From complementizer to causal subordinator
The functions of *dat* 'that, so, because' in Wangerooge Frisian

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Wangerooge Frisian complement with *dat*

(1) yu   hää   herd,   [**dat** hir is   'n   kronkenhus]
     she   have.3SG   hear.PTCP   COMP here COP.3SG   INDF   hospital
     'She has heard **that** there is a hospital here'

Versloot (1996: 449.27)

Wangerooge Frisian causal clause with *dat*

(2) iik sin   saa suf, [**dat** iik farléeden nacht nich slíipin
     I cop.1sg so tired caus I   last   night not sleep.ptcp
     häb]
     have.1sg

     'I am so tired **because** (*weil*) I haven't slept last night.'

Ehrentraut (1849: 103)

Outline

Section 1

Wangerooge Frisian

What is Wangerooge Frisian?

- East Frisian dialect (or language) on the Wadden Sea island Wangerooge
- Documentation from *c.* 1800 to 1930s
- Long history of contact with (Low) German
- Probably never more than 200 speakers; 7 remained in 1927 (Siebs 1931: 70); extinct by 1950

The Frisian languages (from Nielsen & Larsen 2009)

Documentation of Wangerooge Frisian

- Excellent documenation thanks to H. G. Ehrentraut (1798–1866) and his primary consultant Anna Metta Claßen (1774–1846)
- Corpus of c. 100,000 words collected 1837–1841
  - Genres include fairy tales, ethnographic texts, anecdotes and tall tales, and proverbs
  - Some material appeared in *Friesisches Archiv* (Ehrentraut 1849, 1854), the rest published by Versloot (1996)
- Some shorter (mostly later) texts not included here (e.g. Winkler 1874, Littmann 1922, Siebs 1923)

A grammar of Wangerooge Frisian (2022–2024)

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Section 2

Complements and causal clauses

Relevant clause types

- COMP(LEMENT): *I know* [***that*** *you mean well*]
- CAUS(AL): *He likes them* [***because*** *they are always helpful*]
- PURPOSE: *We paid him immediately* [***so*** *he would leave contented*]
- RESULT: *I took no notice of him,* [***so*** *he flew into a rage*]
- DEGREE−RESULT: *They walked* ***so*** *quickly* [***that*** *I couldn't catch up*]

English examples from Quirk et al. (1985)

Complementizers and related functions

- Kehayov & Boye (2016): complementizers often develop other functions, such as PURPOSE, CAUS, TIME, MANNER, and RESULT
- Complementizers with CAUS function attested in e.g.
    - Irish and Welsh (Celtic)
    - Bulgarian (Slavic)
    - Estonian, Karelian, Udmurt, and other Uralic languages
- *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* only mentions COMP > PURPOSE (Kuteva et al. 2019: 120)

Wangerooge Frisian   **Complements and causal clauses**   Study of *dat*-clauses   COMP/CAUS cross-linguistically   Conclusions   References

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Udmurt *šuysa* 'that, because, so'

(3)   So   vera-z   [myn-iśko **šuysa**]
        3SG say-PST.3SG go-PRS.1SG COMP
        'He said **that** he is coming'

(4)   [Pijaš gožtet gožt-iz   **šuysa**], Anna so-ly   kuźym
        boy letter write-PST.SG CAUS   Anna 3SG-DAT gift
        baśt-iz.
        buy-PST.3SG
        '**Because** the boy has written a letter Anna bought him a gift'

Klumpp (2016: 540–541)

Subtypes of causality

- Quirk et al. (1985): 'direct' vs. 'indirect' reason
- Schiffrin (1987): 'fact-based' vs. 'action-based' causal relations
- Sweetser (1990): 'content' vs. 'speech act' causality
- Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008): 'reason' vs. 'motivation'

Some authors, e.g. Schiffrin (1987) and Sweetser (1990), distinguish an additional (epistemic) type; cf. also Dik et al. (1990) and Gregersen (2019)

Two types of CAUS clauses

- REASON: *Jenny went home* [***because*** *her mother would visit her*]
- MOTIVATION: *Watch out,* [***because*** *there will be trick questions in the exam*]

Examples from Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008)

Section 3

Study of *dat*-clauses

Questions and methods

- Questions: Which adverbial functions did *dat* have, and how might these be related to the complementizer function?
- Examples excerpted from the Ehrentraut corpus with AntConc (Anthony 2022) and analysed in Excel
- Particular focus on identifying possible bridging contexts

Types of clauses

Table 1: Types of *dat*-clauses

Clause function	Gloss	*n*
Complement	'that'	395
Purpose	'so, in order that'	91
Result	'so'	33
Degree–result	'so X that'	90
Reason	'because'	**16**
Motivation	'because, since'	**4**
Ambiguous		29
Combined		82
Unclear		14
Total		754

'Combined' e.g. *wiils dat* 'while', *obschóon(s) dat* 'although', etc.

Reason clause

(5) daa nímmet yaa hírii too dónsen,   [**dat** yuu saa
     then take.PL they her to dance.INF2 CAUS she so
     net   is]
     beautiful COP.3SG

     'Then they take/invite her [Cinderella] to dance **because** she
     is so beautiful'

Versloot (1996: 449.195)

Reason clause (II)

(6)   hii wul   him géern gevángen reik,   obschóon dat   hii
       he will.3SG him gladly captive   give.INF1 although COMP he
       nich lib   kan,   [**dat**   hii nich ään éerem hää]
       not live.INF1 can.3SG CAUS he not one arm   have.3SG
       'He [a monster] will gladly surrender although he can't
       survive **because** he doesn't have any arms'

Versloot (1996: 449.121)

Motivation clause

(7) hä'stuu schóftiid haivt,   [**dát**=tuu   saa laang we'
    have.2sg break   have.ptcp caus=2sg so   long away
    wíziin   bist?]
    cop.ptcp cop.2sg
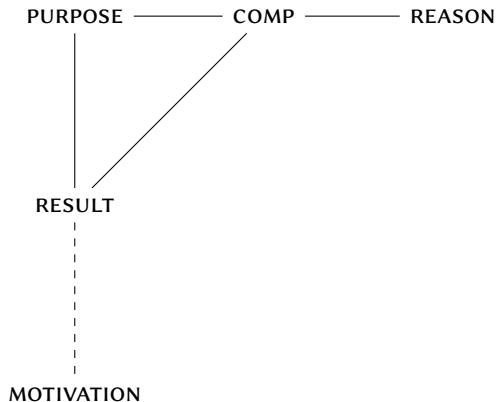   'Were you on a break, **since** you were gone for so long?'

Ehrentraut (1849: 390)

Types of clauses (II)

Table 2: Types of *dat*-clauses

Clause function	Gloss	*n*
Complement	'that'	395
Purpose	'so, in order that'	91
Result	'so'	33
Degree–result	'so X that'	90
Reason	'because'	16
Motivation	'because, since'	4
Ambiguous		**29**
Combined		82
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'Combined' e.g. *wiils dat* 'while', *obschóon(s) dat* 'although', etc.

Patterns of ambiguity

PURPOSE ———— COMP ———— REASON

RESULT

MOTIVATION

Reason or complement clause?

(8) as hii daa de píizel   ípiin dää,   daa farschrécket
     as he then DEF living_room open do.3SG then startle.PL
     yaa   yam,   [**dat**   hii saa hooch is]
     they 3PL.REFL COMP/CAUS he so   tall   COP.3SG
     'And as he opens the living room, they are all startled
     that/because he is so tall'

Versloot (1996: 449.227)

Reason or complement clause?

(9) nu   gungt yu allerweegen 'erduum to hullen un to
     now go.3sg she everywhere around to cry.inf2 and to
     jammern,   [**dat**   hi is   weg]
     lament.inf2 comp/caus he cop.3sg away
     'Now she is going around everywhere, crying and lamenting
     that/because he is gone'

Versloot (1996: 449.25)

Ambiguous contexts

Table 3: Contexts with comp/reason ambiguity

Predicate/noun	Gloss
bilóonung	'reward' (n.)
farschréck + refl	'be startled'
fiilaíniig	'spiteful'
flock	'curse' (v.)
huull	'cry'
jammer	'moan, lament'
mismóodiig	'grumpy'
straf	'punish'
trooriig	'sad'
troost lait + refl	'be consoled'

Possible bridging contexts

- COMP > REASON in "low-transitivity" contexts, particularly after predicates expressing (emotional) reactions?
  - In such context, COMP generally express the cause of the reaction (Dixon 2005: 'Stimulus')
- Variable valency attested for several such predicates, e.g.
  - *ong* = 'afraid'
  - *ong far* + NP = 'afraid of NP'
  - *ong* + *dat*-clause = 'afraid that...'

Motivation from result clauses?

(10)   yum häb't   jaawa'il nain good kábuuk   haivt,
       2PL   have.PL surely   no   good mussel_catch have.PTCP
       [**dat**   yum ni' ful wúurden   sint   in djuu tiid?]
       CAUS? 2PL   not full become.PTCP COP.PL in DEM.F time(F)
       'You surely must have had a bad mussel catch, **since** [so?]
       you haven't filled up [the boat] in that time?'

Ehrentraut (1854: 38)

Section 4

COMP/CAUS cross-linguistically

COMP > CAUS in West Germanic

- Complementizer used in causal clauses in other (historical) West Germanic languages
  - Earlier English (Fischer 1992: 346; *OED*, s.v. *that* conj.)
  - Dutch dialects and West Frisian (de Rooy 1965: 131–134)
  - Low/High German (Scheel 1939: 74–75; Behaghel 1928: 138–140)

Reason *dat* in West Flemish

(11)   De zwaluwen zijn   vertrokken, [**dat** er   geen aas
DEF swallow.PL COP.PL leave.PTCP   CAUS there no   food
meer was]
more COP.PST.3SG
'The swallows have left **because** there was no more food'

de Rooy (1965: 132)

Unidirectionality COMP > REASON?

- Kehayov & Boye (2016: 874) hypothesize that "semantically neutral complementizers ['that'] do not develop from adverbializers of purpose or reason"
- Wangerooge Frisian does not contradict this, and it might be true for European languages in general
- However, the development REASON > COMP is attested elsewhere, e.g. in Akkadian (Deutscher 2000)

See also Schmidtke-Bode (2014: 178–179, 262) on Jamiltepec Mixtec, Epena Pedee, and Hausa

REASON > COMP

- Deutscher (2000: Ch. 4): Akkadian *kīma* developed from REASON 'because' to COMP 'that', i.e. in the opposite direction of Wangerooge Frisian *dat*

- Possible link: communication predicates where a adjunct was reinterpreted as an argument

Akkadian *kīma* 'because, that'

(12) [**kīma**   ittī-ja   ītawû   alp-am šâtu
       comp/caus with-me he.spoke.sg ox-acc this.acc
       alqû-šu]   ašpurak-kum
       I.took.sg-him I.wrote-2sg

      'I wrote to you **because/that** he spoke to me and I took this ox from him'

Altbabylonische Briefe 8.26.3'; Deutscher (2000: 43)

Section 5

Conclusions

Take-home messages

- Wangerooge Frisian *dat* could introduce COMP, PURPOSE, RESULT, and two types of CAUS clauses: REASON and MOTIVATION
- REASON use of *dat* apparently arose after (emotional) reaction predicates with variable valency
  - MOTIVATION use possibly an independent development from RESULT clauses
- A similar development happened after communication predicates in Akkadian (acc. to Deutscher 2000) – but in the opposite direction!

Suggestions for the future

- Historical corpus work on other Germanic languages to trace parallel developments
- Comparison with other languages with multifunctional complementizers – your suggestions are welcome!

Thank you for your attention!

For comments and questions:
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A syntactic sketch of Wangerooge Frisian

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Reason *that* in Early Modern English

(13)   *And S. Augustin excommunicated County Bonifacius **that** he*
       tooke from the Churche an offender, and put him to execution
       when he came to the Church for mercy and pardon

William Allen, *A Treatise Made in Defence of the Lawful Power and Authoritie of Priest-hood to Remitte Sinnes*, 1567 (cit. in *OED*, s.v. *that* conj.)

Motivation clause in modern German

(14)   Hast   du   Fieber, [**dass** du   so rote Backen   hast?]
       have.2sg 2sg feber   caus 2sg so red cheek.pl have.2sg
       'Do you have a fever, since your cheeks are so red?'

Pasch et al. (2003: 633)

Akkadian *kīma* as complementizer

(15) [**kīma** še'-um   šū   ša Sumu-lēl] atta ula tīde
       COMP barley-NOM this.NOM of Sumu-lēl   you not you.know

'Don't you know that this barley belongs to Sumu-lēl?'
(*Altbabylonische Briefe* 6.177.23, cit. from Deutscher 2000: 53)