans in Rüstring Old Frisian”, *Northern Voices. Essays on Old Germanic and related Topics, Offered to Professor Tette Hofstra*, red. Kees Dekker e.a. Leuven, 191–202.

Sjölin, Bo (1970). *Die ‘Fivelgoer’ Handschrift*. The Hague: Nijhoff.

Middelnederlânske ynfloed yn it Aldwestfryske Ald Skeltarjocht

It is bekend dat it Nederlânsk al yn 'e Aldfryske perioade in grutte ynfloed útoefene op 'e Fryske taal. It Aldfrysk hat in soad lienwurden opnommen út it Middelnederlânsk, wêrûnder ek tige frekwinte funksjewurden lykas ende 'en' (y.s.f. and), en dat 'it/dat' (y.s.f. thet). Yn dit ûndersyk haw ik de âldste Westerlauwerske tekst (fan substansjele omfang) ûndersocht, it Ald Skeltarjocht út Codex Unia, om nei te gean hoe grut de Nederlânske ynfloed al wie in dizze tige âlde tekst. De Unia-fersje fan it Ald Skeltarjocht kin wat de taal oanbelanget op likernôch 1300 datearre wurde (Versloot 2008: 70-75). Dizze tekst kin ús dus wat fertelle oer de gronologyske ûntwikkeling fan Nederlânske ynfloed yn Westerlauwersk Fryslân. Yn dit ûndersyk haw ik ek oandacht foar it type taalkontakt dêr't de lienwurden en -eleminten yn 'e tekst op wize.

It Ald Skeltarjocht befettet ferskate soarten fan ynterferinsjes út it Nederlânsk. Guon wurden wurde konsekwint brûkt foar in betsjutting, en fine wy ek werom yn 'e oare tekstferzjes fan it Ald Skeltarjocht yn oare hânskriften (en de ynkunabel Freeska Landriucht). Oare wurden fine we inkeld ynsidinteel werom yn 'e tekst, njonken in protte Fryske tsjinhingens. Dizze ynsidintele ynterferinsjes fine we ek net yn 'e oare tekstferzjes. Dizze wurden binne opfallend faak frekwinte wurden dy't yn hybride Nederlânsk-Fryske spellings oerlevere binne. Ik wol beärgumintearje dat dit ûnderskied weromgiet op in ûnderskied tusken feitlike ûntlienings en skriftlike ynterferinsjes, wêrby de lêste groep allinnich yn skreaun Aldfrysk foarkaam (sjoch ek Blom 2007) en feroarsake waard troch in grutte bekendheid mei it skriuwen en lêzen fan it Middelnederlânsk yn it letmidsiuwske Fryslân.

Ferwizings

- Blom, Alderik. 2007. 'Language Admixture in the Old West Frisian Basle Wedding Speeches?'. Yn *Advances in Old Frisian Philology. Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik 64*. Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., Stephen Laker and Oebele Vries (eds.), 1-27. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Versloot, Arjen P. 2008. *Mechanisms of Language Change: Vowel Reduction in 15th Century West Frisian*. Utrecht: LOT.

Electroglottografie en nieuwe inzichten in de Friese klanken

De Graaf & Tiersma (1980) stelden vast dat de fonetische aspecten van het Fries slechts beperkt beschreven waren. Dankzij De Graaf (1985) hebben we een uitstekend referentiewerk voor het Friese klinkersysteem, maar sindsdien is de fonetische studie van de segmenten van het Fries weer op de achtergrond geraakt. Enkel de prosodie heeft recent wat aandacht gekregen (Hansen 2017, Nota et al. 2015).

De afgelopen dertig jaar is niet alleen het Fries veranderd, ook de fonetische methodologie is spectaculair geëvolueerd. Het meten van de akoestische eigenschappen van spraaksignalen gaat nu veel sneller en accurater, dankzij betere opname-apparatuur, handige software voor signaalanalyse zoals Praat, en onvoorstelbaar krachtigere computers. Om een beter beeld te krijgen van de articulatie van de klanken hebben we nu draagbare apparatuur waarmee we bijvoorbeeld de orale en nasale luchtstroom meten, met echografie zien hoe de tong beweegt (ultrasound), de duur en frequentie van de contacten van de stemplooiën meten (electroglottografie) of een film van de lipbewegingen maken. Deze articulatorische informatie kan tot op de milliseconde nauwkeurig gekoppeld worden aan het akoestische signaal.

Voor een eerste verkennende studie hebben we met de Laryngograph EGG-D800 data verzameld bij zes sprekers van het Kleifries, variërend in leeftijd en sekse. We laten zien hoe electroglottografie werkt en zoomen daarbij in op twee verschijnselen die in de oudere fonetische studies niet aan het licht gekomen zijn: (i) een abrupte verandering in de klinkerkwaliteit van de lange monoftongen; (ii) de systematische aanwezigheid van laryngalisatie in het Fries, een verschijnsel dat opvallend parallel is met *stød* in het Deens (Grønnum & Basbøll 2001).

Bibliografie

- De Graaf T. & P. Tiersma (1980). Some Phonetic Aspects of Breaking in West Frisian. *Phonetica* 37, 109-120.
- De Graaf, T. (1985). Phonetic aspects of the Frisian vowel system. *NOWELE* 5, 23-40.
- Grønnum N. & Basbøll, H. (2001). Consonant Length, *Stød* and Morae in Standard Danish. *Phonetica* 58. 230-253.
- Hansen, J. (2017). *Regional variation in the realization of intonation contours in the Netherlands*. Utrecht : LOT.
- Nota, A., Haug Hilton, N. & Coler, M. (2015). Frisian intonation contours in language contact: An adapted methodology. Lezing op de *Dag v/d Friese taalkunde*, Leeuwarden, 23 oktober 2015.

De hûn dy yn 'e tún stiet (the dog that stands in the garden): /t/-deletion in some West-Frisian (relative) pronouns

The clitic 't, for example in the relative pronoun *dy't* (that), is a fairly recent phenomenon in the West-Frisian language. This clitic 't is a reduction of *dat* (that) (Hoekstra, 2002). The clitic is used from 1900-1925 onwards in the Frisian language (Van der Woude, 1960). However, audio fragments from the FAME! Speech Corpus (Yilmaz et al., 2016), a corpus with 203 audio fragments derived from the radio archive of the regional broadcaster Omrop Fryslân, show that the more recent the radio fragments are dated, the more the clitic 't is deleted. This presentation will answer the following research questions: In which pronouns with the clitic 't does this /t/-deletion occur the most? Can this phenomenon be explained by, e.g., the linguistic context?

In total, the FAME! Speech Corpus comprises of 18.5 hours of radio fragments from several radio programs broadcasted by Omrop Fryslân between 1966-2015. The audio fragments were manually transcribed by two native speakers and checked by a third native speaker of Frisian.

All utterances that contain the West-Frisian pronouns ending in 't (and without the production of this /t/) were gathered from the corpus and analysed on the production of /t/, the speech tempo of the speaker, and the context linguistic context in which the pronouns was used. The data was analysed using mixed models.

Several of these pronouns, such as *dy't*, *dêr't* and *wêr't*, show a decrease in the production of /t/ in the audio fragments of more recent times. During the presentation we will try and explain the occurrence of this phenomenon from different reasons. This study is one example of research that can be conducted after the disclosure of Omrop Fryslân's radio archive which will result in a large-scale speech corpus. It enables many research possibilities on language variation and language convergence within the West-Frisian language.

References

- Hoekstra, J. (2002). Relativization in Frisian. In: P. Poussa (ed.) *Relativization on the North Sea Littoral*. LINCOM EUROPA.
- Woude, G. van der (1960). Oer it gebrûk fan 't by bynwurden. In: K. Dykstra, K. Heeroma, W. Kok, & H.T.J. Miedema (Eds). *Fryske Stúdzjes: Fryske Stúdzjes oanbean oan Prof. Dr. J.H. Brouwer op syn sechstichste jierdei 23 augustus 1960*. (pp. 335-343). Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Yilmaz, E., Andringa, M., Kingma, S., Dijkstra, J., Kuip, F. van der, Van de Velde, H., Kampstra, F., Algra, J., Heuvel H. van den and Leeuwen, D. van (2016). *A Longitudinal Bilingual Frisian-Dutch Radio Broadcast Database Designed for Code-switching Research*. Proceedings LREC Portorož, Slovenia, 4666-4669.

“Stimmen”: Crowd-sourcing Variation in Frisian

Sociolinguistics as a discipline has predominantly focused on large language communities that are monolingual, yet it is generally agreed that theory development depends on insights from other contexts, including lesser-used varieties in multilingual settings (Meyerhoff & Nagy 2008). However, the lack of usable recordings of speech data presents scholars wanting to do variationist sociolinguistic research on such varieties with obvious challenges. *In this paper we present a new methodological tool for crowd-sourcing speech and perception data in Frisian: Stimmen fan Fryslân*

A number of language documentation efforts using smartphone technology have come on the market in recent years (e.g. Bird et al. 2014), relying on crowd-sourcing of speech recordings and users' ability to translate in writing. At the same time, crowd-sourcing of data over the internet has become a popular methodology for dialectological and folk-linguistic research. Ventures employing dialect quizzes in smartphone applications have shown how studies of phonetic and phonological variation can benefit from the addition of crowd-sourced material (Leemann et al. 2016).

Our talk presents the initial data collected with the smartphone application 'Stimmen fan Fryslân' (Voices of Fryslân) in its full state (release September 2017). The app combines the approaches above. It contains a perceptual dialectology task (here for Frisian and Dutch language areas), and a picture-naming task (usable for any language) that documents phonological and phonetic variation.

Our presentation is a first look at the data and a discussion of the caveats of crowd-sourcing variation in a lesser used language. We discuss the extent of linguistic variation that can be expected in minority language communities, and the types of extra-linguistic variables that are important to monitor in situations of intense language contact.

References

- Bird, S., Hanke, F. R., Adams, O., & Lee, H. (2014). *Aikuma: A mobile app for collaborative language documentation*. In Proceedings of the 2014 Workshop on the Use of Computational Methods in the Study of Endangered Languages (pp. 1-5).
- Lamb, W. (2008). *Scottish Gaelic speech and writing: Register variation in an endangered language* (Vol. 16). Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.
- Leemann, A., Kolly, M. J., Purves, R., Britain, D., & Glaser, E. (2016). *Crowdsourcing language change with smartphone applications*. PloS one, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0143060>
- Meyerhoff, M., & Nagy, N. (Eds.). (2008). *Social Lives in Language Sociolinguistics and multilingual speech communities: Celebrating the work of Gillian Sankoff* (Vol. 24). John Benjamins Publishing.

Wrotte en wrame – Ferbale hendidadys yn it Frysk

It Frysk hat in opfallend soad pearformules fan it slach roppe en raze, fleane en drave, kleie en klieme, wrotte en wrame. Dêrby giet it om ferbiningen fan twa (min ofte mear) synonime tiidwurden, dy't tegearre ien spesifike betsjutting hawwe. Yn 'e lêzing sil earst in beskriuwing jûn wurde fan dy konstruksje. Dêrnei wurdt er ferlike mei twa oare typen fan ferbale hendiadys, te witten de ferbining fan twa gelikense tiidwurden en de ferbining fan in tiidwurd mei dummytiidwurd dwaan:

De boer wrot en wraamt de hiele dei.

De boer wrot en wrot de hiele dei.

De boer wrot en docht de hiele dei.

Hoewol't der, sa't sjen litten wurde sil, ferskillen binne tusken dy trije typen, ha se ien ding mien: Hja bewurkje in fersterking fan it earste tiidwurd en hawwe duratyf aspekt. Der sil in analyze fan 'e trije typen fan ferbale hendiadys útsteld wurde, dy't dat ferantwurdet.

De folchoarder fan de saneamde 'Te-konstruksjes': Is grien of read de kwestje?

Eisma en Popkema skriuwe yn harren *Tiidwurden* (2011) oer de konstruksje te + ynfinityf dat it plak "meastal of as regel efteroan komt. Der binne lykwols in stikmannich útsûnderingen." Dat 'plak efteroan' wurdt hjir fierder mei 'reade' folchoarder oantsjut, de omkearde folchoarder mei 'grien'. Yn de praktyk fan it lesjaan, mar ek yn de fakliteratuer, besteane der lykwols sa'n soad ûndúdlikheden dat it om mear as "in stikmannich útsûnderingen" giet; tiid om dêr wat mear klearrichheid yn te bringen en kom ta in dúdliker oanwizing foar dosinten.

In stekproef fan Frysktaligen yndield yn twa leeftydsgoepen fan foar en fan 65 jier ôf (n=90) is in list mei 18 pear sinnen yn in enkête foarlein om in miening te jaan oer hokker folchoarder neffens harren goed wie. Ek waard in tredde mooglikheid oanbean: Beide binne goed. De 18 duo-sinnen binne opsteld nei riedplachtsjen fan de boarnen op dit mêd: de wichtichste konklúzje wie dat de mjitte fan help- dan wol kearntiidwurdeftich karakter fan it helptiidwurd de folchoarder bewurke. Der waarden trije hypotezen opsteld:

1. As it helptiidwurd in dúdlik helptiidwurdeftich karakter hat (wêze, wolle, stean, gean), sil de folchoarder grien wêze.
2. As it helptiidwurd in minder dúdlik karakter hat (hâldingstiidwurden, komme, bliuwe), kin de folchoarder grien óf read wêze.
3. As it helptiidwurd in kearntiidwurdeftich karakter hat (witte, hoege, leare, skine, miene, besykje), sil de folchoarder read wêze.

By dy trije stellingen giet it om in syngroane ynfalshoeke. Tagelyk binne de útkomsten fan de enkête besjoen út in diagroan perspektyf wei. Op basis fan âldere skriuwtaal fan bygelyks Waling Dykstra, *De sulveren rinkelbel* is fêststeld hokker helptiidwurden in griene of reade folchoarder bewurken yn de 19^{de} iuw.

4. As twa folchoarders mooglik binne, sil de âldere generaasje earder as de jongere generaasjes foar de reade folchoarder kieze.

By it besprek fan de útkomsten wurdt in pleit holden foar in yndieling yn trije klassen fan helptiidwurden:

- 1 a. Echte helptiidwurden bewurkje in ferplichte griene folchoarder
b. Tiidwurden mei in keppeltiidwurdeftich karakter bewurkje ek in griene folchoarder.
- 2 Der is in tuskenklasse helptiidwurden sûnder ferplichte folchoarder
- 3 Helptiidwurden mei in kearntiidwurdeftich karakter bewurkje in ferplichte reade folchoarder

Oan 'e hân fan fariaasje yn de absintyfkonstruksje litte wy sjen hoe't in ferskowing fan help- nei haadwurdeftich karakter fan it tiidwurd de wurdfolchoarder frij twingend beynfloedet. Wy besjogge ek útsûnderingen op it patroan en besykje om dêr in patroan yn oan te wizen.

Robert Kleih (Univ. Flensburg)

Die nordfriesische Diaspora in den USA

Seit dem 19. Jahrhundert emigrierten viele Nordfriesen aus ihrer Heimat in die Neue Welt. Die Gründe waren vielfältig (Flucht vor den Preußen, Kriege und ihre Folgen, wirtschaftliche Not, Abenteuerlust, etc.), doch die Hoffnung war immer dieselbe: ein besseres Leben. Die letzte große Auswanderungswelle erfolgte in den Jahren 1949-1965 hauptsächlich von den Inseln Föhr und Amrum nach New York und Petaluma in Kalifornien. Rund 15-20% der Einwohner verließen in dieser Zeit ihre Heimatinseln und fanden in der neuen Heimat bereits existierende Netzwerke früherer nordfriesischer Auswanderer vor, über die sich die Nordfriesen organisierten. Durch intensiven Kontakt entstand eine feste Gruppenidentität, und im kollektiven Gedächtnis der Gruppe wurde die Heimat zum Sehnsuchtsmotiv, bis weit hinein in die zweite und dritte Generation der Auswanderer.

Doch unter welchen Bedingungen kann bei den nordfriesischen Emigranten von ‚Diaspora‘ die Rede sein? Ein wesentlicher Aspekt ist die lange zeitliche Trennung von der Heimat, denn erst die zeitliche Komponente macht eine Diaspora zur Diaspora (vgl. Cohen 2008). Zudem müssen weitere Aspekte gegeben sein: Verteilung der Gruppe an einen neuen / mehrere neue Orte, Orientierung an die alte Heimat und Abgrenzung zur neuen Gesellschaft etc. (vgl. Brubaker 2005).

In meinem Vortrag werden diese Überlegungen auf die Nordfriesen in den USA angewendet und gezeigt, wie sich die nordfriesische Diaspora bis heute entwickelt hat.

Literatur

Brubaker, R.W. (2005): 'The „diaspora“ diaspora'. In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (1): 1-19.

Cohen, R. (2008): *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. Second Edition. London: UCL Press.

Productivity drives spreading: The case of Frisian past participles

In this paper we study the rise of alternative forms of past participles next to the normative forms in Frisian. In Frisian, there are two alternative types of past participles (type I and II) which both have their origin in the South-western dialect region of Fryslân (Hof, 1933; Boelens & Van der Woude, 1955; Fryske Akademy Language Databases, 2009; Tiersma, 1999: 63-64). Only type I appears to be spreading productively across the whole language area (Goeman, Taeldeman & van Reenen, 1980; Van der Veen, 1980). This raises the question why the type I alternative is successful in spreading and the type II alternative is not. Our study shows that the Tolerance Principle (Yang, 2005; 2016) makes the correct predictions in this respect.

Type I involves a subclass of weak verbs, whereas type II involves a subclass of strong and irregular verbs. Frisian has two classes of regular verbs (class I with an infinitive ending in - ə, class II with an infinitive ending in -jə), and quite a range of strong and irregular verbs. Past participles of weak class I verbs are marked with the weak suffix -t or -d, as in (1) (norm). Alternatively, participles of this kind with a stem already ending in -t or -d are often extended with the suffix common for strong verbs: -ən (alternative):

1) Type I	norm	alternative
prate	praat-t > praat	prat-en
[pra:tə]	[pra:t]	[pra:t-ən]
talk.INF	talk.PTCP	talk-PTCP

Vice versa, monosyllabic past participles of strong verbs, which normally end in -(ə)n, sometimes get extended with the weak class I suffix -t or -d, as shown in (2):

2) Type II	norm	alternative
sjen	sjoen	sjoen-d
[ʃɛn]	[ʃu.ən]	[ʃu.ən-t]
see.INF	see.PTCP	see-PTCP

Although the natural existence of language contact between the South-west and the rest of the language area in theory enables both of these dialectal forms to spread outwards from this region, only those of type I actually did. We therefore evaluate the competition between these two morphological dialect variants and their ‘normal’ counterparts, and argue that the difference in spreading must be due to the *present-day productivity* of the underlying rules of both forms. After formulating these alternative rules, we studied their productivity by modelling the data along the lines of Yang’s Words over Rules approach (2002) and, more specifically, the Tolerance Principle (Yang, 2005; 2016).

The Tolerance Principle predicts the spread of the alternatives of type I, outwards from the South-western dialect region. Once South-western alternative forms are in one’s input, a productive rule can be derived. The Tolerance Principle thus models the two elements of the actual spreading scenario. First, the alternative forms of type I cannot arise independently - their spreading can only be the result of the encountering the South-western alternative forms. And, second, type II forms remain dialectal variants, because their underlying rule never reaches productive status. We

therefore conclude that rule-productivity as defined by Yang (2005; 2016) is the key factor in determining spreading patterns in situations of contact.

References

- Boelens, Krine & Gosse van der Woude. *De dialectatlas van Friesland. (Reeks Nederlandse Dialectatlassen)*, Vol 15. Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1955
- Fryske Akademy Language Databases. *Taalatabank Fryske Akademy*. 2009. Accessed 2014-2016, <http://www.fryskeakademy.nl/tdb/>
- Goeman, Ton (A. C. M.), Johan Taeldeman & Piet van Reenen. *MAND database*. 1980. Accessed 2014-2015, <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/mand/database/>
- Hof, Jan Jelles. *Friesche dialectgeographie*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1933
- Tiersma, Pieter Meijes. *Frisian reference grammar*. Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1999
- Veen, Klaas F. van der. "Praat my net fan praten!" In *Coulonnade; Twa-en-tweintich Friaasjes oanbean oan mr. dr. K. de Vries*, edited by Philippus H. Breuker, Keimpe Sikkema & Klaas F. van der Veen, 122-130. Leeuwarden: Fryske akademy, 1980
- Yang, Charles. "On productivity." *Linguistic variation yearbook* 5, no. 1 (2005): 265-302
- Yang, Charles. *The price of linguistic productivity: How children learn to break the rules of language*. MIT Press, 2016

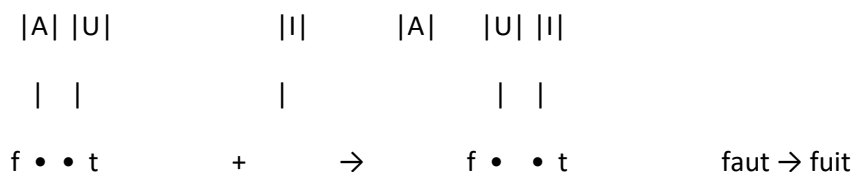
Frisian breaking from a Pomeranian perspective

Many West Germanic varieties form plurals of nouns, diminutives, denominal verbs, etc. under umlaut, i.e. it adds a floating I-feature to the root (apart from segmental material), indicated under (1ab). Frisian, on the other hand, realizes these types of derivations under breaking, (1d). In this talk, we present a model that generalizes over these two phenomena. The key to the generalization is Pomeranian, given under (1c), which shows A-expulsion under umlaut.

	foot-feet	hat(s)	book(s)	
a.	fu:s - fy:sə	hu:t - hy:tə	bu:x - by:çə	High German
b.	fo:t - fœ:tə	ho:d - hœ:(r)	bo:k - bœ:kə	Low Saxon
c.	faut - fuit	haud - huir	bauk - buikə	Pomeranian
d.	fuet - fwotŋ	hued - hwodŋ		Frisian

Both in High German and in Low Saxon, the plural is formed by adding a floating |I| element as a suffix to the stem (Wiese 1987, Hermans & Van Oostendorp 2008, Trommer 2010). In Low Saxon [o] transforms into [œ], in High German [u] transforms into [y]. Now, the first thing that strikes in the Pomeranian in (1c) is that no complex vowels are present. |A| and |U| in the singular *faut* are realized as distinct segments [faut], the broken form of the Low German /foot/. Similarly, in the plural *fuit*, |U| and |I| are also realized as distinct segments [fuit], the broken form of High German /füüs/. The broken forms show that elements in Pomeranian do not coalesce. Upon addition of the extra (floating) |I| of the plural ("umlaut"), it competes with the existing elements and the A-element of the root is not realized: it is "pushed out" upon right-to-left alignment of the melody over the available grid points. |A| remains "unparsed".

(Pomeranian)



We argue that Frisian breaking constitutes a similar expulsion effect, albeit that the expelled element gets onset realization (Booij 1096). The expelled element is not |A| but |U| in Frisian. The pushing element is not |I| (umlaut) but |@|, a schwa-like element, which is needed in Element Theory to provide the model with the mathematical structure of a bound (semi-)lattice.

Frisian verb clusters in a regional context: towards a North-Netherlandic Sprachbund?

The developments in Frisian verb clusters over the last decades has received a substantive amount of attention in linguistic studies: De Haan (1992, 1996), Ytsma (1995), Wolf (1996), Koeneman & Postma (2006), Versloot & Hoekstra (2016). In contrast with most studies, the current study examines clusters consisting of two verbs as well as clusters consisting of three verbs but also different types of clusters. The data were gathered by means of an acceptability judgment task and a verb cluster elicitation task. Combining our results with earlier research, it is possible to give a broad picture of the state of affairs in the Frisian verbal complex: indeed, change has continued.

By means of a comparison between my findings and the distribution of different verb orders in the Syntactic Atlas of Dutch Dialects (Barbiers et al. 2006), I will argue that the developments in Frisian are going into the direction of regional clustering patterns rather than Standard Dutch patterns. This fits in nicely with Heeringa & Hinskens' (2014) study of 86 Dutch and Belgian dialects: dialects in the Netherlands converge to Standard Dutch, but in general dialects have converged towards each other.

References

- Barbiers, S. et al. (2006). *Dynamische Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten (DynaSAND)*. Amsterdam: Meertens Instituut. URL: <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand/>.
- de Haan, Germen J. 1992. The verbal complex in Frisian. In *Us Wurk. Tydskrift foar Frisistyk* 41: 59–92.
- de Haan, Germen J. 1996. Recent changes in the verbal complex of Frisian. In *NOWELE Volume 28/29: A Frisian and Germanic Miscellany*. Nielsen & Petersen (eds), 171–184.
- Heeringa, W. & Hinskens, F. (2014). Convergence between dialect varieties and dialect groups in the Dutch language area. In *Aggregating dialectology, typology, and register analysis; linguistic variation in text and speech*. Szendrői & Wälchli (eds). Series: *Linguae et Litterae: Publications of the School of Language and Literature, Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies*. De Gruyter, Berlin and Boston, pp. 26-52 and 452-453.
- Hoekstra, E., & Versloot, A. (2016). Three-Verb Clusters in Interference Frisian: A Stochastic Model over Sequential Syntactic Input. In *Language and Speech*, 59(1), 43–58.
- Koeneman, O. & Postma, E. (2006). Veranderingen in Friese werkwoordclusters. In *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 11(2), pp. 124-145.
- Wolf, H. (1996). *Wat en Hoe yn it Ynterferinsjefrysk*. In *Syngroan en Diagroan Undersyk nei Feroarings yn de Fryske Tiidwurdlike Einrige*. MA thesis, University of Utrecht.
- Ytsma, J. (1995). *Frisian as First and Second Language. Sociolinguistic and Socio-psychological Aspects of the Acquisition of Frisian among Frisian and Dutch Primary School Children*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tilburg. Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy.

Hindrik Sijens (Fryske Akademy KNAW)

**'Droege kost? In drûch woarstje smakket better'.
Oer de stavering fan it /u/-lûd yn it Frysk**

Drûch, nûgje, rebûlje: it griist jin oan! Begjin 2015 hat de Fryske Akademy de *Foarkarswurldlist foar it Frysk* publisearre (<https://taalweb.frl/foarkarswurldlist>). In list mei sa'n 85.000 wurden stavere neffens de fêststelde regels, gearstald op fersyk fan de Provinsje Fryslân. By it opstellen fan de list die bliken dat der noch wat iepen eienen yn de staveringregeling foar it Frysk sieten en dêrtroch binne op advys fan de Fryske Akademy troch de Provinsje guon staveringregels in bytsje oanpast.

Ien fan de oanpassingen is de skriuwwize fan it /u/-lûd yn guon wurden. Foar sawol it koarte as it lange /u/-lûd besteane de tekens *û* (*dûm, hûs*) en *oe* (*broek, skroef*). Foar it delgeande twalûd /u.ə/ wurdt allinnich de digraaf *oe* (*boete, katoen*) brûkt. De oanpaste regels binne in ferienfâldiging fan de âlde ûntrochsichtige regels dy't dreech om te learen wiene en yn de praktyk noait konsekwint tapast binne.

Yn dizze lêzing wurdt sjoen nei de histoaryske eftergrûn fan de staveringregels fan it /u/-lûd, komme de âlde en nije regels foar de stavering fan dat lûd oan 'e oarder en komt de praktyske tapassing fan dy regels troch de tiid hinne op it aljemint. Miskien wat drûge kost, mar it sil bliken dwaan dat in drûch woarstje dochs better smakket.

Marjoleine Sloos¹, Andrea Ariza Garcia¹ and Jeroen van de Weijer²
(¹Fryske Akademy KNAW ²Shanghai International Studies University)

Syllabic nasals in West-Frisian

Many Germanic languages, Frisian included, have syllabic nasals, usually as a result of schwa deletion of underlying *-/ən/* or *-/nə/* endings of a word. Syllabic consonants in general are an object of phonological investigation, since they diverge strikingly from regular syllable structure, e.g. CV syllables. We investigate whether these nasals have some acoustic correlates that confirm their status as syllabic. Taking West-Frisian as a case study, we investigate the voicing, duration, pitch, and intensity of the final nasal after schwa deletion. It turns out that intensity of the syllabic nasal is a good measure for syllabicity and that syllabicity of the nasal depends on the manner of articulation of the postvocalic consonant of the preceding syllable. For instance, after obstruents, the nasal is syllabic, as in *sieden* (si)σ(dŋ)σ ‘to cook’ but after a sonorant it is usually incorporated in the preceding syllable like in *muorren* (mwo)σ(rŋ)σ ‘walls’.

We provide evidence for the following observations. After an obstruent, a small intensity peak marks the nasal. But if the preceding syllable ends in a sonorant, that syllable *with* the nasal form one peak, gradually decreasing to zero. For articulatory reasons, the realisation of *-/ən/* after voiceless plosives is extremely variable. Further, the nasal is subject to progressive and sometimes regressive assimilation. Plosives that precede the nasal are unreleased. Finally, coda clusters before a syllabic nasal have a strong tendency to be simplified. We discuss the phonological implementations of these findings.

A Historical Analysis of the Diminutive Suffix in Frisian

The Frisian diminutive suffix has three allomorphs: *-tsje*, *-ke* and *-je*, with a phonologically defined distribution. All diminutive forms in Frisian are neuters, with the exception of a few animate nouns (*omke* 'oncle', *muoike* 'aunt', *pake* 'grandpa'). The Old Frisian suffix was transparent and diminutives had the same gender as the base noun, as found in a few lexicalised relics, such as *maaits* (*de*) 'maggot' < OFris. **matheke*. Mid Frisian (15th c.) saw a palatalisation of *-k-* after *-d*, *-t*, *-n*, *-l*, *-r* en *-V*, also affecting the diminutive suffix.

The shift from a transparent to a neuter-enforcing suffix must have taken place at that time, leading to a lexicalisation of some old common-gender nouns. There is a different phonetic make-up of the fossilized suffix, written <ts> against <tj> for the palatalised form of the productive diminutive suffix. One possible interpretation of the scarce material from the period ca. 1540-1640 sees a continuation of the alternation of palatalised and non-palatalised suffix forms in these contexts, which was by the end of the 17th century resolved in *-tje* in most of them, while *-ke* became dominant (again) after *-r* and *-V*. The phonological cut-off point for this choice could vary, given the somewhat different situations found in the western Ameland dialect and some archaic North Hollandic dialects, which represent forms of Dutch on a Frisian substratum.

All these systems, including the one in Town Frisian which is identical to the one in Frisian, represent in this interpretation a continuation of the Old Frisian suffix *-ke* with a local phonological development and not - contrary to my earlier interpretation - a borrowing from North Holland, albeit with a structural reform of the suffix from transparent to neuter-enforcing which spread to Frisian from Dutch and Low German.

The Hylpen (and former Molkwar) and Skiermonnikoog suffixes *-(t)jen/-pjen* could represent a radical generalisation of the Frisian palatalised 15th c. allomorph, but both some formal features (the allomorph *-pjen* and the ending *-n*) as well as the towns and islands strong involvement in sea-trade and whale hunting that came with strong cultural and personal ties with Holland make a substantial role of language contact a more likely scenario.