

Dei fan de Fryske Taalkunde XIII

Programma

Fryske Akademy
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Freed 25 oktober 2024

Programma Dei fan de Fryske Taalkunde 2024

Seal Tiid	Sânwâlden	Erfgoedkeamer
10:00- 10:30	The 7 redactions of the Seventeen Statutes <i>Eric Hoekstra & Arjen Versloot</i> ehoekstra@fryske-akademy.nl	
10:30- 11:00	Ein neuer Blick auf das altfriesische Psalmenfragment aus Gent <i>Christoph Hössel</i> hoessel@uni-trier.de	
11:00-11:30 KOFJE		
11:30- 12:00	Het taallandschap in Saterland en het gebruik van het Sater-Fries in de lokale overheid <i>Jeroen Zandberg</i> jgzandberg@gmail.com	Layers of relationship between attested redactions <i>Arjen Versloot & Eric Hoekstra</i> a.p.versloot@uva.nl
12:00- 12:30	Geletterdheid en ynfinityf-útgingen yn it Frysk en it Nederlânsk <i>Remco Knooihuizen, Evelyn Bosma & Hans Wilke</i> r.m.knooihuizen@rug.nl	Contextual Role of <i>Nu</i> in Old Frisian <i>Kousuke Kaita</i> kkoumail1036@gmail.com
12:30-13:30 LUNCH		
13:30- 14:00	The articulation of <üuw> in Wiedingharde North Frisian <i>Lena Terhart & Thede Thießen</i> thedethiessen@gmail.com	Futurity and modality in Old Frisian <i>Skelta Riucht</i> <i>Elzbieta Adamczyk & Arjen Versloot</i> eadamczyk@uni-wuppertal.de
14:00- 14:30	Jorwert breaking in the Competitive Tier Model <i>Gertjan Postma</i> g.j.postma@hum.leidenuniv.nl	De histoaryske ûntjouwing fan de treddepersoansoansprekfoarm yn it Frysk <i>Gerbrich de Jong</i> gerbrichdejong@gmail.com



14:30-15:00 KOFJE

15:00-
15:30

Right Node Raising in Frisian

Astrid van Alem & Fenna Bergsma

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Ancient Language, Ancestral

Freedom: Metalinguistic

Representations of Frisian in the 1681

Re-edition of Gysbert Japix's *Friesche*

Rymlerye

André Looijenga

alooijenga@fryske-akademy.nl

15:30-
16:00

**A perceptual-dialectological study
of accent variation in Frisian**

Anne-France Pinget, Martijn Kingma,

Cesko Voeten, Nika Stefan &

Hans Van de Velde

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16:00 NEISIT



The 7 redactions of the Seventeen Statutes

Eric Hoekstra (Fryske Akademy)

Arjen Versloot (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Fryske Akademy)

The Seventeen Statutes is a declaration of Frisian independence and a law text at the same time. The text is commonly considered to be one of the oldest Old Frisian texts from the 10th or 11th century, at least in its conceptualisation. The attested copies are all of later date. It exists in seven redactions. Comparison of the redactions provides insight into various multidisciplinary questions about this text, which are briefly discussed.

1. What is the nature of each redaction? Did it copy faithfully? Did it update the language. Did it include material from more than one predecessor? Did it provide a 'modern' paraphrase of its material? Our comparison makes it clear that R is much more of a modern (i.e. 13th century) paraphrase than U,H,E. In the same vein, J,F are composite products, having both archaic material and later additions.

2. Can changes in syntactic constructions be ordered chronologically? If so, what does it tell us about OF syntax? Are there special or remarkable constructions in OF? How is OF positioned as compared to the syntax of OE and OS? Did the redactors update their language, and to what extent? What are syntactic archaisms?

Our talk is intended as a preview of a book we are working on. This book provides a full-scale comparison of the text of the seventeen statutes, comparing each clause of the Unia redaction word by word to its equivalent in the other redactions, paying attention to syntax, lexicon, morphology and textual structure.



Ein neuer Blick auf das altfriesische Psalmenfragment aus Gent

Dr. Christoph Hössel (Uni Trier)

Im Jahr 2015 ist von Erika Langbroek ein neu entdecktes altfriesisches Fragment aus einem Privatbesitz in Gent veröffentlicht worden (Signatur Gent Ms 3): Es handelt sich bei diesem um den Rest einer altfriesischen Interlinearversion der Psalmen aus der Zeit um 1100. Erhalten sind vier kleine Pergamentstreifen, die zusammen eine Zeile auf der Vorderseite (aus Ps 7,3) und eine auf der Rückseite (aus Ps 7,10) ergeben, sowie acht altfriesische Wörter, die den lateinischen Text interlinear unterhalb der Zeile glossieren. Neben der Edition und der Beschreibung des Fragments liefert Langbroek (2015: 140 f.) auch eine grammatische Bestimmung der altfriesischen Wörter. In einem Aufsatz von 2016 untersucht Arjen Versloot die Sprache des Fragments, wobei er Langbroeks Deutung verwirft und eine neue Analyse vorschlägt. Er kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass es sich bei den altfriesischen Wörtern um eine Grundformglossierung handeln müsse. In dem Vortrag will ich mich dem Problem dieser möglicherweise speziellen Glossierungsart des Fragments zuwenden und eine alternative Deutung vorschlagen.

References

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- Versloot, Arjen (2016): Zur Interpretation der neuentdeckten altfriesischen Psalmglossen. In: ABäG 76, S. 371-378.

Het taallandschap in Saterland en het gebruik van het Sater-Fries in de lokale overheid

Jeroen Zandberg

Deze presentatie geeft de resultaten van een onderzoek uit 2024 naar de aanwezigheid van Sater-Fries in het publieke domein en het gebruik ervan in de lokale overheid van Saterland (Seelterlound), Duitsland. Het taallandschap van Saterland werd bestudeerd door de aanwezigheid en relatieve frequentie van Fries op openbare borden en objecten te documenteren. De taalsituatie binnen het openbaar bestuur van de gemeente Saterland werd bestudeerd door middel van een enquête en een interview. De resultaten geven inzicht in het gebruik van Sater-Fries als communicatietaal en cultureel erfgoed in Saterland.

This presentation provides the results of a 2024 study into the presence of Sater-Frisian in the public domain and its use in the local government of Saterland (Seelterlound), Germany. The linguistic landscape of Saterland was studied by documenting the presence and relative frequency of Frisian on public signs and boards. The linguistic situation within the public administration of the municipality of Saterland was studied through a survey and an interview. The results give an insight into the use of Sater-Frisian as a language of communication and cultural heritage in Saterland.

Layers of relationship between attested redactions

Arjen Versloot (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Fryske Akademy)
Eric Hoekstra (Fryske Akademy)

Many of the differences between the attested redactions concern differences in spelling – often reflecting phonological differences. They broadly reflect time and region (dialect) of the attested version, but seem less relevant for our understanding of the text transmission. Higher stability can be detected in word order, stylistic and morpho-syntactic collocations or individual word choices, carrying the ‘genetic code’ of text inheritance over longer periods of time.

Based on a catalogue of variants across the seven (nine) redactions, differentiated for the various linguistic domains, the type and nearness of relationships between the redactions can be established. It will be shown that the type of textual relations between in particular western redactions U and D on the one hand and the eastern redactions E and H are of different nature. The fragmental evidence from other, lost manuscripts (Siccama, Ommelanden) throws additional light on the type and extent of variation that existed among the attested and lost(!) manuscripts.

Geletterdheid en ynfinityfútgongen yn it Frysk en it Nederlânsk

Remco Knooihuizen (Ryksuniversiteit Grins)

Evelyn Bosma (Universiteit Leiden)

Hans Wilke (Ryksuniversiteit Grins)

It Frysk hat allomorfy yn de ynfinityfútgongen /ə/ en /ən/. Koart sein fine we /ə/ yn de measte konteksten dêr't in keale ynfinityf stiet, en /ən/ yn bepaalde konstruksjes, wêrûnder nei de ynfinityfmarkearder *te*:

(1) *ik wol fisk **ite***

(2) *ik haw gjin fisk om **te iten***

Sa't we sjogge, wurdt dit ferskil ek oantsjut yn de stavering.

Yn it Nederlânsk hawwe we ek allomorfy tusken /ə/ en /ən/, mar sûnder talige kondisjonearring. It ferskil wurdt ek net oanjûn yn de stavering. De folgjende sintsjes kinne dus mei sawol /ə/ as /ən/ útsprutsen wurde:

(3) *ik wil vis **eten***

(4) *ik heb geen vis om te **eten***

We hawwe hjir dus te krijen mei in ferskil tusken de twa taalsystemen, mar ek tusken de twa staveringssystemen.

Yn dizze presintaasje sille we de resultaten sjen litte fan in produksjeûndersyk yn it kader fan in grutter ûndersyk nei taalfariaasje en geletterdheid yn it Frysk (bgl. Knooihuizen e.o. 2023). De resultaten litte sjen dat de allomorfy stabyl is; it wie by Ger de Haan (1997) ek net oanmerkt as in kenmerk fan it Ynterferinsje-Frysk. We sjogge dus gjin transfer fan it Nederlânsk nei it Frysk, en ek net fan it Frysk nei it Nederlânsk. Wol sjogge we dat der in effekt is fan geletterdheid yn it Frysk op de produksje fan dizze útgongen: dielnimmers dy't mear geletterd binne, produsearje mear /ən/ wêr't de stavering *-en* is, yn it Frysk én yn it Nederlânsk. Ús hypoteze is dan ek dat Frysk-geletterden in sterker ferbân hawwe tusken de stavering *-en* en de útspraak /ən/. Net-geletterden, dy't dus allinnich Nederlânsk skriuwe en lêze (kinne), fine it wol bêst dat de stavering *-en* sawol /ə/ as /ən/ represintearret.

Dit wolle we fierder ûndersykje oan 'e hân fan in *self-paced reading*-eksperimint. Dielnimmers lêze sinnen yn it Frysk mei of de korrekte of de ynkorrekte útgong *-e* of *-en*. Dêrneffens folle se in fragelist yn om har selsrapportearre geletterdheid yn it Frysk te bepalen, en bepale wy har geletterdheid op basis fan de lêstiid fan de filler-items yn it eksperimint. Wy ferwachtsje dat geletterde dielnimmers stroffelje sille oer de ynkorrekte útgongen en dêr dus in stadigere lêstiid sjen litte sille.

Dit ûndersyk is geande en wy sille op de Taalkundedei rapportearje oer de fuortgong, mei mooglik sels wat earste resultaten!



Contextual Role of Nu in Old Frisian

Kousuke Kaita (Meiji University, Japan)

Adverbs occupy relatively free positions within sentences in Germanic languages and may appear at the beginning of the sentence or at an internal position. As discussed by several studies, the adverb *nu* 'now' marks a new topic when it takes a sentence-initial position. However, its use in sentence-initial positions appears to have received less attention in Germanic historical linguistics. Van Kemenade & Links (2020: 5) studied the three Old English adverbs *þa* 'then', *þonne* 'then', and *nu* 'now' and found *þa* and *þonne* in resumptive use, that is, embedded first in a subordinate clause and reappearing to introduce the following main clause. This paper discusses the role of the adverb *nu* in Old Frisian texts. With reference to examples collected from *Corpus Oudfries* (compiled and annotated by Rita van de Poel), this paper presents the following points. A sentence-initial *nu* can indicate topic change as well as topic flow within a text. *Nu* also works with a conjunction *nu* to perform a resumptive function to rearrange the propositional sequence. Thus, *nu*, which is extensively reiterated within a context with several usages, reminds readers of the flow of a contextual process in a given text. Thus, it is used as a stylistic marker rather than as a pure lexeme that retains the meaning of time.

References

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The articulation of <üuw> in Wiedingharde North Frisian

Lena Terhart & Thede Thießen

In the years 2022 and 2023 a project by the Nordfriisk Intituut (Bredstedt, Germany) investigated the dialect of Wiedingharde North Frisian. For the transcription of the interviews, we used the orthography of the dictionary „Freesk Uurdebuk“ (Petersen et al. 1994). Soon we discovered that the people did not articulate the grapheme <üuw>/<iuw> in words like *blüuwe* 'to stay' or *kniuwe* 'knives' as we expected with a diphthong. Instead they often used an /o/-monophthong. They did not articulate a [v] either, which is unexpected from a German orthographic perspective. It turned out that the articulation with /o/ is most common for many of the words in question nowadays, although this is not reflected by the orthography.

In this talk, we show a hypothesis for the development from the Old (North) Frisian monophthong /i/ to the diphthong /iu/ and further to the monophthong /o/, which in parts resembles the development described as Jorwert-Breaking by Dyk (2008). The analysis of older sources partly proves our hypothesis and shows that the development into an /o/-monophthong had already started in the late 19th century.

References

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Futurity and modality in Old Frisian *Skelta Riucht*

Elzbieta Adamczyk (Bergische Universität Wuppertal)

Arjen Versloot (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Fryske Akademy)

Futurity and modality are two domains of grammar that closely interact and are often difficult to separate. In fact, *future* has often been viewed as part of the modal domain - typically agent-oriented or epistemic - with temporal implications (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 280). Their interaction is clearly evident when analysing the diachronic development of future tense markers, where typically a general, cross-linguistic grammaticalization path involves a shift from lexical to modal meanings and eventually to tense expressions (e.g. Bybee *et al.* 1994).

This paper investigates the grammatical means employed to encode future time reference in Old West Frisian, concentrating specifically on two grammatical markers, *skela*, originally expressing necessity/obligation, and *willa*, expressing volition/desire. These two modal verbs are particularly relevant from a cross-linguistic perspective, since their paths of grammaticalization have been well explored, especially for English. The use of periphrastic constructions to encode (pure) future temporal reference, although attested, was not common in Old Frisian, and their frequency tended to increase only in later texts (Bremmer 2009: 103). Moreover, in cases where a periphrastic construction appears, the reading often remains ambiguous between the modal and temporal meanings, as in the following sentence:

(1) *Thi grewa ther an Freslande wessa **scel**, hi scel wessa fulre berde bern [...]*
'The count who will/is to be in Friesland, must be of legitimate birth' (U-SkRa VI)

The analysis of the Old West Frisian material is conducted on the archaic text of *Older Skelta Riucht* (13th century), as attested in Codex Unia, based on the diplomatic edition of Sytsema (2012). The objective of this investigation is to characterise the category of the future in Old West Frisian along the dimensions of temporality and modality, as evidenced in the use of *skela* and *willa* in the selected material. The study examines the semantics, the functional scope, as well as a range of linguistic factors conditioning their distribution (such as subject type, animacy, clause type and sentence type, the presence of the adverbial or adverbial clause). The analysis reveals that both verbs predominantly convey their original modal meanings of obligation and volition, respectively, but that both incidentally explicitly refer to future events in context in which also simple present tense forms (*futurate presents*) can appear.

References

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Jorwert breaking in the Competitive Tier Model

Gertjan Postma (Leiden University)

Jorwert breaking (JB) is a diachronic change in Frisian from 1350-1500 where stem vowel /ew/ (and its variants) changes into /jow/ (and its variants). It has been described in Meijering (1980), and extended to the various variants /i(:)/ + /w/ → /ju.w/ and /ε(:)/ + /w/ → /jɔ.w/ in Dyk (2008):

(1)	i.w > ju.w	<i>bliwe</i> > <i>bljuwe</i>	'to stay'
	e.w > jo.w	<i>sle.w</i> > <i>sljo.w</i>	'lethargic'
□	ε.w > jɔ.w	<i>hevere</i> > <i>hjouwer</i>	'oat'

The ingredients given in Dyk's account are: 1. vocalization of /w/, 2. four vowel heights. 3. parallelism to back mutation. In this talk we reformulate these ingredients in the Competitive Tier Model of Postma (2019). This model has been developed to capture Pomeranian umlaut, such as *faut* - *fuIt* 'foot.sg/pl', *haud-huir* 'hat.sg/pl, where an |A| element is expelled upon adding an umlaut-element |I| and realignment from right-to-left. The expelled |A| is left unparsed in Pomeranian, represented by the derivation in (2).

(2)	(Pomeranian)	<i>faut</i>	UMLAUT										
		<i>fuIt</i>	competitive tier	A	U	I		A	U				
		I											
		f	•	•	t	+	⇒	→	f	•	•	t	faut → fuIt

It will be shown that JB comes about as an expulsion of |I| which, however, gets onset realization in Frisian (Booij 1989).

References

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De histoaryske ûntjouwing fan de treddepersoansoansprekfoarm yn it Frysk

Gerbrich de Jong MA (NHL Stenden Hogeschool / Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)

Yn de measte West-Germaanske talen kinne sprekkers kieze út twa oansprekfoarmen, in ynformelen (Frysk: do) en in formelen (Frysk: jo). It Frysk hat dêrneist in tredde opsje: it oansprekken yn de tredde persoan. Foar in soad Friezen is dat de iennige passende oansprekfoarm foar âldere famyljeleden (bgl. heit, mem, pake en beppe), mar guon brûke it ek foar bygelyks dosinten of âldere kollega's. It frekwinte gebrûk fan de treddepersoansoansprekfoarm yn it Frysk is opfallend, want yn it nau besibbe Nederlânsk is it hielendal net gewoan om dy te brûken. Yn it ramt fan myn promoasje-ûndersyk nei Fryske oansprekfoarmen ha ik ûndersocht hoe't it komt dat de treddepersoansoansprekfoarm yn it Frysk sa sterk stiet, wylst dy yn it Nederlânsk net mear brûkt wurdt. Dat ha ik dien troch yn toanielteksten út trije tiidrakken (Midfrysk, njoggentjinde iuw en tweintichste iuw) yn kaart te bringen hoe't de oansprekfoarmen brûkt waarden. De resultaten litte sjen dat de treddepersoansoansprekfoarm begûn as in stilistyske fariaasje op 'do' of 'jo', en úteinlik útgroeide ta de op himsels steande oansprekfoarm dy't er no is. Boppedat litte de resultaten ferskate ferskowingen sjen yn de domeinen en konteksten dêr't de treddepersoansoansprekfoarm brûkt waard.

Right Node Raising in Frisian

Astrid van Alem (Utrecht University)

Fenna Bergsma (Fryske Akademy)

In a sentence with Right Node Raising (RNR), linguistic material on the right edge of the sentence is interpreted twice. For instance, in (1), *in boek* 'a book' is interpreted as the object of Silke's reading, as well as Jurre's writing.

(1) Silke lêst, en Jurre skriuwt, in boek.
Silke reads and Jurre writes a book
'Silke reads, and Jurre writes, a book.'

While it is known that in English, sentences with RNR have several special properties that provide insight into the underlying syntax of those sentences (see Barros & Vicente 2011, and Belk, Neeleman & Philip 2023), very little is known about RNR in Frisian. In this talk, we aim to fill this gap, by presenting the first results of our investigation into the properties of RNR in Frisian. We will show that, like in English, Frisian sentences with RNR allow for both cumulative agreement and last conjunct agreement, vehicle change, sloppy identity readings of pronouns, and internal readings of relational adjectives. In contrast to English, in Frisian sentences with RNR, we do not find tense/aspect mismatches. However, the absence of this property can be attributed to a more general property of Frisian grammar. We conclude that the underlying syntax of RNR in Frisian is the same as in English, and that the differences can be understood as resulting from general differences between the two languages.

References

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Ancient Language, Ancestral Freedom: Metalinguistic Representations of Frisian in the 1681 Re-edition of Gysbert Japix's *Friesche Rymlerye*

André Looijenga (Fryske Akademy, Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Gysbert Japix's (1603-1666) *Friesche Rymlerye* from 1668 was the first book printed in Frisian. In 1681, Simon Abbes Gabbema (1628-1688), state historiographer of the Province of Friesland, published an enlarged second edition of this book, adding not only hitherto unpublished Frisian texts by Gysbert Japix, but also new introductory paratexts in Dutch and two anonymous grammatical treatises in Latin.

How did Gabbema show the relevance of this collection of poetry and prose in a non-dominant regional language like Frisian, to an Early Modern audience in the Dutch Republic?

In my paper I will examine the ways in which Gabbema, with his friends Isaac de Schepper and Adriaan Tymens, represented the Frisian language and the poet Gysbert Japix in the additions to the 1681 edition. Their metalinguistic remarks offer insights in the place of Frisian in its Early Modern multilingual context. They present Frisian as an ancient language, 'gray' and 'noble-old', that has been unduly neglected and even lost its freedom under the 'slavery of foreign languages'. Gabbema shows the dignity of Frisian by giving an overview of the emergent Early Modern philology of Old Germanic languages. Furthermore, the defense of this low prestige language is connected to contemporary ideas on linguistic purism and with the defense of Dutch independence.

This paper is part of my PhD research on the cultural, linguistic and social contexts of Early Modern Frisian literary texts.

A perceptual-dialectological study of accent variation in Frisian

Anne-France Pinget^{1,2}, Martijn Kingma^{1,3}, Cesko Voeten^{3,1}, Nika Stefan¹, Hans Van de Velde^{1,2}

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There is a moderate body of work on Frisian dialectology (e.g., Boelens & Van der Woude, 1955; Hilton et al., 2020; Hof, 1933; Van der Veen, 2001), but little is known about how Frisians perceive and recognize regional variation. This study investigates the recognition of Frisian varieties using the *map-based accent-recognition task* (Pinget & Voeten, 2023) and examines (1) how accurately Frisian listeners can recognize speakers' regional origin, (2) which Frisian accents listeners distinguish and (3) whether perceptual isoglosses delineate different accents.

We used 40 speech fragments from 20 locations in Fryslân, representing the three main dialect areas (Clay, Wood, Southwest), and recruited 1,610 native Frisian participants. Listeners pinpointed speaker origins via a Google-Maps interface.

The general results show that listeners were highly accurate in recognising speaker origins, and cluster analyses reveal the perceptual regions and boundaries. The findings reflect known dialect divisions, but suggest a revised north/south boundary for Southwest-Corner Frisian and provide evidence for Northern Corner Frisian as a distinct variety (Duijff, 2008). We discuss implications for future perceptual dialectology research.

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