

'Inside (house)' vs. 'inside (non-house)'

A semantic shift in Wangerooge Frisian

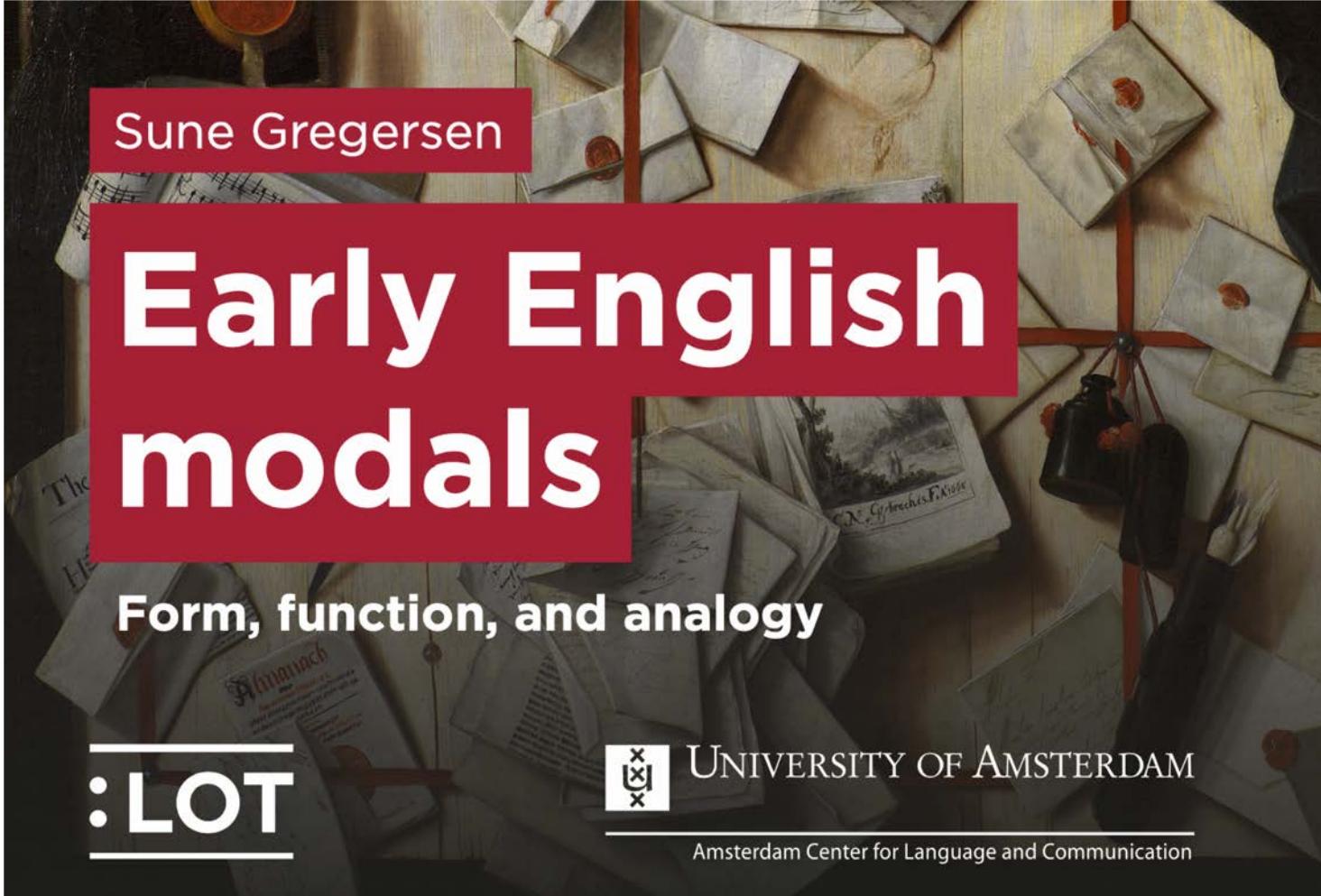
Sune Gregersen, University of Kiel

[su:nə 'kɔæ:t̪kəsən]

This presentation

1. How I got here
2. What is (Wangerooge) Frisian?
3. ‘Home’ and ‘inside’ in Wangerooge Frisian

1. How I got here



Sune Gregersen

Early English modals

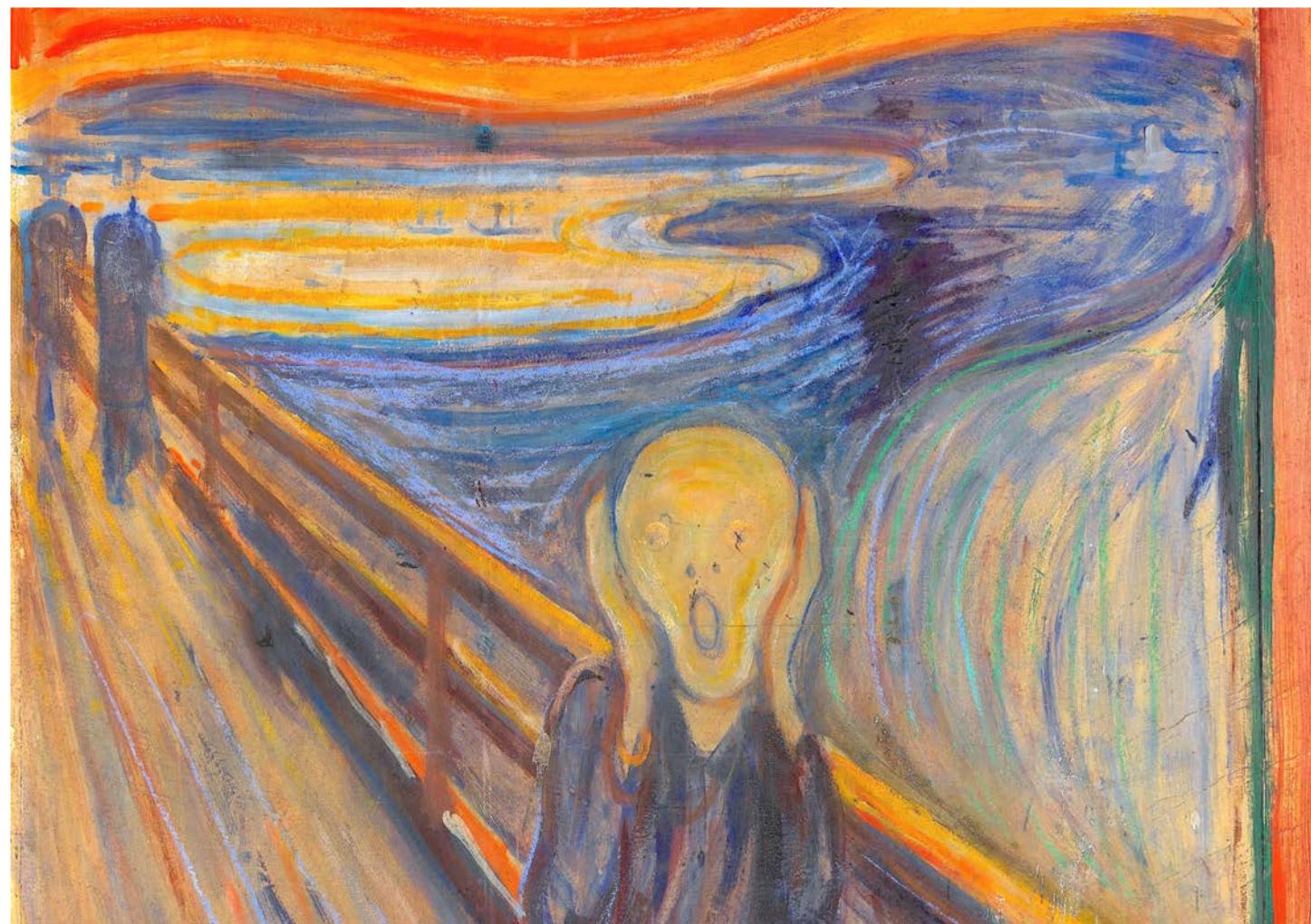
Form, function, and analogy

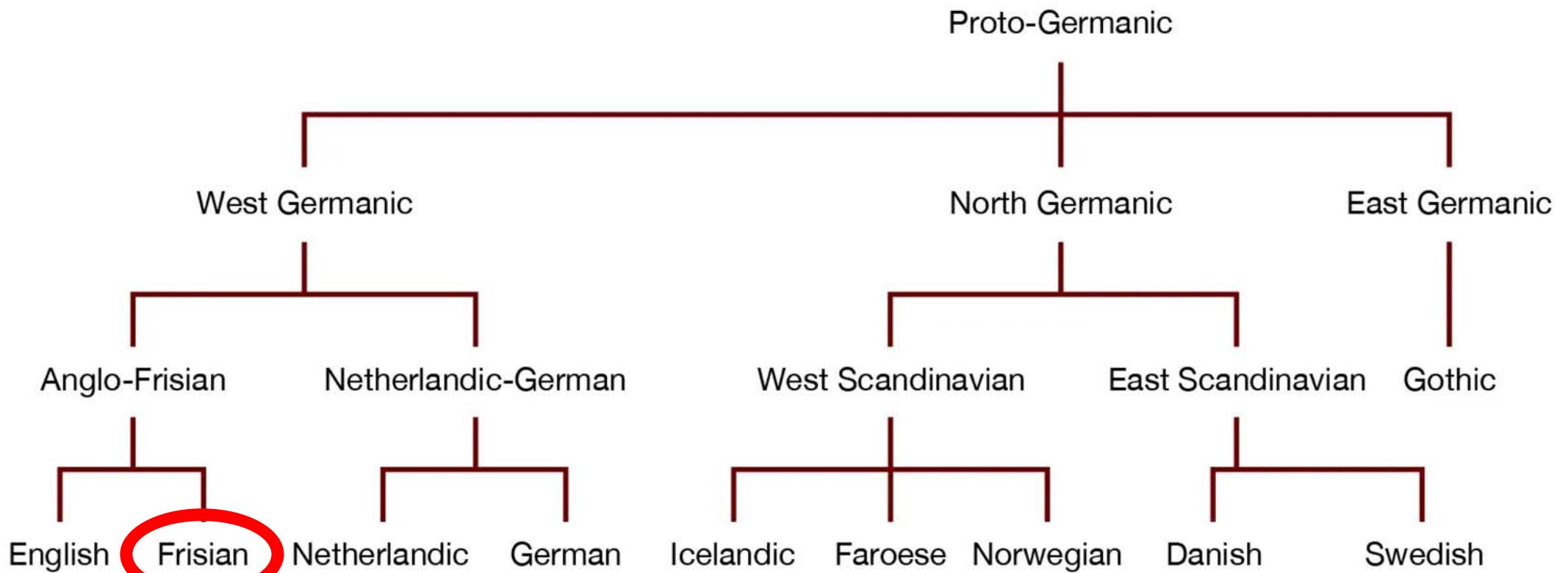
:LOT



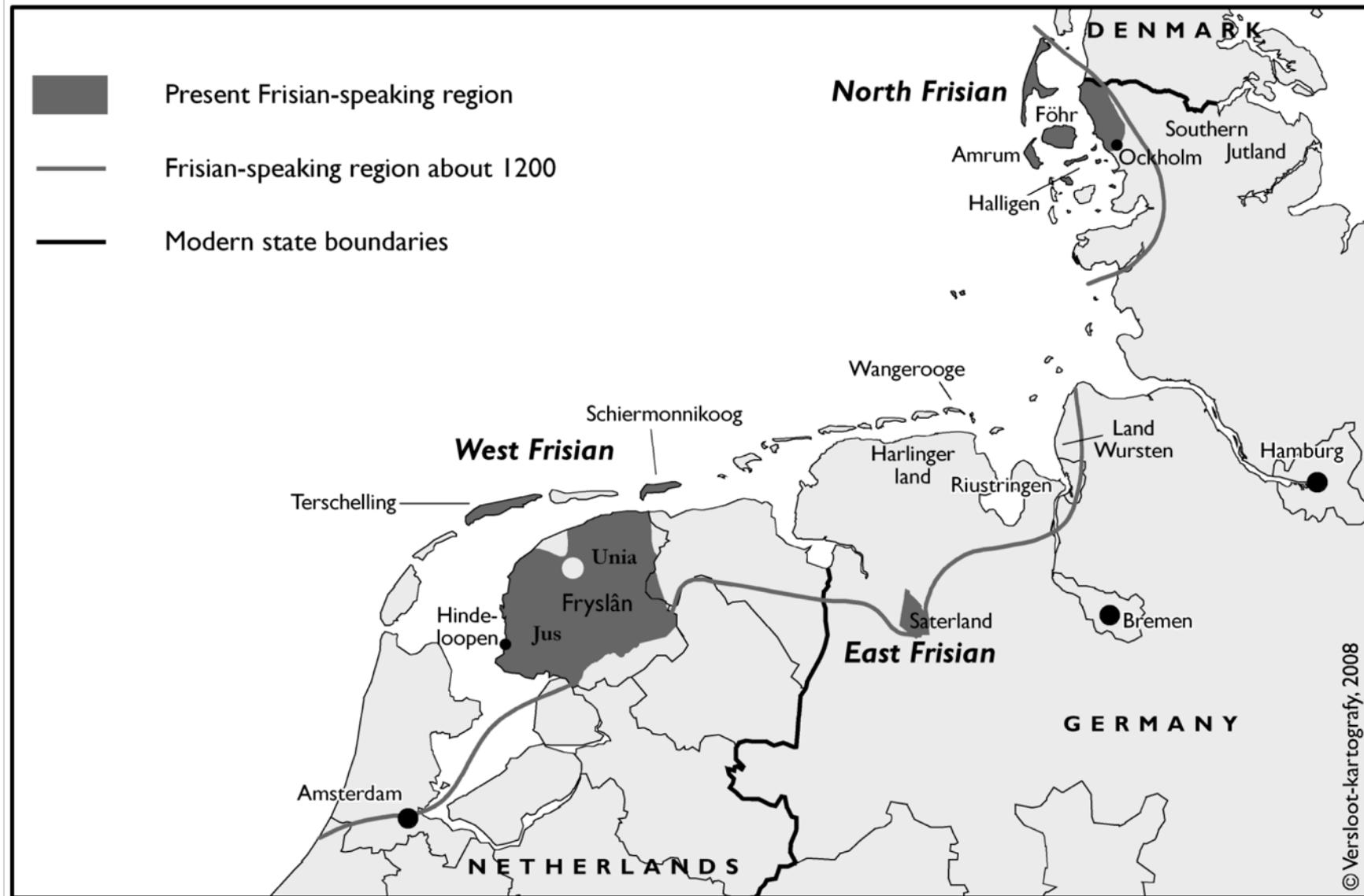
UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

Amsterdam Center for Language and Communication

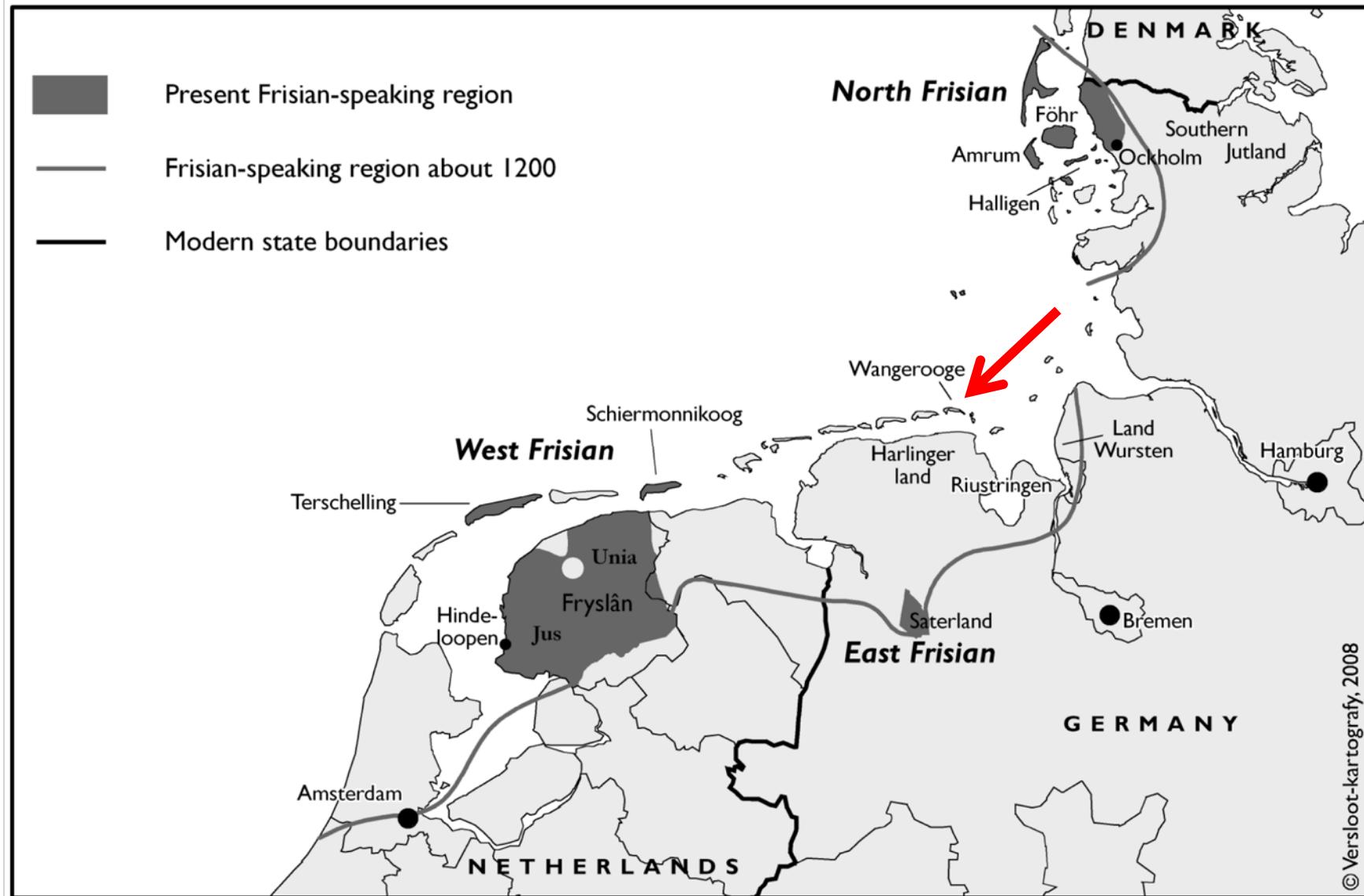




2. What is (Wangerooge) Frisian?

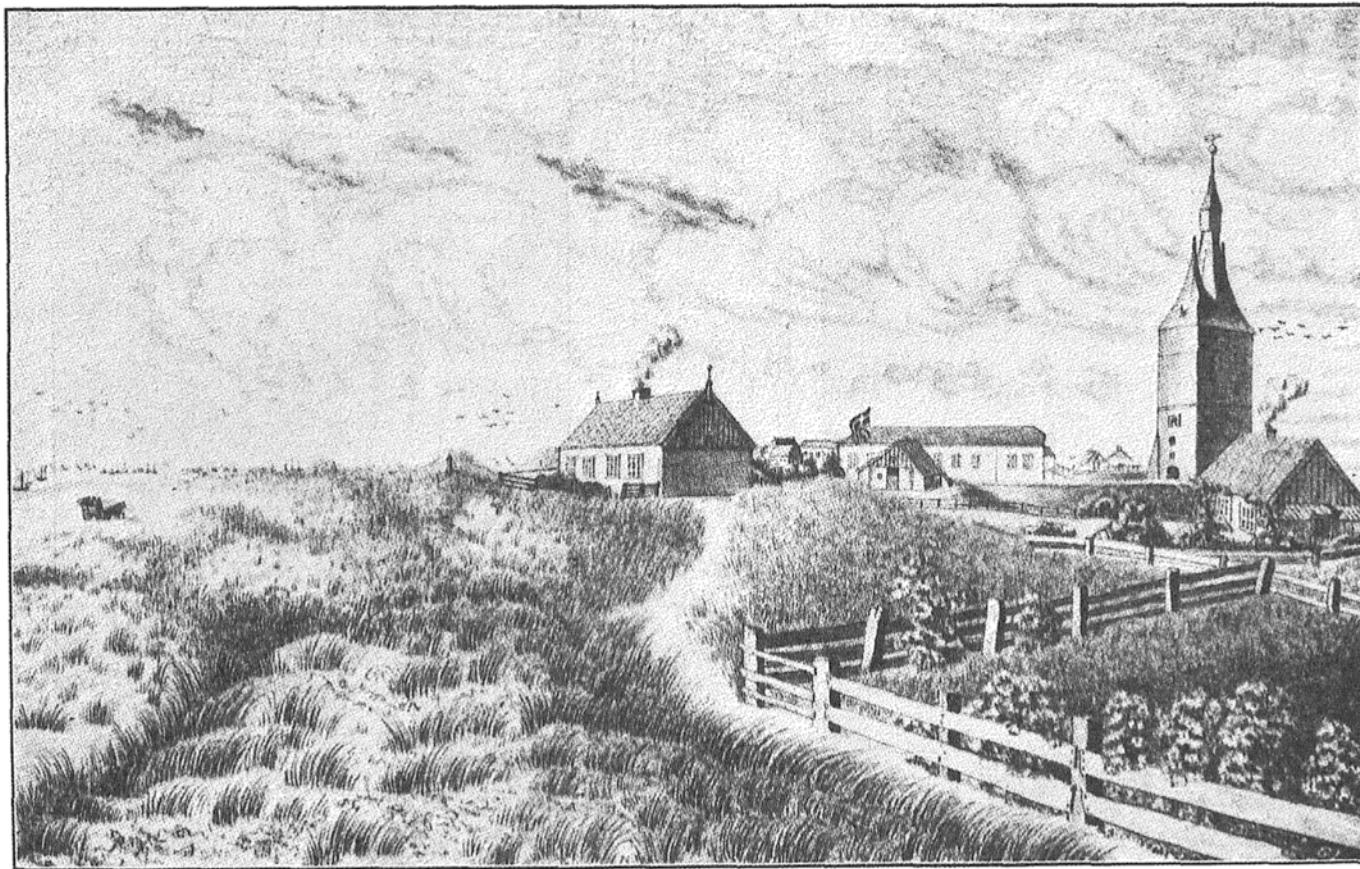


Map based on
Versloot (2008: 3)



C | A | U





Westdorf von Süden um 1823.

Nach einem alten Steindruck von J. H. Stalling, Oldenburg,
im Besitz von Herrn Carl Fischbeck jun., Oldenburg.

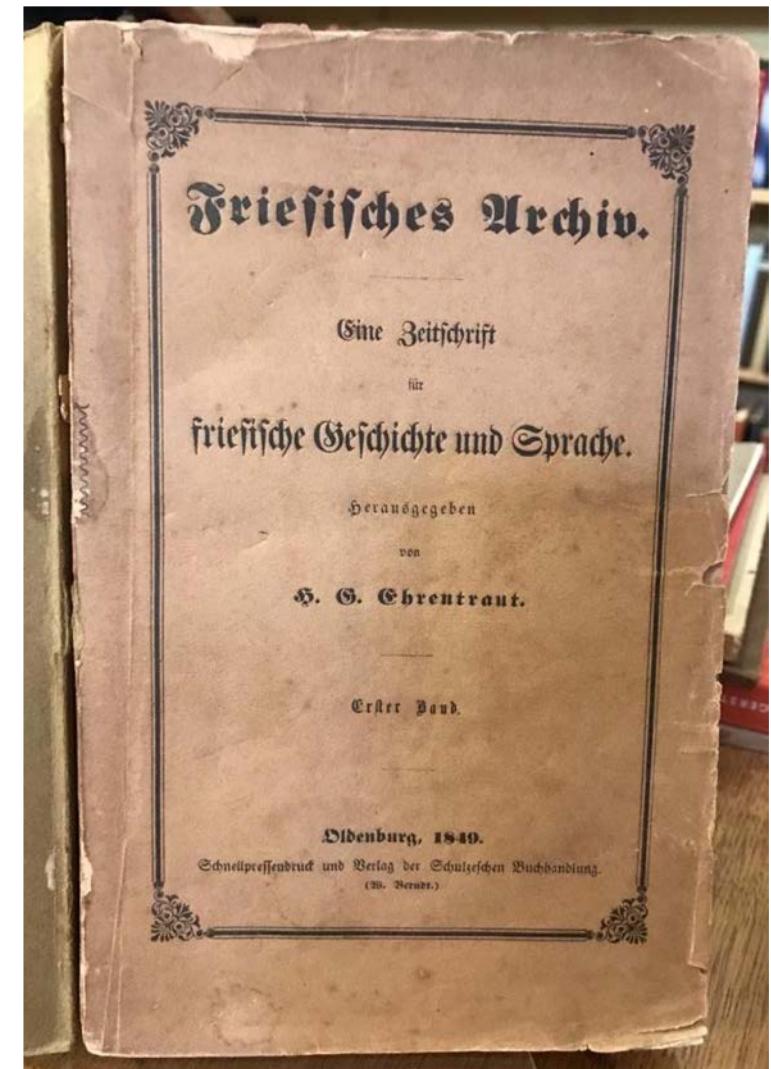
Heinrich Georg Ehrentraut (1798–1866)



- Lawyer, local politician, language nerd
- Fieldwork on Wangerooge 1837–41
- Developed an orthography and collected texts, paradigms, and material for a dictionary

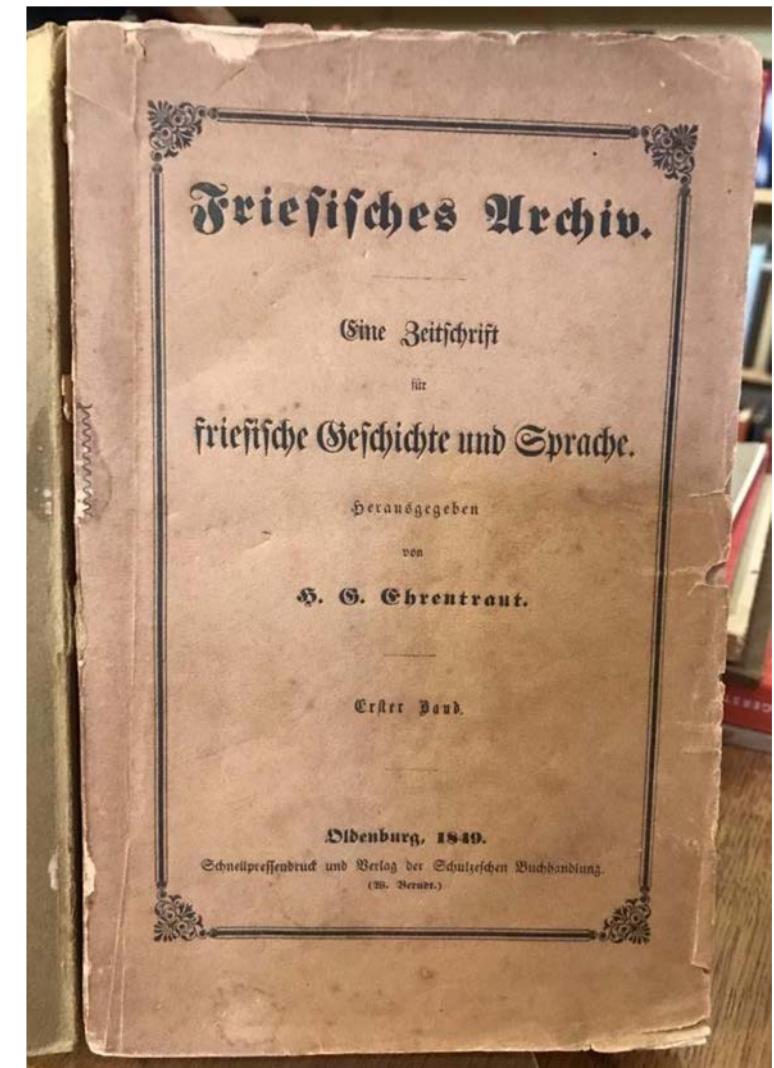
Documentation

- “Frisian Archive” published 1849–54 (only 2 vols.)
- Some 30,000 words of Wangerooge Frisian



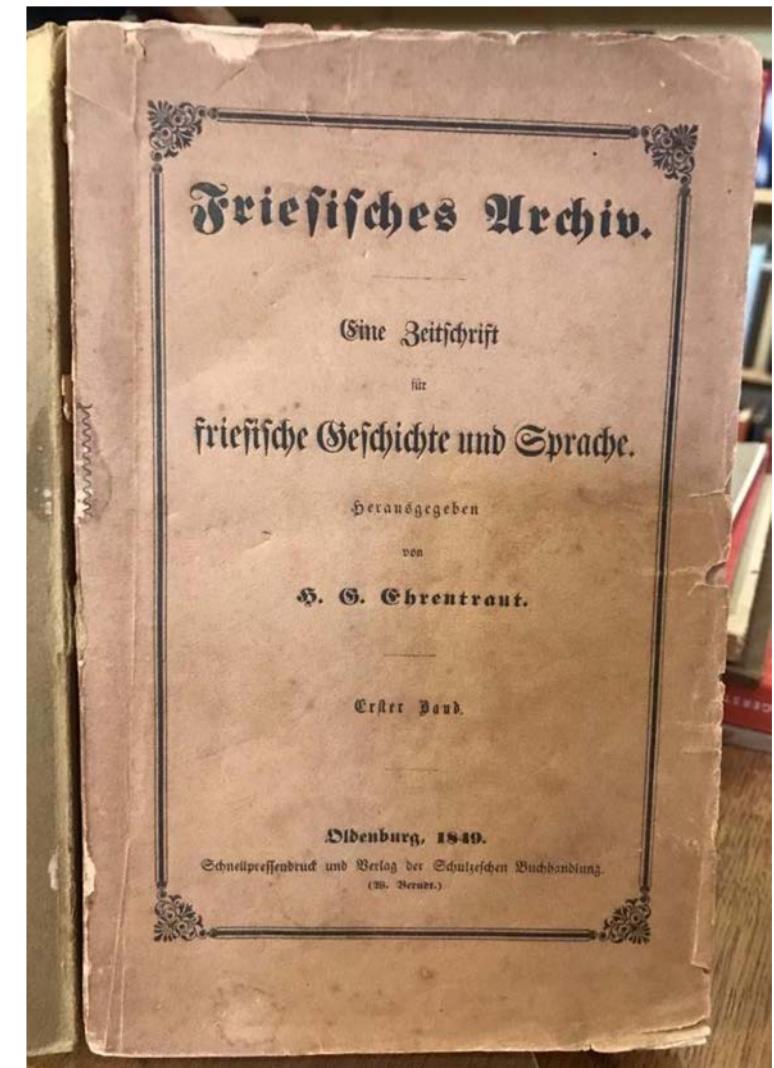
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- Plus a few later sources (Littmann 1922; Siebs 1923)



29. Herzensergießung einer alten Insulanerin über
den Untergang alter Sitten.

't is hîr nû heil ôrs up Wangerôch as wailér. fon tôfören
wéren dêr ídel kláttig un tôritîn húzû mit leimen wôch un lôden
fínster un fúnner schórfstein; smeik gîng tô de durn henút, un
stréthacke up dâ húzû; man dait ólaun wêr fêl bétter. dait
wêr fêl brédder un fêl gráッter, dait wêr fêl greíner: hîr wux

“Outpouring of the heart of an elderly island lady on the decline of old morals”
(Ehrentraut 1854: 59–61)

Published work on Wangerooge Frisian

- Rise of geminate consonants (Versloot 1996b)
- Sound change /DəD/ → /DərD/ (Hoekstra 1998)
- Use of genitive to form patronymics (Versloot 1996a)
- (Former) diminutive suffixes (Versloot 2002)
- Suppletion in the verb ‘to see’ (Hoekstra 2008)
- Naming verb *heit* ‘be called’ → copula (Hoekstra forthc.)

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**My plan: writing a
descriptive grammar**

3. ‘Home’ and ‘inside’ in Wangerooge Frisian

'Home' in Wangerooge Frisian

(1) *daa sláchterten wii swiin iin un gooz un kíier*
then butcher:PST:PL we pig[PL] at.home and goose:PL and cow:PL

'back then we would butcher pigs **at home**, and geese and cows' (Eh 446.303)

'Home' in Wangerooge Frisian

(2) *nuu gungt hii up dan hingst sitten un rit dermit 'niin*
now go:3SG he on DEF.M horse sit:GER and ride:3SG therewith to.home

'... then he goes to sit on the horse and rides **home** on that' (Eh 449.119)

The origin of *(hen)iin* ‘home’

- Not cognate with other Germanic ‘home’ expressions, e.g.:
 - English *home*
 - Swedish *hem(ma)*
 - West Frisian *thús, nei hûs ta*
 - German *zu/nach Hause*

The origin of *(hen)iin* ‘home’

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 - West Frisian *thús, nei hûs ta*
 - German *zu/nach Hause*
- *(hen)iin* is actually a particle meaning ‘into/inside’ (a house)
- This is distinct from *(hen)oon* ‘into/inside’ (not a house)

(*hen*)oon ‘inside (non-house)’

- (3) *daa is deer 'n kuuts un deer sit dju prinséssin oon*
then is there INDF carriage and there sit:3SG DEF.F princess inside

‘... then a carriage is there, and **inside that** the princess is sitting’ (Eh 449.225)

(*hen*)*oon* ‘inside (non-house)’

(4)	<i>hi</i>	<i>wul</i>	'n	<i>groet</i>	<i>prächtig</i>	<u><i>slos</i></u>	<i>set</i>	<i>lait,</i>
	he	want:3SG	INDF	big	beautiful	castle	place:INF	CAUS:INF
	<i>deer</i>	<i>wul</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>mit</i>	<i>diu</i>	<i>faun</i>	'noon.	
	there	want:3SG	he	with	DEF.F	girl	inside	

‘He wants to have a big beautiful castle built, and he wants [to go] **into that** with the girl [i.e. to live]’ (Eh 449.66)

(hen)oon ‘inside (non-house)’

<i>'n kuuts ... oon</i>	‘a carriage ... inside that’
<i>wáttter ... oon</i>	‘water ... in it’
<i>'n groet prächtig slos ... 'noon</i>	‘a big beautiful castle ... into that’
<i>'n booet ... 'noon</i>	‘a boat ... into it’
<i>'nin dait lauch henóon</i>	‘into the village’
<i>in 'n walt ... henóon</i>	‘into a forest’
<i>'nin Fránkriik henóon</i>	‘into France’
<i>in de warlt henoon</i>	‘(out) into the world’

(*hen*)*iin* ‘inside (house)’

- (5) *iik wúunii der bii iin*
I live:1SG there by inside

‘I live there [by them] under one roof’ (“unter einem Dache”; Eh 446.227)

(*hen*)*iin* ‘inside (house)’

(6)	<i>iik</i>	<i>häb</i>	too	<i>dait</i>	<i>fínster</i>	<i>'niin</i>	<i>la'uket,</i>	<i>man</i>
	I	have:1SG	PREP	DEF.N	window	inside	look:PTCP	but

<i>iik</i>	<i>häb</i>	<i>nímmens</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>píizel</i>	<i>bla'uket</i>
I	have:1SG	no_one	in	DEF.M	living.room	see:PTCP

‘I looked **inside** through the window, but I didn’t see anyone in the living room’
(FA.I, text 5)

(hen)iin ‘inside (house)’

wúnnii ... *iin*

‘live ... under one roof’

iin hállii uut 'er tuun

‘bring inside from the garden’

'n gans litk huus ... **heniin**

‘a very small house ... into it’

'niin la'uket

‘looked inside [through the window]’

far yar durn ... der **'niin**

‘on their doorstep [...] and goes] inside’

(*hen*)*iin* vs. (*hen*)*oon*

	HOUSE	NON-HOUSE
STATIC ‘inside’	<i>iin</i>	<i>oon</i>
DYNAMIC ‘into’	<i>heniin</i> (' <i>niin</i>)	<i>henoon</i> (' <i>noon</i>)

(*hen*)*iin* vs. (*hen*)*oon*

	HOUSE	NON-HOUSE
STATIC ‘inside’	<i>iin</i>	<i>oon</i>
DYNAMIC ‘into’	<i>heniin</i> (‘ <i>niin</i> ’)	<i>henoon</i> (‘ <i>noon</i> ’)



extended to ‘home’

Conclusions – and a question

- Wangerooge Frisian *(hen)iin* ‘inside’ only applied to houses
 - *(hen)oon* was used for all other “containers”
- The meaning of *(hen)iin* was then extended to ‘home’

Conclusions – and a question

- Wangerooge Frisian *(hen)iin* ‘inside’ only applied to houses
 - *(hen)oon* was used for all other “containers”
- The meaning of *(hen)iin* was then extended to ‘home’
- Are there similar distinctions in the language(s) that you work on?
 - Any relevant references and/or suggestions are most welcome!

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iik *thonk* *yum!*
1SG.NOM thank:PRS 2PL.ACC