

Karrharde Frisian grammar sketch

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1 Introduction

This paper contains a sketch of Karrharde Frisian morphology and syntax as represented in the writings of Moritz Momme Nissen (1822–1902). Karrharde Frisian is a dialect of North Frisian [ISO 639-3: frf], an endangered minority language spoken in the district of Nordfriesland in northern Germany. Karrharde Frisian was historically spoken in the southern half of the former county of Karrharde, today a part of the larger county of Südtondern. Along with several other North Frisian dialects (see Winter 2022), it is considered to be moribund, as it is not known to have any young speakers. Most inhabitants in the traditional Karrharde Frisian area today speak Low and/or High German.

Karrharde Frisian (henceforth: KFr) is among the least investigated North Frisian dialects. We are aware of only two linguistic studies dedicated to KFr specifically, namely Jabben (1931) on historical phonology and Hoekstra (2016) on the syntax of “finite verb doubling” with the auxiliary *wer* (see Section 2.7). Other works where KFr is treated – alongside other dialects – include the historical phonology and morphology by Siebs (1901), Hoekstra (2017) on plural mass nouns (see Section 3.2), and Winter (2023) on directional expressions in North Frisian (see Section 7). The dialect is also only poorly documented. There is almost no written record apart from the writings of Nissen, and sound recordings made by the North Frisian dictionary project (Kiel University) in the period 1954–70 have never been published (<https://christophwinter.com/projekte/>). Further documentation of the dialect from the last remaining speakers is currently ongoing.

This grammatical sketch is based on the main corpus of KFr texts, namely the writings of the school teacher and language activist Moritz Momme Nissen (1822–1902). Nissen was a native speaker of KFr and devoted a considerable amount of time to the production of texts in the dialect and the compilation of a North Frisian dictionary (on which see Riecken 1994). Although this corpus poses a number of linguistic challenges (on which see below), it represents a most valuable source on KFr, and all recent treatments of KFr grammatical phenomena (Hoekstra 2016; 2017; Winter 2023) make extensive use of it.

A few of Nissen’s texts were published in his own lifetime, but most of them only survive in manuscript form. Both the published texts and the manuscripts have recently been digitalized at the Department of Frisian Studies, Kiel University, where most of them are available in the Thesaurus of North Frisian (*Thesaurus des Nordfriesischen*). Nissen’s writings consist of poetry, plays, prose of a more essayistic nature, and a large collection of proverbs and sayings. In addition, much of the explanatory text in his unpublished North Frisian dictionary is written in KFr, and the dictionary contains a very large number of KFr example sentences. Although Nissen’s grammatical analyses are often dubious, the dictionary is thus valuable as a textual source.

Examples in this paper are cited from the digital versions transcribed for the Thesaurus of North Frisian. We refer to the textual sources with the abbreviations in Table 1, which also gives some basic information

on each text. ‘Publication’ refers to the source where the text was published or, if known, the year in which Nissen finished the draft of the text. The word count is only a very rough estimate of the number of KFr words contained in the source. In the textual references, the abbreviation is followed by the proverb number in the case of Findling (e.g. “Findling 520” for proverb no. 520 in the book), verse number in the case of Likkniss, and page number for the other references except Makker (where no page numbers are given in the source).

Table 1: The Nissen corpus

Abbr.	Title	Publication	Genre	Words
Sjemstin	<i>De fréske Sjemstin</i>	Nissen 1868	Poetry (prose)	21,000
Likkniss	<i>Dat likkniss fon de widdluftige sen</i> (The Prodigal Son)	Winkler 1874 [1871]	Prose	500
Findling	<i>De fréske Findling</i>	Nissen 1873–83	Proverbs	12,000
Makker	<i>De Makker tu de fréske Sjemstien</i>	unpub. [1889]	Poetry (prose)	32,000
Makker II	<i>De Makker sin lēther Bouk tu de fréske Sjemstien</i>	unpub. [1892]	Poetry (prose)	50,000
Wb.	<i>Nordfrisches Wörterbuch</i>	unpub. [1889]	Dictionary	250,000
Lidere I	<i>21 fréske Lidere</i> (vol. 1)	unpub. [?]	Poetry (prose)	4,900
Lidere II	<i>22 fréske Lidere</i> (vol. 2)	unpub. [?]	Poetry	4,000
Lidere III	<i>27 fréske Lidere</i> (vol. 3)	unpub. [?]	Poetry	5,200
Hengist	<i>Hengist</i>	unpub. [?]	Epic poetry	17,000

Nissen’s work presents a number of challenges which need to be discussed briefly. First, while his comprehensive North Frisian dictionary is an impressive achievement, his attempts at linguistic analysis should only be approached with great care. Nissen considered Frisian to be an especially rich and ancient language, the ancestor of all other Germanic languages (see Riecken 1994: 49–51), and his etymological speculations reflect this conviction. At the same time, grammatical distinctions are taken over from German for which there is no basis in North Frisian. A telling example is the distinction between an accusative and a dative case which Nissen makes throughout the dictionary, while also admitting that “the two cases are identical in the Frisian language, so that the case only appears through the High German translation” (Wb. 199; our translation).

Another issue is Nissen’s unstable orthography, which changes throughout his writings and which does not consistently reflect the phonological distinctions made in KFr. One problem is that Nissen attempted to create an orthography which could represent different North Frisian dialects at the same time. In the introduction to Sjemstin, for instance, Nissen explains that a sound which is like “the Scandinavian *â*” is written <a> without a diacritic “because the other dialects have an *a* sound or a vowel mutation deriving from it” (Sjemstin xx). A related problem is that Nissen appears to have considered diacritics to be an optional assistance for the reader rather than an integrated part of the orthography. Consequently, the use of diacritics is highly inconsistent: sometimes length marks are used to indicate long vowels, e.g. <â> or <â>, sometimes the same vowel is written without a diacritic; sometimes an apostrophe is used to indicate the palatalized consonant phonemes /dʲ tʲ nʲ lʲ/, at other times no distinction is made between palatalized and non-palatalized consonants. Hence, there are many examples of the same morpheme being spelt in different ways throughout Nissen’s work. At least four different spellings are found for the word ‘stone, rock’, for which we assume the pronunciation /sti:nʲ/, namely <stîn> stin’ stîn stin> (and in the compound *Sjemstien* ‘mirror’, a spelling with <ie> is also found; cf. the full title of Makker in Table 1). These orthographic inconsistencies pose a problem even if phonology is not the main subject under investigation, as it is not always clear if two orthographically identical forms represent the same or different morphemes.

As a final issue, it should be remembered that the language found in Nissen’s writings only represents the KFr dialect as used by one speaker in the late 19th century. This is not necessarily representative of other KFr speakers, and Nissen’s language certainly differs from the KFr spoken today, which has experienced heavy influence from Low and High German.

The KFr examples in the following are written as in the source, except that we have added symbols indicating morpheme boundaries (e.g. ‘-’ for affixes and ‘=’ for clitics). We follow the Leipzig glossing conventions (Comrie et al. 2015), with the addition of the boundary symbol ‘+’ in compounds. On present-tense finite verbs we usually omit tense from the gloss (e.g. *hest* is glossed ‘have.2SG’ rather than ‘have.PRS.2SG’). In pronouns and nouns with a case distinction we treat the nominative as the unmarked form; hence, nominative *wat* is glossed 1DU, whereas oblique *unk* is glossed 1DU.OBL. The third person singular anaphoric pronouns *hi*, *hji*, and *et* are glossed ‘3M’, ‘3F’, and ‘3N’, respectively. Other abbreviations are listed at the end of the grammar sketch.

The grammar sketch was written as part of a linguistic research seminar at Kiel University in the winter semester 2024/25. We have attempted to cover the most fundamental aspects of the parts of speech, inflectional morphology, and clausal syntax of KFr. Roughly, the first author (SG) wrote the first drafts of Sections 2 and 5–8, while the second author (NS) wrote the first drafts of Sections 3–4. We read and commented on each other’s work throughout the writing process. All of the topics covered could of course have been treated in more depth, and there are several aspects of the dialect which we have not discussed at all, such as phonology, constituent order, and information structure. These remain topics for future investigation. We hope that this grammar sketch will be useful as a starting point for further studies, whether these concern the works of Moritz Momme Nissen, the structure of KFr, or its place within the North Frisian dialect landscape.

2 Verbs

The finite verb has the inflectional categories tense (present vs. past), mood (indicative vs. imperative), number (singular vs. non-singular), and – in the indicative singular – person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd). Non-finite verb forms are infinitive (Nissen’s ‘infinitivus constructus’), gerund (‘infinitivus absolutus’), and participle. Among other things, these are used in various periphrastic tense, modality, and valency-changing constructions. A list of irregular verbs is found in the Appendix.

Table 2: Person/number suffixes in the present tense

		Weak verb	Strong verb	Mixed verb
1SG	-Ø	<i>slipp</i> -Ø ‘sharpen’	<i>binn</i> -Ø ‘bind’	<i>sin</i> ’-Ø ‘send’
2SG	-(e) <i>st</i>	<i>slipp</i> - <i>st</i>	<i>bann</i> - <i>st</i>	<i>sān</i> - <i>st</i>
3SG	-(e) <i>t</i>	<i>slipp</i> - <i>t</i>	<i>bann</i> - <i>t</i>	<i>sān</i> - <i>t</i>
NSG	- <i>e</i>	<i>slipp</i> - <i>e</i>	<i>binn</i> - <i>e</i>	<i>sin</i> ’- <i>e</i>

2.1 Inflection of finite verbs

The present tense is formed by adding one of the suffixes in Table 2 to the verb stem. The non-singular (NSG) form is used in all dual and plural contexts. Person is only distinguished in the singular. In weak verbs, the stem is unchanged in all forms; in many verbs belonging to the strong and mixed classes, mutation of the stem vowel occurs in the 2SG and 3SG forms, as in the verbs *binne* ‘bind’ and *sin’e* ‘send’ in Table 2.

Table 3: Person/number suffixes in the past tense

	Weak verb		Strong verb		Mixed verb	
1SG	-(e)t/d-Ø	<i>slipp-d</i>	-Ø	<i>bünn-Ø</i>	-(e)t/d-Ø	<i>sân-d-Ø</i>
2SG	-(e)t/d-st	<i>slipp-d-st</i>	-(e)st	<i>bünn-st</i>	-(e)t/d-st	<i>sân-d-st</i>
3SG	-(e)t/d-Ø	<i>slipp-d</i>	-Ø	<i>bünn</i>	-(e)t/d-Ø	<i>sân-d-Ø</i>
NSG	-(e)t/d-en	<i>slipp-d-en</i>	-en	<i>bünn-en</i>	-(e)t/d-en	<i>sân-d-en</i>

The past tense is formed by addition of the suffix *-(e)t/d* (weak verbs), by stem mutation (strong verbs), or both (mixed verbs). No further suffixes are added to the past-tense form in the 1SG and 3SG, whereas the 2SG past tense adds *-st* and the NSG past *-en*, as shown with the examples *slippe* ‘sharpen’, *binne* ‘bind’, and *sin’e* ‘send’ in Table 3.

The verbal stem is used as a 2SG imperative. This is almost always identical to the 1SG.PRS form, as with *namm* in (1a). Exceptions include the verbs *wese* ‘be’ (1PRS *ben*, IMP.SG *wes*), *wâthe* ‘know’ (1PRS *wit*, IMP.SG *wâth*), and *stön’ne* 1PRS *stönn*, IMP.SG *stâ* along with expected *stönn*); (1b) gives an example with *wâthe*. For the nonsingular imperative, i.e. in 2DU and 2PL contexts, the verbal stem + *-e* is used, as in (2).

- (1) a. *namm me smukk ön as dan deilüner*
 take.IMP.SG 1SG.OBL please in as 2SG.POSS[M] labourer(M)
 ‘Please accept me as your labourer’ (Likkniss 19)
- b. *Sed eg al wat dü wist, ors wâth altidd wat dü sei-st.*
 say.IMP.SG not all what 2SG know.2SG but know.IMP.SG always what 2SG say-2SG
 ‘Don’t say everything you know, but always know what you say’ (Findling 376)
- (2) *Kâm-e dag hjurt an mag-e de Re full, an du-e üss*
 come-IMP.NSG CTR hereto and make-IMP.NSG DEF.(F/PL?) row(F/PL?) full and do-IMP.NSG 1PL.OBL
Sillskap
 company
 ‘Come on over here and fill up the row(s?), and keep us company’ (Sjemstin 246)

A 3SG subjunctive form of *wese* ‘be’ is sporadically attested in prayers and wishes like the following:

- (3) *Gōd wes me jem*
 God be.SBJV.3SG with 2PL
 ‘May God be with you’ (Hengist)

Outside of such contexts, however, the subjunctive does not appear to be a productive verbal category.

2.2 Non-finite verb forms

Three non-finite verb forms are found, which are used in a variety of periphrastic constructions. The gerund and participle may also function as verbal noun and adjective, as described below. The non-finite forms of the three example verbs from Table 3 are shown in Table 4.

The infinitive (INF) usually ends in *-e* and is identical to the NSG present tense and imperative forms. A small number of irregular verbs have infinitives ending in *-n* or *-n’* which are distinct from the NSG present and imperative, such as *flin* ‘fly’, *sin* ‘see’, and *dun/diün* ‘do, give’ (NSG forms *flie*, *sie*, *due*). The infinitive is used in periphrastic constructions with the modal verbs and the causative verb *lêtte* ‘let’, as described below.

Table 4: Non-finite verb forms

	Weak verb	Strong verb	Mixed verb
INF	<i>slipp-e</i>	<i>binn-e</i>	<i>sin'-e</i>
GER	<i>slipp-en</i>	<i>binn-an</i>	<i>sin'-an</i>
PTCP	<i>slipp-d</i>	<i>bünn-en</i>	<i>sân-d</i>

The gerund (GER) is formed with the suffix $-(e/a/i)n$ which is added to the present stem or, in a very limited number of verbs, to an infinitive ending in $-n$ (e.g. INF *flin*, GER *flin'an* 'fly'). Among other functions, the gerund is used to form non-finite complement and purpose clauses with *tu* and *am ... tu* '(in order) to' (4), as a verbal noun (5), and as an imperfective (progressive) participle (6).

- (4) *Ja sukk-e Māns wiarn wördig tu satt-an aw göllen-e Stoul-e, bai en göllen Skew*
 yes such-PL man.PL be.PST.NSG worthy to sit-GER on golden-PL chair-PL at INDF golden.F table(F)
tu tafel-n, üt göllen-e Kön-e jerre Mëth tu drenk-an
 to dine-GER from gold-PL pitcher-PL 3PL.POSS mead to drink-GER
 'Yes, such men were worthy to sit on golden chairs, to dine at a golden table, to drink their mead from golden chalices.' (Makker II 158)
- (5) *Tuleste wensk' ik ark-en, de dat_herre Daghting ön a Hönn namm-t tu les-an, éwen sü*
 finally wish.ISG ISG each-M REL PROX.N poem(N) in DEF hand take-3SG to read-GER even so
fole Frôged bai=t Les-en as ik bai=t Skriww-en hëdd hēw
 much joy by=DEF.N read-GER as ISG by=DEF.N write-GER have.PTCP have.ISG
 'Finally, I wish everyone who takes this poem into their hand to read, just as much joy during reading, as I had during writing.' (Hengist 29)
- (6) *En bārn-en il'*
 INDF burn-GER fire
 'a burning fire' (Wb. 1352)

According to Nissen (Wb. 121), the vowel of the gerund suffix $(e/a/i)$ depends on the conjugation class of the verb. It is not clear whether this distinction has any basis in linguistic reality or whether it is an artificial attempt at systematicity on Nissen's part. The description in Wb. (121–122) is unclear but gives the impression that the three vowels may have simply represented a schwa $/ə/$.

The participle (PTCP) is used to form the perfect and pluperfect and as a deverbal adjective. It is generally formed by adding one of the suffixes $-(e)t$ or $-en$ to the verb stem. The former suffix is used with most weak and mixed verbs, the latter with most strong verbs. The majority of strong and mixed verbs also have stem vowel mutation in the participle, usually with the same vowel as in the past tense. A number of verbs have 'short' (monosyllabic) participle forms, the result of historical assimilation of the stem-final consonant and the participle suffix. Examples include *blet* from *blēdde* 'bleed', *skās* from *skithe* 'separate', and *benn* from *bitte* 'bite'. Some verbs have variation between long and short participle forms, e.g. *trēn* ~ *trēden* from *trethe* 'tread, step' and *wēn* ~ *wēsen* from *wese* 'be'. A few have variation between strong and weak participle forms, e.g. *lēgen* ~ *lūkket* from the otherwise weak verb *lūkke* 'close'.

2.3 Perfect and pluperfect

Periphrastic perfect and pluperfect constructions are formed with one of the auxiliaries *wese* 'be' and *hewe* 'have' and the participle. These constructions express present and past anterior meaning, respectively. The

choice between *wese* and *hewe* depends on the meaning of the main verb. Broadly speaking, intransitive verbs expressing a change of state or location use *wese* (7), while other verbs use *hewe* (8).

- (7) a. *Hjü han es ap aw a bulke fleg-en*
 DEF.F hen(F) be.3SG up on DEF beam fly-PTCP
 ‘The hen has flown up on the beam’ (Wb. 870)
- b. *dat gram-d her sö, dat=s=d Liff=er let, / ön Liwde es jü*
 that grieve-PST.3SG 3F.OBL so COMP=3F=DEF.N life(N)=there leave-PST.3SG in love be.3SG 3F
störw-en.
 die-PTCP
 ‘That caused her so much pain that she lost her life, she died because of love.’ (Sjemstin 57)
- (8) a. *Fôle hewe jerre Mudder+sprække ferjed-n*
 many have.NSG 3PL.POSS mother+tongue forget-PTCP
 ‘Many have forgotten their mother tongue [i.e. Frisian]’ (Sjemstin 288)
- b. *Dü hēst nü lung-enog tēn*
 2SG have.2SG now long-enough cry.PTCP
 ‘You have been crying for long enough now’ (Wb. 1501)

The copula verb *wese* usually forms the (plu)perfect with the auxiliary *wese*, but there are also occasional examples with *hewe*, cf. the examples in (9). The participle forms *wēn* and *wesen* (*wēsen*) are free variants.

- (9) a. *De Frèsk-e sen ön=t Alerdum en talrikk Foulk wēn.*
 DEF Frisian-PL be.NSG in=DEF.N antiquity(N) INDF numerous.N people(N) be.PTCP
 ‘In ancient times the Frisians were a large people.’ (Makker)
- b. *He het all sin dâge en skearn wesen.*
 3M have.3SG all 3M.POSS[PL] day.PL INDF rascal be.PTCP
 ‘He has been a rascal all his life.’ (Findling 1137)

The perfect is occasionally found in inferential contexts, i.e. where a state of affairs that occurred in the past is inferred on the basis of the present circumstances:

- (10) *Louk-e her hēwe=s in=breg-e wēllt*
 look-IMP.NSG here have.NSG=3PL in=break-INF want.PTCP
 ‘Look, here they [thieves] have tried to break in’ (Wb. 1616)

The pluperfect can be used with counterfactual meaning, as in (11):

- (11) a. *Wenn we dat wēllt hēn, sü hēn we dat ok kütt*
 if 1PL that want.PTCP have.PST.NSG so have.PST.NSG 1PL that also can.PTCP
 ‘If we had wanted that, then we would also have been able to’ (Wb. 1143)
- b. *Wearst nag en stünn-s tidd ir kimen!*
 be.PST.2SG still INDF hour.GEN time early.COMPAR come.PTCP
 ‘If only you had come a bit earlier!’ (Wb. 968)

2.4 Modal verbs

The seven modal verbs express a range of meanings such as possibility, necessity, intention, or other pre-conditions for the realization of a situation. An overview is given in Table 5. The inflection of most of the modal verbs is highly irregular; see the overview of irregular verbs in the Appendix.

Table 5: Modal verbs

	Common glosses	Meanings
<i>kône</i>	‘can, be able to’	ability, circumstantial possibility
<i>môge</i>	‘be allowed to, may; like to’	permission, epistemic possibility; liking
<i>môn’ne</i>	‘have to; be allowed to’	necessity; permission
<i>dörre</i>	‘dare’	sufficient courage
<i>törre</i>	‘need, have to’	necessity (in negative contexts)
<i>skenn</i>	‘have to; shall; be said to’	requirement; plan; hearsay
<i>wenn</i>	‘want to, will’	volition, intention

The modal verbs are combined with a main verb in the infinitive. We do not examine their various meanings in detail here, but only give one or a few examples of each verb. (12)–(13) show the possibility modals *kône* and *môge*:

- (12) *He kü ok je nent sin, for dat was bilig diunk.*
 3M can.PST.3SG also ENIM nothing see.INF for 3N be.PST.3SG quite dark
 ‘And he could not see anything, since it was quite dark’ (Makker II 171–172)
- (13) a. *Dü mēst nog en s[t]ünn-s tid spēl-e.*
 2SG may.2SG still INDF hour-GEN time play-INF
 ‘You may still play a little while longer.’ (Wb. 1987)
- b. *Min brelle+hüß es ferlei-d, wer mei dat wese.*
 1SG.POSS[N] glasses+house(N) be.3SG lose-PTCP where may.3SG that be.INF
 ‘My glasses case is gone, where might it be?’ (Wb. 954)

The modal verb *môn’ne* may express necessity, as in (14a), or permission or advisability. The latter meaning is especially commonly found in negative contexts, like (14b).

- (14) a. *De Flödd het üß fôle Lönd nümm-en, we mönne tosin, dat we=t*
 DEF.F flood(F) have.3SG 1PL.OBL much land take-PTCP 1PL must.NSG ensure.INF COMP 1PL=3N
wither fu-e.
 again get-NSG
 ‘The flood has taken much land from us, we have to make sure that we get it back.’ (Sjemstin 254)
- b. *Hum mött hum eg widder üt=wäg-e as hum wad-e kon.*
 IMPERS must.3SG IMPERS not further out=venture-INF than IMPERS wade-INF can.3SG
 ‘One should not venture out further than one can wade.’ (Makker)

Necessity in negative contexts is expressed with *törre* ‘need’:

- (15) *Ja, derfor törr-e we nü eg mor trug wese*
 yes therefore need-NSG 1PL now not more afraid be.INF
 ‘well, that we need not fear anymore’ (Sjemstin 248)

The modal *skenn*, which we gloss ‘shall’, has at least three more or less clearly distinct meanings. It may express a deontic (obligation/requirement) meaning, as in (16a), a plan or intention, as in (16b), and hearsay (reportative) evidentiality, as in (16c):

- (16) a. *De ke skenn lüs=gung-e; hje skenn eg ön='t tjödder stön'n-e*
 DEF.PL COW.PL shall.NSG loose=go-INF 3PL shall.NSG not in=DEF.N enclosure(N) stand-INF
 'The cows must run loose; they shouldn't stand in the enclosure' (Wb. 2565)
- b. *We skenn gëss slaght-e.*
 1PL shall.NSG goose.PL slaughter-INF
 'We are going to slaughter geese.' (Wb. 1180)
- c. *Wat sköll he denn hewe? He sköll de kranket hewe.*
 what shall.PST.3SG 3M then have.INF 3M shall.PST.3SG DEF epilepsy have.INF
 'What is said to be wrong with him? He is said to have epilepsy' (Wb. 2513)

Wenn expresses volition ('want to'), as in (17a), and intention ('will, be going to'), as in (17b). In the latter case it is often difficult to distinguish from the intention meaning of *skenn*.

- (17) a. *Hje wënn üs Foulk ferdriww-e / an word-en silf ferdreww-en.*
 3PL want.PST.NSG 1PL.POSS people expel-INF and become.PST.NSG EMPH expel-PTCP
 'They wanted to drive out our people and were driven out themselves.' (Hengist 243)
- b. *Wer wenn=em dat henne slêw-e?*
 where want.NSG=2PL DEF.N DIR drag-INF
 'Where are you planning/going to drag that?' (Wb. 1114)

Finally, the modal verb *dörre* 'dare' expresses sufficient courage, i.e. whether the subject referent has the courage to realize a state of affairs. It is sometimes combined with the semantically closely related verb *wäge* 'dare, risk', as in (18b).

- (18) a. *Ik dörr='t ham eg sed-e*
 1SG dare.1SG=3N 3M.OBL not say-INF
 'I don't dare tell him' (Wb. 2432)
- b. *As=er ham=sillew wëg-en hei, dārst=er='t ridd-en eg mor*
 when=3M 3M.OBL=EMPH weigh-PTCP have.PST.3SG dare.PST.3SG=3M=DEF.N ride-GER not more
wāg-e.
 risk-INF
 'After he had weighed himself, he did not dare to ride anymore' (or: '... did not dare to risk riding anymore') (Wb. 833)

2.5 The achievement auxiliary *fü*

The verb *fü* 'get' is used as an auxiliary to express achievement or completive meaning, often with the implication that the situation requires some effort. The main verb is in the participle:

- (19) a. *The houke+trel ging önstôg an sü füng-en we dat les foder eg gödd*
 DEM.F pulley+wheel(F) go.PST.3SG bust and so get.PST.NSG 1PL DEM.N load(N) hay not good
punter-t.
 press-PTCP
 'The pulley wheel broke, and so we weren't able to press that load of hay properly.' (Wb. 825)
- b. *Dat lëttet ärbed fu-e we laght dënn, der sen hönn-e nôg tu.*
 that.N little work(N) get-NSG 1PL easy do.PTCP there be.NSG hand-PL enough.PL to
 'That bit of work we'll easily manage to do, there are enough hands for it.' (Wb. 1989)

- c. *Ik tōgt eg am din Gīl; /as ik tu Wāther-s sprüng; /*
 1SG think.PST.1SG not about 2SG.POSS[N] money(N) when 1SG to water-GEN jump.PST.1SG
tōgt am din liff an Sīl, /dat ik de redig-t füng.
 think.PST.1SG about 2SG.POSS[N] life and soul COMP 1SG 2SG.OBL save-PTCP get.PST.1SG
 'I did not think about your money when I jumped in the water; I was thinking of your life and
 soul, that I would manage to save you.' (Hengist 184)

This construction can usually be rendered in English with 'manage to' or 'be able to'.

2.6 Passive and causative constructions

A periphrastic passive is formed with *wārde* 'become' and the participle:

- (20) a. *Auer=t Mēltidd word eg fōle Snak mag-et*
 over=DEF.N meal(N) become.3SG not much talk make-PTCP
 'During the meal not much talking was done' (Sjemstin 247)
 b. *De marder es haudigt word-en.*
 DEF.M murderer(M) be.3SG behead-PTCP become-PTCP
 'The murderer has been beheaded.' (Wb. 335)

In connection with modal verbs, the verb *wese* 'be' occasionally appears as a passive auxiliary instead of *wārde*:

- (21) a. *Wenn er Ān mīn-d, dat ham Ūnrught skēnn was; sū*
 when there one.M think-PST.3SG COMP 3M.OBL injustice happen.PTCP be.PST.3SG so
mōst dat ütwet wese
 must.PST.3SG that repay.PTCP be.INF
 'When someone thought that he had been wronged, then that had to be settled' (Makker II 409)
 b. *Ark Biarn, wat kressen-t wese skall, fei-t dederre wilig-e Gārdel*
 every.N child(N) which baptize-PTCP be.INF shall.3SG get-3SG MED.M fine-DEF.M girdle(M)
am
 about
 'Every child who is going to be baptised is made to wear that fine girdle' (Makker II 58)

This does not always happen, however, as shown by examples like (22):

- (22) *Ön a frēsk-e sprēkke mōnne gar nin wūrd-e me v skrēww-en ward-e*
 in DEF.M Frisian-M.DEF language(M) may.NSG at.all no.PL word-PL with v write-PTCP become-INF
sū's ön=t hughtjüsk
 like in=DEF.N High.German(N)
 'In the Frisian language no words at all may be written with a v like in High German' (Wb. 998)

A periphrastic causative is formed with the verb *lêtte* 'let' and the infinitive, such as *sin' lêtte* 'show', *grippe lêtte* 'let (oneself) be caught', and *donse lêtte* 'make (someone) dance':

- (23) a. *Ik hēw=t ham sin' let.*
 1SG have.1SG=3N 3M.OBL see.INF let.PTCP
 'I have shown it to him.' (Wb. 1438)

- b. *Ik kon de hengst-e eg fathe fûn, hje wenn jem eg gripp-e lêtt-e.*
 1SG CAN.1SG DEF.PL horse-PL not hold get-INF 3PL want.NSG 3PL.OBL not catch-INF let-INF
 ‘I cannot get a hold of the horses, they won’t let themselves be caught.’ (Wb. 271–272)
- c. *De der man gil het, kon a düwel dons-e lêtt-e.*
 DEF.M REL only money have.3SG CAN.3SG DEF devil dance-INF let-INF
 ‘One who has enough money can make the devil dance’ (Findling 1014)

2.7 The ‘dummy’ auxiliary *were*

KFr has a periphrastic construction formed with the auxiliary verb *were*. The construction differs from other auxiliary constructions in that both verbs – the auxiliary *were* and the main verb – are finite in the same clause.

- (24) a. *De Frêsk-e wer-t man blaff-t, / wenn he san Sprêkke skraf-t!*
 DEF.M Frisian-M.DEF AUX-3SG only remain-3SG if 3M 3M.POSS[M] language write-3SG
 ‘The Frisian only remains if he writes his language!’ (Makker II 335)
- b. *Hum wer-e=’s nü begrew-e.*
 who AUX-NSG=3PL now bury-NSG
 ‘Who are they burying now?’ (Sjemstin 58)

A non-finite form of *were* is only attested in the ‘and + infinitive’ construction (cf. Section 8.1). In this context, both *were* and the main verb are in the infinitive:

- (25) *Ā ja, dat as laght tu an wer-e an irlik-en Mōn ap jin=’t Ug krōg-e,*
 oh yes it be.3SG easy to and AUX-INF INDF honest-M.INDF man up against=DEF wall force-INF
dat ham de Ōme atste üt=gung-t.
 so.that 3M.OBL DEF.M breath(M) at.once out-go-3SG
 ‘O yes, it is easy to force an honest man up against the wall so that he loses his breath at once’
 (Makker II 338)

Were may also occur in the imperative:

- (26) *Hengst-e wer hal!*
 horse-PL AUX.IMP fetch.IMP
 ‘Fetch horses!’ (Makker)

Nissen occasionally paraphrases *were* with German *mögen* ‘may’, but also writes that it is untranslatable (Sjemstin 58). Hoekstra (2016: 328) describes it as “a general filler of the verb-second position” with no meaning of its own. Apart from a few attestations from the neighbouring Bökingharde dialect (see Hoekstra 2016: 329–330), the construction is not known to exist in other North Frisian varieties.

3 Nouns

Prototypical nouns in Frisian have the morphosyntactic properties number (singular vs. plural) and gender (masculine, feminine, neuter). Some nouns also have case inflection, as described in Section 3.3 below. Whereas number and case are morphologically marked on the noun, gender is inherent to the noun, but marked on agreeing modifiers and pronouns.

3.1 Number

Count nouns are inflected for number. The most common plural marker is the suffix *-e*; other plural suffixes include *-(e)ne*, *-inge*, and *-(e)r(e)*. A number of nouns mark the plural by stem allomorphy alone or in addition to a suffix, whereas others have syncretism between the singular and plural forms.

A small selection of *e*-plurals is given in (27):

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|----------------|
| (27) | <i>ant</i> 'duck' | <i>ante</i> |
| | <i>arkels</i> 'piece of paper' | <i>arkelse</i> |
| | <i>dal</i> 'valley' | <i>dale</i> |
| | <i>galt</i> 'barrow' | <i>galte</i> |
| | <i>han</i> 'hen' | <i>hane</i> |
| | <i>kard</i> 'card' | <i>karde</i> |
| | <i>last</i> 'burden' | <i>laste</i> |
| | <i>mask</i> 'maggot' | <i>maske</i> |
| | <i>skalk</i> 'rascal' | <i>skalke</i> |
| | <i>sparig</i> 'sparrow' | <i>sparige</i> |
| | <i>wal</i> 'fourscore, 80' | <i>wale</i> |

Nouns ending with a schwa and a single consonant (i.e. /əC#/) may lose the schwa when plural *-e* is added:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---------------|
| (28) | <i>apel</i> 'apple' | <i>aple</i> |
| | <i>föggel</i> 'bird' | <i>föggle</i> |
| | <i>kulew</i> 'calf' | <i>kulwe</i> |
| | <i>wüsset</i> 'woman' | <i>wüsste</i> |

This is not always the case, however:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| (29) | <i>anter</i> 'two-year-old cow' | <i>antere</i> |
| | <i>bësem</i> 'broom' | <i>bëseme</i> |
| | <i>gardel</i> 'girdle, belt' | <i>gardele</i> |
| | <i>lader</i> 'ladder' | <i>ladere</i> |
| | <i>stakel</i> 'poor thing' | <i>stakele</i> |

A large number of *e*-plurals have stem allomorphy in the plural in addition to the suffix *-e*. The most frequent type has voicing of a final fricative, either /f/ → /v/ or /x/ → /ɣ/ (orthographically <f> → <w> and <gh> → <g>):

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---------------|
| (30) | <i>mef</i> 'seagull' | <i>mewe</i> |
| | <i>bréf</i> 'letter' | <i>bréwe</i> |
| | <i>wérf</i> 'mound' | <i>wérwe</i> |
| | <i>lif</i> 'loaf' | <i>liwe</i> |
| | <i>tif</i> 'thief' | <i>tiwe</i> |
| | <i>wulf</i> 'wolf' | <i>wulwe</i> |
| | <i>sküff</i> 'drawer' | <i>sküwwe</i> |
| | <i>grouf</i> 'ditch' | <i>grouwe</i> |
| | <i>houf</i> 'hoof' | <i>houwe</i> |
| | <i>kourf</i> 'basket' | <i>kourwe</i> |
-
- | | | |
|------|---------------------|-------------|
| (31) | <i>righ</i> 'rack' | <i>rige</i> |
| | <i>tigh</i> 'thigh' | <i>tige</i> |

<i>krough</i> 'inn'	<i>krouge</i>
<i>plough</i> 'plow'	<i>plouge</i>

The noun *kniff* has both vowel mutation and voicing of stem-final /f/ → /v/:

(32) *kniff* 'knife' *knewe*

The following nouns have depalatalization of the final consonant, most of them also with vowel mutation:

(33) <i>döll</i> 'boundary marker'	<i>doule</i>
<i>stin</i> 'stone, rock'	<i>stīne</i>
<i>sköll</i> 'school'	<i>skoule</i>
<i>stöll</i> 'chair'	<i>stoule</i>
<i>lün</i> 'wage'	<i>lūne</i>

Another subgroup has /ð/ <th> in the plural form, either added to the stem or replacing the stem-final consonant:

(34) <i>fat</i> 'barrel, bowl'	<i>fathe</i>
<i>lass</i> 'member, part'	<i>lâthe</i> (also PL <i>lêth</i>)
<i>skis</i> 'spoon'	<i>skîthe</i>
<i>ste</i> 'town' (F)	<i>stethe</i>
<i>ste</i> 'place, wound' (N)	<i>stethe</i>

Two nouns have vowel mutation and a consonant change /k/ <k> → /ɣ/ <g>.

(35) <i>gek</i> 'fool'	<i>gēge</i>
<i>stukk</i> 'piece'	<i>stôge</i>

The nouns 'day' and 'way' have vowel mutation and addition of /ɣ/ <g>:

(36) <i>dei</i> 'days'	<i>dege/dâge</i>
<i>wei</i> 'way, road'	<i>wege</i>

Finally, the following three nouns have only vowel mutation in addition to -e:

(37) <i>kraft</i> 'force'	<i>krefte</i>
<i>smath</i> 'smith'	<i>smethe</i>
<i>süth</i> 'well'	<i>sūthe</i>

Syncretism between the singular and plural forms is found in a large number of nouns ending in -e

(38) *börre* 'farmer(s)'
egge 'side(s)'
frete 'muzzle(s)'
kare 'wheelbarrow(s)'
lappe 'lip(s)'
sene 'sin(s)'
ware 'product(s)'

In addition, the following seven have syncretism between the singular and the plural:

- (39) *bi* 'bee(s)
griss 'young pig(s)
lüss 'louse, lice'
müss 'mouse, mice'
sképp 'sheep'
swinn 'pig(s)
téth 'tooth, teeth'

ne-plurals add the suffix *-ne* or *-ene* in the plural. The majority of these nouns refer to human beings; these include the family terms in (40), a small number of other human nouns ending in *-e* or *-er* (41), the monosyllabic nationality terms in (42), and a large number of loanwords ending in *-åt*, *-åd*, *-ant*, *-ell*, and *-ist* (43).

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|
| (40) | – | <i>alerne</i> 'parents' (plurale tantum) |
| | <i>brouther</i> 'brother' | <i>broutherne</i> |
| | <i>dogter</i> 'daughter' | <i>dogterne</i> |
| | <i>söster</i> 'sister' | <i>sösterne</i> |
| | <i>swåger</i> 'brother-in-law' | <i>swågerne</i> |
| (41) | <i>haide</i> 'heathen, pagan' | <i>haidene</i> |
| | <i>hire</i> 'master' | <i>hirne</i> |
| | <i>jümfer</i> 'virgin' | <i>jümferne</i> |
| | <i>krist</i> 'Christian' | <i>kristne</i> |
| | <i>menske</i> 'human' | <i>menskene</i> |
| | <i>neiber</i> 'neighbour' | <i>neiberne</i> |
| (42) | <i>Gutt</i> 'Goth' | <i>Guttene</i> |
| | <i>Russ</i> 'Russian' | <i>Russene</i> |
| | <i>Skutt</i> 'Scot' | <i>Skuttene</i> |
| | <i>Swed</i> 'Swede' | <i>Swedene</i> |
| | <i>Turk</i> 'Turk' | <i>Turkene</i> |
| (43) | <i>afkåt</i> 'lawyer' | <i>afkåtne</i> |
| | <i>kameråd</i> 'comrade' | <i>kamerådne</i> |
| | <i>kamediant</i> 'actor' | <i>kamediantne</i> |
| | <i>kandidåt</i> 'candidate' | <i>kandidåtne</i> |
| | <i>kaptålist</i> 'capitalist' | <i>kaptålistne</i> |
| | <i>mamsell</i> 'unmarried woman' | <i>mamsellne</i> |
| | <i>puttentåt</i> 'potentate, ruler' | <i>puttentåtne</i> |
| | <i>rebell</i> 'rebel' | <i>rebellne</i> |
| | <i>saldåt</i> 'soldier' | <i>saldåtne</i> |

Two nouns referring to animals belong to this group as well. The noun *okse* is the only *ne*-noun with stem allomorphy in the plural form.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| (44) | <i>okse</i> 'ox, bullock' | <i>eksene</i> |
| | <i>huppe</i> 'horse' (child language) | <i>huppene</i> |

The inanimate nouns in (45) also have *ne*-plurals:

(45)	<i>defke</i> 'dowel'	<i>defkene</i>
	<i>högger</i> 'hip bone'	<i>höggerne</i>
	<i>hölck</i> 'storage room, junk room'	<i>hölckene</i>
	<i>karint</i> 'currant (small raisin)'	<i>karintne</i>
	<i>menut</i> 'minute'	<i>menutne</i>
	<i>rölk</i> 'yarrow'	<i>rölkene</i>
	<i>nerf</i> 'nerve'	<i>nerfene</i>
	<i>ug</i> 'eye'	<i>ugene</i>
	<i>wulk</i> 'cloud'	<i>wulkene</i>

inge-plurals form a small group of about ten nouns, most of them inanimate:

(46)	–	<i>bukslinge</i> 'trousers' (plurale tantum)
	<i>hüss</i> 'house'	<i>hüssinge</i>
	<i>jerr</i> 'year'	<i>jerringe</i>
	<i>köl</i> 'pit'	<i>kölinge</i> (also <i>köle</i>)
	<i>rümm</i> 'room'	<i>rümminge</i>
	<i>trüss</i> 'toad'	<i>trüssinge</i>
	<i>wer</i> 'power'	<i>weringe</i>

The following three have stem allomorphy in addition to the suffix *-inge*:

(47)	<i>gast</i> 'guest'	<i>gestinge</i>
	<i>spatt</i> 'cut with a spade'	<i>spethinge</i>
	<i>nest</i> 'nest'	<i>nesinge</i>

The small group of **r-plurals** have a plural suffix *-r*, *-er*, or *-ere*. The following three also have stem allomorphy:

(48)	<i>krag</i> 'collar'	<i>kröger</i>
	<i>dink</i> 'thing'	<i>dingere</i>
	<i>skouf</i> 'shoe'	<i>skür</i>

The noun *gaist* has the plural suffix *-ere* according to Wb., but in the texts we have only found the spelling *Gaister* (Makker II 287).

(49)	<i>gaist</i> 'spirit'	<i>gaister(e?)</i>
------	-----------------------	--------------------

The following five **s-plurals** all have a plural suffix containing an /s/, but they only form a very heterogeneous group, as each has its own pattern:

(50)	<i>jonge</i> 'boy'	<i>jongens</i> (suffix <i>-ns</i>)
	<i>kiarl/kearl</i> 'man'	<i>kiarls/kearls</i> (suffix <i>-s</i>)
	<i>mon</i> 'man'	<i>mans</i> (stem allomorphy + suffix <i>-s</i>)
	<i>lugh</i> 'hole, prison'	<i>lughers</i> (suffix <i>-ers</i>)
	<i>spouk</i> 'ghost'	<i>spoukels</i> (suffix <i>-els</i>)

For *mon*, the plural form *man* is also found, cf. (51).

A group of some twenty nouns are **mutation plurals**, as they form their plural through mutation of the stem vowel, the stem-final consonant, or both. The following eight have vowel mutation only:

- (51) *fall* 'foal' *fēl*
fött 'foot' *fëtt*
gles 'glass' *glēs*
gôss 'goose' *gëss*
hof 'court' *hōw*
kü 'cow' *ke*
mon 'man' *man* (also *mans*)
spall 'game, dance' *spēl*

The four nouns in (52) have mutation of the final consonant to <th> (/ð/ or /θ/?), some also with vowel mutation:

- (52) *lass* 'member, part' *lêth* (also PL *lâthe*)
les 'tailgate, cartload' *leth*
lot 'lot' *lâth*
ros 'peat pit' *rôth*

The following also have both vowel and consonant mutation:

- (53) *skapp* 'ship' *skêw*
fek 'panel' (in timber framing) *fëg*
ref 'fox' *rēw*

Finally, two nouns have **subtractive plural** forms with vowel mutation and loss of the final consonant:

- (54) *fet* 'milk barrel' *fē*
slot 'lock' *slô*

3.2 Countability and "lexical plurals"

The nouns treated in Section 3.1 are all count nouns. KFr also has a large number of noncount nouns, which cannot be inflected for number. These include concrete nouns referring to materials, liquids, and other non-discrete physical substances (55); nouns for diseases and bodily states (56); and abstract nouns referring to emotions, activities, qualities, etc. (57).

- (55) *bjast* 'beestings, colostrum'
brai 'pap, porridge'
kunjakk 'brandy'
lim 'clay'
lught 'air'
mjuks 'dung'
möis 'mash, puree'
öle 'oil'
stâl 'steel'
wather 'water'
- (56) *fewer* 'fever'
hunger 'hunger'
jight 'gout'
kreft 'cancer'
mukk 'mallenders' (skin disease in horses)

- (57) *alwer* ‘seriousness’
brak ‘necessity’
gunst ‘grace, favour’
lust ‘desire’
wassigheid ‘certainty’

Verbal nouns formed with the gerund suffix *-en* are all noncount:

- (58) *fraien* ‘wooing, courtship’
harken ‘obedience’
laiden ‘suffering’
reisen ‘travelling’
tanken ‘thinking, memory’

A small group of noncount nouns referring to dairy products may show plural agreement, i.e. they may be treated as plurale tantum, as the examples in (60) show.

- (59) *molke* ‘milk’
oune ‘buttermilk’
rume ‘cream’
- (60) a. *Wenn de molke kiarl-e, sü sen=s sörr. Swètt-e mólke kiarl-e eg.*
when DEF.PL milk clot-NSG so be.NSG=3PL sour sweet-PL milk clot-NSG not
‘When milk clots it is sour; sweet milk does not clot.’ (Wb. 1629)
- b. *De oune kône swett an sörr wese.*
DEF.PL buttermilk can.NSG sweet and sour be.INF
‘Buttermilk may be sweet or sour.’ (Wb. 2814)
- c. *Wenn dü siarn-e skēt, sü skenn de rume 12 grīn-e mārml hewe.*
when 2SG churn-INF shall.2SG so shall.NSG DEF.PL cream 12 twig-PL wormwood have.INF
‘When you are going to churn butter, the cream needs twelve wormwood twigs.’ (Wb. 1702)

For more details on such “lexical plurals” in Karrharde Frisian and other varieties, see Hoekstra (2017). On the countability distinction in some quantifiers, see Section 5 below.

3.3 Case

Nouns in KFr have a limited case system. Some kinship terms and given names have a three-way contrast between a nominative, an oblique, and a genitive case. Other nouns may have a genitive case, but have no contrast between nominative and oblique. Hence, a noun phrase like *de hengst* ‘the horse’ does not change depending on its role in the clause, as the examples in (61) show:

- (61) a. *Ik trekk de hengst, awer de hengst tjught de wāin*
1SG lead.1SG DEF.M horse(M) but DEF.M horse(M) pull.3SG DEF.M wagon(M)
‘I lead the horse [object], but the horse [subject] pulls the wagon.’ (Wb. 1134)
- b. *We sed-e humme! tu de hengst*
1PL say-NSG INTJ to DEF.M horse(M)
‘We say *humme!* (“around”) to the horse [prepositional complement].’ (Wb. 2222)

We first discuss the form and function of the oblique case in kinship terms and given names and then discuss the uses of the genitive.

Given names and some kinship terms used in non-nominative positions receive the suffix *-(e)n*. The variant *-en* is the more frequent one, but words with a stem ending in a schwa only add *-n*. The oblique form is used for objects, object complements, and prepositional complements. Compare nominative *Memm* and *Tete* in (62a) with oblique *Memmen* and *Teten* in (62b) and the nominative and oblique forms of the male given name *Lütje* in (63):

- (62) a. *Memm an Tete sen bleth*
 mother and father be.NSG happy
 ‘Mum and dad are happy’ (Wb. 2092)
- b. *Dü skēt din Tete-n an Memm-en eg ferlèth-e, wenn hje ul sen.*
 2SG shall.2SG 2SG.POSS[PL] father-OBL and mother-OBL not leave-INF when 3PL old be.NSG
 ‘You must not abandon your father and mother when they are old.’ (Wb. 1198)
- (63) *Was Lütje inne? Edder hēst Lütje-n eg sprēg-en?*
 be.3SG Lütje at.home or have.2SG Lütje-OBL not speak-PTCP
 ‘Was Lütje at home? Or have you not spoken to Lütje?’ (Wb. 2654)

For subject complements and vocative expressions, the nominative is used, as in (64a) and (64b), respectively:

- (64) a. *Man Altete-ns Tete es man Tete-ns Altete.*
 1SG.POSS[M] grandfather-GEN father be.3SG 1SG.POSS[M] father-GEN grandfather
 ‘My grandfather’s father is my father’s grandfather.’ (Wb. 927)
- b. *tete! ik hew me fersenig-t jin a hemmel an jin de*
 father 1SG have.1SG 1SG.OBL sin-PTCP against DEF heaven and against 2SG.OBL
 ‘Father! I have sinned against Heaven and against you’ (Likkniss 21)

Kinship terms with oblique case forms are listed in Table 6. What these seem to have in common with given names is that they can also be used as terms of address, as in (64b). Most other kinship terms have no oblique inflection; these include *doghter* ‘daughter’, *söster* ‘sister’, *brouther* ‘brother’, *sēn* ‘son’, *swāger* ‘brother-in-law’, *snar* ‘daughter-in-law’, and terms derived from them.

Table 6: Oblique-marked kinship terms

NOM	OBL	GEN	Meaning
<i>al</i>	<i>alen</i>	<i>alens</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>(al)tēte</i>	<i>(al)tēten</i>	<i>(al)tētens</i>	‘(grand)father’
<i>medder</i>	<i>meddern</i>	?	‘aunt’
<i>memm</i>	<i>memmen</i>	<i>memmens</i>	‘mother’
<i>ōm</i>	<i>ōmen</i>	<i>ōmens</i>	‘uncle’

Kinship terms with a distinct oblique case form the genitive with the suffix *-(e)ns* or, under an alternative analysis, by adding *-s* to the oblique case; see the third column in Table 6 (the genitive of *medder* ‘aunt’ is not recorded). Most given names form the genitive in the same way. For instance, for the female name *Od*, Nissen gives OBL *Oden* and GEN *Odens* (Wb. 1895). This is not always the case, however; for instance, the male name *Erk* is said to have OBL *Erken* and GEN *Erks* (Wb. 718), i.e. the genitive is formed

by adding -s directly to the stem. Other nouns form the genitive in the same way, e.g. *düwel-s* ‘devil-GEN’, *hünn-s* ‘dog-GEN’, and *bouk-s* ‘book-GEN’.

The word *God* ‘God’ may inflect like a given name or a common noun, i.e. it may either have the oblique form *Goden* (65a) or no separate oblique form (65b); the genitive is *Godens* or *Gods*; see Table 7.

- (65) a. *He tōnk-ed God-en*
 3M thank-PST.3SG God-OBL
 ‘He thanked God’ (Makker II 172)
- b. *As awer to her=sillew koum, füllig-d hjü her Hönd-e an*
 when[3F] however to 3F.OBL=EMPH come.PST.3SG fold-PST.3SG 3F 3F.POSS hand-PL and
 tonk-ed God
 thank-PST.3SG God
 ‘But when she came to, she folded her hands and thanked God’ (Sjemstin 262)

In the expression *am Gutts walle* ‘for God’s sake’ an alternative genitive form *Gutts* is found:

- (66) *Dat mönn’=em am Gutt-s Walle eg ferjeth-e!*
 that must.NSG=2PL for God-GEN sake not forget-INF
 ‘For God’s sake you must not forget that!’ (Hengist 29)

Table 7: Inflection of *God*

NOM	OBL	GEN	Meaning
<i>God</i>	<i>God(en)</i>	<i>God(en)s</i>	‘God’

The genitive is used adnominally in expressions of measurement, e.g. height, length, age, or price. The genitival attribute may specify the entity being measured, as in (67), or it may specify the value, as in (68):

- (67) *skapp-s lengde, kearl-s högde, en mon-s aler*
 ship-GEN length man-GEN height INDF man-GEN age
 ‘length of a ship, height of a man, the age of a man’ (Wb. 995)
- (68) a. *en board fon en fött-s lengde an en hon+brid-s brat’*
 INDF board of INDF foot-GEN length and INDF hand+breadth-GEN breadth
 ‘a board about a foot (c. 30 cm) in length and a hand (c. 10 cm) in breadth’ (Wb. 454)
- b. *en fiv+hunnert dāler-s hengst*
 INDF five+hundred thaler-GEN horse
 ‘a horse worth five hundred thaler’ (Wb. 1024)

There are occasional examples of a partitive genitive where the genitival attribute refers to the whole and the head noun to the part. However, such examples might also be analyzed as lexicalized compounds:

- (69) *en kniff-s od*
 INDF knife-GEN point
 ‘the point of a knife’ (Wb. 984)

With nouns referring to human beings, the genitive may also express possession or relationship. A periphrastic construction with a possessive pronoun may also be used (see Section 4.4). The example in (70) contains both constructions:

- (70) *Man swäger sin wiiff es min wiiff-s söster*
 1SG.POSS[M] brother.in.law(M) 3M.POSS[F] wife(F) be.3SG 1SG.POSS[F] wife(F)-GEN sister(F)
 ‘The wife of my brother-in-law is my wife’s sister’ (Wb. 623)

The genitive is also used in complements of the prepositions *èt* ‘at, to (someone’s place)’ and *tu* ‘to’, in the latter case possibly only in fixed expressions:

- (71) a. *Best èt Sabb-ens wēn?*
 be.2SG at Sabb-GEN be.PTCP
 ‘Have you been to Sabb’s place?’ (Wb. 536)
 b. *hje hēwe jerre Wett-e ön jerre frèsk-e Muddersprèkke tu Bouk-s*
 3PL have.NSG 3PL.POSS law-PL in 3PL.POSS Frisian-DEF.PL mother+tongue to book-GEN
fēr-d
 direct-PTCP
 ‘they have put their laws in writing [‘to book’s] in their Frisian mother tongue’ (Makker)

3.4 Gender

KFr has a three-way gender system with the categories masculine, feminine and neuter. Gender is not morphologically marked on the noun, but inherent to it. For animates, the notional gender usually determines the grammatical gender (on these terms, see McConnell-Ginet 2014). For inanimates, gender assignment appears to be largely unpredictable, but this deserves to be investigated further.

Examples where notional gender correlates with grammatical gender include most nouns referring to male and female humans and animals:

- (72) *dring* M ‘boy, male farmhand’
fōmen F ‘girl, young woman’
bulle M ‘bull’
kü F ‘cow’
stire M ‘steer’

Nouns referring to children and young animals are often neuter:

- (73) *biarn* N ‘child’
fōl N ‘foal’
rèther N ‘one-year-old ox’
siükkling N ‘(young) chicken’
thew N ‘one-year-old ewe’

Nouns referring to species and types of animal may belong to any of the three grammatical genders:

- (74) *föggel* M ‘bird’
müßs F ‘mouse’
ref N ‘fox’

4 Determiners and pronouns

4.1 Articles and demonstratives

KFr has an indefinite article, which is uninflected *en*, and two definite articles, listed in Table 8. The *a*-article has a distinct neuter singular form, the *d*-article has a paradigm distinguishing singular vs. plural and three genders in the singular. The *d*-article is (at least orthographically) identical to the general

demonstrative; the M and PL *d*-article forms are orthographically identical, but were pronounced differently according to Nissen (Wb. 151), though their phonemic values are not clear from the description. Perhaps they were M /de:/ vs. PL /dɛ/.

Table 8: Definite articles

	<i>a</i> -DEF	<i>d</i> -DEF
M	<i>a</i>	<i>de</i>
F	<i>a</i>	<i>jü/the (de)</i>
N	<i>at</i> ('t)	<i>dat</i>
PL	<i>a</i>	<i>de</i>

An analysis of the distribution of the *a*- and *d*-articles is not yet available. We therefore use the gloss 'DEF' for both of them. In addition to the F *d*-article *jü*, Nissen also mentions the variant *the*, and in the texts the spelling *de* is found. Any differences in usage remain unclear, but Nissen frequently uses all of these forms in his texts and dictionary examples. Hence, we may find the same feminine noun with four different article forms:

- (75) a. *He slüt' a dörr.*
 3M close.3SG DEF.F door(F)
 'He closes the door.' (Wb. 2581)
- b. *Wēt the dörr ap=mag-e*
 want.2SG DEF.F door(F) up=make-INF
 'Will you open the door?' (Wb. 330)
- c. *de Dörr es a Müth an de Wenning-e sen de Ug-ene*
 DEF.F door(F) be.3SG DEF.M mouth(M) and DEF.PL window-PL be.NSG DEF.PL eye-PL
 'the door is the mouth and the windows are the eyes' (Sjemstin 284)
- d. *Wer awer īn es, der es=t jü dörr twusk lū an*
 where however one.F be.3SG there be.3SG=3N DEF.F door(F) between threshing.floor and
bousem
 stable
 'But where there is one [i.e. a *melldörr*], it is the door between the threshing floor and the stable' (Wb. 1067)

The neuter *a*-article *at* usually cliticizes to preceding prepositions:

- (76) a. *Dü stōn-st unner=t öis*
 2SG stand-2SG under=DEF.N eaves(N)
 'You are standing under the eaves' (Wb. 2974)
- b. *Sü reis-et he dör=t Lönn*
 so travel-3SG 3M through=DEF.N country(N)
 'So he is travelling through the country' (Lidere III 137)

KFr has a basic or general demonstrative, glossed DEM, and three derived spatial forms, glossed PROX, MED, and DIST; see the overview in Table 9. The general demonstrative is orthographically identical to the *d*-article but may have been pronounced with additional emphasis. The derived forms etymologically consist of the general demonstrative plus the adverbs *her* 'here', *der* 'there', and *jinner* 'over there, yonder'.

Table 9: Demonstratives

	DEM	PROX	MED	DIST
M	<i>de</i>	<i>deherre</i>	<i>dederre</i>	<i>dejinner</i>
F	<i>jü</i>	<i>jüher(re)</i>	<i>jüder(re)</i>	<i>jüjinner</i>
N	<i>dat</i>	<i>dather(re)</i>	<i>datder(re)</i>	<i>datjinner</i>
PL	<i>de</i>	<i>deherre</i>	<i>dederre</i>	<i>dejinner</i>

The spatial demonstratives express three degrees of distance from the speaker, whereas the general demonstrative is used for anaphoric and cataphoric reference, i.e. to a referent which has just been mentioned or one which is specified in a following relative clause:

- (77) a. *De Erig-st-e ön jü Tidd wiarn de Tittmiarsker-e*
 DEF.PL bad-SUPR-PL in DEM.F time(F) be.PST.NSG DEF.PL Dithmarscher-PL
 ‘The worst people in that time [i.e. the late Middle Ages] were the Dithmarschers’ (Makker II 410)
- b. *De Trê, der ham dat fersprékk-en, nümm=er ön.*
 DEF.PL three.M REL 3M.OBL DEM.N promise.PST-NSG take.PST.3SG=3M on
 ‘The three who would promise him that [i.e. their loyalty] he accepted’ (Makker II 184)

In addition to their purely spatial meanings, as in (78a), the derived demonstratives may also have a more figurative function, referring to something conceptually closer or more distant, e.g. more or less familiar. The combination of the proximal and the distal demonstrative also expresses the meaning ‘the one ... the other’, as in (78b).

- (78) a. *Ik ben deherre wei nag uller kim-en*
 1SG be.SG PROX.M way(M) still never come-PTCP
 ‘I have never come this way before’ (Wb. 499)
- b. *wat deherre hal de-t, wer-t dejinner eg tolet*
 what PROX.M gladly do-3SG AUX-3SG DIST.M not allow.3SG
 ‘what one person likes to do, the other does not allow’ (Sjemstin 311)

4.2 Personal pronouns

Pronouns have the inflectional categories number (SG, DU, PL), person (1st, 2nd, 3rd), case (NOM, OBL), and – in the third person singular – gender (M, F, N). In the third person singular neuter, a distinction is made between animate and inanimate referents. The forms are listed in Table 10.

Most of the personal pronouns have separate nominative (subject) and oblique (object) forms. Many of them also have clitic variants, which are found after verbs, subordinators, and other clitics. Nissen gives the following synonymous sentences to illustrate the free and clitic forms:

- (79) a. *kône jem dat?*
 can.NSG 2PL 3N.INAN
 ‘Can you do it?’ (Wb. 1981)
- b. *kône=’m=’t?*
 can.NSG=2PL=3N.INAN
 ‘Can you do it?’ (Wb. 1981)

When the 3M.NOM clitic *er* follows the words *kü* ‘could’ or *hü* ‘how’, <th> (presumably /ð/) is inserted to avoid hiatus:

- (80) a. *Ä, hi wit’ eg hüth=er=t hew-e wall*
 oh 3SG know.3SG not how=3M=3N.INAN have-INF want.3SG
 ‘Oh, he doesn’t know how he wants it’ (Wb. 2619)
- b. *Wenn=er=s denn eg sîn kü, sü küth=er=s dāgh*
 if=3M.NOM=3F.OBL then not see-INF can.PST.3SG so can.PST.3SG=3M.NOM=3F.OBL though
hir-e
 hear-INF
 ‘Even if he couldn’t see it [a clock], he could still hear it.’ (Wb. 1867)

Table 10: Personal pronouns

		NOM		OBL	
		free	clitic	free	clitic
1SG		<i>ik</i>	<i>’k</i>	<i>me</i>	
2SG		<i>dü</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>de</i>	
3SG	M	<i>hi</i>	<i>er/’r</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>en/’n</i>
	F	<i>hjö</i>	<i>’s</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>’s</i>
	N.ANIM	<i>hat</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>ham</i>	
	N.INAN	<i>dat</i>	<i>et/’t</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>et/’t</i>
1DU		<i>wat</i>		<i>unk</i>	
2DU		<i>jet</i>		<i>junk</i>	
1PL		<i>we</i>		<i>üs</i>	
2PL		<i>jem</i>	<i>em/’m</i>	<i>jem</i>	<i>em/’m</i>
3PL		<i>hje</i>	<i>’s</i>	<i>jem</i>	<i>’s</i>

In positions where clitic forms are found, 2SG.NOM *dü* may simply be left out, i.e. its clitic form may be regarded as zero. 2SG subjects are always ambiguously marked on the finite verb:

- (81) *Best et Sabb-ens wēn?*
 be.2SG at Sabb-GEN be.PTCP
 ‘Have you been to Sabb’s place?’ (Wb. 536)

The 3F and 3PL clitic *’s* is assimilated to preceding words ending in /s/, i.e. it may also be realized as zero:

- (82) *As awer to her=sillew koum, füllig-d hjü her Hönd-e an*
 when[3F] however to 3F.OBL=EMPH come.PST.3SG fold-PST.3SG 3F 3F.POSS hand-PL and
tonk-ed God
 thank-PST.3SG God
 ‘But when she came to, she folded her hands and thanked God’ (Sjemstin 262)

In the third person singular neuter, a distinction is made between animate and inanimate referents: animate neuter referents have the pronoun *hat/ham* (clitic *at*), whereas the demonstrative form *dat* (clitic *et/’t*) is used with inanimate referents. In (83b) the animate neuter pronoun is used because the referent *Gewēten* ‘conscience’ is personified.

- (83) a. *Wenn hum en bearn en fengers+brid ferlof de-d, sü namm-t=at*
 if IMPERS INDF child(N) INDF finger+breadth permission do-3SG so take-3SG=3N.ANIM
en hon+brid.
 INDF hand+breadth
 'If one gives a child a finger's breadth of permission, it will take a hand's breadth' (Findling 961)
- b. *Denn es der man ān Ūt+wei, dü skēt mārke aw dat, wat*
 then be.3SG there only one.M out+way(M) 2SG shall.2SG notice-INF on DEM.N what
din Gewēten sei, hat skall de=t nog sed-e;
 2SG.POSS[N] conscience(N) say.3SG 3N.ANIM shall.3SG 2SG.OBL=3N.INAN AFFIRM say-INF
hat es dan hugh-st-e Hire
 3N.ANIM be.3SG 2SG.POSS[M] high-SUPR-M.DEF master(M)
 'Then there is only one way out, you must take note of that which your conscience says, it will surely tell you; it is your highest master' (Makker)

In a few places, Nissen mentions a polite or formal second-person pronoun *I* (oblique and possessive form *Jau* or *Jou*). However, he also notes that speakers in his time had generally stopped using this. The following fixed expression, a pun on the words *Harne* and *hearne*, appears to be the only KFr attestation in the entire corpus:

- (84) *Mon, skenn I ewer a Harne, sü es=t Jau tidd, dat djunk-et all*
 man shall.NSG 2POL after DEF.M Langenhorn so be.3SG=3N 2POL.POSS time 3N darken-3SG already
ön a hearn-e.
 in DEF.PL corner-PL
 'My good man, if you are going to Langenhorn, now is the time, it is already getting dark in the corners' (Findling 1171)

Note non-singular agreement on *skenn* although *I* in the example evidently refers to a single person.

4.3 Reflexive and reciprocal reference

There are no independent reflexive pronouns. Instead, reflexive meaning is conveyed by using the oblique forms of the personal pronouns:

- (85) a. *Dü hest de grimmet māg-et*
 2SG have.2SG 2SG.OBL dirty make-PTCP
 'You have dirtied yourself' (Wb. 1587)
- b. *En suart skēpp let ham eg witt tün.*
 INDF black sheep(N) let.3SG 3N.ANIM.OBL not white wash.INF
 'A black sheep cannot [lit. does not let itself] be made white.' (Findling 234)

The emphazier *sillew* ('-self') may combine with the oblique forms of the personal pronouns to emphasize reflexivity, as in (86a). It may also be used with the impersonal pronoun *hum* (on which see Section 4.5).

- (86) a. *Dö möst aw nan Fal tank-e: "Ark-en sörrig-t for ham=sillew an God for*
 2SG must.2SG on no.M case(M) think-INF each-M care-3SG for 3M.OBL=EMPH and God for
üss al." Dü skēt eg alline tank-e am de=sillew an din Famili
 1PL.OBL all 2SG shall.2SG not alone think-INF about 2SG.OBL=EMPH and 2SG.POSS[F] family(F)
 'Under no circumstance should you think "every man for himself and God for us all". You should not only think of yourself and your family' (Makker)

- b. *Wat hum sillew de-d, es gau denn*
 what IMPERS EMPH do-3SG be.3SG fast do.PTCP
 ‘What you do yourself is done quickly.’ (Makker)

For reciprocal meaning, the pronoun *enouther* ‘each other’ is used. It may refer back to either dual or plural subjects:

- (87) a. *Wenn de bithe der denn bai enouther sètt-en an drunk-en...*
 when DEF.PL both there then by each.other sit.PST-NSG and drink.PST-NSG
 ‘When the two of them were sitting then by each other and drinking...’ (Makker II 40)
- b. *As=er jem münster-d, füng=er tu wâth-an, dat=et Tranling-e wiarn,*
 as=3M 3PL.OBL muster-PST.3SG get.PST.3SG=3M to know-GER COMP=3N triplet-PL be.PST.NSG
an kü=s bînā gar eg üt enouther kân-e
 and can.PST.3SG=3PL almost at.all not out each.other recognize-INF
 ‘As he mustered them, he realized that they were triplets and almost couldn’t distinguish them from each other’ (Makker II 184)

4.4 Possessive pronouns

KFr uses possessive pronouns (determiners) for most expressions of ownership and association. There are fewer distinctions than in the personal pronouns, e.g. there are no separate dual forms (the 1PL and 2PL are used instead), and the 3M and 3N forms are syncretic. However, most of the possessive pronouns show agreement with their head noun, distinguishing between a form for masculine possessee and feminine/neuter/plural ones. In (88) this is illustrated with the 1SG possessive pronoun; we gloss the possessee between square brackets. The paradigm is given in Table 11.

- (88) a. *Ik koum der tu man Neiber in*
 1SG come.PST.1SG there to 1SG.POSS[M] neighbour(M) in
 ‘I went into my neighbour’s house’ (Makker II 280)
- b. *Min bed es mäg-et*
 1SG.POSS[N] bed(N) be.3SG make-PTCP
 ‘My bed is made’ (Wb. 1667)

As *san* and *din* in (89) show, the forms in Table 11 are also used in predicative position, i.e. there is no distinction like English *your* and *yours*.

- (89) a. *Wer hjü hern fött ap=namm-t, set he san wither del.*
 where 3F 3F.POSS[M] foot(M) up=take-3SG put.3SG 3M 3M.POSS[M] again down
 ‘Where she lifts up her foot, he puts down his’ (Findling 918)
- b. *Min Hert es din!*
 1SG.POSS[N] heart(N) be.3SG 2SG.POSS[N]
 ‘My heart is yours!’ (Sjemstin 115)

The third person possessive pronouns are used in a periphrastic construction when the possessor is a full noun phrase, as shown in (90):

- (90) a. *Her es jü han her nest.*
 her be.3SG DEF.F hen(F) 3F.POSS[N] nest(N)
 ‘Here is the hen’s nest.’ (Wb. 2631)

- b. *De Apteker sin Ware*
 DEF.M pharmacist(M) 3M.POSS[PL] product[PL]
 ‘the pharmacist’s products’ (Makker II 188)

This is the most common way to express possession and association, though with nouns referring to humans the genitive may also be used (see Section 3.3).

Table 11: Possessive pronouns

		M noun	F/N/PL noun
1SG		<i>man</i>	<i>min</i>
2SG		<i>dan</i>	<i>din</i>
3SG	M/N	<i>san</i>	<i>sin</i>
	F	<i>hern</i>	<i>her</i>
1PL		<i>üsen</i>	<i>üs</i>
2PL		<i>jernge</i>	<i>jernge</i>
3PL		<i>jerre</i>	<i>jerre</i>

Nissen also mentions forms of the possessive pronoun with final *-t* and *-s*, e.g. *mant*, *dant*, *üsent*, *jernget* and *mins*, *dins*, *sins*, *hers* (the forms with *-s* only in the singular). However, these are apparently only used in two specific constructions: the *t*-forms are found with the circumpositions *am ... walle* and *for ... wegen* ‘for ... sake’, and the *s*-forms are found after the preposition *èt* ‘at, to (someone’s place)’ (see Section 3.3). The former construction is shown in (91a), the latter in (91b):

- (91) a. *Am hernt walle. For hernt wegen kôst=et hāl dūn’*
 for 3F.POSS sake for 3F.POSS sake can.2SG=3N gladly do.INF
 ‘For her sake. For her sake you can do it’ (Wb. 1032)
- b. *Hje wiarn entene èt mins*
 3PL be.NSG last.night at 1SG.POSS
 ‘They were at my place last night’ (Wb. 1667)

4.5 Indefinite and negative pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are *wer* and *hum*, both ‘someone’, and *wat* ‘something’. Negative pronouns are *niman* ‘no one’ and *nent(e)* ‘nothing’. In Table 12 we list these along with the indefinite and negative pro-forms for place and time. Several of these have alternative forms, e.g. *wer* vs. *wernge* and *nent* and *nente*. The differences between these require further investigation.

Table 12: Indefinite and negative pro-forms

	Indefinite	Negative
Person	<i>wer/hum</i> ‘someone’	<i>niman</i> ‘no one’
Thing	<i>wat</i> ‘something’	<i>nent(e)</i> ‘nothing’
Place	<i>wer(nge)</i> ‘somewhere’	<i>ne(we)rnge</i> ‘nowhere’
Time	<i>ins(en)</i> ‘once, sometime’	<i>uller</i> ‘never’

Negative concord may occur between the negative pro-forms, as in (92); on *uller* ‘never’, see also (126) below.

- (92) *He wīt' newernge nent fon*
 3M know.3SG nowhere nothing of
 'He knows nothing about anything.' (Wb. 1150)

The pronoun *hum* is also used with generic or impersonal meaning (glossed IMPERS), referring to people in general. This pronoun can be used both in subject and object position and has the clitic variants *um/em*, cf. (93). It also has the possessive form *hums*, as in (93b).

- (93) a. *For de elebitter skall=em hum ön agt nâm-e*
 for DEF.M horse.leech(M) shall.3SG=IMPERS IMPERS in attention take-INF
 'One should watch out [lit. take oneself in attention] for the horse leech' (Wb. 711)
- b. *Wat=um eg ferston-t, der mött=um hums nôs fon lätt-e.*
 what=IMPERS not understand-3SG there must.3SG=IMPERS IMPERS.POSS nose(F) of leave-INF
 'What you don't understand you shouldn't stick your nose into' (Findling 1006)

4.6 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are *hum*, *wat*, and *hukk(en)/hün*. In addition, there are interrogative adverbs of place, time, and manner, which we list together with the pronouns in Table 13.

Table 13: Interrogative pro-forms

	Form	Meaning
Person	<i>hum</i>	'who'
Thing	<i>wat</i>	'what'
Identity	<i>wat for</i>	'which'
Property	<i>hukk(en)/hün</i>	'what kind of'
Place	<i>wer</i>	'where'
Time	<i>wann(e)</i>	'when'
Manner	<i>hukk/hü</i>	'how'

The interrogative pronouns *hum* 'who' and *wat* 'what' are not inflected depending on their position in the clause. However, *hum* has the possessive forms *hums* (F/N/PL) and *humsen* (M) 'whose':

- (94) a. *Hums-en stok mei dat wese?*
 whose-M stick(M) may.3SG DEM.N be.INF
 'Whose walking stick might that be?' (Wb. 2067)
- b. *Hums biarn-e sen dat?*
 whose.PL child-PL be.NSG DEM.N
 'Whose children are those?' (Wb. 2067)

The periphrastic construction with *wat for* is used to ask for the identify of a referent out of several possible alternatives:

- (95) a. *Dagh wat for=n Sprække es grof an wat for an es fin.*
 though what for=INDF language(M) be.3SG coarse and what for one.M be.3SG fine
 'But which language is coarse, and which one is refined?' (Makker)

- b. *Wat sen dat for hôg? Wat sen dat for mäs?*
 what be.NSG DEM.N for some what be.NSG DEM.N for man.PL
 ‘What are those? Who are those men?’ (Wb. 1963)

The interrogatives *hukk(en)* and *hiin* are used to ask for a property or quality of a referent. According to Nissen (Wb. 167) there is a semantic difference between them, but this is not clear to us on the basis of his examples.

- (96) a. *Hukk mēl wēt hew-e?*
 what.kind flour want.2SG have-INF
 ‘What kind of flour do you want?’ (Wb. 2218)
- b. *Hü’n ordel het=er fungen?*
 what.kind verdict have.3SG=3M get.PTCP
 ‘What (kind of) verdict did he get?’ (Wb. 1994)

5 Quantifiers

The cardinal and ordinal numerals from 0 to 19 are given in Table 14.

Table 14: Numerals from 0 to 19					
	Cardinal	Ordinal		Cardinal	Ordinal
0	<i>null</i>	–	10	<i>tiin</i>	<i>tint</i>
1	<i>ān/in’</i>	<i>iarst</i>	11	<i>alwen</i>	<i>alft</i>
2	<i>tū/tweier</i>	<i>twed</i>	12	<i>twilwen</i>	<i>twilft</i>
3	<i>tri/tre</i>	<i>tred</i>	13	<i>trettein</i>	<i>tretteinst</i>
4	<i>ffauer</i>	<i>fiird</i>	14	<i>ffauertein</i>	<i>ffauerteinst</i>
5	<i>fiw</i>	<i>füft</i>	15	<i>füftein</i>	<i>füfteinst</i>
6	<i>seks</i>	<i>sekt</i>	16	<i>sekstein</i>	<i>seksteinst</i>
7	<i>sôwen</i>	<i>sôwent</i>	17	<i>sôwent</i>	<i>sôwenteinst</i>
8	<i>agt</i>	<i>agt</i>	18	<i>agttein</i>	<i>agtteinst</i>
9	<i>niügen</i>	<i>niügent</i>	19	<i>niügentein</i>	<i>niügenteinst</i>

The numerals from 1 to 3 show gender agreement with the head noun, as shown in (97) and Table 15. The syncretic feminine-neuter (“non-masculine”) form is used when counting.

Table 15: Numerals with gender agreement

	M	F	N
1	<i>ān</i>	<i>in’</i>	<i>in’</i>
2	<i>tweier</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>tū</i>
3	<i>tre</i>	<i>trī</i>	<i>trī</i>

- (97) a. *We lâw-e well bai ān God, ors eg bai in’ tidd.*
 1PL live surely by one.M God(M) but not by one.F time(F)
 ‘We surely live under one God, but not under one time’ (i.e. the times change, but God remains the same) (Wb. 976)

- b. *De tre Stedent-ne wiarn natörrlik aw Luther sin Sidd*
 DEF.PL three.M student(M)-PL be.NSG of.course on Luther 3M.POSS[F] side(F)
 ‘The three students were of course on Luther’s side’ (Makker II 149)
- c. *Dederre frêsk-e Lidere hêw ik drück-e let ön trī lét-e Bouk-e*
 MED.PL Frisian-PL songs have.1SG 1SG print-INF let.PTCP in three.N small-PL book(N)-PL
 ‘Those Frisian songs I have had printed in three small books’ (Lidere I 4)

In addition to *tû/tweier* and *trī/tre*, the ‘personal’ numerals *twanne* ‘two’ and *tranne* ‘three’ are found. These can only refer to human beings and do not show gender agreement:

- (98) *Nam-st dü de en wüff, sü möst twanne fêdd-e kône.*
 take-2SG 2SG 2SG.OBL INDF wife so must.2SG two.PERS provide-INF can.INF
 ‘If you get a wife, you must be able to provide for two people’ (Findling 34)
- (99) *Der skenn tranne fathere stönn-e.*
 there shall.NSG three.PERS godparent[PL] stand-INF
 ‘There will be three godparents.’ (Wb. 272)

The tens from 20 to 100 are listed in Table 16. Complex numerals between 21 and 99 are formed by adding the decade after the smaller number, e.g. *seksantwuntig* ‘26’ (lit. ‘six and twenty’), *nüügenantaghentig* ‘89’ (‘nine and eighty’), and so forth.

Table 16: Numerals from 20 to 100

	Cardinal	Ordinal
20	<i>twuntig</i>	<i>twuntigst</i>
30	<i>dörtig</i>	<i>dörtigst</i>
40	<i>fiartig</i>	<i>fiartigst</i>
50	<i>föftig</i>	<i>föftigst</i>
60	<i>söstig</i>	<i>söstigst</i>
70	<i>söwentig</i>	<i>söwentigst</i>
80	<i>taghentig</i>	<i>taghentigst</i>
90	<i>negentig</i>	<i>negentigst</i>
100	<i>hunnert</i>	<i>hunnertst</i>

The negative quantifier *nān/nīn* ‘no’ is inflected like the numeral *ān/in*:

- (100) *sunner Warmk nin Hei; / sunner Liágd nan Dei*
 without heat no.N joy(N) without light no.M day(M)
 ‘without heat no joy, without light no day’ (Sjemstin 307)

Other quantifiers include *sam* ‘some, a few’, *hōg* ‘some, any’, *bīthe* ‘both’, *al(e)* ‘all’, *menning* ‘many, a lot’, *fōle* ‘much, a lot’, *(en) létet* ‘a little, a bit’, and *nōg/nog* ‘enough’. *Menning* and *fōle* have comparative and superlative forms like adjectives; cf. Section 6.4 below.

A distinction between count and noncount head nouns is seen in *menning* (count/plural) vs. *fōle* (non-count/singular) and in *nōg* (count/plural) vs. *nog* (noncount/singular):

- (101) a. *He het altidd menning Jār-e ön=t Il*
 3M have.3SG always many iron-PL in=DEF.N fire(N)
 ‘He always has many irons in the fire’ (i.e. many projects at the same time) (Makker)

- b. *Auer=t Melltidd word eg fôle Snak mag-et*
 over=DEF.N meal(N) become.3SG not much talking make-PTCP
 ‘During the meal not much talking was done’ (Sjemstin 247)
- (102) a. *Der sen fask-e nôg, dat es man am an fu-e=s fathe.*
 there be.NSG fish-PL enough.PL that be.3SG only about and get-INF=3PL hold
 ‘There are enough fish, it’s just a matter of catching them.’ (Wb. 485)
- b. *Gung-st’ dü me de han-e tu bede an ston-st me de swinn wither ap, sü*
 go-2SG 2SG with DEF.PL hen-PL to bed and stand-2SG with DEF.PL swine[PL] again up so
fei-st slépp nog.
 get-2SG sleep enough.SG
 ‘If you go to bed with the chickens and get up with the pigs, then you’ll get enough sleep’
 (Findling 449)

The degree adverb ‘enough’ has the form *-enog*, which is suffixed to the modified adjective; cf. Section 6.2 below.

A distinction is made between *bîthe* ‘both’ (of two) and *al(e)* ‘all’ (of more than two). The form *ale* is used attributively before plural nouns, while *al* is used as a floating quantifier:

- (103) a. *Ik reis dör al-e Lönn-e hen*
 1SG travel.1SG through all-PL country-PL DIR
 ‘I travel through all countries’ (Sjemstin 12)
- b. *Dāgh nü sedn=s Al gou Nāgd! /an sōgten jerre Kōi*
 though now say.PST.NSG=3PL all good.ATTR.F night(F) and seek.PST.NSG 3PL.POSS bunk
 ‘But now they all said good night and went to their bunks’ (Hengist 163)

A parallel distinction is found between *ather* ‘each’ (of two) and *ark(en)* ‘each’ (of more than two). The latter is inflected like an attributive adjective (on which see Section 6.1).

- (104) a. *Her hew-e jet ather en skelling. Jet skenn ather en nai-en rontje*
 here have-NSG 2DU each.DU INDF penny 2DU shall.NSG each.DU INDF new-M.INDF coat(M)
hew-e.
 have-NSG
 ‘Here’s a penny for each of you. Each of you needs a new coat’ (Wb. 242)
- b. *Ark lönd het san wisse, an ark-en börre san spisse.*
 each.N country(N) have.3SG 3N.POSS[M] way(M) and each-M farmer 3M.POSS[M] fare(M)
 ‘Every country has its ways, and every farmer has his fare’ (Findling 926)

6 Adjectives

Inflectional categories relevant to the adjective are syntactic position (attributive vs. predicative), gender, number, definiteness (indefinite vs. definite), and comparison (positive, comparative, and superlative). Gender, number, and definiteness are only relevant in attributive adjectives, either those which occur within a noun phrase. We treat attributive adjectives in Section 6.1, predicative adjectives in Section 6.2, and comparison in Section 6.4.

6.1 Attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives are inflected with the suffixes in Table 17. As the table shows, adjectives in plural noun phrases always receive the suffix *-e*, whereas adjectives agreeing with singular feminine and neuter nouns are uninflected. With singular masculine nouns, a distinction is made between indefinite and definite noun phrases with the suffixes *-en* and *-e*, respectively. In other words, attributive adjectives usually have three distinct forms, ending in *-Ø*, *-e*, and *-en*.

Table 17: Inflection of attributive adjectives

	INDF	DEF
M	<i>-en</i>	<i>-e</i>
F	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-Ø</i>
N	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-Ø</i>
PL	<i>-e</i>	<i>-e</i>

An indefinite masculine and plural adjective is shown in the proverb in (105); (106) gives an example of two adjectives in a definite feminine context.

- (105) *De=der en grat-en ears het, skall ok grat-e bukslinge hewe.*
 DEF.M=REL INDF large-M.INDF arse(M) have.3SG shall.3SG also large-PL trousers have.INF
 ‘Whoever has a large backside, also needs large trousers’ (Findling 520)

- (106) *Jü grat surt Slégg, /jü lai-t er sprat*
 DEF.F large black mudflat(F) 3F lie-3SG there spread.PTCP
 ‘The large black mudflat is spread out there’ (Sjemstin 93)

Adjectives may be derived from nouns referring to materials and substances, e.g. *holten* ‘wooden, of wood’ (← *holt* ‘wood’), *stéllen* ‘of iron’ (← *stéll* ‘iron’), and *stålen* ‘of steel’ (← *stål* ‘steel’). When inflected, the final unstressed vowel in these derived adjectives is syncopated:

- (107) *En stélln-en stunge. En stéllen plåt. Stélln-e ring-e*
 INDF of.iron-M.INDF bar(M) INDF of.iron board(F) of.iron-PL ring-PL
 ‘An iron bar. An iron board. Rings of iron’ (Wb. 1230)

At least one adjective has an irregular plural form, namely *düd* ‘dead’, which in the plural may appear as *due* (alongside regular *düde*).

6.2 Predicative adjectives

In predicative contexts, adjectives are not inflected for gender, number, or definiteness. In most cases, predicative adjectives are identical to the uninflected form used in singular feminine and neuter noun phrases; compare attributive *surt* in (106) above with predicative *surt* in (108a) and the attributive forms of *stéllen* in (107) with predicative *stéllen* in (108b):

- (108) a. *an bütte es dat diunk an surt*
 and outside be.3SG that dark and black
 ‘and outside it is dark and black’ (Sjemstin 95)
 b. *Wat fon stéll mäg-et es, es stéllen.*
 what from iron make-PTCP be.3SG be.3SG of.iron
 ‘Whatever is made of iron, is *stéllen*.’ (Wb. 1230)

However, a number of adjectives have distinct predicative and attributive forms, meaning that the predicative form is not syncretic with the zero-marked feminine and neuter form. Compare predicative *gödd* and attributive *gou* ‘good’ in (109) and predicative *kif* and attributive *kiw* ‘sad, boring, annoying’ in (110).

- (109) *De rōgge es gödd, de jeft gou brud.*
 DEF.M rye be.3SG good.PRED DEF.M give-3SG good.ATTR bread(N)
 ‘The rye is good, it gives good bread’ (Wb. 2444)
- (110) a. *O, dat es dagh sü kif en kau-e al-e Dege aw drög Brud.*
 oh that be.3SG CTR so sad.PRED and chew-INF all-PL day.PL on dry bread
 ‘oh, it is so sad to chew dry bread every day.’ (Makker)
- b. *Dat was en kiw reis*
 that be.PST.3SG INDF sad.ATTR journey(F)
 ‘That was a boring journey’ (Wb. 1369)

Table 18: Predicative-attributive pairs

PRED	ATTR	Meaning
<i>duf</i>	<i>duw</i>	‘deaf’
<i>grôf</i>	<i>grôw</i>	‘coarse, rough’
<i>kif</i>	<i>kiw</i>	‘sad, boring, annoying’
<i>lif</i>	<i>liw</i>	‘dear’
<i>skif</i>	<i>skiw</i>	‘askew, tilted’
<i>stiff</i>	<i>stiww</i>	‘stiff’
<i>trüff</i>	<i>triüww</i>	‘spry, fit’
<i>drigh</i>	<i>drig</i>	‘fruitful, pregnant’
<i>fugh</i>	<i>fug</i>	‘nervous, scared’
<i>hugh</i>	<i>hug</i>	‘high, tall’
<i>lêgh</i>	<i>lêg</i>	‘low’
<i>rügh</i>	<i>rōg</i>	‘rough, shaggy’
<i>theigh</i>	<i>theig</i>	‘tough, inert’
<i>tough</i>	<i>toug</i>	‘tough, chewy’
<i>gödd</i>	<i>gou</i>	‘good’
<i>hil</i>	<i>hil</i>	‘whole, entire’
<i>köll</i>	<i>koul</i>	‘cold’
<i>rüüd</i>	<i>ru</i>	‘red’
<i>(-)lūs</i>	<i>(-)lus</i>	‘loose, -less’
<i>snūs</i>	<i>snuth</i>	‘slender, adroit’

The irregular predicative adjectives we have identified in the material are listed alongside their attributive stems in Table 18. The first group has alternation between /f/ and /v/ (represented by <f> and <w>), the second between /x/ and /ɣ/ (represented by <gh> and <g>); *rügh* also has vowel mutation. The third group has alternation between a palatalized consonant and loss or depalatalization of this, some also with vowel mutation. Finally, *(-)lūs* and *snūs* have vowel mutation, the latter also mutation of /s/ to /ð/; *(-)lūs* is used both on its own to mean ‘loose’ and as a derivational suffix corresponding to English *-less*, e.g. in *haudlūs* ‘headless’ and *magdlūs* ‘powerless’.

It is unclear whether the predicative or the zero-marked attributive form is better regarded as the basic form of these adjectives. Nissen uses the predicative form as the citation form in his dictionary. Note, however, that the attributive stem is used when these adjectives are modified by the suffixal adverb *-enog* (cf. below), as shown in (111):

- (111) a. *Wenn=t man gödd gung-t, sü es=t ok gou-enog.*
 if=3N only good.PRED go-3SG so be.3SG=3N also good.ATTR-enough
 ‘If only it is going well, it is going well enough’ (Findling 540)
- b. *üs Hef+dikk-e sen ok hug-enog*
 1PL.POSS sea+dyke-PL be.NSG also high.ATTR-enough
 ‘Our sea dykes are also high enough’ (Sjemstin 248)

Many of these adjectives also use the attributive stem to form the comparative; some use it for both the comparative and the superlative; cf. Table 20 below.

6.3 Partitive construction

With the pronouns and quantifiers *wat* ‘something’, *niman* ‘no one’ *nent(e)* ‘nothing’, and *föle* ‘much’, adjectives can be used in a partitive construction referring to something or someone with the quality of the adjective. The adjective adds the partitive suffix *-s*, as shown in (112).

- (112) *Namm man eg alte föle swött-s*
 take.IMP.SG just not too much sweet-PART
 ‘Just don’t take too much sweet stuff [i.e. candy]’ (Wb. 1234)

If the adjective has distinct attributive and predicative forms, the predicative form is used in the partitive construction, cf. *gödds* in (113):

- (113) *Altidd wat nai-s, selten wat gödd-s.*
 always something new-PART rarely something good.PRED-PART
 ‘Always something new, rarely anything good’ (Findling 1072)

6.4 Adjectival comparison

Adjectives with gradable meanings form a comparative with the suffix *-er* and a superlative with the suffix *-st*. When used attributively, the comparative and superlative forms are inflected like other adjectives, i.e. the comparative may appear with either of the suffixes *-e* and *-en* in the appropriate contexts, and the superlative may appear with *-e*. (The superlative does not occur in indefinite noun phrases and hence is never found with the indefinite masculine suffix *-en*.)

- (114) a. *En smukk-er-en nome es ferliting*
 INDF pretty-COMPAR-M.INDF name(M) be.3SG water.outlet
 ‘A nicer word [for water outlet] is *ferliting*.’ (Wb. 613)
- b. *Horsa wās as de āl-er-e Brouther de regent fōn Ungel an*
 Horsa be.PST.3SG as DEF.M old-COMPAR-M.DEF brother DEF.M ruler of Angeln and
het ön Sleswik bōg-et.
 have.3SG in Schleswig reside-PTCP
 ‘Horsa was, as the older brother [of two], the ruler of Angeln and lived in Schleswig.’ (Hengist 7)

- (115) *He es de lètt-st-e fon jem.*
 3M be.3SG DEF.M small-SUPR-DEF.M of 3PL.OBL
 ‘He is the smallest of them [more than two]’ (Wb. 1196)

The comparative is used when comparing two referents, as in (114b), whereas the superlative is only used when more than two referents are compared, as in (115). Predicatively used superlatives have the form *am* + ADJ-*sten*:

- (116) *Wenn de nud am grat-sten es, sü es God-s hilf am nei-sten.*
 when DEF.F need(F) at great-SUPR.PRED be.3SG so be.3SG God-GEN help at near-SUPR.PRED
 ‘When the need is greatest, God’s help is nearest.’ (Findling 870)

Many adjectives have consonant or vowel mutation in their comparative or superlative forms, whereas others have suppletive comparative and/or superlative forms. The ones in Table 19 show suppletion. (Note that *widder*, *widdst* are also the regular comparative and superlative forms of *widd* ‘wide’.)

Table 19: Suppletive comparative/superlative forms

Base form	COMPAR	SUPR	Meaning
<i>edder</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>iarst</i>	‘early’
<i>fir</i>	<i>widder</i>	<i>widdst</i>	‘far’
<i>föle/menning</i>	<i>mor</i>	<i>māst</i>	‘much/many’
<i>gödd’</i>	<i>bēther</i>	<i>best</i>	‘good’
<i>lèttet</i>	<i>menmer</i>	<i>menst</i>	‘little’

As a rule, adjectives with distinct attributive and predicative stems (see Table 18 above) use the attributive stem to form the comparative and the predicative stem to form the superlative. There are several exceptions to this, however. Table 20 gives an overview of the adjectives with consonant or vowel mutation that we have found; the ones in the first group also have distinct attributive and predicative stems. *Nei* ‘near’ has both a regular and an irregular comparative form; *liwer* and *lifst* are also used as comparative and superlative forms of the adverb *hal* ‘gladly, willingly’.

Note that the voicing of /f/ to /v/ and /x/ to /ɣ/ in predicative and comparative forms is not a predictable phonological process. There are also adjectives ending in /f/ and /x/ that have no separate predicative form and entirely predictable comparative and superlative forms, e.g. *stuf* ‘blunt’ with comparative *stufer* and superlative *stufst* and *wagh* ‘awake, alert’ with comparative *wagher* and superlative *waghst*. For these reasons, we consider the adjectives listed in Tables 20 to be irregular.

Some adjectives have cluster simplification of final /Ct/ when the superlative suffix *-st* is added: /Ctst/ > /Cst/. We have found this with the final clusters /lt/, /xt/, and /ft/, as shown in Table 21, but there are also examples of adjectives which appear to have no simplification (e.g. *koart* ‘short’ with superlative *koartst*, *salt* ‘salty’ with superlative *saltst*).

Finally, adjectives ending in /ər/ and /əl/ may have syncope of the schwa of the final syllable when comparative *-er* is added, as shown in Table 22.

7 Prepositions, adverbs, and particles

Simple (monomorphemic) prepositions are listed in Table 23. Many of these also function as adverbs and verbal particles, which are combined with simplex verbs to derive more or less transparent meanings. For

Table 20: Comparative/superlative forms with mutation

Base form	COMPAR	SUPR	Meaning
<i>duf</i>	<i>duwer</i>	<i>dufst</i>	'deaf'
<i>grof</i>	<i>grôwer</i>	<i>grofst</i>	'coarse, rough'
<i>kif</i>	<i>kiwer</i>	<i>kifst</i> (<i>kiwst</i> ?)	'sad, boring, annoying'
<i>lif</i>	<i>liwer</i>	<i>lifst</i>	'dear'
<i>skif</i>	<i>skiwer</i>	<i>skifst</i> (<i>skiwst</i> ?)	'askew, tilted'
<i>stiff</i>	<i>stiwwer/stewer</i>	<i>stiffst</i>	'stiff'
<i>trüff</i>	<i>trüwwer</i>	<i>trüffst</i>	'spry, fit'
<i>drigh</i>	<i>driger</i>	<i>drighst</i>	'fruitful, pregnant'
<i>fugh</i>	<i>fuger</i>	<i>fughst</i>	'nervous, scared'
<i>hugh</i>	<i>huger</i>	<i>hughst</i>	'high, tall'
<i>lēgh</i>	<i>lēger</i>	<i>lēghst</i>	'low'
<i>rūgh</i>	<i>rōger</i>	<i>rūghst</i>	'rough, shaggy'
<i>theigh</i>	<i>theiger</i>	<i>theighst</i>	'tough, inert'
<i>tough</i>	<i>touger</i>	<i>toughst</i>	'tough, chewy'
<i>köll'</i>	<i>kouler</i>	<i>koulst</i>	'cold'
<i>lūs</i>	<i>luser</i>	<i>lüst</i>	'loose, -less'
<i>snūs</i>	<i>snüther</i>	<i>snüst</i>	'slender, adroit'
<i>érig/éarg</i>	<i>ere</i>	<i>erigst</i>	'bad'
<i>leth</i>	<i>lēther</i>	<i>lēst</i>	'late'
<i>lung</i>	<i>lānger</i>	<i>lāngst</i>	'long'
<i>nei</i>	<i>nerre/neier</i>	<i>neist</i>	'near'
<i>struf</i>	<i>struwer</i>	<i>strufst</i>	'tight'
<i>ul/üül'</i>	<i>āler</i>	<i>ālst</i>	'old'

instance, *üt* in (117a) functions as a preposition 'out of', in (117b) as an adverb 'out(side)', and in (117c) as a verbal particle with the verb *skele* 'scold':

- (117) a. *De siikling-e sen üt et ai kīm-en*
 DEF.PL chicken-PL be.NSG out DEF.N egg(N) come-PTCP
 'The chickens have come out of their eggs' (Wb. 2718)
- b. *Lūp dagh eg üt ön sü=n wēther*
 go.IMP.SG CTR not out in so=INDF weather
 'Don't go outside in this kind of weather' (Wb. 2719)
- c. *He skel-t me üt for=n tif*
 3M scold-3SG 1SG.OBL out for=INDF thief
 'He is accusing me of theft' (Wb. 795)

Some complex prepositions are formed by combining two prepositions, as in (118):

- (118) *auerfar* 'opposite'
inmadde 'in between'
bütttefar 'outside (of)'

Another pattern, consisting of the preposition *a(w)* + a directional or local expression + *-ige*, is used to

Table 21: Superlative forms with cluster simplification

Base form	COMPAR	SUPR	Meaning
<i>halt</i>	<i>halter</i>	<i>halst</i>	‘paralyzed’
<i>laght</i>	<i>laghter</i>	<i>laghst</i>	‘easy’
<i>seft</i>	<i>sefter</i>	<i>sefst</i>	‘soft’
<i>siught</i>	<i>siughter</i>	<i>siughst</i>	‘simple’
<i>taght</i>	<i>taghter</i>	<i>taghst</i>	‘tight’

Table 22: Comparative forms with syncope

Base form	COMPAR	SUPR	Meaning
<i>hader</i>	<i>hadrer</i>	<i>haderst</i>	‘bright’
<i>meger</i>	<i>megrer</i>	<i>megerst</i>	‘thin’
<i>nobel</i>	<i>nobler</i>	<i>nobelst</i>	‘noble’
<i>seker</i>	<i>sekrer</i>	<i>sekerst</i>	‘safe’

form relative local prepositions. For instance, from *jint* ‘there’, the preposition *ajintige* ‘on the other side of’ is formed:

- (119) *Wat met-en unk ajintige Lunhalm*
 1DU meet-NSG 1DU.OBL on.the.other.side Lindholm
 ‘We met on the other side of Lindholm’ (Wb. 470)

These local prepositions are listed in Table 24. Two of them, *aforige* and *awēdrige*, also have temporal meaning, as in (120):

- (120) *De Strönd was aforige Anno 1634 en gratt rikk Lönd*
 DEF.M Strand(M) be.PST.3SG before anno 1634 INDF great rich land(N)
 ‘Before 1634, Strand was a great rich (is)land’ (Sjemstin 289)

The material also contains the following two circumpositions:

- (121) *am ... walle* + GEN ‘for ... sake’
fon ... wegen + GEN ‘for ... sake, because of, as for’

It is not clear how productive these were, as they mainly appear in more or less fixed expressions:

- (122) a. *Fon rught-s wegen sköll ik de ferklag-e.*
 for justice-GEN sake shall.1SG 1SG 2SG.OBL accuse-INF
 ‘For the sake of justice I am going to accuse you’ (Wb. 930)
 b. *Dat het he ok eg am Gutt-s walle dēnn.*
 that have.3SG 3M also not for God-GEN sake do.PTCP
 ‘He hasn’t done that for God’s sake alone’ (said of someone who expects a reward) (Findling 528)

Elsewhere, Nissen seems to interpret *Rughtswegen* as a compound noun (Lidere III 106). As (123) shows, *fon wegen* may also be used as a complex preposition rather than a circumposition:

Table 23: Simple prepositions

Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
<i>am</i>	‘about’	<i>langs</i>	‘along’
<i>âne</i>	‘without’	<i>madde</i>	‘between’
<i>auer</i>	‘over, above, during’	<i>me</i>	‘with’
<i>aw</i>	‘on’	<i>neist</i>	‘next to’
<i>bai</i>	‘by, at’	<i>ön</i>	‘in’
<i>banne</i>	‘within’	<i>ouf</i>	‘from, off’
<i>bef</i>	‘behind’	<i>sunner</i>	‘without’
<i>bütte</i>	‘outside (of)’	<i>sunt</i>	‘since’
<i>dör</i>	‘through’	<i>trugh</i>	‘through’
<i>ët</i>	‘at, to’	<i>tu</i>	‘to’
<i>ewer</i>	‘to, after, according to’	<i>twuske</i>	‘between’
<i>fon</i>	‘of, from’	<i>unner</i>	‘under’
<i>for</i>	‘for’	<i>üt</i>	‘out (of)’
<i>jîn</i>	‘against’	<i>willer</i>	‘during’

- (123) a. *Fon wegen üs hōndel ma ik wâth-e, wer=’s stōnn-en blafft.*
 for sake 1PL.POSS deal(F) like.1SG 1SG know-INF whether=3F stand-GER remain-3SG
 ‘As for our deal, I would like to know if it remains standing’ (Wb. 930)
- b. *Ik kamm fon wegen enjōrsne*
 1SG come.1SG for sake yesterday
 ‘I’m here because of yesterday’ (Wb. 930)

Local and directional adverbs include *her* ‘here’, *der* ‘there’, *jint* ‘there’, *del* ‘down’, *ap* ‘up’, and the directional *hen(ne)* (glossed DIR, usually left untranslated in English). Many of the prepositions in Table 23 are also used as adverbs. These may be combined in various ways, as exemplified in (124):

- (124) a. *Dü skēt jint+ap lüp-e, sü fan-st ham nōg.*
 2SG shall.2SG there+up go-INF so find-2SG 3M.OBL AFFIRM
 ‘You have to go up there, then you will definitely find him.’ (Wb. 1626)
- b. *He sett der del+unner /de Hemmel sin Wing*
 3M sit.PST.3SG there down+under DEF.M heaven(M) 3M.POSS[F] wing(F)
 ‘He sat there underneath the wing of heaven’ (Sjemstin 78)

On Nissen’s use of directional adverbs in geographical expressions, see Winter (2023: 80–81, 162–169 et passim).

A small group of adverbs, listed in Table 25, have a paradigm consisting of a shorter (monosyllabic) telic form and a static form with an additional /ə/. Compare telic *üt* ‘out(side)’ in (125a) with static *ütte* ‘out(side)’ in (125b):

- (125) a. *Gung üt an plok üss hōg apl-e ouf.*
 go.IMP.SG out.TEL and pick.IMP.SG 1PL.OBL some apple-PL off
 ‘Go outside and pick some apples for us.’ (Wb. 1909)
- b. *Wenn a kat ütte es, denn lup-e de müss auer a tele.*
 when DEF cat out.STAT be.3SG then walk-NSG DEF mice over DEF floor
 ‘When the cat is outside the mice walk across the floor.’ (Findling 960)

Table 24: Complex local prepositions

Form	Meaning
<i>aforige</i>	‘in front of, before’
<i>aherrige</i>	‘on this side of’
<i>ajintige</i>	‘on the other side of’
<i>anardige</i>	‘to the north of’
<i>anêthrige</i>	‘beneath, underneath’
<i>asôthrige</i>	‘to the south of’
<i>awastrige</i>	‘to the east of’
<i>awêdrige</i>	‘behind, after’
<i>awenrige</i>	‘inside’
<i>awestrige</i>	‘to the west of’
<i>awêwrig</i>	‘above’
<i>awunrige</i>	‘beneath, underneath’
<i>awuttrige</i>	‘outside’

Table 25: Static-telic adverb pairs

TEL	STAT	Meaning
<i>ap</i>	<i>appe</i>	‘up’
<i>bef</i>	<i>befte</i>	‘behind, in back’
<i>del</i>	<i>dele</i>	‘down’
<i>for</i>	<i>fore</i>	‘in front’
<i>in</i>	<i>inne</i>	‘in(side)’
<i>üt</i>	<i>ütte</i>	‘out(side)’

Temporal adverbs include *all* ‘already’, *altidd* ‘always’, *ball* ‘soon’, *denn* ‘then’, *emsk* ‘at the same time’, *glikk* ‘at once’, *nü* ‘now’, *selten* ‘rarely’, *uller* ‘never’, and *willems* ‘sometimes’. *Uller* may cooccur with other negative elements in the same clause, as in (126):

- (126) a. *Dat Ewer+snak het uller nent hulp-en.*
 DEF.N after+talk(N) have.3SG never nothing help-PTCP
 ‘Regret has never helped anything’ (Makker)
- b. *Tum_mensten het üs Foulk der uller nin Gagen fon hëdd.*
 at.least have.3SG 1PL.POSS[N] people(N) there never no.N benefit(N) from have.PTCP
 ‘At least our people has never had any benefit from it.’ (Makker II 161)

A small group of temporal adverbs were historically formed from a noun + the suffix *-ling*, namely *delling* ‘today’, *marling* ‘this morning’, *eling* ‘this evening’, *nagdling* ‘tonight’, *wëgling* ‘this week’, *jerling* ‘this year’, and four adverbs referring to the seasons: *ursling* ‘this spring’, *sammerling* ‘this summer’, *harfstling* ‘this autumn’, and *wunterling* ‘this winter’.

Degree adverbs include *billig* ‘fairly, rather’, *alt(e)/altu* ‘too’, *falig* ‘very’, *knüllig* ‘very’, and *grausem* ‘terribly, extremely’. The degree adverb *-enog* ‘enough, sufficiently’, sometimes also ‘very’, is suffixed to the adjective or adverb it modifies, cf. (127) and (128a) below.

- (127) a. *De Dikk-e wiarn eg gödd mäg-et an wiarn ok eg hug-enog.*
 DEF.PL dyke-PL be.PST.NSG not good make-PTCP and be.PST.NSG also not high-enough
 ‘The dykes were not well made and also were not high enough’ (Makker II 34)
- b. *Hje hewe lung-enog ambai me enouther trek-et.*
 3PL have.NSG long-enough around with each.other lead-PTCP
 ‘They have been running around with each other [i.e. courting] for long enough’ (Findling 1372)

Manner adverbs are typically formed from adjectives through conversion, i.e. without any formal change. Compare adjectival and adverbial *gau* ‘fast’ in (128) and the adjective or adverb *hin* ‘bad(ly), poor(ly)’ in (129):

- (128) a. *Å, he es gau-enog wēn*
 ah 3M be.3SG fast-enough be.PTCP
 ‘Ah, he was fast enough’ (Wb. 2743)
- b. *He snak-et sü gau*
 3M talk-3SG so fast
 ‘He talks so fast’ (Wb. 393)
- (129) a. *De=der altidd me hin-e Mensk’-ne Apslik het, /ward tuleste*
 DEF.M=REL always with bad-PL person-PL association have.3SG become.3SG eventually
sillew en Skiarn
 EMPH INDF rogue
 ‘He who always associates with bad people will eventually become a rogue himself’ (Makker)
- b. *Jü grouf es man hin’ mag-et*
 DEF.F ditch(F) be.3SG just bad make-PTCP
 ‘The ditch is just poorly made’ (Wb. 1338)

The adjective *smukk* ‘pretty’ can be used as a modal adverb meaning ‘kindly, willingly, please’, cf. (130)

- (130) a. *He plok-ed der Kröll-e /de wiarn je sü smukk*
 3M pick-PST.3SG there flower-PL DEF.PL be.PST.NSG ENIM so pretty
 ‘He picked flowers there because they were so pretty’ (Makker)
- b. *Sed me smukk, wat es derbai to düin-an?*
 say.IMP.SG 1SG.OBL kindly what be.3SG thereby to do-GER
 ‘Tell me, please, what is to be done about it?’ (Sjemstin 370)

Other modal adverbs are *fallight* ‘perhaps’, *hal* ‘gladly, willingly’ (comparative *liwer*, superlative *lifst*), *seker* ‘certainly’, *warentig* ‘really, in fact’, and *warshinlik* ‘probably’.

A closely related category, which deserves further investigation, is the group of discourse or modal particles expressing reality status, speaker attitude, and similar meanings. These include the negative particle *eg* ‘not’, the affirmative particle *nōg*, epistemic *wēll* ‘surely, probably’, enimitive *je* (on this term see Panov 2016), and *man* ‘only’:

- (131) *Ja, derfor törr-e we nü eg mor trunng wese*
 yes therefore need-NSG 1PL now not more afraid be.INF
 ‘well, that we need not fear anymore’ (Sjemstin 248)

- (132) *hje künn=t nog sin, dat et Altete-n rinenal tojin was*
 3PL can.PST.NSG=3N AFFIRM see.INF COMP 3N grandfather-OBL totally disagreeable be.PST.3SG
 ‘they could definitely see that the old man did not like it at all’ (Sjemstin 257)
- (133) *Dat spoukel-t her je wëll! He kü ok je nent sin, for dat was*
 that haunt-3SG here ENIM surely 3M can.PST.3SG also ENIM nothing see.INF for that be.PST.3SG
bilig diunk.
 quite dark
 ‘Surely this place must be haunted! And he could not see anything, since it was quite dark’
 (Makker II 171–172)
- (134) *Der stôn-t ok nagh wat aw skrew-en. Ja, wenn ik dat man les-e kon.*
 there stand-3SG also further something on write-PTCP yes if 1SG that only read-INF can.1SG
 ‘There is also something written on here. Well, if only I’ll be able to read it’ (Makker)

Enimitive *je* and negative *eg* may fuse into a single phonological form, which Nissen writes *j’eg*:

- (135) *Les gratem, hum kon=t j’=eg hir-e*
 read.IMP.SG loudly IMPERS can.3SG=3N ENIM=not hear-INF
 ‘Read loudly, it’s impossible to hear’

8 Conjunctions and subordination

8.1 Coordination

The main coordinating conjunctions are cumulative *an* ‘and’, disjunctive *edder* and *enti* ‘or’, and adversative *awer* and *ors* ‘but’. The first three – i.e. *an*, *edder*, and *enti* – are used to coordinate phrases as well as clauses, as in the following examples:

- (136) a. *ffauer Blêth-e, witt an fîn*
 four leaf-PL white and fine
 ‘four leaves, white and delicate’ (Lidere II 90)
- b. *Hje badd-e an we skenn barmhartig wese*
 3PL beg-NSG and 1PL shall.NSG merciful be.INF
 ‘They beg and we must be merciful’ (Makker)
- (137) a. *Dat es lung eg dat=sillew, wer ik en grôw-en edder en fin-en*
 that be.3SG long not DEF.N=EMPH whether 1SG INDF coarse-INDF.M or INDF fine-INDF.M
Sprêkke snak.
 language speak.1SG
 ‘It is not the same at all whether I speak a coarse or refined language’ (Makker)
- b. *Skenn wat dat ül hüß ferbêther-e, edder skenn wat nai begg-e?*
 shall.NSG 1DU DEF.N old house(N) repair-INDF or shall.NSG 1DU new build-INF
 ‘Shall we repair the old house, or shall we build a new one?’ (Wb. 588)
- (138) a. *Delling enti mearne*
 today or tomorrow
 ‘today or tomorrow’ (Wb. 961)

- b. *Bliww=k, enti gung=k?*
 remain.1SG=1SG or go.1SG=1SG
 'Will I stay or will I go?' (Sjemstin 99)

It is unclear if there is any semantic difference between *enti* and *edder*, which may represent different diachronic layers; *edder* appears to be the more frequent of the two. An additional disjunctive conjunction, *a* 'or', is found in some fixed phrases and expressions of approximation:

- (139) *He kon ham eg ripp a rër-e*
 3M can.3SG 3M.OBL not move.INF or budge-INF
 'He cannot move at all (lit. move or budge himself)' (Wb. 1695)
- (140) *En mel a fjauer*
 INDF mile or four
 'About four miles (lit. a mile or four)' (Wb. 459)

The adversative conjunctions *awer* and *ors* 'but' usually coordinate clauses. These may also represent different diachronic layers; there does not seem to be any semantic difference between them:

- (141) *He hei san Kunst warentig nüthig, dat=er Ankatren tofrethe*
 3M have.PST.3SG 3M.POSS[M] skill(M) truly necessary COMP=3M Ankatren satisfied
stall-d, awer Eling lukk-ed et ham eg.
 put-PST.3SG but tonight succeed-PST.3SG 3N 3M.OBL not
 'He truly needed all his skills to make Ankatren happy, but tonight he didn't succeed' (Sjemstin 259)
- (142) *The kat mei nog fask-e, ors hjü mei de fëtt der eg am wëtt mag-e.*
 DEF.F cat(F) like.3SG AFFIRM fish-PL but 3F like.3SG DEF.PL foot.PL there not for wet make-INF
 'The cat does like fish, but it does not like getting its feet wet because of them' (Findling 290)

Correlative coordinators are *endwether* (*endwedder*) ... *enti* 'either ... or' and *wether* (*wedder*) ... *edder* 'neither ... nor':

- (143) *An fon junk skall henne endwether dü, enti he*
 one.M of 2DU.OBL shall.3SG DIR either you.SG or 3M
 'One of you have to go, either you or him' (Wb. 1154)
- (144) *Wat=s snak-e es wedder plattiüsk edder frësk, da=s en Mingelmos fon*
 what=3PL speak-NSG be.3SG neither Low.German nor Frisian 3N=be.3SG INDF mishmash of
bithe Sprëkke
 both language.PL
 'What they speak is neither Low German nor Frisian, it's a mishmash of the two languages.'
 (Sjemstin 289)

The coordinator *an* 'and' is sometimes found in a complement construction with an infinitive, i.e. functioning as a complementizer rather than as a coordinating conjunction:

- (145) a. *Der sen fask-e nôg, dat es man am an fu-e=s fathe.*
 there be.NSG fish-PL enough.PL that be.3SG only about and get-INF=3PL hold
 'There are enough fish, it's just a matter of catching them.' (Wb. 485)

- b. *Dat is eg gödd an dreg-e wather ön a suth*
 that be.3SG not good and carry-INF water in DEF well
 ‘It is no good to carry water to the well’ (Findling 263)

This ‘and + infinitive’ construction is also found in other Frisian, Low German, and northern High German varieties (cf. e.g. Hoekstra 2009; Thießen 2024), but to our knowledge has not been described for Karrharde Frisian before.

8.2 Subordinate clauses

Subordinators introducing finite complement clauses are *dat* ‘that’, *wer* ‘if, whether’, *wann(e)* ‘when’, *wer* ‘where’, *wat* ‘what’, *hü* ‘how’, and *hum* ‘who(m)’. Some examples are given in (146):

- (146) a. *Ik lōw eg, dat dü en īnsigsten Frage beöntwörd-e kōst.*
 1SG believe.1SG not COMP 2SG INDF single-M.INDF question(M) answer-INF can.2SG
 ‘I don’t think that you can answer a single question’ (Makker II 166)
- b. *Dü wīst eg, wer dü mīarne lāw-est*
 2SG know.2SG not whether 1SG tomorrow live-2SG
 ‘You don’t know if you will be alive tomorrow’ (Wb. 1662)
- c. *Nü wit arken nōg, wat=er aw a Wrāl her skall.*
 now know.3SG each-M AFFIRM what=3M on DEF world here shall.3SG
 ‘Now everyone knows what he is supposed to do in the world’ (Makker II 156)
- d. *De saldāt-ne loth-e, hum=t wese skall.*
 DEF.PL soldier-PL draw.lots-NSG who=3N be.INF shall.3SG
 ‘The soldiers draw lots about who it will be’ (Wb. 1878)

Non-finite complementizers are *tu* ‘to’ and the combination *am (...)* *tu* ‘to’, which form a non-finite clause with a gerund:

- (147) *Ogtemfel ham dat Wurd in, wat de goue Mon fōle Tidd*
 often fall.PST.3SG 3M.OBL DEF.N word(N) in what DEF.M good.ATTR-M.DEF man much time
pleg-ed tu sed-an
 use-PST.3SG to say-GER
 ‘He often thought of the words that the good man always used to say’ (Makker II 200–201)
- (148) *Dat es eg am tu ferstōnn-an*
 that be.3SG not for to comprehend-GER
 ‘That is incomprehensible’ (Wb. 2521)

The following example shows raising of the object *san brughbin* out of the complement clause:

- (149) *He hei san brugh+bin ferjēd-n am tu binn-an*
 3M have.PST.3SG 3M.POSS[M] hernia+bandage(M) forget-PTCP for to bind-GER
 ‘He had forgotten to wrap his hernia bandage’ (Wb. 2182)

Relative clauses are usually introduced by the indeclinable particle *der* ‘that, which, who’:

- (150) *En Hird es en distrikt, der en hire het*
 INDF shire be.3SG INDF district REL INDF sheriff have.3SG
 ‘A shire is a district that has a sheriff’ (Wb. 1341)

- (151) *Jü kü, der eg bêth-et, kamm-t ok tu tarp.*
 DEF.F cow(F) REL not run-3SG come-3SG also to village
 ‘Even the cow that doesn’t run makes it to the village’ (i.e. haste makes waste) (Findling 550)

Occasionally the pronoun and complementizer *wat* is also found in relative clauses with inanimate antecedents; see (147) above for an example.

Adverbial subordinators include the ones listed in (152)–(155), though others may undoubtedly be found in the material as well. The terminology for different types of adverbial relations is taken from Kortmann (1997). Temporal subordinators are listed in (152):

- (152) *befar* ‘before’ (posteriority)
bet ‘until’ (terminus ad quem)
as ‘when, as’ (simultaneity overlap)
sü bal as ‘as soon as’ (immediate anteriority)
sunt ‘since’ (terminus a quo)
wenn ‘when’ (simultaneity overlap, contingency)
wilt ‘while, during’ (simultaneity duration)

Subordinators relating to cause, condition, and concession are listed in (153):

- (153) *auer dat* ‘because’ (cause/reason)
dat ‘so that’ (purpose/result)
for ‘because, for’ (cause/reason)
wann/wenn ‘if’ (condition)
wann/wenn ... ok ‘even if’ (concessive condition)

The complementizers *tu* and *am (...)* *tu* may also function as non-finite purpose subordinators ‘(in order) to’:

- (154) *hje sen man al üt am tu fang-in*
 3PL be.NSG only all out.TEL for to catch-GER
 ‘They have all gone out to hunt’ (Wb. 483)

Subordinators of similarity and comparison are:

- (155) *as* ‘as, like’
alks ‘(just) as, like’
as wann/wenn ‘as if’

For proportion, the correlative conjunctions *je ... je* and *o ... o* ‘the ... the’ are used, as in (156):

- (156) *o mor hum deraw klop-et, o mor kamm-t er üt*
 the more IMPERS thereon knock-3SG the more come-3SG there out
 ‘the more one beats it [a bag], the more comes out of it’ (Findling 666)

Abbreviations

AFFIRM	affirmative particle <i>nog</i>
ANIM	animate
AUX	dummy auxiliary <i>were</i>

ATTR	attributive
COMP	complementizer <i>dat</i>
COMPAR	comparative
CTR	contrastive particle <i>dagh</i>
DEF	definite
DEM	general demonstrative
DIR	directional adverb
DIST	distal demonstrative
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic particle <i>sillew</i>
ENIM	enimitive particle <i>je</i>
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
IMP	imperative
IMPERS	impersonal pronoun <i>hum</i>
INAN	inanimate
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INTJ	interjection
M	masculine
MED	medial demonstrative
N	neuter
NOM	nominative
NSG	non-singular
OBL	oblique
PART	partitive
PERS	personal numeral form
PL	plural
POL	polite pronoun
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicative
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PST	past
PTCP	participle
REL	relative particle <i>der</i>
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SUPR	superlative
STAT	static adverb
TEL	telic adverb

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Appendix: Irregular verbs

The list is in alphabetical order and includes the irregular conjugation forms recorded by Nissen in his dictionary (Wb.), including a few defective verbs with gaps in the paradigm. The past-tense 1SG and 3SG forms are always identical and are listed together. The imperative forms are not listed separately; see Section 2.1 on the formation of imperatives. For *lücke*, Nissen also mentions the strong participle *legen*. For *slinge*, similarly, a strong participle *slängen* is mentioned. For the verbs *dun*, *fun*, *slun*, and *tun*, there are also longer gerund forms *dün'an*, *fün'an*, *slün'an*, and *tün'en*.

Table 26: Irregular verbs

INF	Gloss	PRS				PST			PTCP	GER
		1SG	2SG	3SG	NSG	1/3SG	2SG	NSG		
badde	beg, pray	badd	?	?	badde	bèdd	bèddst	bèdden	bē(d)n	baddan
bäge	bake	bäg	bäkst	bäkt	bäge	bouk	boukst	bouken	bagen	bagan
bedrege	deceive	bedreg	bedreist	bedreit	bedrege	bedrough	bedroughst	bedroughen	bedrein	bedregan
befële	command	befël	befëlst	befëlt	befële	befëllt	befëllst	befëllen	befelen	befelen
bere	earn	ber	berst	bert	bere	biard	biardst	biarden	biard	beran
bérige	save	bérig	berigst	berigt	bérige	börrig	börrigst	börrigen	börgen	bérigan
besnáie	snow (tr.)	–	–	besnait	–	besnaid	–	–	besnénn'	besnáien
biarste	burst	biarst	biarstest	biarstet	biarste	borst	borst	borsten	borsten	biarsten
bid'e	offer, bid	bid'	biöst	biött	bid'e	büd'	büd'st	büd'en	bē(d)n	bid'an
binne	bind	binn	banst	bant	binne	bünn	bünnst	bünnen	bünnen	binnan
bitte	bite	bitt	batst	batt	bitte	bīt'	bīt'st	bīt'en	benn	bittan
blédde	bleed	blédd	bletst	blet	blédde	blet	bletst	bleten	blet	bléddan
bliwwe	remain	bliww	blaffst	blafft	bliwwe	blif	blifst	blifen	bléwen	bliwwan
brédde	brood	brédd	bretst	bret	brédde	bret	bretst	breten	bret	bréddan
brege	break	breg	brekst	brekt	brege	brékk	brékkst	brékken	brégen	bregan
brid'e	broaden	brid'	brätst	brät	brid'e	brat	bratst	braten	brat	briden
bringe	bring	bring	brangst	brangt	bringe	brögt	brogst	brögten	brögt	bringan
dôge	be of use	dôg	dughst	dught	dôge	dügh	düghst	dughen	dēgen	dôgan
dörre	dare	dörr	dörrst	dörrt	dörre	därst	därst	därsten	därst	dörran
drege	carry	dreg	dregst	dregt	drege	drough	droughst	droughen	drein	dregan
drenke	drink	drenk	drenkst	drenkt	drenke	drunk	drunkst	drunken	drunken	drenkan
driwwe	float, chase	driww	draffst	drafft	driwwe	drif	drifst	drifen	dréwen	driwwan
dun/dün'	do, give	du	dēst	ded	due	dei	deist	dēnn	dēnn	duan
ēthe	eat	ēth	etst	et	ethe	étt	éttst	étten	ēdn	ēthan
fale	fall	fal	falst	falt	fale	fel	felst	felen	felen	falan
färe	sail, rush	fär	färst	färt	färe	fouer	fouerst	fouern	faren	faran
fédde	feed	fédd	fetst	fet	fédde	fet	fetst	feten	fet	féddan
ferdirwe	spoil	ferdirw	ferdirfst	ferdirft	ferdirwe	ferdörw	ferdörfst	ferdörwen	ferdörwen	ferdirwan
ferjethe	forget	ferjeth	ferjetst	ferjet	ferjethe	ferjett	ferjéttst	ferjetten	ferjēdn	ferjethan
fërke	fork	fèrk	fèrkst	fèrkt	fërke	fork	forkst	forken	forken	fèrkan
ferlise	lose	ferlis	ferliöst	ferliöst	ferlise	ferlüs (-u-)	ferlüst (-u-)	ferlüssen (-u-)	ferlësen	ferlisan
fertrit'e	irk, annoy	–	–	fertrött	–	fertrüt'	–	–	fertrē(d)n	fertrit'en
ferwitte	accuse	ferwitt	ferwattst	ferwatt	ferwitte	ferwīt'	ferwīt'st	ferwīt'en	ferwenn	ferwitten
fil'ige	fallow	filig	falligst	falligt	fil'ige	falligd	falligdst	falligden	falligt	fil'igen
finne	find	finn	fannst	fannst	finne	fünn	fünnst	fünnen	fünnen	finnan
flete	run (nose)	–	–	flet	–	flat	–	–	flat	fletan
flete	move	flet	fletst	flet	flete	flet	fletst	fleten	flet	fleten
flin'	fly	fli	fliughst	fliught	flie	flugh	flughst	flughen	flēgen	flin'an
frethe	eat	freth	fretst	fret	frethe	frëtt	frëttst	frëtten	frënd	frethan
frise	freeze	fris	fröst	fröst	frise	früs (-u-)	früst (-u-)	früsen (-u-)	frësen	frisan
fun/fün'	get	fu	feist	feit	fue	füng	füngst	füngen	füngen	fuan
genite	enjoy	–	–	genit	–	genât	–	–	genâten	?
git'e	pour	git'	gatst	gat	git'e	güt'/gut	güt'st/gutst	güt'en/guten	gē(d)n	git'an

Table 26: Irregular verbs

INF	Gloss	PRS				PST			PTCP	GER
		1SG	2SG	3SG	NSG	1/3SG	2SG	NSG		
git'e	herd	git'	gatst	gat	git'e	gat	gatst	gaten	gat	giten
glidde	glide, slip	glidd	glattst	glatt	glidde	glid'	glid'st	glid'en	glenn	gliddan
grewe	dig	grew	grefst	greft	grewe	grouf	groufst	groufen	grēwen	grewan
grin'	grow, arise	–	–	grait	grāie	graid	–	graiden	grēnn'	graien
grippe	catch	gripp	grappst	grappt	grippe	grip	gripst	gripen	gremmen	grippan
gunge	go	gung	gungst	gungt	gunge	ging	gingst	gingen	gingen	gungan
hewe	have	hēw	hēst	het	hewe	hei	heist	hēn	hēdd/hēft	hewan
hēwe	assume	hēw	hifst	hēft	hēwe	hēwd	hēwdst	hēwden	hēwd	hēwen
hilpe	help	hilp	hilpst	hilpt	hilpe	hulp	hulpst	hulpen	hulpen	hilpan
hin'e	catch	hin'	hānst	hānt	hin'e	hānd	hāndst	hānden	hānd	hin'an
hinge	hang (tr.)	hing	hāngst	hāngt	hinge	hāngd	hāngdst	hāngden	hāngd	hingen
hit'e	heat	hit'	hātst	hāt	hit'e	hāt	hātst	hāten	hāt	hit'en
hit'e	be called	hit'	hātst	hat	hit'e	hētt	hēttst	hētten	hētten	hit'en
hule	hold	hul	hālst	hālt	hule	hüll	hüllst	hüllen	hüllen	hulan
hunge	hang (intr.)	hung	hungst	hungt	hunge	hüng	hüngst	hüngen	hüngen	hungan
in'e	manage	in'	ānst	ānt	in'e	ānd	āndst	ānden	ānd	in'in
irwe	inherit	irw	ārftst	ārft	irwe	ārft	ārftst	ārften	ārft	irwan
jewe	feed, give	jew	jefst	jeft	jewe	jéf	jéfst	jéfen	jéwen	jewan
kāme	come	kamm	kammst	kammt	kāme	koum	koumst	koumen	kimen	kāman
kére	drive	kér	kérst	kért	kére	kéard	kéardst	kéarden	kéard	kéran
kime	comb	kim	kānst	kānt	kime	kāmd	kāmdst	kāmden	kāmd	kimen
kluthe	clothe	kluth	kluthst	kluthet	kluthe	klāth	klāst	klāthen	klāth	kluthan
knete	knot, knit	knet	knetst	knet	knete	knet	knetst	kneten	knet	kneten
knethe	knead	kneth	knetst	knet	knethe	knētt	knēttst	knētten	knēdne	knethen
kōne	can	kōn	kōst	kōn	kōne	kü	küst	künn	kütt	kōnan
krin'	crow	krāi	krāist	krāit	krāie	kraid	kraidst	kraiden	krēnn'	kraien
kringe	push	kring	krāngst	krāngt	kringe	krāngd	krāngdst	krāngden	krāngd	kringen
kripe	crawl	krip	kruppst	kruppt	kripe	krup	krupst	krupen	krēmen	kripan
kupe	buy	kup	kāfst	kāft	kupe	kāft	kāftst	kāften	kāft	kupan
ladde	lie	ladd	laist	lait	ladde	lei	leist	leien	lein	laddan
lede	lay	led	leist	leit	lede	leid	leidst	leiden	leid	ledan
lefte	raise	left	lefst	left	lefte	left	leftst	leften	left	leften
lese	read	les	lest	lest	lese	lous (-öi-)	loust (-öi-)	lousen (-öi-)	lēsen	lesan
lethe	load	leth	lest	lest	lethe	louth	louthst	louthen	lēthen	lethan
létte	let	lét	letst	let	létte	let	letst	leten	let	léttan
linge	hand, reach	ling	lāngst	lāngt	linge	lāngd	lāngdst	lāngden	lāngd	lingen
liôge	tell lies	liôg	liùghst	liught	liôge	lùgh	lùghst	lùghen	lēgen	liôgan
lithe	endure	lith	last	last	lithe	lis	list	lisen	lēthen	lithan
liwe	believe	liw	lifst	lift	liwe	liwd	liwdst	liwden	liwd	liwen
lükke	close	lökk	lökkst	lökket	lükke	lökked	lökkedst	lökkedn	lökket	lökkin
lupe	run, walk	lup	läpst	läpt	lupe	lupp	luppst	luppen	lēmen	lupan
métte	measure	métt	metst	met	métte	met	metst	meten	met	méttan
minge	mix	ming	māngst	māngt	minge	māngd	māngdst	māngden	māngd	mingen
môge	may	mei	mēst	mei	môge	mā	māst	mān	māt	môgen
mōn'ne	must	mōtt'	mōst	mōtt	mōn'ne	mōst	mōst	mōsten	mōst	–
nāme	take	namm	nammst	nammt	nāme	nümm	nümmst	nümmen	nümmen	nāman
pleke	ring (a pig)	plek	plekest	pleket	pleke	pliggd	pliggdst	pliggden	pliggd	plekan
rédde	guess	rēdd	retst	ret	rédde	ret	retst	reten	ret	rēddan
reke	stretch	rek	rekst	rekt	reke	riggd	riggdst	riggden	riggd	rekan
rene	rain	–	–	rīnt	–	rīnd	–	–	rīnd	renan
ridde	ride	ridd	rattst	ratt	ridde	rid'	rid'st	rid'en	renn/ridden	riddan
riwwe	tear, grate	riww	rafft	rafft	riwwe	rīf	rīfst	rīfen	rēwen	riwwan
sanne	consider	sann	sannest	sannet	sanne	sunn	sunnst	sunnen	sunnen	sannan

Table 26: Irregular verbs

INF	Gloss	PRS				PST			PTCP	GER
		1SG	2SG	3SG	NSG	1/3SG	2SG	NSG		
satte	sit	satt	sattst	satt	satte	sëtt	sëttst	sëtten	sē(d)n	sattan
sede	say	sed	seist	seit	sede	sē	sëst	sē(d)n	seid	sedan
sëkke	seek	sëkk	segst	segt	sëkke	sögt	sögtst	sögten	sögt	sekkan
senke	sink (intr.)	senk	senkst	senkt	senke	sunk	sunkst	sunken	sunken	senkan
–	sink (tr.)	–	–	–	–	sängd	sängdst	sängden	sängd	–
sete	put	set	setst	set	sete	set	setst	seten	set	setan
sin'	sow	si	saist	sait	sie	said	saidst	saiden	sënn	sin'an
sin'	see	si	siughst	siught	sie	sāgh	sāghst	sāghen	sënn	sin'an
sin'e	send	sin'	sānst	sānt	sin'e	sānd	sāndst	sānden	sānd	sin'an
siunge	sing	siung	siungst	siungt	siunge	süng	süngst	süngen	süngen	siungan
skafe	shape	skaf	skafest	skafet	skafe	skuf	skufst	skufen	skēmen	skafan
skele	differ	–	–	skilt/skēlt	skele	skēld	–	skēlden	skēld	skelen
skelwe	tremble	skelw	skelfst	skelft	skelwe	skülw	skülfst	skülwen	skülwen	skelwan
skene	shine	sken	skinst	skint	skene	skind	skindst	skinden	skind	skenan
skenn	shall	skall	skēt	skall	skenn	sköll'	sköst	skönn'	sköllt	–
skere	cut	sker	skerst	skert	skere	skēar	skēarst	skēarn	skern	skeran
skīn'	happen	–	–	skāit	skāie	skāid	–	skāiden	skēnn'	skāian/-en
skit'e	shoot	skit'	skātst	skāt	skit'e	sküt'/skut	sküt'st/skutst	sküt'en/skuten	skē(d)n	skit'an
skit'e	concern	–	–	skat	–	sküt'	–	–	skēn	?
skithe	separate	skith	skāst	skās	skithe	skās	skāst	skāsen	skās	skithan
skitte	shit	skitt	skattst	skatt	skitte	skit'	sküt'st	skit'en	skenn	skittan/-en
skridde	stride, step	skridd	skrattst	skratt	skridde	skrid'	skrid'st	skrid'en	skrenn	skriden
skriwwe	write	skriww	skrafft	skrafft	skriwwe	skrif	skrifst	skriwen	skriwen	skriwwan
skulwe	socialize	skulw	skulfst	skulft	skulwe	skulwed	skulwedst	skulwedn	skulwet	skulwin
skutte	close, lock	skutt	skuttet	skuttet	skutte	skōet	skōest	skōetn	skōet	skutten
sküwwe	push	sküww	skuffst	skufft	sküwwe	skuf	skufst	skufen	skēwen	sküwwan
sleke	go out (fire)	–	–	slekt	–	sliggd	–	–	sliggd	slekan
slenke	swallow	slenk	slenkst	slenkt	slenke	slunk	slunkst	slunken	slunken	slenkan
slëppe	sleep	slëpp	slepst	slept	slëppe	slëpp	slëppst	slëppen	slëppen	slëppan
slidde	slither	slidd	slattst	slatt	slidde	slid'	slid'st	slid'en	slenn	slidden
slinge	veer	sling	slāngst	slāngt	slinge	slāngd	slāngdst	slāngden	slāngd	slingen
slitte	wear out	slitt	slattst	slatt	slitte	slit'	slit'st	slit'en	slenn	slitten
slitte	close	slitt	slātst	slāt	slitte	slüt'	slüt'st	slüt'en	slē(d)n	slitten
slun/slün	beat	slu	slāist	slāit	slue	slouf	sloufst	sloufen	slāin	sluan
smere	smear	smer	smerst	smert	smere	smiard	smiardst	smiarden	smiard	smeran
smitte	throw	smit	smitst	smit	smitte	smit'	smit'st	smit'en	smenn	smitten
snëtte	blow (nose)	snëtt	snetst	snet	snëtte	snet	snetst	sneten	snet	snëttan
snüwwe	sniffe, snort	snüww	snuffst	snufft	snüwwe	snuf	snufst	snufen	snēwen	snüwwan
spanne	spin	spann	spannst	spannt	spanne	spunn	spunnst	spunnen	spunnen	spannan
spille	lose, drop	spill	spallst	spallt	spille	spüll	spüllst	spüllen	spüllen	spillen
spirke	scratch	spirk	spirkst	spirkt	spirke	sparkt	sparkst	sparkten	sparkt	spirken
splitte	split	splitt	splattst	splatt	splitte	split'	split'st	split'en	splenn	splitten
sprege	speak	sreg	sprekst	sprekt	sprege	sprëkk	sprëkkst	sprëkken	sprëgen	spregan
sprid'e	spread	sprid'	sprätst	sprät	sprid'e	sprät	sprätst	spräten	sprät	sprid'an
springe	jump	spring	sprangst	sprangt	springe	sprüng	sprüngst	sprüngen	sprüngen	springen
sprit'e	sprout	–	–	sprat	sprit'e	sprat	–	spraten	sprat/sprën	sprit'en
stege	sting	steg	stekst	stek	stege	stëkk	stëkkst	stëkken	stëgen	stegan
stele	steal	stel	stelst	stelt	stele	stëll	stëllst	stëllen	stelen	stelan
stërwe	die	stër	sterfst	sterft	stërwe	störw	störfst	störwen	störwen	stërwan
stilpe	put out	stilp	stalpst	stalpt	stilpe	stalpd	stalpdst	stalpdn	stalpd	stilpen
stirme	smell	stirm	stirmst	stirmt	stirme	starmd	starmdst	starmden	starmd	stirmen
stīt'e	push, butt	stīt'	stātst	stāt	stīt'e	stāt	stātst	stäten	stāt	stīt'an
stiunke	stink	stiunk	stiunkst	stiunkt	stiunke	stünk	stünkst	stünken	stünken	stiunkan

Table 26: Irregular verbs

INF	Gloss	PRS				PST			PTCP	GER
		1SG	2SG	3SG	NSG	1/3SG	2SG	NSG		
stōn'ne	stand	stōnn'	stōnst	stōnt	stōn'ne	stū	stūst	stūnn	stīn'en	stōn'nan
streke	stretch	strek	strekst	strekt	streke	striggd	striggdst	striggden	striggd	strekan
stridde	fight	stridd	strattst	stratt	stridde	strīd'	strīd'st	strīd'en	strenn	striddan
strikke	flatten, go	strikk	strakkst	strakkt	strikke	strikk	striktst	striken	strēgen	strikkān
stringe	exert	string	strāngst	strāngt	stringe	strāngd	strāngdst	strāngden	strāngd	stringen
stüwwe	(raise) dust	stüww	stuffst	stufft	stüwwe	stuf	stufst	stufen	stēwen	stüwwan
sügge	suck	sügg	sughst	sught	sügge	sügh	süghst	süghen	sēgen	süggan
sulwe	anoint	sulew	sulwest	sulwet	sulwe	sulewd	sulewdst	sulewdn	suleft	sulwin
süppe	sip, slurp	süpp	suppst	suppt	süppe	süp	süpst	süpen	sēmen	süppan
swege	be silent	sweg	swegest	sweget	swege	swigged	swiggedst	swiggedn	swēgen	swegan
swere	swear	swer	swerst	swert	swere	swour	swourst	swouren	swern	sweran
swinge	swing	swing	swāngst	swāngt	swinge	swüng	swüngst	swüngen	swüngen	swingan
swinne	dwindle	swinn	swannst	swannt	swinne	swünn	swünnst	swünnen	swünnen	swinnan
swirme	swarm	swirm	swirmst	swirmt	swirme	swarmd	swarmdst	swarmden	swarmd	swirmen
swithe	singe	swith	swāst	swāst	swithe	swīs	swīst	swīsen	swēthen	swithan
tanke	think	tank	tangst	tankt	tanke	togt	togtst	togten	togt	tankan
teke	thatch	tek	tekest	teket	teke	tiggd	tiggdst	tiggden	tiggd	tekan
tenke	seem	–	–	tenkt	–	tught	–	–	tught	–
tere	wear out	ter	terst	–	tere	tiard	tiardst	tiarden	tiard	teran
tiarske	thresh	tiarsk	tiarskest	tiarsket	tiarske	torsk	torskst	torsken	torsken	tiarskan
tin'	pull, flow	ti	tiūghst	tiūght	tie	tūgh	tūghst	tūghen	tēgen	tin'an
tin'e	light	tin'	tānst	tant	tin'e	tānd	tāndst	tānden	tānd	tin'en
tit'e	cry, whistle	tit'	tiōtst	tiōtt	tit'e	tüt'	tüt'st	tüt'en	tēn	tit'an
törre	need	törr	törrst	törrt	törre	tārst	tārst	tārsten	tārst	–
trethe	step, tread	treth	tretst	tret	trethe	trētt	trēttst	trētten	trē(d)n	trethan
trin'e	shear	trin'	trānst	trānt	trin'e	trānd	trāndst	trānden	trānd	trin'en
tringe	push, resort	tring	trāngst	trāngt	tringe	trāngd	trāngdst	trāngden	trāngd	tringen
tun/tūn	wash	tu	twāist	twāit	tue	touf	toufst	toufen	twāin	tuan
tünne	raise, swell	tünn	tünnst	tünnst	tünd	tünd	tündst	tünden	tünnd/-en	tünnen
twinge	force	twing	twāngst	twāngt	twinge	twüng	twüngst	twüngen	twüngen	twingan
twitte	cut, trim	twitt	twattst	twatt	twitte	twīt'	twīt'st	twīt'en	twenn	twitten
wakse	grow	waks	wakst	wakst	wakse	wüks	wükst	wüksen	wüksen	waksan
wanne	win	wann	wannst	wannt	wanne	wunn	wunnst	wunnen	wunnen	wannan
wārde	become	wārd	wārst	wārd	wārde	word	wordst	worden	worden	wārdan
wāthe	know	wīt'	wīst	wīt'	withe	wust	wust	wusten	wust	wāthen
wege	weigh	weg	wegst	wegt	wege	wouch	wouchst	woughen	wēgen	wegan
wenn	will, want	wall	wēt	wall	wenn	wēll	wēst	wēnn	wēllt	wallen
were	resist	wer	werst	wert	were	weard	weardst	wearden	weard	weran
were	AUX	wer	werst	wert	were	werd	?	werden	–	–
wese	be	ben	best	es	wese	wās	wearst	wearn	wē(se)n	wesan
wewe	weave	wew	wefst	weft	wewe	wēf	wēfst	wēfen	wēwen	wewan
win'e	turn	win'	wānst	wānt	win'e	wānd	wāndst	wānden	wānd	win'en
winne	wind, wrap	winn	wannst	wannt	winne	wünn	wünnst	wünnen	wünnen	winnan
wirme	heat	wirm	wirmst	wirmt	wirme	wārm	wārmst	wārm	wārm	wirmen
wringe	wring	wring	wrāngst	wrāngt	wringe	wrūng	wrūngst	wrūngen	wrāngd	wringen
writhe	wind, turn	writh	wrast	wrast	writhe	wrīs	wrīst	wrīsen	wrēthen	writhen