

A Contrastive Grammar of Brazilian Pomeranian

Gertjan Postma

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by Gertjan Postma

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Gertjan Postma

Meertens Institute Amsterdam

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Preface

My first encounter with Pomeranian was in the framework of the (Zeeuws) Flemish dialect spoken in the state of Espírito Santo (Brazil). This dialect, spoken by descendants of Dutch settlers who migrated to Brazil around 1850, turned out to be strongly influenced by Pomeranian, a neighbouring language spoken by Lutheran immigrants, who came around the same time from parts of Prussia and who found themselves to live side by side with the Dutch in Brazil. These Prussian immigrants did not speak Low Prussian, but another West-Germanic variety, Pomeranian. This interesting variety has to a large extent been neglected in the West-Germanic dialectological literature. It was particularly interesting to me as a Frisian, because this language, while undoubtedly Low Saxon and not Frisian, shares considerable properties with Frisian, or rather with North-Sea Germanic in general, phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly part of the German language continuum not only in cultural respect (reflected in its lexis), but also in many grammatical respects. This language has never been a written language. To the extent Pomeranians wrote in the vernacular, they wrote in the language of Near-Pomerania (e.g. Kantzow's 1534 *Chronic of Pomerania*; Bugenhagen's 1535 *Church Rules of Pomerania*), or in a super-regional Lübeck-based Low German (e.g. the *Kolberger Codex* of 1297, which has *uns* 'us' instead of the local *ous*).¹ A linguistically uniform coastal stretch of 200 km is linguistically absent in the sources. To the extent that it has been studied,² it has been

1. ... *scrivere, de brachten uns to hus van den hern to lubecke desse stukke, de hir na gescriven stan*. Theiß and Wolf (2013: 293) add this comment: "Die Schriftproduktion (ist) so weit professionalisiert (...) das die Bücher auch in ihrer äußeren Gestalt, ihrer Schrift, und ihrer Sprache normsetzend wirkten. Diese normbildende Kraft der lübischen Kanslerei kann dabei keinesfalls überschätzt werden".

2. Radlof (1821) ignores Hinter-Pommern in his *Munsteraal* of German dialects. Kosegarten (1845) does not mention Farther Pomeranian in his description of Low German. Kosegarten's Low German dictionary simply ignores variants from Farther Pomeranian, despite giving (Near)-Pomeranian variants. Winkler (1874) skips the Farther Pomeranian towns in his *Dialecticon*. Only Jellinghaus (1884: 46) and Meyers *Konversationslexikon* 4th edition of (1885: 786) briefly mention the Pomeranian dialect, albeit with exactly the same wordings as Böhmer (1833), cf.

described in four *Ortsgrammatike* of Schlawe (Mahnke 1931), Lauenburg (Stritzel 1974), Voigtshagen (Laabs 1980), and Saatzig-Dramburg (Kühl 1932). Never has there been any overall description of the properties that bind together these Pomeranian dialects, in the way it has been done for Frisian, which is standardly described as a language with dialectal variation, not as a collection of dialects. It is my aim to embark on such an enterprise with Pomeranian. This description of Pomeranian could never be made in Europe, as Farther Pomerania has never been a well-delimited political unit. It was considered a remote place with respect to Near-Pomerania's cultural centers, Stralsund, Greifswald, Stettin, the rural outskirts of Wollin and Cammin, wasteland on one's way to Danzig. It is the irony of history that this structural description of Pomeranian-as-a-language will now be done by the variant that is spoken in Brazil. Though this variant differs in various respects from the language spoken in the (now lost) motherland, it is also undoubtedly Pomeranian, as we will see, and may be taken as the possible *lingua franca* that might have been created in Europe if history had taken another course.³ Culturally, and this shows up especially in its lexis, Pomeranian is rooted in the German cultural and linguistic universe, but there are deeper layers in the language that justify a separate treatment. One of these is the bundle of isoglosses that separates the Farther Pomeranian language from its immediate neighbors in Europe: Mecklenburgisch/Near-Pomeranian in the West, Low Prussian in the East, Neumärkisch/Pomerelian in the South. Characteristics that define relatively sharp borders with its neighbours are the infinitival system with two infinitives, absence of strong adjectival inflections (*-et/-er*), and the realization of various Coastal Germanic features, such as n-drop between a vowel and a fricative.

As said above, my first contact with Pomeranian was through the Dutch in Brazil. It was Elizana Schaffel, of Dutch and Pomeranian descent, who wrote two studies on the sociolinguistic situation of the Dutch and the Pomeranians in Espírito Santo, and who introduced me to these communities. Together with Andrew Nevins, I was able to dive a bit deeper into the structural properties of Zeeuws-Flemish. This Zeeuws-Flemish diverged considerably from what we knew of the Zeeuws-Flemish in the Netherlands. It turned out to be influenced of the

Chapter 9, and lump Pomeranian and Low Prussian together. Peters (1987–1990) does not include Farther Pomeranian in his Katalog of written Middle Low German – correctly so, as Pomeranian was never a written language. Only Wenker (1876), Priewe and Teuchert (1927), and Wiesinger (1983) take account of the Farther Pomeranian dialects. Vollmer (2008) makes laudable efforts to reconstruct some lost Farther Pomeranian documents.

3. In Postma (2016), we argue that the infinitival construction in Brazilian Pomeranian is the cross-linguistic default outcome upon interaction of three marked variants in European Pomeranian.

neighboring language Pomeranian. Soon, we realized that one could not study the Zeeuws-Flemish of Espírito Santo but with a solid knowledge of Pomeranian. However, no grammatical description turned out to exist. Fortunately, we had two written sources: Ismael Tressmann's collection of short stories, which he generously provided, and his Pomeranian-Portuguese dictionary.⁴ Furthermore, we could take material from various interviews in the socio-linguistic studies by Hartuwig, Siller, Seibel, and Schaffel. Meantime we did our own fieldwork. In the finishing stage, Hilda Braun was of immense help of providing me with additional data (Wenkersätze), stories, dialectal variation, etc. In the end, I had more than enough material to put a cover around. I thank Ben Hermans, Marc van Oostendorp, Göz Kaufmann for commenting on earlier versions of the manuscript as well as the audiences of conferences for all their comments on my presentations on some aspects of Pomeranian: Vienna Workshop "German Abroad" 2014, Pavia Syntax of the World's Languages 2014, Comparative Germanic Syntax Workshop 2014, Saarbrücken Round Table on Dialect Syntax 2014, Dei foar de Fryske Taalkunde 2015, 2017, München Workshop on Language Islands 2015, Leiden Workshop on Language Variation 2016, Amsterdam Workshop on Heritage Languages 2016, MFM Fringe meeting 2018, and the various occasions I gave guest lectures on Pomeranian at the Meertens Institute, USP 2013, Unicamp 2013, Utrecht University 2014, UFES 2015, Leiden University 2017. I thank Alain Corbeau and Guian de Bastos for critically proofreading the manuscript, Etske Ooijselaar for help with the phonetics, Thom van Leuven and Jan Burger for advice on Latin. Finally, I thank Elizana Schaffel for introducing me to the Pomeranian community. I thank the entire Pomeranian community for its hospitality, confidence and trust. I thank all my informants, especially Hilda Braun, Lília Stein, Eliana Görl, Tereza Gröner and, once again, Elizana Schaffel Bremenkamp.

The purpose of this grammar is threefold. Its first purpose is to bring to the international fore, this extremely interesting language for its own sake: the many interesting syntactic, morphological, and phonological features deserve to be thoroughly analyzed by the international linguistic community. The second purpose is to add an extra language to the Germanic universe. Comparison of Pomeranian with English, Dutch, Frisian, German, and Scandinavian delimit the possible family trees and relations within the Germanic language group. For instance, this study includes various arguments against and in favor of Emonds & Faarlund's (2014) hypothesis of Modern English as a Scandinavian language. Some phenomena that Pomeranian shares with English might provide arguments in favor of English as a coastal Germanic language rather than as relexified Scandinavian. These arguments are never one-dimensional, since also Pomeranian takes part in

4. The stories are from Espírito Santo and the recent off-spring colonies in Rondônia.

the Baltic Sprachbund and is influenced by Scandinavian. What holds for these external relations of English, also holds for Frisian, for Low German, and for Dutch where they pattern on a par or in opposition with Pomeranian. In the domain of etymology, new arguments emerge for a distinct reconstruction of our etyma. An illustrative example of the position of Pomeranian among its closest neighbours Dutch, Frisian, English and German are the vowel alternations in ‘green’, ‘sweet’ and the verb ‘to feel’.

(1)	German	[y:]	grün	süss	fühlen
	Dutch	[u]	groen	zoet	voelen
	English/Frisian	[i:]	green/grien	sweet/swiet	to feel/fiele
	Pomeranian	[ui]	gruin	suit	fuila

Pomeranian seems to be a missing link in the etymological relations with an overt ordering of /u/ and /i/, which reflects /i/’s suffixal origin. What is the case for etymology, also holds in the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexis. These external relations of Pomeranian with its more glamorous sisters is reflected in the structure of this work: we have written this grammar not in a comprehensive way, but contrastively. In all cases, we contrast Pomeranian with its sister languages, or else we keep silent. For instance, we will not mention that material adjectives cannot be used predicatively, as this is the case in all West Germanic languages, but we do say that material adjectives incorporate into the noun in Pomeranian whenever they are undeclined, because this does not happen in Dutch and German, though it does happen in Scandinavian. The third purpose is theoretical. There is a long lasting discussion on the level of abstractness in grammatical representation (Kiparsky 1968): is it permissible to hypothesize grammatical entities that do not surface, in order to regularize a derivation or representation? May one hypothesize (different types of) empty categories in order to facilitate a syntactic calculus? Interestingly enough, it was also Kiparsky (1991) who proposed the theoretical possibility of *catalexis*: syllables and moras at the edge of a prosodic domain that are silent, but present at the same time and prosodically active. Other linguists have extended catalexis to abstract syllables with segmental content, e.g. domain final consonants (Raffelsiefen 2016). Latency can also apply to *segments*, such as the famous French case of /peti/-/petit/ ‘small.m/f’, which is usually analyzed (and written) as *petit* – *petite*, i.e. /peti(t)_o/ and /petit(e)_o/ with a latent final segment (t)_o and (e)_o. In this grammar, we will show the possibility of catalectic *morphemes*, i.e. morphemes with segmental content that remain silent at the end of a prosodic domain. We analyze morphological catalexis as a case of floating segments, i.e. segments without prosodic anchoring. In Pomeranian, attributive adjectives like *gaur* in *ain gaur fruug* ‘a good wife’, where *gaur* derives from older **gaud*+*e*

with intervocalic d-rhotacism + schwa apocope. Should *gaur* still be analyzed as /*gaud*+(e)_o/ because of the predicative form *gaud* [gaut] with final devoicing? This question will be leading throughout this grammar.

In many instances, it is not clear whether catalexis is a possibility of natural language, or an effect of dialect mixing, mixing of standard and dialect, or the contrast of the written and the spoken language. Catalexis was already assumed in Kosegarten (1858) for Pomeranian in relation with the Low-German standard of cultural centers of Lübeck or Greifswald: he proposes that latent schwa should be written by an apostrophe at the word end, because of the phonological effects it had on the preceding consonant. What Kosegarten does not mention is the latency of final -*n*, which protects a preceding schwa from latency. This causes a cascade of latency that requires a grammatical machinery that exceeds the relation between two dialects or between standard and dialect, and asks for a synchronic, structural account. Pomeranian in Brazil is the ideal testing ground, since this variant of West Germanic retained this system of catalexis, and even extended it, without any relation to a closely related superstrate High German or a neighbouring dialect. In this book, we hope to provide basic empirical evidence and to sketch the theoretical contours of morphological catalexis.

A final point is idealization. The data are idealized, in the sense that they do not necessarily reflect the actual use, but rather the native speaker judgements. Although we base our grammar mainly on written sources, we have asked what the native speaker's judgments were when variation was observed. Where native judgements diverge, it is mentioned. The language certainly shows more variation than could be presented here. Whenever there is systematic (or simply frequent) variation, this is acknowledged. Whenever variation is the result of code switching (with German or Portuguese), variation is ignored. For instance, if Pomeranian uses a High German word instead of the expected word from Low German, the High German form is acknowledged, e.g. *fümwt* 'fifth', *grosfäter* 'grandfather', *tau-wa* 'baptize' (< HG. *taufen*). However, when an interview shows code switching to High German, which may occur in some trilingual persons, the High German is not acknowledged in the data presented.

The intention is to write a structural grammar of Pomeranian, not an *Ortsgrammatik* of Espírito Santo Pomeranian, a description of one specific local dialect. In this sense, we follow the direction taken in Tressmann's work, his dictionary, and his spelling, which tries to unify rather than to divide. This is certainly justified for Brazilian Pomeranian in ES where the language is relatively uniform, but equally so, we believe, for European Pomeranian between the two isoglosses of the *n*-infinitive in the west and the east (Wrede's (1895) area between

the line Międzyzdroje-Notec-Oder confluence and the 17°36' longitude).⁵ There is, of course, variation, and wherever we encounter variation, this variation is acknowledged.

5. Wrede (1895: 295) erroneously writes “36° längengrad” (...von der Linie Misdroy-Netzemündung ostwärts (...) bis zum 36° längengrad).

List of abbreviations

A	adjective or adverb	ger	gerund, see INF2
AcI	Accusativus cum Infinitivo, e.g. <i>I saw him walk.</i>	GLEP	Gemeindelexikon für den Freistaat Preußen. Provinz Pommern
ACC	accusative	GTRP	Goeman-Taeldeman-Van Reenen Project, digital version of the Morphological Atlas of the Dutch Dialects.
art	article	HG	High German
ATTR	attributive	IMP	imperative
Asp	aspectual projection	INDEF	indefinite
AUX	auxiliary verb	INF1	infinitive in -a ([ə] or [ɐ])
BP	Brazilian Pomeranian (defined in the next paragraph)	INF2	infinitive in -en, usually under <i>taum.</i>
CL	(Pronominal) clitic	INFL	inflection
COMP	complementizer	INTR	intransitive/unergative
DEF	definite	LG	Low German
D	determiner (article or pronoun)	MASC	masculine
DAT	dative	MD	Middle Dutch
DIR	directional	ME	Middle English
DP	Dicionario do Pomerano, cf. Tressmann (2006b)	MHG	Middle High German
Du	Dutch	N	noun
Eng	English	NMN	nominalizing suffix, in particular -n
EP	European Pomeranian (defined in the next paragraph)	NEUT	neuter
ES	Espírito Santo, tropical state of Brazil with Pomeranian immigra- tion (> 1859).	NOM	nominative
EXPL	Expletive (dummy morpheme that saturates a syntactic position)	obs	obsolete
ERG	unaccusative/ergative	OCP	Obligatory Contour Principle
FEM	feminine	opt	optative or Konjunktiv II
FUT	future	P	preposition
Fri	Frisian, as spoken in the province of Frisia in the Netherlands	PASS	passive
GE	ge-prefix, attached to participles in some West Germanic variants	PAST	past tense
Ger	German	PERF	perfect
		PFP	perfect participle
		PGmc	Proto-Germanic
		PL	plural

Pom	Pomeranian	RJ	Rio de Janeiro, tropical state in Brazil
Port	Portuguese		
POSS	possessive	RS	Rio Grande do Sul, subtropical state in the south of Brazil
PP	passive participle		
PRED	predicative	SC	Santa Catarina, subtropical state in the south of Brazil
PRES	present tense		
PRET	preterite	SE	weak reflexive
PROG	progressive	SP	São Paulo, (sub)tropical state in Brazil
PRP	present participle		
PR	Paraná, subtropical state in the south of Brazil	SU	Subject
PRT	(verbal) particle	UmL	<i>Upm Land</i> short stories collected by Tressmann and Kuhn, cf. Tressmann (2006a)
PTC	participle		
PW	Pomerisch Wöirbauk (Tressmann 2006)	UNS	abstract notation for the 1st person plural pronoun (after German <i>uns</i> ‘us’)
REFL	reflexive		
SG	singular	⊗	subtractive morphology, e.g. in the paradigm of the indef. article. <i>ain</i> , ⊗ produces <i>ai</i>
T/TP	tense projection		
TOP	topic (pronoun)		
V2	“Verb second”, i.e. positioning the finite verb on the second position in the clause	-	absence of inflection, e.g. in the paradigm of the indef. article
		*	ungrammatical or reconstructed form
V/VP	verbal projection		
WGmc	West Germanic	(...) _o	catalectic morpheme. Catalexis will be defined in the next paragraph
WH	Interrogative constituents and pronouns	[ec]	empty category/trace
Wxx	Wenker sentence nr xx. The digital indicates the number of the Wenker sentence for “Die 40 Sätze Nord- und Mitteldeutschlands”	-	separates forms that are in a paradigmatic relation, e.g. <i>huus</i> – <i>hüüsa</i> ‘house(s)’
		/	1. separates alternates with equal morphological specification, e.g.: <i>huus</i> / * <i>hus</i> ‘house’.
Wxxxx	Wenker location		
1	1st person (of pronouns and verbal forms)		2. separates morphemes in an enumeration, e.g.: the liquids <i>r/r/l/l</i> .
2	2nd person (of pronouns and verbal forms)		3. in a phonological rule together with __: “in the context of”, e.g.: <i>x</i> / __ <i>yyy</i>
3	3rd person pronoun (of pronouns and verbal forms)	<x>	orthographic representation
12PL	1st person plural and 2nd person plural	[x]	phonetic representation
		/x/	phonemic representation
23SG	2nd person singular and 3rd person singular	‘x’	semantic representation

→	“towards”, indicates a regular syn- chronic rule; also ← “from”	*x	1. x is ungrammatical, e.g. before example sentences and in the context of /
>	“towards”, indicates a regular dia- chronic development (sound law); also < “from”		2. x is reconstructed, e.g. in the context of <
~	etymologically related to		

Technical terms

Apophony

Apophony, known as Ablaut in the German literature, is the systematic root vowel alternations in paradigms, especially in the verbal tense system (present/past tense of strong verbs).

Catalexis (morphological –)

Concept, originally taken from metrical phonology (Griegerich 1985; Kiparsky 1991; Kager 1995), which refers to the latency of a final syllables in a prosodic domain. In this grammar, morphological catalexis refers to latent morphemes at the (right-hand) edge of a prosodic domain. We indicate it by $(\dots)_\circ$. In contrast to the zero morphemes in Myers (1984) and Pesetsky (1995), these zero-morphemes have (underlying) segmental content, but no prosodic space to realize. A famous case of phonological latency is French $[p\acute{e}ti]$ – $[p\acute{e}tit]$ ‘small.m/f’ and $[gri]$ – $[griz]$ ‘gray.m/f’, which are taken as underlying $peti(t)_\circ$ – $petit(e)_\circ$ and $gri(z)_\circ$ and $griz(e)_\circ$. A case of morphological catalexis is the Arabic “ taʔ marbuta ”,¹ the written but silent /t/ of the feminine suffix, as in /risala(t)_o/ [risa:la:] ‘letter’, which /t/ shows up upon further derivation, e.g. plurals, with suffixes, and in construct states: *rsaltii* ‘my letter’. In Pomeranian, final *-e*, *-n* and *-r* are catalectic, i.e. they remain obligatorily unpronounced: $(e)_\circ$ and $(n)_\circ$. Many so-called “subtractive” paradigms (cf. Golston & Wiese 1995, Holsinger & Houseman 1998, Birkenes 2014) become regular under the assumption of catalexis of final $(e)_\circ$ and $(n)_\circ$. Cf. Section 2.6 for a formal representation.

Diepholzer Linie

Isogloss, not recognized in the literature, in the Western part of Germany, ~50 km East of the Dutch border, that separates dialects with strong adjectival

1. Lit. ‘closed t’, because of the way of writing it in Arabic script.

endings *-er/-et/-es* (in the East) in some forms (*min liewet Kind* ‘my dear child’) and dialects with systematic absence of it (west): *mijn liewe Kind*. The line follows: Jademündung – Wildeshausen – Diepholz – Osnabrück – Versmold – Rilchenbach – Blankenheim – Saarbrücken – Boustroff (near Metz). It is the demarcation line between Coastal Germanic and Continental Germanic.

European Pomeranian (EP)

The common denominator of the dialects spoken in Farther Pomerania (German: *Hinterpommern*), situated between the Oder river and the Leba river, and delimited between the Baltic sea and the first push moraine. Historically, it was (part of) the duchy of Pomerania. Some towns in the Brandenburger Neumark (e.g. Schivelbein) are included in this linguistically relatively homogeneous region. The mixed Low Prussian-Kashubian region close to Gdańsk (German: *Danzig*), and the Germanic dialects in the Pomerelia (German: *Pommerellen*), as well as Near-Pomerania (German: *Vorpommern*) are not part of EP. In this study, data of this language are taken from the Wenker questionnaires (www.regionalsprache.de) for the municipalities (*Kreise*) Greifenberg, Regenwald, Kolberg, Belgard, Köslin, Schlawe, as well as from four site grammars (Mahnke 1931; Kühl 1932; Stritzel 1974; Laabs 1980). Finally the dialectal specimen for Crazig (Krasnik Koszalinski, W578) as given in Jahn (1886) is instructive.

Groningen

The Groningen dialect that is spoken in the eastern part of Dutch province of the same name, is a Low Saxon dialect with a Frisian substrate. The process of sax-onification is not well documented, but must have started from the 11th century onward. Its name in Dutch is *Gronings*. We here use *Groningen dialect* or simply *Groningen*. The more Western part (Westerkwartiers) is not considered here.

Half-strong verbs

Verbs that form their past tense and participle in a mixed way by *-d(e)* suffixation and/or apophony.

Ingvaeonic

Related to a hypothetical people that lived on the shores of the North Sea before the first millennium (according to Tacitus). Since Wrede (1924), it is a denominator of various linguistic peculiarities of North Sea Germanic, in particular the drop of *n* before voiceless fricatives: *us* versus *uns*.

Ostsiedlung

The European migration (German for ‘going east’) by Flemish, Dutch, Frisian, and Low Saxon settlers, land developers, and merchants to wastelands in the eastern, originally Slavic, areas from the 11th century onward.

Pomeranian

Pomeranian language as spoken today in the state of Espírito Santo (Brazil) by fluent mono-, bi- or trilingual speakers, particularly in the rural areas (*na roça*) of the municipalities of Santa Maria de Jetibá and Domingo Martins.

Short diphthongs

Diphthongs that have the prosodic space of a short vowel. They are phonetically indicated with a ligature sign over their constituents, e.g. *telg* ‘branch’ [t̪ɛlç], as an alternative pronunciation of the simple short vowel [tɛlç]. The ligature notation is ambiguous between the pre-articulated and post-articulated version: [j̪ɛ] and [ɪ̪ɛ].

Structural Cases

Cases assigned through a syntactic position, in opposition to inherent or oblique cases. In this work, nominative and accusative are taken to be structural Cases. For Pomeranian, and Germanic in general, there is a dependency of gender: (MASC, ACC) does not count as a structural Case, while (FEM, NOM/ACC) only counts as structural case in definite contexts. Plural always behaves on a par with feminine in Pomeranian. The following schemes are used:

DEFINITE	MASC	FEM	NEU
NOM	struct	struct	
GEN			
DAT			
ACC		struct	

INDEFINITE	MASC	FEM	NEU
NOM	struct		struct
GEN			
DAT			
ACC			struct

Strong adjectival endings

These are the strong D-type endings *-er/-es/-et* present in D and copied to adjectives in Low German and High German (e.g. *min liebet Kind* ‘my dear child’) also present in Old High German, Gothic, and Old Norse. These strong endings are absent in Pomeranian, Dutch, Frisian, and the German dialects west to the Diepholzer Linie (see above). They are equally absent in Old English, Old Frisian, and Old Saxon.

Strong verbs

Verbs that show ablaut and umlaut in the root over the paradigm.

Subtractive morphology

The (surface) deletion instead addition of phonological material upon morphological derivation/inflection. It is better described as non-exponence, rather than deletion. See: catalexis.

Vowel mutation

Vowel mutation, known as Umlaut in the German literature, is the anchoring of a floating i-element to the vowel of the (immediately preceding) stressed syllable. Most of the time the floating i-element is attached by some morphological affixation, e.g. 2/3 present tense in strong verbs. Without the possibility of anchoring, the feature remains unexpressed.

Weak verbs

Verb that form their paradigms exclusively by suffixation.

Phonological rules in Pomeranian

Diachronic	Proto-WGmc.	Pomeranian	
R0.	{n,l}	→	ø / ____ {s,f,θ} Ingvaeonism
R1.	uo	→	au diphthong lowering
R2.	e:/iə	→	ai
R3.	u:	→	u: Saxon block to diphthongization
R4.	i:	→	i: Saxon block to diphthongization
R10.	ü:	→	ui “Westphalian” diphthongization
	ö:	→	oi “
	ä:	→	ai “
Synchronic	Pomeranian	Pomeranian	
R5.	-ən	→	-ə catalexis: ə(n) _o
R6.	-ə	→	- catalexis: (ə) _o
R7.	-n	→	ø / VV ____ # catalexis (n) _o
R8.	-d-	→	-r-/ V ____ V intervocalic rhotacism
R9.	-ld-	→	-l-/ V ____ V intervocalic cluster reduction
	-nd-	→	-n-/ V ____ V “
	-rd-	→	-r-/ V ____ V “
R11.	[ɛ]	→	[ʲɛ e ^ɛ] pre-/post-articulation
	[ɔ]		[^u ɔ ɔ ^v]
	[ɪ]		[ʲɪ ɪ ^v]
	[œ]		[^ʏ œ œ ^ɔ]
	[y]		[ʲy]
	[u]		[^w u]
R12.	-d-, -ŋ, -w, -z	→	-t-, -ŋk-, -f-, -s final devoicing
R13.	[-voice]	→	[+voice] / Vn ____ V intervocalic lenition of n-clusters

List of catalectic morphemes in Brazilian and European Pomeranian

(for back reference only)

<i>BP and EP</i>	morpheme	example	evidence
adj inflection	(e) _o	gaud(e) _o	intervocalic rhotacism: <i>gaur</i>
adj inflection	(n) _o	gaud(e)(n) _o	lack of schwa apocope: <i>gaura</i>
subtractive morph	(n) _o	mij(n) _o , ai(n) _o	paradigm <i>mij/mijn/mijna</i>
DIM morpheme	(n) _o	klai(n) _o	paradigm <i>klai/klain/klaina</i>
verbal infl pl	e(n) _o	wij reere(n) _o	nasalisation of enclitic <i>wij</i> : <i>wi'm</i>
INF1 morpheme	e(n) _o	reere(n) _o koina	lack of schwa apocope: <i>reera</i>
INF2 morpheme	end(e) _o	reerend(e) _o	intervocalic cluster reduction: <i>reeren</i>
nominalizer	d(e) _o	fröid(e)	intervocalic rhotacism: <i>fröir</i>
nominal class	e(n) _o	oowe(n) _o	plural <i>oowens</i> ‘ovens’
nominal class	(e) _o	fruug(e) _o	plural <i>fruuges</i> ‘women’
plural morpheme	(e) _o	hund(e) _o	intervocalic cluster reduction + compensatory lengthening: <i>huun</i>
nominal ending	e(r) _o	wâte(r) _o	<i>wâtra</i> ‘pour’, <i>wâtrig</i> ‘watery’
<i>EP</i>			
past -ed morpheme	d(e) _o	ik setd(e) _o	intervocalic rhotacism + compensatory lengthening: <i>seer</i>

Historical introduction

1.1 Dialectology of Pomeranian in Europe

Farther Pomeranian (*Ostpommersch*) is the Low Saxon coastal dialect, or set of dialects, of continental Germanic stock in a coastal stretch between the Oder river and the Vistula river, an area which was called Hinterpommern or Farther Pomerania (*Pomerland* in Brazilian Pomeranian). The relevant dialect encompasses, more precisely, the lowlands of the Rega basin, the Persante basin, and the watershed of the Wipper, and the Stolp river. Until 1945 it was part of Germany, but it is located in present-day Poland. The dialect of Mecklenburg/Vorpommern in present-day Germany, as well as the Middle Pomeranian of the Stettin region and Usedom/Wollin are rather different and should be discussed separately from Farther Pomeranian, henceforth simply Pomeranian. The Low German dialect in the east (Low Prussian) should be treated separately as well. In the map below, slightly adapted from Brockhaus (2012: 128), we give an impression of the area of Pomeranian, indicated with *Ostpommersch*.



Map 1. Coastal Germanic in the first decades of the 20th century (after Brockhaus 2012)

Pomeranian participates in various Ingvaenisms, characteristic of the North Sea Germanic area, such as: (1) loss of /n/ (and partly /l/ as well) before spirants (f, θ, s, ʃ),¹ (2) -s plurals in nouns, and (3) a unified plural ending in verbs (*Einheitsplural*).

1. The so-called Nasal Spirant Law (Bremmer 2009; Schönfeld 1970: 26).

Pomeranian shares the latter with neighbouring coastal dialects. Although, the Ingvaemonic n-drop is only partially carried through in Pomeranian, it happened to the point that Pomeranian is even closer to English than Frisian.

(1) *Ingvaemonic n-drop in various West Germanic languages*

Pomeranian	English	Frisian	Dutch	German
süsta	–	–	zus (obs.)	sonst
meisch	–	minske	mens	Mensch
ous	us	ús	ons	uns
guis ²	goose	goes	gans	Ganse
fiw	five	fiif	vijf	fünf
seis	scythe [saiθ]	seine	zeis	Sense
anert	other	oar	ander	ander
as	as[æz]	as [ɔs]	als	als

As one can see from (1), Pomeranian and Frisian generally opt for the Ingvaemonic forms lining up with English, while Dutch does so as well, albeit less systematically. The causes must be found in the origin of Pomerania. Pomerania was germanized in a geographically scattered way in the 13th century during the *Ostsiedlung*, the “going east” of settlers, land developers, and merchants coming from Flanders, Holland and Frisia, and the core Saxon areas.³

Virtually all Pomeranians converted to Lutheranism in the 16th century⁴ and there were very few non-Lutherans (less than 5%, mainly Catholics and Jews) in the days of the emigration (Kratz 1865).⁵ Very few of them were Mennonites. European Pomeranian has been in close contact to High German and, to a smaller extent, to Slavonic in the form of Slovincian/Kashubian. The origin from the North Sea area might explain the consistent Ingvaemonisms in the language and other possibly substratal effects in this otherwise continental variety. The linguistic roof of High German through religion and education must be held responsible for the many germanisms (*herts* ‘heart’, *kirch* ‘church’, *hofnung* ‘hope’, *benutsa* ‘to

2. PL *guisa*. Alternative forms are *gääs* [je:s] – *gääsa*. Originally, it must have been **gaus* – **gääs* cf. Fri *goes* [uə] – *gies* [iə] (‘goose – geese’). *Guis-* is the umlauted form of **gaus-*.

3. “Die Periode der Kolonisation Hinterpommerns komt aber erst durch die Gründung (of the monastery) Belbuck in Gang. (...) Die Wahl friesischer Mönche trug dem Sumpfbereich zwischen Treptow und Meer den Zuzug friesische Bauern” (Prieue & Teuchert 1927/1928: 254).

4. This is mainly due to Luther’s friend, the Pomeranian Johannes Bugenhagen, teacher at the Grammar School in Treptow and later teacher at the monastery Belbuc. For the Frisian base of the four premonstratensian monasteries in Pomerania, cf. chapter 10.

5. More precise data for 1932 can be obtained from GLFP.

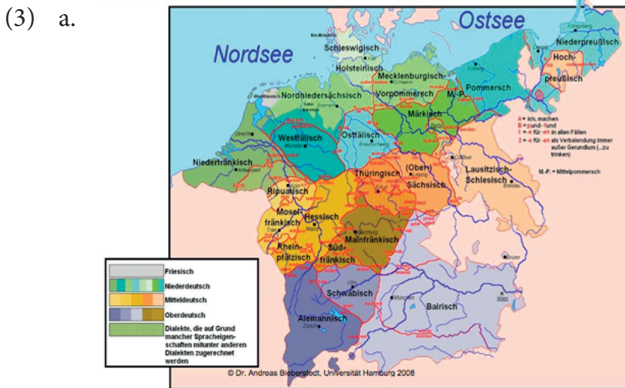
use, *grousmuta* ‘grandmother’, etc. as well as semi-germanisms, such as *hochtijd* ‘wedding’ of which only the first part is German (*Hochzeit*)).

1.1.1 The n/ø-isogloss in pronouns and the infinitive 1 – infinitive 2 contrast

While the previous Ingvaeonic rule of n-drop characterizes Pomeranian as a Coastal Germanic dialect, there is one context where Dutch, Groningen, Low German, Mecklenburgisch, and Prussian lack this Ingvaeonism, while Pomeranian and Frisian show it. That is n-drop in *uns* ‘us’ (and in other forms of the pronominal system). This feature opposes Pomeranian to the neighbouring Low German dialects in the west (*Vorpommersch*) and in the east (*Prussian*).

(2)	(Low Prussian)	(Pomeranian)
a. min	~ mi	‘me/my’
b. ons	~ ous	‘us/our’
c. jun	~ juuch (< juw) ⁶	‘you(r)’
d. loupe(n)	~ loupa	(infinitive 1)
	loupen	(infinitive 2 or gerund)

The isogloss with the drop of *-n* in the pronominal system roughly coincides with the isoglosses between the area with two infinitives and the area without (Mecklenburgian in the West, and Low Prussian in the East (Wrede 1908: 295; Laabs 1980: 52 note 7),⁷ as becomes visible by comparing Bieberstedt’s map of the *-n* isogloss in (3ab) and Wenker’s map of ‘us’ reproduced below in (4a).



6. Glide velarisation will be discussed in Section 2.3.2.4.2 and 8.2.

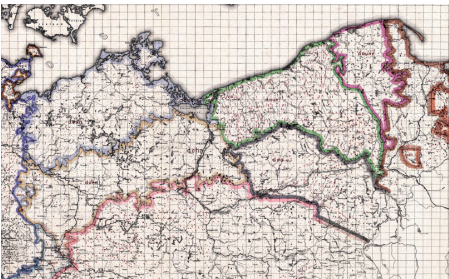
7. For the Western border, cf. also Prieue & Teuchert (1927/1928: 153), Holsten (1952: 110). Neither author notices the double infinitive system.

b.



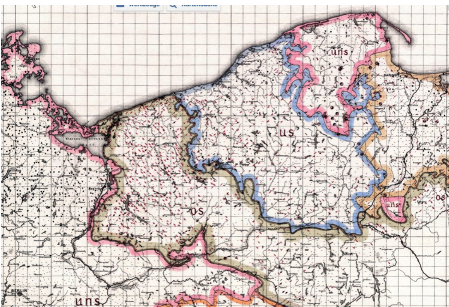
The map below, taken from Wenker's Atlas, show a green area with drop of *-n* in monosyllabic infinitives, like *daua* 'do', *gåa* 'go', *saia*, 'see', where Pomeranian patterns with modern English (*do* < ME *doon*).

(4) a.



The area of infinitival *n*-drop coincides with *n*-drop in the pronominal system.⁸

(4) b.



8. Similar maps can be drawn on *mijn/mij* 'my', *dijn/dij* 'thy', *sijn/sij* 'his' using the site <www.regionalsprache.de>. It must be kept in mind that the isoglosses drawn by Wenker are impressionistic generalizations on the basis the geographical data points. A full statistical analysis of isogloss correlations can only be done after the underlying data have been digitalized.

The dialectal configuration of Pomeranian, being sandwiched between Mecklenburgian and Low Prussian, is linguistically speaking a mirror image of the situation in the Netherlands, where Frisian with loss of *-n* in the pronominal system and a double infinitive is sandwiched between Hollandish with *-n* drop in the west and the Groningen dialect with retained *-n* in the east. Interestingly, in Low Prussian and Dutch the *-n* ending is not absent, but underlyingly present. Under that assumption, we obtain the scheme under (5).

(5)	Mecklenburg- VorPommern (West)	Pomeranian (Middle)	Low Prussian (East)
	infinitive 2	-en	-e(n)
	infinitive 1	-en	-e(n)
	1PL	Vns (uns)	Vns (ons)
<hr/>			
	Groningen (East)	Frisia (Middle)	Holland (West)
	infinitive 2	-en	-e(n)
	infinitive 1	-en	-e(n)
	1PL	Vns (ons)	Vns (ons)

The scheme suggests a connection between the /n/ in the infinitive 1 (i.e. the infinitive without complementizer) and /n/ in UNS ‘us’. The default infinitive form has *-n* if and only if the 1PL acc pronoun has *-n*. More precisely put, there might exist a morpheme in infinitives and UNS with an equal spellout.

We briefly speculate on the theoretical connection. When in Frisian and Pomeranian, /n/ became reanalyzed as a nominalizer,⁹ it had to drop both in the infinitive and in the pronominal system. There is, however, also a possibility that the chain of cause and effect is reversed, i.e. that the phonological deletion of *-n* in *uns*, opened up the possibility to reanalyze /n/ as a nominalizer. It is the onus to formal linguistics to work out the basis of this relation in detail. We here suggest that the connection between bare infinitival control structure [PRO [infinitive]] and pronouns can be made understandable if we assume a similar underlying structure to pronouns, i.e. [PRO_i [UNS]], where the lexeme itself does not carry the referential features (i.e.: UNS_i), but a phonologically null pronoun PRO in its specifier. If so, the interpretative nature of the subject of infinitives (i.e. by control) must have a parallel in the interpretative nature of personal pronouns by the discourse operator U_{αβ}.

9. In Minimalist terms, it is analyzed as little *v* in Postma (2014).

- (6) OP_{1,2}[.....[PRO_{1/2} UNS] ...]
 NP_α ...V...NP_β [.....[PRO_{α/β} V_{inf}] ...]
 with 1,2 the indexes for speaker/hearer

This short discussion of the dialectological situation of Pomeranian shows the potential relevance of dialect geographic studies for formal grammar.

1.1.2 Strong inflectional morphemes: *mijn laiwet/laiwes kind* vs. *mij laiw-ø kind*

A second important isogloss that separates Pomeranian from the other Low German variants, and actually separates it from German dialects in general, High and Low German alike, is the absence of strong inflectional morphemes *-er/-es* or *-er/-et*, in structural Cases. Strong endings are present in Gothic, Old High German, and Old Norse, but absent in Old English, Old Saxon,¹⁰ and Old Frisian. These strong endings survive in Low and High German as well as in Icelandic. Strong D-endings in structural Cases are copied to adjectives in indefinite constructions (the so-called strong adjectival inflection in MASC nom, neut nom & acc).

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------|
| (7) | <i>*mein-es liebe Kind</i> → <i>mein liebes Kind</i> | High/Low German |
| | <i>*miin-et laiwe Kind</i> → <i>miin laiwet Kind</i> | Low Prussian |

These strong morphemes are absent in the North Sea Germanic area, as well as in Pomeranian. Pomeranian contrasts with its Low German neighbours, Mecklenburgisch/VorPommersch in the West; Low Prussian in the East, which both have these (floating) *-er/-et* morphemes, at least optionally.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|------------|
| (8) | <i>mij-laiw-ø Kind</i> | Pomeranian |
|-----|------------------------|------------|

The isoglosses that separates the area without the *-et/-es* morpheme (Hinter-Pommern), and the area that has the *-es/-et* morpheme (Mecklenburg/VorPommern and Prussia) neatly follows the isoglosses of the double infinitives. West from the western isogloss with VorPommern, the *-et/-es* morpheme shows up,¹¹ as is the case East from the eastern isogloss in Prussia (*-et*). This morpheme

10. Lasch (1914: 204). Its absence in the Heliand is probably due to its relatively western origin (Werden), i.e. west to the Diepholzer Linie.

11. This can be extracted from Wenker sentence nr 14: *Mein Liebes Kind*, Not all dialects in the Low German area realize the ending in all elicitation, i.e. it is present in scattered way. It is structurally absent in Flemish, Dutch, Frisian, and Pomeranian dialects. The isogloss between the Dutch-type and German-type dialects runs approximately 50–70 km east of the Dutch national border and follows the line: Jademündung – Wildeshausen – Diepholz – Osnabrück –

never shows up in the Pomeranian dialects. I have found only 6 isolated cases¹² in Farther Pomerania that participate in this German feature, but the dialects do not have two infinitives (-*e/-en*) in all these cases either.¹³ This corroborates the fundamental status of the western and eastern two-infinitive isoglosses in the demarcation of the Pomeranian dialects in Europe.

1.1.3 Dialectology of the long vowel \bar{e}

For further reference, we here include the dialectological articulation of the Farther Pomeranian dialects as provided by Wiesinger (1983). In Low German dialectology, it is customary to determine how MLG long \bar{e} and \bar{o} (of the Lübeck standard) are realized in the modern dialects. We here limit ourselves to long \bar{e} . MLG long \bar{e} is subdivided according to its etymological origin into: \bar{e}_1 = umlauted PGmc $*\bar{a}$, e.g. MLG *kēse* (\bar{e}_1) < PGmc $*kāsi-$ ‘cheese’; \bar{e}_2 = PGmc $*ai$, e.g. MLG *klēd* (\bar{e}_{2a}) < PGmc $*klatpa-$ ‘cloth’ and MLG *brēd* (\bar{e}_{2b}) < PGmc $*braida$ ‘broad’; \bar{e}_3 = WGmc $*ei$ < umlauted PGmc $*ai$, e.g. MLG *wēt* < PGmc $*hwaitja-$ ‘wheat’; and finally \bar{e}_4 = PGmc $*eo/io$, e.g. MLG *dēp* < PGmc $*deupa-$ ‘deep’.

As the vowel space for long \bar{e} is limited cross-linguistically (maximally 3 divisions), there is always conflation in the realization of the four \bar{e} -vowels. In MLG Lübeck standard, they all conflate into a single written long \bar{e} , whence the name. On the other hand, all \bar{e}_1 , \bar{e}_2 , \bar{e}_3 , \bar{e}_4 vowels can stand alone in their spellout and do stand alone in at least one Low German dialect, but mostly \bar{e}_2 conflates with \bar{e}_1 or \bar{e}_4 . Put differently, \bar{e}_2 is subject to attracting/associating forces of \bar{e}_1 and \bar{e}_4 . In some dialects, \bar{e}_2 is split and divided by \bar{e}_1 and \bar{e}_4 . By definition, \bar{e}_{2a} merges with \bar{e}_1 , \bar{e}_{2b} merges with \bar{e}_4 . Evidence that the split in \bar{e}_2 is driven by \bar{e}_1 and \bar{e}_4 , is the fact that any remnant of \bar{e}_2 never stands alone in its spellout in any Low German dialect. Furthermore, \bar{e}_3 never has a joint spellout together with just \bar{e}_{2a} or with just \bar{e}_{2b} in any dialect. Finally, no specific attraction is executed by \bar{e}_3 : it may stand alone, it may cooccur with $\bar{e}_{2a} + \bar{e}_1$, and it may cooccur with $\bar{e}_{2b} + \bar{e}_4$.

The split in \bar{e}_2 proceeds along arbitrary lexical lines, though the lexical patterns are relatively stable throughout the dialects (Wortmann 1960). This makes the split a useful criterion for dialect demarcations (Wiesinger 1980). On this basis,

Versmold – Rilchenbach – Blankenheim – Saarbrücken – Boustroff (near Metz). As this isogloss crosses the town of Diepholz, we coined it the *Diepholzer-Linie*.

12. Zeblin (Cybulino, W00453), Groß Leistikow (Lestkowo, W50506), Barfussdorf (Zolwia Bloc, W51121), Köpik (Kopice, W50482), Drammin (Dramino, W50731), Liepnitz (Lipnica, W00374).

13. To my knowledge, this anticorrelation between the double infinitive system and strong inflection has never been reported in the literature.

Wiesinger identifies 28 different dialect areas of Low German, with 11 structural-istically different patterns. The core lexemes used in Wiesinger’s dialect divisions are: \bar{e}_1 : *Käse* ‘cheese’; \bar{e}_2 : *Kleid* ‘cloth’, *Seife* ‘soap’, *breit* ‘broad’, *heiß* ‘hot’; \bar{e}_3 : *weizen* ‘wheat’, *reisen* ‘travel’; \bar{e}_4 : *lieb* ‘lovely’, *tief* ‘deep’. In the table in (9), we list the relevant lexemes needed for classifying Brazilian Pomeranian.

(9) *Cognate relations of MLG \bar{e} in Pomeranian and its sisters*

	Groningen (WW)	BP = Pom-c	MLG (Lübeck)	HG	English	Frisian	Dutch
\bar{e}_3	raizen	reisa [ei]	rēsen	reisen [ai]	–	reizgje	reizen
	wait	weiten [ei]	wēten	Weizen [ai]	wheat	weet/weit	weit
\bar{e}_1	keeze	käis [ei]	kēse	Käse [e:]	cheese	tsiis	kaas
\bar{e}_{2a}	klijd	kleid [ei]	klēd	Kleid [ai]	cloth	klaad	kleed
	zijp	seip [ei]	sēpe	Seife [ai]	soap	sjippe	zeep
\bar{e}_{2b}	brijd	braid [ai]	brēd	breit [ai]	broad	breed	breed
	hijt	hait [ai]	hēt	heiß [ai]	hot	hjit	heet
	ijn	ai(n) [ai]	ēn	ein [ai]	one	ien/jin	een
\bar{e}_4	dijp	daip [ai]	dēp	tief [i:]	deep	djip	diep
	gijten	gaita [ai]	gēten	gießen [i:]	–	jitte	gieten

These data allow us to identify Brazilian Pomeranian with a specific European dialect. To illustrate the mechanism, let us first look at High German and Dutch. HG has three different realizations in this domain: \bar{e}_2 + \bar{e}_3 realize as [ai], \bar{e}_4 realizes as [i:], and \bar{e}_1 realizes as [e:]. Dutch has four different realizations of \bar{e} : \bar{e}_1 =[a:], \bar{e}_2 =[eⁱ], \bar{e}_3 =[ei], \bar{e}_4 =[i^r]. A division in four is possible because \bar{e}_1 realizes in the /a/-domain (Dutch lacks secondary umlaut). Neither High German nor Standard Dutch splits the \bar{e}_2 vowels. Let us now turn to Brazilian Pomeranian. BP has only two realizations, viz. [ai] and [ei]. \bar{e}_4 realizes as [ai] while \bar{e}_1 + \bar{e}_3 realize together as [eⁱ]. The \bar{e}_2 vowels split. One part (\bar{e}_{2a}), e.g. *kleid*, *zeip*, joins the \bar{e}_1 class [ei] of *käis*, giving the joint realization \bar{e}_3 + \bar{e}_1 + \bar{e}_{2a} ; the other part (\bar{e}_{2b}), e.g. *braid*, *hait*, joins the \bar{e}_4 -class [ai], giving rise to \bar{e}_4 + \bar{e}_{2b} . We label this pattern as 1,3,2a – 4,2b (ordering irrelevant). In the table in (10) we give the various patterns as identified by Wiesinger (1980).

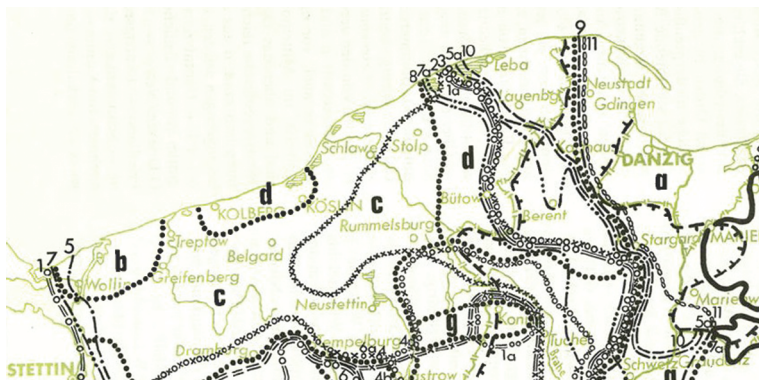
(10)	Wiesinger Map	label	pattern	Area	type
	Karte 47.13	a	1 – 2 – 3,4	Dortmund	1
	Karte 47.15	h	1 – 2,4 – 3	Kassel	2
	Karte 47.13	e	2,4 – 1 – 3	Bentheim	
	Karte 47.15	f1	1,2,3 – 4	Netze-North	3

Karte 47.15	f2	1,2,3 – 4	Netze-South	
Karte 47.14	a	2,3,1 – 4	Freienwalde	
Karte 47.14	d	4 – 2,1,3	Salzweder	
Karte 47.14	h	1,2,3,4	Arnswalde	4
Karte 47.14	f	1,2a – 3 – 4,2b	Wollin	5
Karte 47.13	g	1,2a – 42b – 3	Kiel	
Karte 47.13	f1	1,2a – 4,3,2b	Hannover	6
Karte 47.14	e1	1,2a – 4,3,2b	Kolberg	
Karte 47.13	f3	1,2a – 4,3,2b	Schwerin	
Karte 47.13	f2	1,2a – 4,3,2b	Ulzen	
Karte 47.14	e3b	2a – 2,1,4r – 4,3,2b	VorPom	6?
Karte 47.13	c	4,3,2b – 1,2a	Osnabrück	
Karte 47.15	c	1,3,2a – 4,2b	Greifenberg-Belgard	7
Karte 47.13	b	2 – 1,3,4	Münster	8
Karte 47.15	g	2,1 – 3 – 4	Konitz	9
Karte 47.14	b	2,1 – 4 – 3	Havel	
Karte 47.14	c3	2,1,4 – 3	Brandenburg	10
Karte 47.13	h	2,1,4 – 3	Bremen	
Karte 47.15	a2	2,1,4 – 3	Prussia-east	
Karte 47.15	a1	2,1,4 – 3	Prussia-west	
Karte 47.15	a	2,1,4 – 3	Stettin + Koningsbergen area	
Karte 47.14	c1	2,4,1 – 3	N-Ruppin	
Karte 47.14	c2	2,4,1 – 3	Wittstock	
Karte 47.13	d	2,3,4 – 1	Bocholt	11

As said, Pomeranian has 1,3,2a – 4,2b. This is a unique division. It only corresponds to the Greifenberg-Belgard region, c-area on Wiesinger's map 47.15. We give a detail of it in (11). No other Germanic dialect corresponds to this identification, the varieties in the Netherlands included (cf. Niebaum 1990: 62, Veldman 1992). If we restrict BP to the part that does not unround in umlaut contexts, we identify BP as the more western part of this c-dialect, west of the isogloss (xxxx).¹⁴ This areal identification nicely corresponds with the geographic immigration data, discussed in Section 1.2.1.2.

14. The Kolberg region, Wiesinger's d-area, is included in the c-region and is not a separate dialect with respect to \hat{e} and \hat{o} . Wiesinger's assignment of \bar{e}_3 to /ai/ must be solely based on the deviant status of *klain*. For a discussion, cf. our section 3.3.4. All regular \bar{e}_3 lexicalize as [ei] in the Kolberg region.

(11)



1.2 Brazilian Pomeranian

While Pomeranian is not used anymore in cohesive communities in Europe since 1945, it was exported to various parts of the world, earliest to North America (Louden 2009) and later to South America (Rosenberg 1998, 2005), and it is still in full use in various parts of Brazil, both in the Southern State of Rio Grande do Sul (Rosenberg 2006) and the tropical state of Espírito Santo, with many children not learning Portuguese until schooling at age six or so. These communities derive from immigration as early as 1850, and have been rather isolated until recently. In this grammar we use the variant spoken in the state of Espírito Santo, in the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá and its surroundings. We call it Brazilian Pomeranian or simply Pomeranian, though there might be differences with the variants in the South (in the states of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul).¹⁵ As we will see, Pomeranian in Brazil preserved the above-mentioned characteristic features of European Pomeranian (double infinitive, *n*-drop in pronouns, no strong adjectival inflection), but it also underwent some innovations.

1.2.1 Migration from Europe to Brazil

1.2.1.1 Background

The Pomeranian emigration to the state¹⁶ of Espírito Santo in Brazil begins, at least as far it has been documented in the immigration records, in 1859 and continues

15. In this structural grammar, we ignore cases of mixed language (*Mischsprache*) in the municipality of Santa Leopoldina, which is a melting pot of Hunsrückisch, Tirolese, Dutch, and Pomeranian.

16. At the time of immigration it was a province of the Empire. In this book, we will use the modern term state (of the Republic).

for three decades until 1887.¹⁷ The central area of emigration was the coastal strip of Pomerania (*Voivodeship (Zachodnio) Pomorskie* in present-day Poland), a province of Prussia in the days of the emigration. Within Pomerania, the rural basin of the Persante and Rega rivers forms the core emigration area, more specifically the lower parts, from the Baltic coast to the first push moraine. The slightly higher plateau was predominantly inhabited by Kashubians or Polish, both of Catholic religion. The Pomeranians that stayed behind, were expelled from the region hundred years later after World War II, and some isolated Pomeranian speakers still live scattered in present-day Germany, mostly in Schleswig-Holstein. As a consequence, Pomeranian has not been used anymore in cohesive communities in Europe since 1945, while it survives in various parts of the world. Pomeranian was exported earliest to North America (Louden 2009), where it is now virtually extinct, but there are communities in South America (Rosenberg 1998, 2005), where it is still in full use: in Brazil in the southern State of Rio Grande do Sul (Rosenberg 2006) and especially in the tropical state of Espírito Santo (henceforth: ES), with many children not learning Portuguese until schooling at age six or so. The latter community derives from the 19th century immigration, and have been rather isolated not only during the 19th century (Wagemann 1915) but even until recent times (Schaffel 2010). Most Pomeranians in ES are Lutheran (Droogers 2008), just as was the case in Europe. In Espírito Santo, the Lutheran religion functions as an important factor of social cohesion (Wagemann 1915: 120) that safeguards the language as a language island. Being the dominant group among a broad group of immigrants from Holland (colônia “Holanda”), Switzerland (colônia “Suíça”), Hunsrück (colônia “Luxemburgo”) and Austria (colônia “Tirol”), the Pomeranians imposed their language on other immigrants (Lutherische Kirche 1955: 137),¹⁸ notably on the protestants from Holland who virtually all converted to Lutheranism (Wernicke 1910: 40, Lutherische Kirche 1955: 173; Roos & Eshuis 2008) and speak Pomeranian now (Wernicke 1910, Schaffel-Bremenkamp *et al.* 2017). Until recently, Pomeranians considered themselves *düütsch*, in the broad cultural sense. Though the Pomeranians had emigrated from the Kingdom of Prussia in the 1860s, they did not consider themselves Prussians. In the first bilingual immigration contracts drawn in the harbour of Hamburg, the immigrants

17. The Pomeranian immigration to the United States is documented from 1830 onward. For data I refer to Roelke (2006: 83). The German immigration to ES has started slightly before 1859 as the “colony of foreigners” Santa Isabel (ES) was founded in 1847 and counted 163 “alemães” in 1858 according to a report in 1878 by Cezar Augusto Marques.

18. “Es waren auch einige Rheinländer, Hessen, Luxemburger, Holländer und sogar Polen da-runter. Aber da die Pommern weitaus in der Mehrheit waren, haben alle andern sich kirchlich und völkisch den Pommern assimiliert”.

provide “Pommern/Pomerania” as their land of origin, in addition to the village of their provenance, not their formal Prussian nationality.¹⁹ The Pomeranians’ identification with Prussia was remote and perhaps even hostile in view of the religious impositions the Old Lutherans were subject to. In the later records, i.e. after Bismarck established his *Deutsches Reich*, the immigrants provide “Deutschland/Alemanha” as their origin. As to language, they spoke *platt* or *plattdüütsch* and the distance with *Hochdeutsch* (High German) was considerable: many Pomeranians could not understand the religious service in High German (Hartwig 2011; Siller 2011; Schaffel-Bremenkamp 2014). Initially, the identity in Brazil as *Pomeranians* was hardly developed. This has changed over the past 30 years. Starting with Rodolpho Gaede’s *Up Platt Dutsch* in 1983 in *O Semeador*, a religious quarterly journal, a growing awareness of being Pomeranian, not German, can be observed (Fröschle 2006), especially in the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá, where children now learn Pomeranian in school, and there is a Pomeranian chair at the FARESE faculty in Santa Maria de Jetibá. Recently, a dictionary of Brazilian Pomeranian was published (Tressmann 2006a), as well as a collection of tales (*Upm Land*, Tressmann 2006b) provided by a variety of authors in ES and the daughter settlements in Rondônia, registered by Anivaldo Kuhn and Ismael Tressmann. Various teaching courses have been developed within the PROEPO project (Programa de Educação Escolar Pomerana), e.g. the writing and grammar course by Bausen & Tressmann (2016). Of all immigrant groups in Brazil of the 19th century wave, Pomeranian is the language that is best preserved.²⁰

1.2.1.2 Situation in Europe

Pomerania in present-day Poland was germanized in a geographically scattered way during the so-called *Ostsiedlung*, the “going east” of settlers, land developers, and merchants coming from Flanders, Holland, Frisia, and the core Saxon areas in the 13th century and later.²¹ They occupied the wastelands and lived next to Wends and Kashubians for centuries. This area emancipated to a duchy in the fourteenth century, but Pomerania was permanently disputed by the neighboring

19. Immigrants from Schivelbein, which is in Brandenburg’s Neumark, do list themselves as Prussian, though Schivelbein is linguistically Pomeranian, e.g. the *Gröner* immigration record.

20. “In Espírito Santo wurde die Kolonisierung erst nach der Ankunft von Einwanderern aus Pommern in den siebziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts intensiviert, deren Gemeinschaften bis heute durch die Beibehaltung ländlicher Werte und den Gebrauch ihres ursprünglichen Dialektes als identitätsstiftende Merkmale charakterisiert sind” (Seyferth 2010: 745).

21. Die Periode der Kolonisation Hinterpommerns kommt aber erst durch die Gründung [of the monastery, GJP] Belbuck in Gang. (...) Die Wahl friesischer Mönche trug dem Sumpfbereich zwischen Treptow und Meer den Zuzug friesische Bauern (Priewe & Teuchert 1927/1928: 254).

powers Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the Holy Roman Empire. Virtually all Pomeranians converted to Lutheranism in the 16th century²² due to the theological work of a professor at the monastery school of Treptow upon Rega, *Johannes Bugenhagen*, who was a friend of Luther's and tutor of his children. It is probably in these days that a homogenous ethnic group was constructed, as Bugenhagen also took part in Pomerania's historiography (Bugenhagen's *Pomerania*). There were very few non-Lutherans (less than 5%, mainly Catholics and Jews) in the days of the emigration (Kratz 1865)²³ and there were very few mennonites. When Prussia took power in Pomerania in 1806, the special slavery regulations under the Swedish domination (which was made possible by virtue of the Holy Roman Empire) took an end in Nearer Pomerania. It triggered land reforms. To what extent this had consequences for Farther Pomerania is not clear, but the latifundium land tenure system did not change. While the necessary socio-economic changes were waiting, Prussian rule did have religious consequences. In 1817 there was the initiative of King Frederick William III to unite the Lutheran Church with the Reformed Church. The king wanted to model Prussia to Napoleon's nation state with one language, one religion, one king. The Prussian union of Churches, which aimed at liturgical uniformity, provoked heated quarrels, because the northern Prussian Provinces (Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania), being almost exclusively Lutheran, were unwilling to give up their religious traditions. When in 1830, the union was enforced by governmental orders, Johann Gottfried Scheibl, a theology professor in Breslau (Silesia) left Prussia, soon followed by people from Erfurt, Magdeburg and parts of Pomerania (Everest 1892: 292). When people started to be prosecuted, more and more fled to the USA, especially to Wisconsin and upstate New York. To what extent religious reasons underlay emigration to Brazil is unknown, but the fact that virtually all immigrants are Old Lutheran (i.e. the denomination that refused merger with Reformed Church) makes it probable that it played at least some role. On the other hand, the immigration to Brazil was stimulated by the imperial government of Brazil after its independence in 1822. Slave trade became more and more disputed which caused a need of new labour force. Furthermore, there was the imperial policy to occupy and develop the entire territory of Brazil and there was a need of settlers.

Immigration to ES originates mainly from three sub-regions in Pomerania: (1) Regenwalde, (2) Belgard/Schivelbein, (3) Kolberg/Köslin, which were virtually exclusively agricultural municipalities. These areas account for 80% of immigration to ES. The immediate coastal region to the Baltic Sea is underrepresented in

22. This is mainly due to Luther's friend, the Pomeranian Johannes Bugenhagen, teacher at the Grammar School in Treptow and later teacher at the Belbuc monastery.

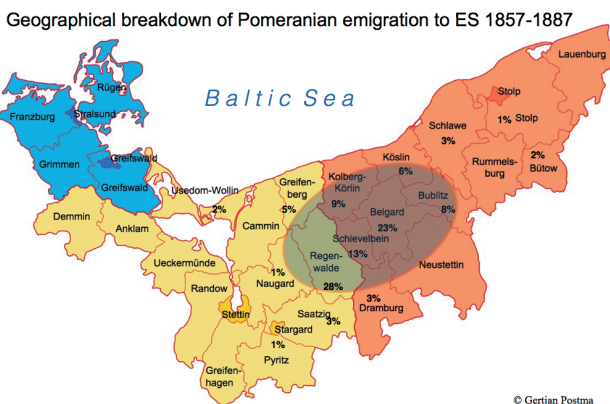
23. More precise data for 1932 can be obtained from GLFP.

the emigration, especially during the first wave. In the table below, we summarize the geographical pattern as it emerges from ES immigration records. The data are based on a digitized version of the records made available by Public Archives of ES (APEES) in Vitória. We only use records mentioning “Pomerania” as the land of origin. This includes, in principle, all parts, i.e. Vor-, Mittel, and Hinter-Pommern, although the latter area is far out predominant.

Table 1. Immigration from Pomerania

<i>Immigrants and place of origen</i>	<i>1850–1860</i>	<i>1861–1870</i>	<i>1871–1880</i>	<i>1881–1890</i>	<i>Total</i>
Municipality (Kreis)	number	number	number	number	number
Regenwalde	94	57	44	–	195
Belgard	30	57	71	1	159
Kolberg-Körlin	–	27	36	–	63
Schivelbein	13	40	0	2	55
Köslin	4	12	29	–	45
Greifenberg	11	7	13	–	31
Schlawe	6	6	11	–	23
Saatzig	–	14	6	–	20
Arnswalde	4	–	14	–	18
Dramburg	–	–	16	–	16
Bütow	4	–	13	–	17
Usedom	–	11	–	–	11
Naugard	–	8	2	–	10
Labes	8	–	–	–	8
Prússia Occid	–	1	7	–	8
Prússia Orient	–	–	5	–	5
Stolp	–	–	5	–	5
Stargard	–	–	4	–	4
Stettin	–	–	1	–	1
Rummelsburg	–	–	–	1	1
VorPommern	1	–	–	–	1
Pyrizt	–	–	2	–	2
Total Localized	175	240	279	4	698
Not localized	11	177	1329	45	1562

Initially, the exclusively rural interior municipality of Regenwalde and the predominantly rural municipalities of Belgard/Schivelbein provided the majority of immigrants: 78% come from these regions. The initial Regenwalde flow declined slightly over the next two decades to 24% and 18%, respectively. The interior region of Belgard/Schivelbein remains almost constant during the three decades, with about 25% of the emigrants, reaching 41% around 1870, as a result of a peak in Schivelbein emigration. In sum, the interior regions of the Persante river and the Rega river are responsible for more than three-quarters of the migration from Pomerania to ES. The coastal and more urban Kolberg/Köslin region is practically absent in the first wave of emigration but increases up to 24%. But also in these regions, it was the rural population that emigrated: only 29 out of 2263 emigrants have urban professions (less than 2%); all other profession registers mentioned include the word “farmer”. Almost all the immigrants were of Lutheran faith (> 99%), besides 2 Catholics and 14 people without religion listed. Vor- and Mittelpommern contributed very little (< 3%), while areas with contact with Low Prussian (Stolp, Bütow, Rummelsburg) did not exceed 6%. People in the non-core areas emigrated in a rather scattered manner, usually just one person. The basin of the river Netze, behind the first push moraine, which was more in contact with Polish and Brandenburgish, did not contribute to the emigration either. In short, contrary to what is assumed in most research on language islands, the source of emigration to ES was extremely homogeneous: a Lutheran group of rural workers from Farther Pomerania. It can be concluded that the municipalities selected in preliminary linguistic research in Postma (2014, 2015), for the description of European Pomeranian is a reasonable approximation of the origin area. (See also: Potthast-Hubolt 1982: 139; Granzow 1973: 60, 1975: 167).



Map 2. Breakdown of the origin of migration from Pomerania to ES

As we have seen above, the immigrants came from a geographically well-defined area, but the same must be concluded linguistically. Farther Pomeranian is dialectologically distinct from neighboring West Germanic varieties both in the West (Mecklenburgish and Nearer/Middle Pomeranian) and in the East (Pomerelian/Low Prussian) in a number of remarkable features, such as the reduction of possessive pronouns *mi:n* to *mi:* ‘my’, the drop of infinitival *-n* in all verbs (apart from *sin* ‘to be’), e.g. *doon/daun* > *dau(e)* ‘to do’, drop of *-n* in the indefinite article *ain* to *ai*, (though *ain* can show up in inflectional contexts as a feminine marker), the absence of strong adjectival markers (*mij laiw kind* instead of Low German and Low Prussian *mi:n laiwes/laivet kind*), and finally, the development of a separate second infinitive (infinitive2 or gerund) in *-n*. There are bundles of isoglosses that separate Pomeranian from the neighboring regions. In these cases, Pomeranian differs from their neighbors in both West and East and patterns with the North Sea region.

As to language variation within Farther Pomeranian, two types of dialects seem to have existed side by side. According to Böhmer (1833), there were two dialects in Pomerania: (in his terms) “round” Pomeranian and “broad” Pomeranian, of which the former is a language with close ties to the Low German of Lübeck. The “round” Pomeranian is used in Nearer Pomerania and the cities in Farther Pomerania. According to Böhmer, even a countryman switches to the “round” variant to the degree of his education” (Böhmer 1833: 151ff).

“The main point that we are making, is this: in Pomerania there are living side by side two deeply distinct Low German dialects. One is round, light, smooth, without diphthongs, simple in roots and grammatical complexity; the other is broad, heavy, (...), full of diphthongs (au, ei, ai) or vowels with post-articulation, inclined to slowly vanishing final sounds. (...) However, what is stranger, even where the population speaks the broad dialect, the educated people in these areas use the round dialect, and, by way of the educated men, the towns are (linguistically) in opposition to the surrounding country men. Closer and across the Oder River, there is no trace of the finer Low German vernacular, which, being a linguistic roof, might have bound these dialects together. However, the local dialects reduce themselves in broadness and heaviness to the extent and degree of the personal education of individuals” [translation GJP].

Böhmer characterizes his “round-broad” opposition by a couple of phonological differences, such as breaking of long vowels (*good–gaud* ‘good’) and short vowels (*melk–m’elk* ‘milk’, schwa-apocope (*müde–muir* ‘tired’), and intervocalic cluster reduction (*broder–braurer* ‘brother’), but one may guess that the differences were deeper, and were in the realm of morphology (no *ge*-prefix in participles) and morphosyntax (double infinitive) as well. As the immigrants to Brazil came from the rural areas, which had the “broad variety”, it does not come as a surprise that in ES, despite the ample variation that is found, the “round variety” of European

Pomeranian is virtually absent: forms like *broder* are missing completely. Brazilian Pomeranian is, hence, the descendent of the “broad variety”. In the next section, we discuss the linguistic situation in the new homeland, the interior of the state Espírito Santo in Brazil.

Little is known about the reasons for immigration to Brazil. Probably these were diverse. There is no objective reason to believe it has been poverty. In this sense the immigration was different from the Hunsrück emigration (cf. Edgar Reitz’s cinematographic work) and the Dutch emigration to Brazil (Roos & Eshuis 2008). But there is no reason to believe that socio-economic reasons did not play any role: “In the nineteenth century, at the time of emigration, the province belonged to the Kingdom of Prussia and was subject to turbulent socio-economic changes, as was the entire European continent.” (Schaffel Bremenkamp 2014). The agrarian reform of 1807 and the increasing industrialization, which included the agricultural sector, caused unemployment and shortage, which, together with the poor qualifications of the rural man, left many with little perspective. There was indeed excess of labour force, as the province passed through a “demographic explosion” in the first half of the nineteenth century (Roelke 1996: 23). Schaffel Bremenkamp, a researcher from within the Pomeranian community, stresses the will to freely express their Lutheran faith, (which) combined with the search for a better life must have led thousands of Pomeranians to emigrate (Schaffel Bremenkamp 2014: 24).

1.2.1.3 *Emigration to the New World*

1.2.1.3.1 *Attracting forces.* The main destination of Pomeranian emigrants was North America (Everest 1892; Loudon 2009). Only as a second option did Brazil function as a destiny (Tschudi 1860; Marques 1879; Wagemann 1915; Hartuwig 2011). The emigration to Brazil is different, however, in the sense that there was an official policy by the Brazilian imperial government that favoured immigration, provided the candidate was Catholic, farmer, could pay the transport, and was willing to work on the land by his own hands. So there was a clearly explicit attracting force in the case of Brazil, which was absent in the USA. What was also absent in the USA, is the policy of cultural dominance by Prussia/Germany. This is a force that should not be ignored. There was an official imperialist policy by Prussia and later Bismarck’s *Deutsches Reich*, which culminated in the overtly national-expansionist policy of Wilhelm II’s “informal imperialism”. It stimulated imperialistic occupation to the East (e.g. Germans in Romania) and, trans-continently, to Brazil. The idea was that settlers to these areas would preserve their *Deutschtum* (“German-hood”). The official policy was making new German territories by cultural dominance over the local population. There was the hope that

these enclaves would grow out to independent Brazilian states. The optimal circumstance for this *Deutschtum* and *Volkstum* was creating isolated, socially-closed communities with their own church, press, and intellectual life. The German historian Bernecker judges that the results of this policy remained limited (Bernecker 1997; apud Spliesgart 2006: 27):

“In the German emigration and colonisation discussion of the 1880s and the early 1890s, nationalistic ideas circulated of re-directioning the mass emigration from North to South America, (ideas) of a germanization of the South-American target areas by way of “organized” immigration and (ideas) of founding a “New Germany” in South America. These ideas underestimated the strong integrating force of the Brazilian nation-state. (These ideas) remained not only illusive, but in fact worked counter-productive, as they triggered doubts vis-à-vis the German immigration” [translation by GJP].

The counter-productivity of this Germany-led propaganda of *Deutschtum* by intellectuals in Brazil gets a salient expression in a report by Gustav Simoleit, a nazi professor (in “history and border issues”) at the Hochschule of Lauenburg in Pomerania. In his 1936 report on the German settlements in Brazil in the nationalistic *Heimatskalender für den Kreis Lauenburg in Pommern*, he discusses the colonists in Espírito Santo, which were settled in a scattered way, not in coherent communities, and without support of the motherland. He observes: “It is precisely this remote and closed nature (*Abgeschlossenheit*) that has contributed that these Germans, especially our Pomeranian country fellows (in ES), have preserved their original character (*Volkstum*) exceptionally well.” Here we see that isolation, not contact with the German motherland, made *Deutschtum* more resistant.²⁴

There is a third imperialistic force involved: the interference by the United States. From 1900 until WW-II, the USA tried to undermine the German influence in Brazil through “soft power” (Maske 2013). By Lutheran missionary activities, they set up an alternative Lutheran church (the so-called Missouri Lutherans) which used the Portuguese language in their religious service. Being (considered) richer, they “bought” entire Lutheran churches and brought these under the Missouri Synod. The Missouri Synod was especially strong in the Southern States (RS, SC and PR), much less so in Espírito Santo (though not entirely absent). To counter this force, Old-Lutheran churches outside Prussia (especially Bavaria) set up a financial support system of the so-called *Gotteskasten*. As to Espírito Santo, these Bavarian churches also provided the Lutheran priests. They

24. During WWII, Simoleit was camp officer of Stalag Luft III, a camp with prisoners of war. Though certainly biased in his description, there is no reason to doubt when this nazi propagandist compares the settlements in ES with those in the southern states.

spoke standard German, not Pomeranian, so that most Pomeranians were unable to follow the service.

As said, Brazil had an official colonial policy of attracting labour force. This was to compensate for the disrupted inflow of slave workers from Africa through a more modern method of newly contracted workers from Europe. There was an additional, more imperialistic, reason. Brazil had a permanent fear of losing non-occupied territories. In 1853 Brazil created and contracted an *Associação Central de Colonização* at the Imperial level that had a civil contract for the recruitment of 57.000–100.00 new colonists to ES.²⁵ German and Italian immigrants were thought to be inherently better labourers than other workers. Brazil, therefore, explicitly facilitated the immigration from Germany. The colonization develops in the field of forces that exceeded the local setting by far: Brazil, Prussia/Germany, and the USA each had their own interests. As we will see in the next section, the state of ES had in some sense been “forgotten” by these three superpowers. Being out of focus has favoured the survival of the Pomeranian language in ES until the present day.

There are two additional considerations in the secondary literature. Iotti (2010) claims, taken over in Schaffel Bremenkamp (2014), that there was an official imperial policy of whitening the population (*branqueamento*). I have not found explicit evidence for it in the official governmental documentation, however. Although it is possible that this is an implicit factor in the 20th century, in the 19th century immigration literature, only economic reasons show up. A further attracting force has been mentioned: according to Richter (1940), the Brazilian Imperial government wanted to attract young Prussian men as soldiers under the pretext of colonists. For this I have not found any evidence either, but see Sousa Oliveira (2008: 20).

1.2.1.3.2 Literature. The literature on the Germanic immigration to Brazil is extensive. Canstatt’s 1906 bibliography already counts more than two hundred pages! This covers the sociology, the history, the meteorological descriptions, demography, health, etc. of Germanic immigrants in Brazil. In the meantime, the settlements in ES are mostly ignored. When Canstatt’s bibliography incidentally refers to a study on the colony of Santa Leopoldina in Espírito Santo (Canstatt 1902: 64), he mistakes a colony Leopoldina in the south of Bahia for the one in ES (C.A Tolsner’s *Die Kolonie Leopoldina in Brasilien etc*, Göttingen 1858). As a result, little in Canstatt’s bibliography makes us any wiser on our topic. As a matter of fact, the colonies in ES have been much less a target of study than the southern regions (cf. the bibliography on the Southern States by Fochesatto et al. (2017) includes more than 2500 studies). The immigration to ES has been ignored or forgotten to a high extent, both by German and Brazilian researchers. In various German

25. Cf. Relatorio of 1856 by Luiz Pedreira do Coutto Ferraz, page 23–27.

immigration overviews, ES is only mentioned in passing (cf. Rethwisch 1887). When it is mentioned or studied, it is usually in a negative sense (Tschudi 1860). Positive exceptions, that are worth mentioning as relevant sources, are: Marques (1879), Wernicke (1910), Wagemann (1915), Granzow (1973, 1975), and Potthast-Hubold (1982). Twentieth century and modern studies of the German colonization also limit themselves mainly to the southern states. Even in the Brazilian literature, the German immigration to Espírito Santo has to a high extent been neglected, only a few remarks on ES are found in Willems (1940), Schröder (2003), or Spliesgart (2006). The reason of the lack of attention to ES is, that the favorite destination of the Prussian and German immigrants was the South of Brazil with its more moderate climate (southern states of Santa Catarina (SC), Paraná (PR), and Rio Grande do Sul (RS)). This focus on the south has not always been there. The oldest German colony was founded on the border of the tropical states of Bahia and Espírito Santo, and the subsequent colonies were in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Soon, however, warnings by the Swiss, Prussian, and German authorities were emitted against the dangers of living in the tropical states of Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Espírito Santo (Tschudi 1860; Nauck 1937).²⁶ In 1859, the Prussian trade minister Von der Heydt issued a decree, known in the Brazil historiography as the *Rescrito-Heydt* i.e. *Heydt's rescript*, which banned all propaganda and financial facilitation of the emigration to Brazil. After protest by Brazil, this ban was lifted for the southern states SC and RS in 1896, but the ban for the other states, especially for the coffee states of ES en SP, remained in force. In sum, the decades of Pomeranian immigration to ES (1857–1887) occurred precisely during Von der Heydt's ban. The ban made the immigration not illegal, but it blocked any facilitation from within Prussia (and Germany)²⁷ and it made the south of Brazil the main target of immigration.

Only recently, studies from the immigrant groups in ES themselves have been published, in the framework of sociolinguistic programs at the federal university in Vitória (e.g. Roelke 1996) and the program on the public archive APEES directed by Cilmar Franciscetto (republishing and translating for instance the classics

26. Tschudi's negative report on Santa Leopoldina, being very influential in Europe, was immediately refuted by Fernandes da Costa Pereira Junior (1861: 76, 1862: 37–45). The latter argued the problems were (standard) run-up effects and are only correct with respect to the miserable Dutch and Swiss, not for the Pomeranians, who were already farmers in their homeland. In hindsight, Costa Pereira was right in view of the fact that the colony flourished soon after.

27. "Es ist aber nicht richtig, dass durch jenes Rescript die Auswanderung nach Brasilien gehemmt sei. Es ist darin nur angeordnet dass agenten nicht concessionirt werden sollen, welche die Auswanderung noch Brasilien vermitteln". (Karl Heinrich von Boetticher, Vice Chancellor of Germany under Bismarck in 1886). Cf. *Imigracao – orgao da sociedade central de emigracao* 18 (1886). Rio de Janeiro. p. 2.

Wernicke (1910) and Granzow (1975). Consequently, a new awareness of the special status of the northern colonies has emerged.

1.2.1.3.3 *The settlements in Brazil.* Pomeranians went to three locations in Brazil: the two subtropical states in the south, Rio Grande do Sul from 1849 onwards, and Santa Catarina from 1850 onwards, and to the tropical state of Espírito Santo in the north, where Pomeranians settled in 1857. In our linguistic discussion, we confine ourselves to the colonies in ES. The colonies in Santa Catarina have virtually lost the Pomeranian language and replaced it with High German with a Pomeranian substrate (cf. Emmel 2005). Little research has been done on the Pomeranian language in the RS (e.g. Kuhn 2013), but the first linguistic investigations by Kaufmann (2018) show remarkable similarities to the Pomeranian language in ES, which is sketched below.

The Pomeranians followed the earlier immigration by Austrians, Swiss, and inhabitants of the Hunsrück area. These immigrants were predominantly Catholics, because of the general immigration policy of Brazil (see for instance Leithold 1820: 172 on the Swiss colonia Cantagallo in the state of Rio de Janeiro fifty years earlier). Nevertheless, Protestants (albeit a minority) came along with the Catholics. In 1857, in the oldest German settlement, Santa Isabel²⁸ in ES (founded in 1847 by religiously mixed Hunsrück and Hessian immigrants), almost 40% were Protestants (Raasch 2010: 91), which quickly grew to the ratio of 85% Protestants in the municipal statistics of 1879 (Marques 1879: 209–210).²⁹ Because of internal religious tensions in the community of Santa Isabel, the Protestants established their own sister colony in Domingo Martins³⁰ in the same municipality, only 6 kilometers more inland in 1857. In 1859, new colonies were prepared for fresh immigrants in the adjacent municipality of Santa Leopoldina³¹ on an ethnic basis: *Holanda* (cf. Roos & Eshuis 2008), *Suiça* (immigrants from Switzerland), *Tirol* (Austria, cf. Schabus 2009), and *Luxemburgo* (Luxemburgian and Hunsrück immigrants). The dominant group, however, was Pomeranian (Raasch 2010: 18–19), who build a new life in the colonies in *California*, *Biriricas*, slightly later *Jequitibá*³²

28. We follow the modern spelling. Older documents also give the name Santa Izabel.

29. Marques uses the label *acatholicos*. Raasch (2010: 91) gives the values of 101 Catholics, 35 Lutherans, and 29 Calvinists of initial immigrants on the basis of the APEES database.

30. The name was *Campinho*, which is still in use among the colonists. We will use the official name.

31. The older name is Porto de Cachoeiro. In Pomeranian it is called *Boat*: *im Boat* = ‘in Santa Leopoldina’.

32. The modern name is mostly Caramuru, though Jequitibá is used as well.

(1879) and *Melgaço* (1883).³³ The Pomeranian immigrants were all Lutherans (Droogers 2008).³⁴ The existing neighboring protestant-Hunsrück colony in Domingo Martins attracted Pomeranians from this immigration wave. In the end, Pomeranian became the dominant language in the municipality of Domingo Martins, while the Hunsrück dialect is disappearing. It has been reported that the protestant immigrants, especially the Pomeranians, stuck to their mother tongue (Fernandes da Costa Pereira Júnior 1862: 46; Marcondes Alvez da Souza 1913: 57; Wagemann 1915: 127; Simoleit 1936: 35), more so than the other groups.³⁵ In the isolated colonies of the interior part of Santa Leopoldina (Jequitibá and Melgaço), the language has been well-preserved until the present day. During the 1940 census, this part of Santa Leopoldina became famous because the census agent, “covering an area of 425 square kilometers and registering about two hundred properties, did not find a single person who spoke Portuguese [translation GJP]” (Diégues Júnior 1943: 25).³⁶ Subsequently, in a *Going West* movement, Pomeranian colonies in Santa Maria de Jetibá (1888) and Laranja da Terra (1901) were founded. These later interior settlements are almost exclusively Pomeranian. In the first half of the 20th century, the Pomeranians crossed the Rio Doce to the North and created colonies in Pancas (1925) and Vila Pavão (1942). The interior state of Rondônia is a later target of this *Going West* of the Pomeranians (in the 1960s). At present, Santa Maria de Jetibá is the municipality with the highest percentage of Pomeranians in Brazil and where Pomeranian language has an official status.

For further reference we list the earliest Germanic colonies in Brazil below with year of foundation, locality, state, and immigrant group(s). The last column indicates whether the Germanic variant is still spoken as a first language.

33. Lutherische Kirche (1955: 222).

34. In the Pomeranian immigration records from 1859–1889, only two Catholics show up and 14 without listed religion.

35. Erroneously or just pessimistically, Rethwisch (1889: 98) writes: “Das Deutschthum von Espírito Santo, dem es an Zuzug von der Heimath mangelt, scheint allmählich in das Lusobrasilianerthum aufgehen zu wollen”.

36. “Ainda no Recenseamento de 1940 ficou célebre o setor número sete, do Distrito de Jequitibá, Município de Santa Leopoldina, onde um agente recenseador, percorrendo uma área de 425 quilômetros e recenseando cerca de duzentas propriedades, não encontrou uma só pessoa que falasse português; houve necessidade de contratar agentes recenseadores que falassem o alemão, e outros tiveram de contratar intérpretes para se entenderem com os alemães, isto é, com os descendentes de alemães ali localizados”. (Diégues Júnior 1943: 25, apud Teixeira de Oliveira 2008: 458). We cannot exclude some exaggeration fed by the Brazilian nationalist ideology of that time (dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas, 1937–1945).

Table 2. Germanic settlements 1818–1860 in Brazil. Southern settlements are grayed out. Source: Schappelle (1917) a.o.

1818	Colonia Leopoldina	BA	Swiss	–
1819	Novo Friburgo/ Cantagallo	RJ	Swiss, later German	–
1824	São Leopoldo	RS	Hunsrück	+
1827	Santo Amaro	SP	German	–
1828	Quilombo	SP	South German	–
1828	São Pedro de Alcântara	SC	Rhineland	?
1829	Rio Negro	PR	Germany	
1845	Petropolis	RJ	Hunsrück, Westfalia, Pfaltz, etc. (ethnically separated)	?
1847	Santa Isabel	ES	Hunsrück, Rhineland	±
1849	Dona Francesca	SC	Swiss	–
1849	Santa Cruz	RS	Pomerania, Rhineland, Silesia	–
1850	Blumenau	SC	(Nearer?) Pomeranian and Mecklenburg	–
1850	Mundo Novo	RS	Hunsrück (and Pomeranian?)	+
1851	Theophilo Ottoni	MG	Germany	?
1851	Dona Francisca	SC	Hamburg area (no dialect)	–
1857	Domingo Martins	ES	Protestant Hunsrück from Santa Isabel	±
1857	Santa Leopoldina	ES	Pomeranian/Dutch/Hunsrück/Austrian/Swiss (ethnically separated)	+
1857	Santo Angelo/ Nova Petropolis	RS	Pomerania, Hunsrück	+
1858	São Lourenço	RS	Pomerania, Rhineland	+
1860	Brusque	SC	Rhineland, Baden, Oldenburg, Westfalia	?

ES = Espírito Santo, BA = Bahia, SP = São Paulo, PR = Paraná, RS = Rio Grande do Sul, SC = Santa Catarina.

One can recognize in this table that the first colonists in Brazil were Swiss who settled in the northern states (BA, RJ), followed by Hunsrück immigrants settling in the southern states (RS, SC, PR) and later in the Northern state ES. Pomeranians only follow in the 50s and 60s, both to the north (ES) and the south (RS and SC). The northern settlements were on ethnic basis.

While there is evidence that religious reasons were underlying the Pomeranian emigration to the USA, no explicit evidence can be reported for the emigration to Brazil. As for the immigration to ES, no religious leader shows up in the immigration records. On the other hand, religious life was immediately well-organized among the Pomeranians, and Lutheran priests were sent from Europe (from

Bavaria),³⁷ in sharp contrast to for instance the Dutch protestant emigration, which had a purely economic basis (Roos & Eshuis 2008) without religious or economic homeland support. It is probable, however, that Pomeranian religious life emerged parasitically on the Hunsrück Protestants, who came before them and shared the Lutheran liturgy: the first Protestant chapel in ES was the Lutheran church in Domingo Martins (1866), which was mixed Hunsrück and Pomeranian.³⁸ The quick religious organization is an argument that religion must have played some role in the emigration. In sum, we assume that there were mixed religious, socio-cultural and economic reasons for the Pomeranian immigration.

The Pomeranian language is well preserved in ES, especially *na roça* (the countryside). In the older municipalities with a more mixed population (Hunsrück, Swiss, Austrian, Dutch), such as Santa Leopoldina, there is language contact with the Hunsrück dialect (Rosenberg 2006; Barth Schaeffer 2012). Much less language contact is present in the countryside of Melgaço, which is now part of the municipality of Domingo Martins, and in the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá. However, this does not imply that the language in Santa Maria de Jetibá is equal to what was spoken in Europe: Pomeranian-internal dialect convergence to a new *lingua franca* can be observed (Postma 2016). It is this variety that is the basis of our presentation of Pomeranian in the next sections. In the 21st century, the influence of Portuguese is clearly increasing, as many localities have become well-connected by asphalt roads from 2002 onwards, and virtually all speakers of Pomeranian are bilingual now. This recent increase does not mean that influence of Portuguese was only marginal in the 20th century or even in the 19th century, as Portuguese and the indigenous languages have always been an important source in the realm of lexis, especially in the domains of food products, tools, wildlife, etc. That said, this influence is still weakest in ES compared to RS, PR and SC. In the table below, extracted from data in Lacmann 1906; Wagemann 1915; Schappelle 1917; Willems 1947; and Tressmann 2006, we observe that the Pomeranian in ES is – as to borrowing – the more conservative dialect as the first eight rows show. On the other hand, Pomeranian in ES is also the most innovative because it systematically drops the Portuguese -o/-a endings while other colonist varieties reduce them to schwa, as illustrated in next six rows. These differences should not make us blind, however, to the overwhelming similarity in borrowed lexis in all these immigrant languages, illustrated in the last three rows.

37. The priests were drawn from Bavaria through the so called *Gotteskasten* movement (Caixa de Deus), i.e. from outside Prussia, the realm of their provenance, because of the 'Reformed' influence in Prussia.

38. There were settlers from Hesse and Darmstadt as well. These were outnumbered and outstripped by the Hunsrück and merged with these (Willems 1947).

(12) *Some typical borrowings from Portugese in the various immigrant languages*

Portu- guese	English gloss	Lacmann 1906: 61/159 “Kolonisten sprache” in SC/RS	Wagemann 1915: 127 “Kolonisten sprache” ES	Schappelle 1917: 26 “Kolonisten sprache” RS	Willems 1947: 274 RS	Tressmann 2006/ Schaeffer 2012 Pomeranian ES
doce	dessert		doss	dos	dos/dose	suit(es)
capinar/ roçar	mow	rossieren/ butza		capinen	kapinen	putsa
onça	jaguar		onze	–		tijger/tijr
feijão	beans	–	Bohnen	feschong	fexóng	bouna
pasto	meadow	past	–	past	past/bast	weir
macaco	monkey	–	–	makak	makák	âp
cana	sugar cane	–	–	canne	kane	rour
portão	gate	portong	–	–	–	hek
foice	scythe	fuchs	Fose	–	fose/feuse/ feuste	fous
manga	mango	–	mange	–	manga	mang
venda	shop	vende	vende	vende	vende	vend
arroba	weight unit	–	Arrobe	–	arobe	rouba
milho	corn	–	Miljo	–	milgen/ melgen/ milye	mijlch
fumo	tobaco	–	Fuhm	–	fum	fum, toubak
paca	some animal	–	Pak	–	pak	pak
facão	big knife	fakong	Fakong	fac	fakóng	fakon
farinha	flour	–	Farin	farin	farín	farijn

Because of the absence of systematic schwa apocope (cf. Section 2.3.1.2 below), it is probable that the “Kolonistensprache in ES” given in Wagemann (1915) is in fact the Hunsrück dialect, not Pomeranian. On the other hand, one can have doubts if a traveller like Wagemann had sufficient awareness of distinct dialects within the “Kolonistensprache”. A nice example of dialect confusion is found in Schappelle who travelled to “Brazil”, i.e. the southern states of Brazil, SC and RS, and wrote a report on “Brazilian German”. He reports as follows:

“In the *Schneizen* of Santa Cruz and São Lourenço, the local blacks speak the Hunsrück dialect. One day, a tradesman travelled to the colony of Rio Grande do

Sul. When he came to a cross road, he saw two blacks sitting there. He asked for the road [in Portuguese, GJP]. One black asked the other: «Wat seggt de Kirl?» [Pomeranian for ‘What does the man say?’, GJP]. Ah, you speak German? «Ja», he answered, «mir sein deutsche Neger» [Hunsrück dialect for ‘We are German blacks’, GJP].” (Schappelle 1917: 26)

Without any remark, mr Schappelle, reports the Pomeranian phrase “Wat seggt de Kirl”, where *seggt* ‘says’ is Pomeranian and *kirl* ‘man’ is the normal word in Pomeranian for ‘man’. The second utterance, on the other hand, has characteristics of Hunsrück German, with *mir* ‘we’ and a derounded /eu/ in ‘deutsch’. Pomeranian has [vi:] and [dyʔf], both in Europe and in ES (Tressmann 2006), as well as in RS (Kaufmann *pers. comm.*). On the other hand, Brazilian Pomeranians themselves conceptually identify the Hunsrück dialect with High German, as these two varieties are closely related from the Pomeranian perspective. The next episode taken from Lacmann (1906: 159) is another illustration of this.

The language of the Germans of São Leopoldo is the Rhenish-Franconian dialect. (...) This dialect has also influenced the speech of the members of other German tribes, and has sometimes even replaced it. I remember that I confronted a man with the remark that according to his speech his ancestors must have immigrated from the Rhine region. No, he said, his parents were Pomeranian, and they still spoke it in the family circle, otherwise he always used *Hochdeutsch*. [translation GJP]

Apparently, when he speaks to an outsider, this Pomeranian uses a kind of High German that he learned from his Hunsrück compatriots, which was either simply Hunsrück or German with a Hunsrück substrate. Whatever he spoke, he calls it *Hochdeutsch*, i.e. High German.

An important point of the Pomeranians is their *tenacity*. As early as 1862, the president of the state Espírito Santo, José Fernandes da Costa Pereira Junior, writes in his annual report: “The colonists that prosper most with highest certainty and speed are the Pomeranians, who were already farmers in their homeland”.³⁹ The Brazilian researcher Willems writes:

Of the colonization in ES we know that, although they suffered a lot, the Pomeranians – with their frugality, their physical resistance, and capacity for work – adapted rather well to the new conditions in a way that at present the majority of the teuto-protestant colonists show the evident Pomeranian features that characterize the entire region. (Willems 1947: 93 [translation GJP]).

39. “Os colonos que alli prosperão com maior segurança e rapidez são os Pomerianos (sic), que eram agricultores no seu paiz”.

It is not entirely clear if this tenacity is an independent factor, or just derivative from the fact the Pomeranians were already agricultural workers or even pioneers in Farther Pomerania. Whatever it may be, the Pomeranians in ES stuck more than the other immigrants to their language (Wagemann 1915: 127) and stuck to the traditional way of agriculture (Willems 1947: 93, quoting a report in ZfS&MA 1908, 3, 68). Moreover, the Pomeranians had an extremely high birth rate (which they shared with the other protestants) and, what is even more remarkable, an extremely low death rate (Padua Fleury 1863: 31; Wagemann 1915: 45; Nauck 1937: 108; Willems 1947: 149). It made the population increase with an annual rate of 4%. Finally, their farms were rather isolated (Willems 1947: 74; Spliesgart 2006: 102), and the social cohesion by means of the Lutheran church was robust. All these factors contributed to the conservation of Pomeranian language and culture.⁴⁰ Especially the absence of circulation between the new settlement in ES and the German motherland has contributed to its exceptionality: there is virtually no immigration after the three core decades 1859–1889 (already mentioned in Rethwisch 1889: 98 and confirmed by the immigration statistics of APEES).

Very little is known about the contacts between the Pomeranian colonies in ES and those in RS. But there must have been an independent remigration from the South: Potthast-Hubolt (1982: 45, 71) finds almost 20% of her Pomeranian informants to have great-grandparents that had remigrated from the South to ES. This Brazil-internal remigration to ES does not show up in the immigration records in the APEES archives in Vitória. Further research is needed on this extremely relevant point.

1.2.1.4 *Summary*

In the previous sections, we have seen that the Pomeranian immigration to Espírito Santo is special in various respects in comparison to other immigrant groups and in comparison to other states in Brazil. In the first place, the European *source* is special in comparison to the other immigrant groups in Brazil, because of the extreme homogeneity of the Pomeranians in Europe, as to religion, class, and language.⁴¹ Secondly, the target is special, as Espírito Santo has been left unaffected by circulation between ES and the motherland, which was hardly interested in ES since the focus had been exclusively directed to the Southern states. Moreover, the motherland in Farther Pomerania in Europe did not exist anymore after World War II. Third, the intra-immigrant dynamics in Espírito Santo was special as the

40. A complicating factor is the recently developed and developing “Pomeranian pride” that re-vitalize and even re-invent Pomeranian words and customs.

41. The same can be said of the Dutch (i.e. Zeeuws-Flemish) immigration to ES, which were all Calvinist farmer workers from a well-localized area (Schaffel Bremenkamp et al. 2017).

colonies were initially constructed on an ethnic basis. This made language contact with motherland and sister immigrant groups weaker than elsewhere. Fourth, the Pomeranians moved inward in a process of *Going West*. This created communities in the interior that were virtually exclusively Pomeranian. An important factor of preservation of the original Pomeranian culture and language was the Pomeranian *tenacity* on all levels of (agri)culture. Finally, the contact with Portuguese was limited in such a fairly closed group of farmers. Of course, some language contact must have been present in the Pomeranian immigrant groups: contact with the German standard through the liturgy (until 1940), contact with other immigrant groups, especially in the older parts of Santa Leopoldina and Domingo Martins, and finally contact with Portuguese. However, this contact occurs in a language (and culture) that was basically a stable system, i.e. the influences can be treated as *perturbations* working on a system, rather than as a language in a total reshuffle of the internal rules. This makes Pomeranian in Espírito Santo a laboratory setting for dialect-internal conversion and language contact, and much less for melting pot phenomena. We sum up these points in a scheme for further reference.

Special circumstances of the Pomeranian emigration to Espírito Santo

- No circulation between settlement and motherland (contrasting especially with SC)
- Homogeneous population as to religion, 100% Lutheran (contrasting with e.g. Hunsrück with 20% Protestants and 80% Catholics).
- Homogeneously Pomeranian interior areas in ES, few other German influences (especially the later interior settlements of Melgaço, Garrafão, Santa Maria de Jetibá, Itarana, etc.
- Absolute majority in the settlements.
- Originated from a specific area within Pomerania (Farther Pomerania, more specifically the Kolberg region).
- Monolingual dialect speakers, no knowledge of Standard German, no knowledge of the Pomeranian “city dialects” in Pomerania.
- Homogenous in profession (100% agrarian, no urban people, no intellectuals).
- More successful than other immigrants. Highest birth-death ratios. Pomeranians have imposed their language on, for instance, Dutch immigrants.
- Strong social cohesion because of socio-cultural rituals, e.g. the wedding.
- Oblivion of the colonization by the German homeland, by Brazilian nationalists and by the USA (cf. next point), whose attention was (positively or negatively) directed to Teuto-Brazilian influences in the southern states of SC and RS.
- Smaller influence of the USA-based Missouri Synod, which had an active policy of undermining *Deutschtum* in Brazil.

We think that these specific settings make the Pomeranian language dynamics in ES a case study for dialect-internal convergence phenomena. Language contact from outside can also be studied with more precision, as it involves small external perturbations working on a relatively robust system. We here recognise the linguistic parallel of what the Brazilian socio-linguist Giralda Seyferth observes:

Most of the social scientists that analyze the German immigration, such as Williams, Albersheim and Martins, would certainly deny to the Teuto-Brazilians the condition of an ethnic group: their works are invariably focussed on phenomena defined by theoretical concepts of assimilation and acculturation, and take manifestations of ethnicity as relicts and survivals that resisted the changes imposed by Brazilian society and that are destined to gradual disappearance. (Seyferth 1997: 17, translated by GJP)⁴²

What Seyferth here criticizes, is the socio-linguistic denial of the Teuto-Brazilian culture as a *system* in itself,⁴³ albeit admittedly a system that is subject to influences from outside. A similar denial can sometimes be noticed in the literature of contact-linguistics, that focusses on tendencies of deflection, decay of oppositions in immigrant speech, and assimilation to the dominant culture. In some cases this focus on decline is indeed justified when disintegration is a major characterization of the linguistic manifestation of the immigrant group (e.g. Schaffel Bremerkamp et al. 2017 for Dutch in ES). But this focus is certainly not always the best perspective. In some cases we better observe a sequence of virtually stable systems. There are signs that the Pomeranian language and culture in Espírito Santo until this century can best be described on the basis of a system (in the case of language: by its grammar), and only as a second step in theoretical reasoning, by a description and explanation of how the grammatical system changed under external forces.

1.2.2 ‘Düütsch’ and Pomeranian

Until recently, Pomeranians considered themselves *düütsch*, in the broad cultural sense. Though the Pomeranians had emigrated from the Kingdom of Prussia in the 1860s, they did not consider themselves Prussians. In the bilingual immigration contracts drawn in the harbour of Hamburg, the first immigrants provide “Pommern/Pomerania” as their land of origin, in addition to the village of their provenance, not their formal nation Prussia.⁴⁴ The Pomeranians’ iden-

42. “A maior parte dos cientistas sociais que analisaram a imigração alemã certamente negaria aos teuto-brasileiros a condição de grupo étnico; seus trabalhos estavam voltados para fenômenos teoricamente definidos pelos conceitos de assimilação e aculturação, e viam manifestações de natureza étnica como resíduos ou sobrevivências resistentes à mudança imposta pela sociedade nacional e destinados ao desaparecimento progressivo”. (Seyferth 1997: 17). The three social scientists mentioned in my translation are given in a note together with their publications.

43. Willems (1947: 159) writes: “It is, therefore, not the Pomeranian culture that we actually find in Espírito Santo, but just features of that culture”.

44. Immigrants from Schivelbein, which is in Brandenburg’s Neumark, do list themselves as Prussian, though Schivelbein is linguistically Pomeranian, e.g. the *Gröner* immigration record.

tification with Prussia was remote. In the later records, the immigrants provide “Deutschland/Alemanha” as their origin. As to the language, they spoke *plat* or *plattdüütsch* and the distance with *Hochdeutsch* (High German) was considerable: many Pomeranians could not understand the religious service (Hartwig 2011; Siller 2011; Schaffel Bremenkamp 2014). At first, the identity as Pomeranians was hardly developed. This changed over the past 30 years. Starting with Rodolpho Gaede’s *Up Platt Dutsch* in *O Semeador*, a religious quarterly magazine in 1983, a growing Pomeranian awareness can be observed, especially in the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá, where children now learn Pomeranian in school, and there is a Pomeranian chair at the FARESE faculty in Santa Maria de Jetibá.

Recently, a dictionary of Brazilian Pomeranian was published (Tressmann 2006b), as well as a collection of tales (*Upm Land*, Tressmann 2006a, henceforth *UmL*). The data used in this grammar are mainly from this corpus of tales provided by a variety of authors in Espírito Santo and Rondônia, registered by Anivaldo Kuhn and Ismael Tressmann. The orthography that is used is the one developed in Tressmann (2006b). We give the principles in the phonology section. Apart from this corpus, we augmented the data with five political interviews in Pomeranian made by Anivaldo Kuhn around 1990, transcribed in Tressmann’s spelling with parallel Portuguese translation, and published as part of Seibel’s (2011) dissertation, and furthermore with the interviews in Siller (2011), and Schaffel Bremenkamp (2014), and with two linguistically oriented interviews by Andrew Nevins and me in March 2013 and September 2013 in Caramuru (municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá). In 2015 and 2016, I carried out fieldwork in Domingo Martins. In the editing stage of this work, I had recourse to judgements of Hilda Braun, who also provided a Pomeranian version of the Wenker sentences.

In the next chapters I present some of the phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties of Brazilian Pomeranian and contrast them with the Pomeranian source dialects in Europe, as well as with the other West Germanic variants, such as Dutch, Frisian, Low German, and High German. As we will see, the core properties of European Pomeranian continue in the Pomeranian of Brazil. I also include a brief discussion of Pomeranian lexis, as well as some specimens of language use: two stories, some rhymes and songs, and the Wenker-sentences. The two European Pomeranian tales available are given as well together with their English translation. We conclude our work with two medieval charters of the land development by Frisian monks in Pomerania in Europe, and two typical immigration records of Pomeranians in Espírito Santo.

Phonology

2.1 Tressmann's spelling

Throughout this grammar, we use the orthography as developed in Tressmann (2006ab). It is a phonological spelling. This makes it a good representation of underlying principles in Pomeranian. The choice of a phonological spelling may be an obvious choice for most national languages, but it is far from obvious for a language spoken in a *Sprachinsel*, as most speakers are alphabetized in the superstrate language. Most spellings used in such circumstances realize an approximate phonetic spelling (Maselko 2013) using the phonetic and phonological dimensions of the superstrate. Tressmann's spelling, however, differs from what a person with a Romance spelling education might tend to transcribe intuitively. Especially in the domain of voicing and (final) devoicing, Tressmann's spelling is complex for those without a background in West Germanic or the basic principles of Pomeranian. In many cases the underlying form is written rather than the surface form. In this scientific overview of the Pomeranian language, we use Tressmann's spelling. We render words in phonetic alphabet (IPA) whenever needed.

The orthographic principles of Tressmann's spelling are: length (in vowels only) is written by double characters: long monophthongs by doubling the character (<aa, ää, ee, oo, uu, üü>, long [i:] is written as <ij>), diphthongs are written by two different characters. No consonant doubling (e.g. <ff> in German), or pseudo clusters (cf. <ck> in German) to indicate short vowels are used, with the exception of <ss>. Another indication of length is <r>. Historical r-drop triggers compensatory lengthening of the stressed preceding vowel, like in British English, e.g. Pom. *arm* [a:m] 'arm'. This r-drop is so systematic that one can take it as an (etymological) spelling rule, e.g. [ko:f] 'basket' is written *korw*, pl. *körwa* 'baskets' (cf. Dutch *korf/korven*), but this /r/ does not have exponence.

2.2 Synchronic aspects: consonant inventory

With its consonant inventory, Pomeranian is a typical continental Germanic language. It has the following consonant inventory. The individual consonants are discussed below in more detail.

(1) CONSONANT INVENTORY

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p ^(h) p/b		t ^(h) t/d			k ^(h) g		ʔ
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		
Trill			r					
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	ç/ʝ	x/χ	(ʁ)	h/ħ
Approximant	w				j			
Lateral approximant			l		ʎ			

Symbols to the right in a cell are voiced, to the left are voiceless. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible. Empty rows and columns are omitted (Pharyngeals, Flaps, Retroflex, etc). Consonants separated by a slash (/) may be not in opposition in some contexts.

In the subsequent paragraphs we discuss the basic properties of the various consonants.

2.2.1 Obstruents [bpdtgk], and [ħ] vs [ʔ]

In onsets, there is a fortis-lenis contrast, in the sense of English and German, i.e. the obstruents have a spread-glottis opposition. The (unmarked) lenis /b/ is realized as either [b] or [p] and the (marked) fortis /p/ realizes as an aspirated [p^h], /d/ realizes as [d] or [t], while /t/ realizes as an aspirated [t^h], and /g/ realizes as [g] (or [j] before palatal vowels) while /k/ usually realizes as an aspirated [k^h]. This aspiration is, however, weaker than in Standard German, the Southern Germanic dialects in Europe, or Brazilian Hunsrückisch, which have the opposition t – t^h and lack a voiced [d].

In codas, the fortis-lenis opposition is neutralized: so, the dental in *hand* ‘hand’ [ħand] and *kant* [kant] ‘side’ have the same acoustic realization, though not the same articulatory realization. It is unclear if this should be described as final devoicing of [d] to [t] or final fortition of [t] to [t^h] or in terms of strength of release. Phonetically, there is final fortition in obstruents: *haud*[t^h] ‘hat’ – *haudadans* [d] ‘hat dance’. Neither final devoicing nor final fortition is written in Tressmann’s orthography. After sonorants, final fortition does not apply, as in *land* [land], not

[lant^h] ‘country’. This coda [t/d], written as <d>, in *hand* is a devoiced stop, i.e. [d̥] with a weak release, that drops in the plural: [heine̯]. Frisian has gone here the full way by dropping /d/ in both singular and plural: *hân-hannen* ‘hand(s)’. Dental drop in clusters only happens with clusters that have underlying /d/, i.e. not with underlying /t/: *land-lâner* ‘land(s)’, *band-bâin* ‘band(s)’ versus *plant-planda* ‘plant(s)’, *kant-kâinda* ‘side(s)’, cf. Section 2.3.2.2.

There is no final /b/ in Pomeranian except in loan words such as *tioub* [p] ‘tiouba’, *kuiab* [p] ‘goiaba’. Intervocalic -b- is affricated to -w-: *âwer* ~ German *aber*. This means that -p- potentially occupies the entire voicing space of the bilabial obstruent b-p. Final /g/ is realized spirantized to fricative [x] or [ç], never as [k]: *fruug* [fru:x] ‘woman’, *dröig* [drøiç] ‘dry’. Final devoicing of [ŋ] to a nasal stop [ŋk] occurs in adjectives and nouns: *lang* [laŋk] ‘long’, *eng* [eŋk] ‘narrow’.

Intervocalically, the fortis-lenis contrast seems to be neutralized: *helpa*~*helba* ‘help’, *grouda*~*grouta* ‘big’ are not in opposition. For reasons that are not entirely clear, Tressmann’s spelling chooses one of these spellings <*helpa*> not <*helba*>, <*grouda*> not <*grouta*>. Whatever its writing, *grouta* is not pronounced as *[gro^ut^h], nor /helpa/ as *[hɛp^h].

Intervocalic [g] has developed into [ɣ] and [x], or to its palatal counterparts [j] and [ç]), or to [j]. Intervocalic -k- is always realized as [k] and is never shifted to [g], e.g. *breeka* [brɛ:kɐ] not *[brɛ:gɐ] ‘to break’.¹ This shifting to the voiced domain does occur with underlying /ŋk/, e.g. one can hear *denka* ‘to think’ as [dɛŋgɐ] besides [dɛŋkɐ]. This shift to the voiced domain has just a phonetic status, not a phonological one.²

There is ample variation in the realization of obstruents, as some speakers clearly realize voiced obstruents while others lack them. However, all speakers show at least some aspiration and all speakers lack voice assimilation: *doud* ‘dead’ + *blijwa* ‘to stay’ is *dou*[tp]lijwa, not *dou*[t^hp^h]lijwa, or *dou*[db]lijwa as would be the case in Dutch and Frisian. Reporting on fieldwork in the original, but more mixed,³ area of Santa Leopoldina (ES), Schaeffer (2012) reports an older bilingual

1. However, in Seibel (2011: 158) the following sentence can be found: *Megas, brugt dai oucha uk nia tau moka* ‘girls, (you) don’t need to close your eyes’, where <megas> represents the word *määkas* ‘girls’. I did not find such intervocalically voiced /k/.

2. But it is heard by the Portuguese ear. This causes individual bilingual speakers to often make a systematic choice that is lexically dependent.

3. The municipality of Santa Leopoldina is the oldest immigration area and has a mixed Hunsrückisch, Dutch, Pomeranian, Portuguese, Luxemburgian, and Austrian population. Pomeranians form a minority. The contact Pomeranian in this area was the object of study in Barth-Schaeffer (2010, 2012, 2014). We here study the core Pomeranian areas of the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá and Domingo Martins.

female speaker who realizes *bijta* ‘to bite’ as [bi:dɐ], and two younger speakers of either sex that realize it as [pi:tɐ]. This looks more extreme than it seems, as all speakers realize the fortis-lenis opposition in the onset, albeit by different means, and all speakers lack the fortis-lenis opposition intervocalically.

The /h/ is mostly realized as voiced, i.e. [ɦ] as in Dutch⁴ and Frisian,⁵ not voiceless as in German⁶ and English. If we analyze the laryngeal contrast universally as /p/ versus /ph/, i.e. /p/ versus /pɦ/=[b] in Dutch and /p/ versus /ph/=[ph] in German, this might be an indication that the lenis/fortis opposition in Pomeranian is an opposition in voice, rather than an opposition in spread glottis. More research is needed here (see Ouddeken 2018 for Low Saxon).

If no onset is present, Pomeranian realizes a glottal stop: *âp* [ʔɔp] ‘ape’. This may create a hiatus in sandhi contexts that is not deleted: *duu âp!* [duʔɔp] ‘you monkey!’, *wijd af* [vi:dʒaf] ‘far away’. This glottal stop is retained in compounds: *bakâwa* [bakʔɔ:wɐ] ‘oven’ and after a prefix: *ge-ernt* [jɪʔɛrɲd] ‘harvested’. Only a few function words lack this glottal stop and may cliticize, e.g. *is* ‘is’: *hai is* [ɦaiʔɪs] ‘he is’.

2.2.2 Fricatives [fwszʃzxy]

There is voice opposition in onsets between *f* and *w*, between *ʃ* (written /sch/) and *ʒ* (in some loan words), and between [z] and [s], which is not reflected in the orthography.

fai [fai] ‘cattle’, *wai* [vai] ‘pain’,
schin [ʃin] ‘dandruff’, *gingebijr* [ʒɪnʒɛbiɐ] ‘ginger beer’.
saia [zaʔɐ] ‘to see’, *seip* [zeʔp] ‘soap’, *suker* [sukɐ] ‘sugar’, *seegebuk* [sɛ:ʔɕɐbuk] ‘billy goat’.

As a simple onset <w> is always realized as [v]. As the second segment in clusters, <w> is realized as a bilabial fricative [w] not [v]: *swak* [ʃwak] ‘weak’, *forkwetsche* [fakwɛtʃɐ] ‘crush’, *twai* [twai] ‘two’. Pomeranian here deviates from Dutch and German, which have [v] both in single and complex onsets: German [vo] ‘where’ and [kveɐ], ‘across’. Pomeranian might have taken this from Portuguese [verdɐdʒi] ‘truth’ and [ɡarda] ‘guard’, but many Frisian dialects are like Pomeranian, e.g. Wierum B014: *waarm* [va:rəm] ‘where’ versus *twa* [twa:] ‘two’. The onset [s] and [z], which are in opposition, are both written as /s/. The onset voice opposition in

4. Collins & Mees (2003: 192), but Booij (1995) assumes underspecification for voice.

5. Willem Visser on the Taalportaal assumes [-voice] in the phonology, but it seems to me that there is little difference with Dutch in the phonetics.

6. Hall (2000: 132).

the coronal fricative is, hence, not indicated in the spelling. In onset clusters, <s> is always ʃ, as in German, but it is written by <s>, according to the etymology, not as <sch>, e.g. *staul* [ʃtaul] ‘chair’ (cf. Frisian *stoel*). The <s> notation is also used in *srijwa* [ʃri:və] ‘write’, despite the etymology (cf. Frisian *skriuwe* ‘write’). In simple onsets, [ʃ] is written as <sch>: *schaul* ‘school’, *schau* ‘shoe’. There is an intervocalic voice contrast between [s] and [z], which is written by doubling /ss/ for [s]: *wass-wassa* [vas/vasə] ‘grow.SG/PL’ versus *blås/blâsa* [blɔ:s/blɔ:zə] ‘blow.SG/PL’, but it correlates with the length of the preceding vowel. Similarly, there is an intervocalic voicing contrast between [f] and [v]: *wafa* [vafə] ‘weapon’, *grâwa* [grɔ:və] ‘dig’, but it correlates with the length of the preceding vowel. The intervocalic contrast between [ɣ] and [x], and its variants [j/ç] is lost. They are written as <g> *laiga* ‘lie’ or <ch> *lacha* ‘laugh’ in function of the length of the vowel, but are not pronounced differently. The voiceless fricatives [x/ç] only occur in codas, as devoiced alternates of intervocalic [ɣ] or [j], written <g>, but they can also be heard intervocalically as alternants of [ɣ/j]. The choice between [x] or [ç] depends on the preceding vowel: /i, ei, ü, ö / trigger [ç] e.g. *eig* [eiç] ‘egg’, the other vowels trigger [x], *fruug* [fru:x] ‘woman’, as in Standard German (Hall 1989). In codas, there is final devoicing of underlying /v/: *seew* [sɛ:f] ‘seive’, and of underlying /z/: *blås* ‘(I) blow’. There is final devoicing in fricatives: *fruug* [fru:x] ‘woman’, *eig* [eiç] ‘egg’, *korw* [ko:f] ‘basket’. The coda /g/ in *fruug* [x] ‘woman’ is analogical with the possible voiced realization in plural *fruuges* [fru:ɣəs], though [fru:xəs] is heard too. These forms are simply not in opposition. So final devoicing can also be described as intervocalic voicing.

2.2.3 Nasals [n/m/ŋ/ŋk]

The nasals n/m occur in onsets, intervocalically, and codas. The nasals *ng* [ŋ] or [ŋg] and *nk* [ŋk] only in codas. There is final devoicing of [ŋ] to [ŋk] in nouns and adjectives: *aine fingering* [rɪŋk] – *twai fingerings* [rɪŋs] ‘one/two rings’, *langa* [laŋə] ‘long.INFL’ versus *lang* [laŋk] ‘long.pred’, but not in verbs: *ik sing* [ɪksɪŋ]/*[ɪk sɪŋk] ‘I sing’. It is tempting to attribute this distinction to the presence of an underlying 1SG -e morpheme that does not get exponence, cf. van Oostendorp (2007).

2.2.4 Liquids [r/l]

The liquids /r/ and /l/ are realized in onset and onset clusters as apical [r] and sharp [l]. In the coda, /r/ is often silent or a rhotacized schwa [ə] (*tijr* ‘animal’ [tʰi:ə]), while /l/ may undergo lenition to [ɫ] in some speakers. (Rhotacized schwa is never realized as a retroflex!) Intervocalic apical [r] is usually the result of intervocalic rhotacism of etymological /d/, *muir(a)* ‘tired’ ~ Germ *müde*, or underlying /d/: *gaur* ‘good’, </gaude/, possibly underlying *gaud+(ə)ə/* with catalectic schwa.

2.2.5 Vowels

2.2.5.1 Length

Pomeranian has a 9-vowel system with a binary phonemic length opposition: short and long. Phonemically long vowels are phonetically realized as truly long (~400 ms) before simplex sonorants (/nlr/) and as semi-long (~200 ms) elsewhere, approaching the length of short vowels (~150 ms). This potential length merger of short and long is compensated by a qualitative difference, lax-tense like in German and Dutch or, in modern speech, through *complex breaking*, cf. Section 2.3.7. Such broken short vowels are of equal phonetic length as semi-long vowels (~200 ms). Upon complex breaking, the length oppositions are realized in terms of phonetic quality. There is no phonological overlength, as in Low German dialects, despite the fact that long vowels are realized overlong before sonorants, but see the next section on phonetic overlength.

The written short <e> and <ä> coincide as [ɛ], and the short open and closed <o> coincide (realized as [ɔ]), which gives a 7-fold contrast for short vowels. Long vowels reduce to an 8-fold opposition, because <â> and <oo> neutralize as [ɔ:]. The [i:] (written <ij>), [y:] (written <üü>), and [u:] (written <uu>) are semi-long monophthongs, as are <â> and <oo>. There is a slight diphthong coloring in the other long vowels, compared to their short counterpart, either by rounding (<a-â>) or a slight (i.e. homorganic) diphthongization: <i-ei>, <o-ou>, etc. The spelling treats the latter as diphthongs, presumably because of the contrastive diphthong status of [ou] and [ei] in the Portuguese orthography. These vowels are, however, basically long rather than diphthongs. Finally, there is a set of 4 true underlying (heterorganic) diphthongs: /au/, /ai/, /oi/, /ui/. The latter three are the Pomeranian “broken” counterparts of High German umlauted vowels ä/ö/ü, e.g. Pom. *muir* ~ HG *müde* ‘tired’, Pom. *suit* ~ HG *süss* ‘sweet’, Pom. *koina* ~ HG *können* ‘can.PL’, and Pom. *kaim* ‘came’ ~ HG *käm* ‘came.OPT’, etc. It seems that this ai/oi/ui is the outcome of a later Pomeranian breaking of earlier umlaut ä/ü/ö/, not an early bisegmental realization of the historical “umlaut factor” (Wiese 1996), i.e. uCi → ü:C → uiC, and not uCi → uiC. Arguments for the late emergence of /au/oi/ui/ are irregular plurals (cf. below) and k-palatalization (cf. par. 3.8.3).⁷

In (2) we summarize the vowel inventory. The symbols represent the Tressmann orthography.

7. For the status of the thus emerging glide /i/ as an emerging past tense marker in verbs, cf. Section 3.8.5).

(2) VOWEL INVENTORY IN TERMS OF TRESSMANN'S SPELLING

<u>Short</u>			<u>Long</u>		<u>Diphthongs</u>		
i	ü	u	ij	üü	uu	ui	
–	ö	–	ei/äi	öi	ou	oi	
ä/e		o	ee/ää		å/oo	ai	au
	a			aa			

Examples:

Short/lax vowels

[ɪ] *nischt* 'nothing'; [ɛ] *säg* 'say!'; *fel* 'skin'; [a] *dak* 'roof'; [ɣ] *sün* 'sun'; [œ] *höl* 'hell'; [u] *dum* 'stupid'; [ɔ] *foss* fox.

Long/tense vowels

[iː] *ijs* 'ice'; [eː] *weit* 'wheat'; *hään* 'hands'; [ɛː] *feel* 'many'; [ɛː] *määka* 'girl'; [aː] *waara* 'become'; *warm* [wa:m] 'warm'; [ɣː] *hüüt* 'today'; [øː] *köipa* 'to buy'; [ɔː] *dåg* 'days'; [uː] *fruug* 'woman'; [oː] *roud* 'red'.

Diphthongs

[aʊ]: *kau* 'cow'; [aɪ] *laiga* 'to tell lies'; [uɪ] *suika* 'to seek'; [oɪ] *boiwerst* 'upper'.

Minimal pairs with length or tense/lax opposition:

- (3) [i(:)] *wit* 'white' – *wijd*[t] 'wide';
 [ɛ(:)] *fel* 'skin' – *feel* 'many'; *kwela* 'to flush/to spring' – *kwääla* 'to torture';
bestela 'order' – *besteela* 'steal'
 [ɣ(:)] *insprütsen* 'injection' – *düüts* 'German'; *sün* 'sun' – *süün* 'sin'
 [œ/ø:] *köp* 'heads' – *köip* '(I) buy';
 [a/ɔ:] *dag* 'day' – *dåg* 'days'; *wal(fisch)* 'whale'; *wål* 'choice'
 [a/a:] *graw* 'grave'; *graaw* 'earl/count'
 [ɔ/ɔ:] *rok* 'skirt'; *rooka* 'smoked'
 [u/u:] *ula* 'old.infl' – *uula* 'owls'; *kum* 'cup' – *kuum* 'hardly'; *ful* 'full' – *fuul* 'dirty'
 [o(u)] *lopa* 'pile' – *loupa* 'to run'.

Written /å/ and /oo/ are not in opposition and are both realized as [ɔ:]. Long [a:] only occurs with drop of etymological /r/, (be it written or not): *warm* [wa:m], *waara* < *warden, (with r-drop and intervocalic rhotacism of /d/), before -w: *gaaw* 'donation', *kraaw* 'mandarine', and in borrowings (*bitaad* 'potato', *certifikaat* 'certificate').

2.2.5.2 Overlength

Despite the basic binary distinction in vowels, Pomeranian produces ternary oppositions by the rule of intervocalic cluster reduction. Consider the minimal triple in (4):

- (4) a. *Air meesch hāt ni twai kina* kina / kiŋə “short/lax”
 ‘a person has not two chins’
 b. *Deich fruug hāt twai kijner* ki'nə “long/tense”
 ‘this woman has two children’
 c. *Dai milcha muīt kijna* ki:nə “overlong”
 ‘the corn must germinate’

In (4a), we have a short or lax vowel that can optionally undergo complex breaking. In (4b) we have a semilong vowel, which is derived from an underlying form **kinder*. In (4c) we have a true long vowel before /nmlrs/, typically realized as a vowel of 400 ms length. The reason that the vowel in [ki'nə] does not lengthen to [i:] before /n/ must be due to the underlying /nd/: *kind* – *kiner* ‘child(ren)’ from underlying **kinder* under intervocalic cluster reduction, cf. 2.3.2.3. Similar apparent ternary oppositions in (*ik*) *wil* [wiəl] ‘I will’, *wijl* ‘wild.FEM’ [vi:l], and *wijl* [vi:l] ‘because’, where *wijl* ‘wild.INFL’ is /wild(e)_o/ in the underlying representation, in view of the predicative form *wild* ‘wild’. Though true ternary minimal oppositions are rare, the opposition itself is systematic, e.g. the lax (*ik br*)*ül* ‘I cry’ – the tense (*dai k*)*ül* ‘the cold’ – the overlong (*dai k*)*üül* ‘the thigh’. Tressmann’s orthography is not able to represent these ternary oppositions. Tressmann’s orthography only allows for a binary contrast realized by doubling the vowel. It projects this doubling on the phonetic length in an arbitrary way, as illustrated in (5) below.

(5) Tressmann’s	<u>Short/lax</u>	<u>Long/tense</u>	<u>Overlong</u>
Orthography encodes			
lax – tense	<i>sün</i> ‘sun’	<i>süün</i> ‘sin’	–
long – overlong	–	<i>kül</i> ‘cold’	<i>küül</i> ‘thigh’
short – overlong	<i>ful</i> ‘full’	–	<i>fuul</i> ‘dirty’
short – (over)long	<i>kina</i> ‘chins’	<i>kijna</i> ‘children’	<i>kijna</i> ‘germinate’

A natural way out would be to write the Pom. short/lax variants with a double coda consonant like in HG, the long/tense with a single vowel and a single coda consonant, and the overlong variant with a double vowel and a single consonant: <kinna> ‘chins’, <kina> ‘children’, <kijna> ‘to germinate’.

2.2.6 Umlaut or vowel mutation

Pomeranian shows vowel mutation (i-mutation), which often realizes a morphological relation in verbal, nominal, and adjectival paradigms, as well as in derivational morphology. The pair does not necessarily represent a productive phonological process. We here list the mutation pairs. (Vowel mutation in the verbal system is treated in (67) of Section 3.6.4).

(6)	<u>base</u>	<u>mutated</u>	<u>example</u>	<u>gloss</u>
i.	u [u]	ü [y]	<i>uld</i> – <i>üler</i> <i>kruud</i> – <i>krüür</i>	‘old(er)’ ‘herb(s)’
ii.	a [a]	ä [ɛ]	<i>swak</i> – <i>swäker</i> <i>hand</i> – <i>hänin</i>	‘weak(er)’ ‘hand(s)’
iii.	â [ɔ]	ö [œ]	<i>mâka</i> – <i>mökt</i> <i>swâr</i> – <i>swöner</i>	‘to make/(he) makes’ ‘heavy/heavier’
	oo [ɔ:]	oi	<i>boowa</i> – <i>boiwerst</i> <i>fågel</i> – <i>foigel</i> <i>nâgel</i> – <i>noigel</i>	‘above – upper’ ‘bird(s)’ ‘nail(s)’
iv.	ou [o ^u]	öi [ø ⁱ]	<i>boum</i> – <i>böim</i> <i>wourd</i> – <i>wöir</i>	‘tree(s)’ ‘word(s)’
v.	au [a ^u]	ui [u ⁱ]	<i>faut</i> – <i>fuît</i> <i>haud</i> – <i>huir</i>	‘foot/feet’ ‘hat(s)’

While in the cases i–iii, the mutation process can be described as a floating coronal feature that anchors to the stressed root vowel, this is not obviously so with the more complex case v, where the forms are not transparently related, though the floating coronal feature has been present historically, as in the reconstructed older Pomeranian forms [fu:t/fy:t] show: [u:]/[y:] → modern form [a^u]/[uⁱ], where the ancient mutation relation between [u:] and [y:] has been obscured by later phonological developments (diphthongization and breaking, respectively). Synchronically, the process can be described as competition of elements:

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 (7) & \begin{array}{c} f \bullet \bullet t + \\ | \quad | \quad | \\ [A] [U] [I] \end{array} & \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} f \bullet \bullet t \\ | \quad | \quad | \\ [A] [U] [I] \end{array} \quad [fa^ut - fu^it]
 \end{array}$$

where the floating [I] of the ending anchors to the root, while the A is delinked from its root node.⁸ [I] does not submit to the root vowels but compete with them, perhaps because Pomeranian favours simplex sounds over umlauted (cf. *kaim* < *käm; *muir* < *müde), where the reconstructed form represent older Pomeranian.

The seemingly intransparent case in (6)iv reduces to a simple coronal feature if we assume that homorganic diphthongs in Pomeranian are not part of the underlying representation, but a phonetic realization of length: [ou]=/oo/ and [øⁱ]=/öö/. If so, the morphological relation become regular: [o:] → [ø:] or [øⁱ]. Synchronically the process can be described as:

8. Alternatively, it is Edge-In melodic linking to a template.

$$(8) \quad \begin{array}{ccc} b \bullet \bullet m + & \rightarrow & b \bullet \bullet m \\ \begin{array}{c} | / \\ |A| \\ | \\ |U| \end{array} & \begin{array}{c} | \\ |I| \end{array} & \begin{array}{c} | \quad \backslash \quad | \\ |A| \quad |I| \\ | \\ |U| \end{array} \end{array} \quad [bo:m - bæ^i m]$$

where [I] spreads to the preceding root node. No tendency to simplex sounds is active in this case, as the preceding vowel is already complex.

The heterorganic diphthongs, [ai], [oi] and [ui], are unaffected by mutation. This is probably due to blocking by the i-glide in these diphthongs.⁹ Notice that the u-glide in /au/, cf. (6), case v above, does not have this blocking effect. This indicates that the floating feature in vowel mutation is not [high], but [front] and/or [coronal].

Pomeranian has an underspecified vowel, realized as [ə] or [ɐ] word-finally, written as <a> in open syllables, and written as <e> in the contexts *-er/-en/-el/-em*. In the prefixes *ge-* and *be-*, the vowel is usually pronounced as [ɪ], and sometimes written as such (e.g. Gaede 1983: *bihullan* instead of *behulen*, *binutza* instead of *benutsa*). This tendency might be supported by the pretonic reduction to [i] in Portuguese: Pom. *meloun* [miloun], Port. *melão* [milão]. The prefix *for-* is written with a full vowel, although it can be pronounced as [fə], but usually as [fa/fɔ/fu] (e.g. Gaede 1983: *vastoh* for *forståa*). The rareness of the centralized [ə]-realization of the underspecified vowel in favor of [ɐ] and high vowels ([jɪ], [bɪ], fə]), might be a Portuguese superstrate effect.

2.3 Historical phonology

In this section we review some historical developments that are typical for most European and Brazilian Pomeranian dialects. The changes concern both vowels and consonant. As we will see, various historical developments might also be analyzed as synchronic processes.

2.3.1 Vowels

2.3.1.1 Heavy roots

Pomeranian is seemingly conservative in its vowel system. West Germanic diphthongs [uo] and [iə]¹⁰ retained as diphthongs, albeit somewhat lowered, cf. R1 and R2 in (9). This is a feature that Pomeranian shares with the Groningen dialect in

9. One could also say that these are already unlauded forms.

10. From PGmc *ō* and WGmc *ē*, respectively.

the Netherlands and parts of Westphalia, and contrasts to all other West Germanic variants. West Germanic [o:] (from PGmc [au]) and West Germanic [e:] (from PGmc [ai]) are retained: *oug* ‘eye’, *boum* ‘tree’, *our* ‘ear’. West Germanic long [u:] and [i:] did not diphthongize, just as in the Groningen dialect and Frisian: [hu:s] ‘house’, [vi:d] ‘far/wide’.

(9)	WGmc		Pomer	Groningen	Frisian	Dutch	German	English
	R1. uo	→ au	g[a ^u]d	g[a ^u]d	g[u ^ə]d	g[u]d	g[u:]t	g[u]d
	R2. e:/iə	→ ai	br[a ⁱ]w	br[a ⁱ]w	br[i ^ə]f	br[i]f	br[i:]f	–
	R3. u:	→ u:	h[u:]s	h[u:]s	h[u:]s	h[ø ^ʏ]s	h[a ^u]s	h[a ^u]s
	R4. i:	→ i:	w[i:]d	w[i:]d	w[i:]d	w[ɛ ⁱ]d	w[a ⁱ]t	w[a ⁱ]d

Pomeranian participates in the lowering of PGmc palatal ē₁ to long [a:], *sād* ‘seed’, *lāta* ‘let’, *slāpa* ‘sleep’, and Pomeranian here contrasts with Ingvaemonic, like English *sleep*, Frisian *sliepe*, which are conservative (Gothic *slēpan*).

2.3.1.2 Schwa and -(ə)n

Pomeranian is extreme in the reduction of atonic vowels: the common Germanic reduction of full vowels in unstressed final position has proceeded to full deletion: CV#→C#. Furthermore, Pomeranian has deleted the final -*n* consonant in weak syllables, in the environment of unstressed -Vn. In those contexts, schwa is retained.

- (10) R5. -(ə)n → -ə
R6. -ə → -

Notice that the ordering should be such that rule R5 does not feed R6.

Synchronically, the Standard German paradigm of the indefinite determiner *ein* ‘a(n)’ and the adjectival inflection are projected to Pomeranian by the rules:

- (11) Standard German Pomeranian
α. ein-en → ain-a
β. ein-e → ain-
γ. ein → ai

Besides these projections, there is a general rule of -*n* drop in nominal and verbal plurals, as well as in infinitives with *ən* → *ə*, though a separate -*en* infinitive emerged in Pomeranian (< -*ənə*, < -*əndə*). The n-drop at the right edge has also affected the /n/ as final root consonant after ([–round]) diphthongs, as in *klain* → *klai* ‘small’, *swijn* → *swij(ə)* ‘pig’. This seems to be the same process as R5. Therefore, we would like to subsume α and γ in (6) under one rule. Now, if α were ordered before β, then α would feed β: this is incorrect because we would predict *einen* → *ain* (wrong!). If β were ordered before α, then β would feed α: this is incorrect because we would predict *eine* → *ai* (wrong!). So we only can generalize over α and γ, if we

assume that the generalized rule $\alpha + \gamma$ and rule β apply in tandem, i.e. at the same time. This implies that we can not be dealing with a historical rule (as historical rules must be ordered), but rather a synchronic rule of spellout.

There cannot be a synchronic rule of -n apocope either, in view of *taum måken* ‘to make’, and *teigen* ‘ten’, etc., unless we assume underlying /*måkene*/ and /*teigene*/ with (silent) -ə, which is the historical situation MD *te makene* ‘to make’, Flemish *tiene* ‘ten’.

There is a rule active in Pomeranian that affects the root-final consonant -n. After high diphthongs and long i, this -n can be dropped, giving rise to an diphthong or schwa in open syllable. Most of the time, it is represented in the spelling by -r, e.g. *swijr* ‘pig’ [ʃvi:(ə)] < *swijn*; *swijn* ‘pigs’ < *swijne*.

(12) R7. -n → ø/VV ___#

<i>swijr</i> [ʃvi:(ə)] - <i>swijn</i>	‘pig(s)’	< * <i>swijn</i> - * <i>swijne</i>
<i>ei-deeld</i> [eɪde:lt]	‘shared’	~ HG <i>eingeteilt</i>
<i>stair</i> [stai(ə)] - <i>stain</i>	‘stone(s)’	< * <i>stain</i> - * <i>staine</i>
<i>bair</i> [bai(ə)] - <i>bain</i>	‘leg’	< * <i>bain</i> - * <i>baine</i>
<i>klair</i> [klai(ə)] - <i>klain</i> - <i>klaina</i>	‘small’	< * <i>klain</i> - * <i>klaine</i> - * <i>klainen</i>

These contexts can be subsumed to R5 if we assume that -n in *swijn* etc. is syllabic, i.e. (swij)_σ(n)_σ. There is evidence from EP that this was the case in the Saatzig-Dramburger dialect [ʃviən] or [ʃviɛn] (Kühl 1932: 19–29). Moreover, the resulting *swij* is pronounced with an optional schwa [ʃvi:(ə)]. This indicates that rule R5 might have been active. Further evidence of syllabic -n after long vowels in West Germanic comes from Wâld-Frisian, where the long vowel before -n behaves as if it were in an open syllable. The Frisian of the Dokkumer Wâlden (‘Woods’) underwent raising of [ɛi] → [ei] in open syllables: *trije* – *treeje* ‘three’, *nij* → *neej* ‘new’, etc. This change also occurred in *sn*[ɛi]*n* → *sn*[ei]*n* ‘Sunday’, *w*[ɛi]*n* → *w*[ei]*n* ‘vehicle’, *r*[ɛi]*n* → *r*[ei]*n* ‘rain’. Historically these are bisyllabic lexemes (*sin*+*een* < ‘sun+eve’; *weg-en* ‘ways’; *reg-en* ‘rain’). Similar effects of the agentive suffix -*er*/-*aar* ‘-er’ in Dutch, where -*aar* is selected after a syllable with schwa: *wand*[ə]*laar* ‘walker’. Curiously, VVn select /-*aar*/ instead of /-*er*/ as if it were underlyingly V+*en*: *win*-*naar* ‘winner’, *min*-*naar* ‘lover’, *dien*-*naar* ‘servant’ on a par with *beoef*[ə]*naar* ‘practicer’ (Don 2015). Apparently, long /VVn/ and Root+/-ə+{rln}/ form a natural class in Pomeranian, Wâld-Frisian, and Dutch.¹¹

The adjective *klain* > *klai* ‘little/small’ is more complicated, as it has developed three forms *klai*/*klain*/*klaina* in attributive position. *Klain*, *ain* ‘a(n)’ and possessive pronouns *mijn*/*dijn*/*sijn* ‘my/thy/his’ cause an ordering paradox which can

11. Notice that schwa and VV may occur in open syllables, while single full V may not.

only be resolved by in tandem application. We will return to this problem of rule ordering Section 3.1.7.

2.3.1.3 Breaking of long complex vowels

Long complex vowels, [ɛ:], [y:] and [ø:] were broken to [ai], [ui] and [ɔi], respectively. Short vowels did not participate in this change.

- (13) ä → ai **kām* > *kaim* ‘came’
 ü → ui **müde* > *muir* ‘tired’ (+ intervocalic rhotacism and apocope)
 ö → oi **dör* > *doir* ‘through’

This does not mean that long [e:], [y:], [ø:] do not exist in the present-day language, e.g. *däit* ‘does’, *hüüt* ‘today’, *köipa* ‘buy’. These have either an other source, e.g. *hüüt* < **hiud* (~Frisian *hjoed*), or are borrowings, or have been formed by a synchronic morphological process with umlaut.

2.3.2 Consonants

2.3.2.1 Coda /r/ and onset /r/

Etymological coda /r/ has been dropped: *fäter* [fɑ:tə] ‘father’, *meir* [me:i] ‘more’, *hier* [hi:] ‘here’, *suur* [zu:] ‘sour’ without leaving a trace, not even in the form of a (rhotacized) schwa. In coda clusters: *barg* [ba:x] ‘mountain’, *warm* [va:m] ‘warm’, /r/ has dropped under compensatory lengthening. In other coda clusters, /r/ deletion has caused prearticulation: *kord* [kʰʊɔd̥] ‘short’ (cf. Section 2.3.7 and 2.7).

All this does not mean, however, that final -r does not exist, e.g. in *lүүr* [ly:r] ‘people’, *ber* [ber] ‘bed’, *luur* [lu:r] ‘loud’ with final apical [r or ɾ]. In all these cases, /r/ has developed from intervocalic -d- under schwa apocope: < **lүүde*, **bedde*, **luude*, or, in the case of *eir* ‘earth’, /r/ developed from an /rd/-cluster, which was reduced to -d- and subsequently rhotacized to /r/. These final -r may be realized as a rhotacized schwa [ə] in younger speakers, or even, incidentally, to [x] in Portuguese spelling pronunciation.

- (14) *lүүr* ~ mDu *lude* ‘people’
weir ~ mDu *weide* ‘meadow’
ber ~ mDu *bedde* ‘bed’
luur ~ mDu *luud* ‘loud’
eir ~ mDu *eerde* ‘earth’

For intervocalic rhotacism, see the next section. The remaining onset /r/, single and as part of clusters, as an apical trill: *reera* [rɛ:re]. /r/ is a prototypical onset consonant, i.e. *lүүr* should be analyzed as (lүү)_σ(rV)_σ with an empty vowel (catalectic

schwa). This prototypical onset *r*- now pushes other cluster consonants, such as /d/ out of the onset, but not /t/, cf. Section 2.3.2.2 and 2.3.2.3.

2.3.2.2 Intervocalic rhotacism /d/ → /r/

Diachronically, intervocalic -d- has become apical -r- after the main stress, probably as part of a general intervocalic lenition process.

- | | |
|------------|---|
| (15) a:/a | Du <i>baden</i> ~ Pom. <i>bâra</i> 'to bath' |
| | MD <i>hadde</i> ~ Pom. <i>haar</i> 'had' |
| | Ger <i>schade</i> ~ Pom. <i>schâr</i> 'a pity' |
| e:/e | Ger <i>reden</i> ~ Pom. <i>reera</i> 'to talk', |
| | MD <i>bedde</i> ~ Pom. <i>ber</i> 'bed' |
| i:/i | Fri <i>riide</i> ~ Pom. <i>rijra</i> 'ride' |
| | Du <i>midden</i> ~ Pom. <i>mir</i> 'mid/middle', |
| o: | Ger <i>oder</i> ~ Pom. <i>ora</i> 'either/or', |
| u:/u | Fri <i>luud</i> ~ Pom. <i>luur</i> 'loud' |
| | Low Saxon <i>drudde</i> ~ Pom. <i>drûr</i> 'third'. |
| y: | MD <i>lude</i> ~ Pom. <i>lûür</i> 'people' |
| diphthongs | |
| ui | Ger <i>müde</i> ~ Pom. <i>muir</i> 'tired' |
| ai | Du <i>brede</i> ~ Pom. <i>brair</i> 'broad' |
| ou | Du <i>rode</i> ~ Pom. <i>rour</i> 'red' |
| ei | Du <i>weide</i> ~ Pom. <i>weir</i> 'meadow' |

No preceding vowel is excluded, i.e. after long and short vowels as well as diphthongs. However, the output of the change is always long. This gives rise to paradigmatic alternations in the nominal and adjectival domain, as in *stad* [stat] – *stäärer* [stɛ:rɛ] 'city/cities', *bred* [brɛt] – *breer* [brɛ:r] 'shelve(s)'. Inflected forms imposed this new [r] to seemingly uninflected forms¹² within the adjectival and nominal paradigm, e.g. *air rour* [ro^ur] *bauk* ~ *roura buiker* 'red books'. In the case of /roud/ 'red', the underlying [d] is only retained in predicative use (as [t] under final devoicing), *dat bauk is roud* [ro^ut] 'the book is red'.

- | | | | |
|---------------|-------|--------|---------|
| (16) roud [t] | rour | roura | 'red' |
| bloud [t] | blour | bloura | 'naked' |
| braid [t] | brair | braira | 'broad' |

Synchronically, it is not immediately clear if we should treat *rour* etc. as allomorphic adjectives or as regular adjectives with a synchronic rule of intervocalic rhotacism, R8 + schwa apocope [rour], or final devoicing [rou^t]. The generality of

12. But see Section 2.6.

these processes is, as we will see, a strong argument in favour of an underlying /d/ in *rour(a)*.

Rhotacism is absent before the stress, e.g. *gedánk* ‘thought’ → **geránk*. If the -r is final, as in *lүүr* ‘people’, there was historically a schwa, which is silent in the modern language: *lүүr(e)*_o. ‘people’, cf. Middle Dutch *luude*, German *Leute*. Notice that intervocalic rhotacism must be ordered before schwa-apocope or in tandem¹³ with this, e.g. as a synchronic rule. Rhotacism does not take place if the subsequent vowel is a full vowel (e.g. *kanada*/ **kanara*).

(17) R8. d → r / (V)V₁____V₂{#+} with V2=[ə]

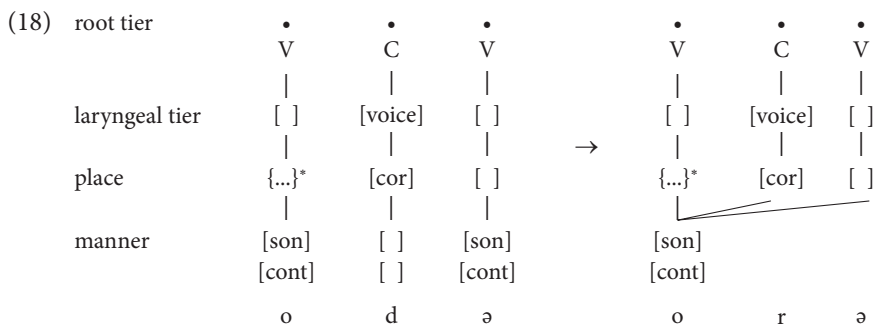
There is one case where the intervocalic -d- has changed diachronically to /l/: **medicina* → *melissijn* ‘drug, medicine’. This might be influence of the following /i/. All synchronic, paradigmatic alternations occur with long vowels or diphthongs. When a short vowel precedes, historical rhotacism does not have a synchronic status: *ber-bera* ‘bed(s)’.

Intervocalic rhotacism was already active in European Pomeranian, and gave rise to (seemingly) irregular paradigms, such as in the Slawe dialect: *sätte* – *säär* – *sät* ‘to set-set-set’, where *säär* is /sät+de/, with backward assimilation /-t+d/ → /-dd-/, realized as -r-. To create the intervocalic context, one must assume underlying /də/ of the past suffix, which is the form in Dutch. In Pomeranian, it has undergone schwa apocope, rule R6, to [d] or, in terms of catalexis, /d(e)_o/. Brazilian Pomeranian, which exhibits final devoicing and forward assimilation in contrast to the European Slawa dialect, shows *seta* – *set* – *set*, where the preterit *set* has become obsolete, probably because of the present/past tense neutralization (cf. Section 2.8 and 3.6.3). The process also occurs derivationally, *frou* → *fröir* < /fröide/ = *frou* + UMLAUT + d(e)_o ‘happy(ness)’, cf. Section 5.1.1.1, and upon conversion *arbeid* [t] ‘work’ → *arbeira* ‘to work’, *bruud* [t] ‘bride’ → *brüüra* ‘to be a bride/to play as a bride’, *blaud* [t] ‘blood’ – *bluira* ‘to bleed’ (Section 5.3).

Synchronically, intervocalic rhotacism can be described phonologically as spreading of features [continuant, sonorant] on the supralaryngeal tier of the environment, to the empty manner slot of /d/ (Cedeño 1987), which produces /r/.¹⁴ This approach is directly applicable to Pomeranian, with the extra condition that the following vowel is a schwa, under the assumption that schwa is specified on the manner tier with [+son]. It is then an OCP effect on the manner tier.

13. We come back to this, cf. in Section 3.1. and 3.11.

14. For a phonetic and phonological description in Frisian, cf. Veenstra (1989).



Notice that the spreading cannot be higher than the manner tier, as {IAU}* is incompatible with [cor].

The change of intervocalic -d- to -r- frees the way for the intervocalic dental -t- to occupy the entire fortis-lenis range of the dental plosive, and to be realized as [t], [d], or [tʰ]. In Tressmann's spelling, this intervocalic etymological -t- is sometimes written as <t> (*suit* – *suita* 'sweet', pronounced as [zuʰt/zuʰtə] or [zuʰt-zuʰdə]), sometimes as <d>, *groud* – *grouda* usually [groʰt/groʰdə] but also [groʰt/groʰtə] 'great, big' or [groʰd/groʰdə]. The spelling *grouda* is probably erroneous in view of the comparative *größer*, with obligatory intervocalic [t] because of the short preceding vowel.

2.3.2.3 Intervocalic /d/-clusters. In Pomeranian, /d/-clusters (-ld-, -rd-, and -nd-) have reduced to -l-, -r-, and -d- in intervocalic position, e.g. *ul* < *ula* < **ulda* 'old.INFL'. The intervocalic trigger can be extracted from minimal pairs such as *schuuler* < **schulder* 'shoulder' versus *schuuld* [ʃu:ʰt] < **schuld* 'debt', *waara* < **warda* 'become' and *kwaart* < **kward* 'quarter'. Similar patterns for -nd- and -rd-. Notice that this process should be described as lenition, not assimilation. In lenition processes, the less sonorous segments become more sonorous and, in the context under scrutiny, it is the second consonant that is the less sonorous one. In assimilation, on the other hand, the second consonant is the dominant one, which would predict nd → d, counter to fact.

- (19) R9. ld → l / V₁C__V₂ with V₂=[ə/ɐ]
 nd → n / V₁C__V₂ with V₂=[ə/ɐ]
 rd → r / V₁C__V₂ with V₂=[ə/ɐ]

This can be generalized to:

$$d \rightarrow \emptyset / V_1 C _ V_2 \quad \text{with } C=[\text{cor}] \text{ and } V_2=[\text{ə/ɐ}]$$

These phonological developments, be they diachronic or synchronic, have created a system of (seemingly) subtractive morphology (20abc).¹⁵ Underived forms retain the cluster with /d/; derived forms show reduction. In (20d) we give a case of noun-verb conversion and nominalization. It is not clear if the process occurs after an unstressed syllable (20e).

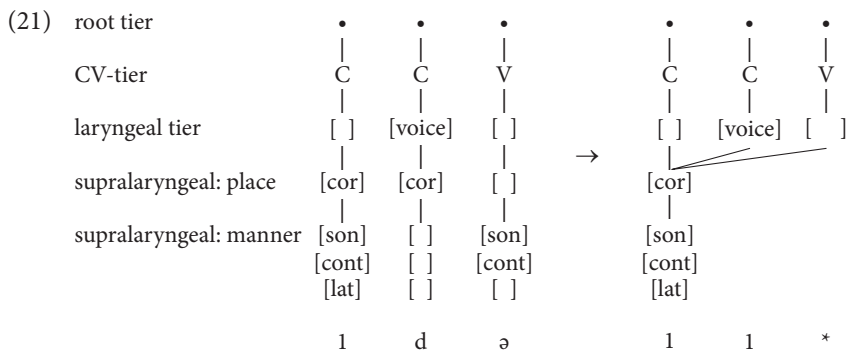
- | | | | |
|---------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (20) a. | <i>bijld</i> [bilt] | – <i>bijler</i> [bi'lɐ] | ‘photo(s)’ |
| | <i>wourd</i> [voʊt] | – <i>wöir</i> [vœʲr] | ‘word(s)’ |
| | <i>kuld</i> [kult] | – <i>kul</i> – <i>kula</i> | ‘cold’ |
| | <i>uld</i> [ult] | – <i>ul</i> – <i>ula</i> | ‘old’ |
| | <i>wijld</i> [vilt] | – <i>wijl</i> – <i>wijla</i> | ‘wild’ |
| b. | <i>gesund</i> [jizunt] | – <i>gesuner</i> | ‘healthy/heathier’ |
| | <i>andra</i> | – <i>aner</i> | ‘other’ |
| | <i>behandla</i> ‘treat’ | – <i>behandelt</i> | ‘(he) treats’ |
| | <i>hand</i> [hant] | – <i>hän</i> | ‘hand(s)’ |
| | <i>hund</i> [hunt] | – <i>huun</i> [hu:n] | ‘dog(s)’ |
| | <i>spind</i> [ʃpint] | – <i>spijner</i> [ʃpi:nɐ] | ‘cupboard(s)’ |
| c. | <i>peird</i> [peʲt] | – <i>peira</i> – | ‘horse(s)’ |
| | <i>hard</i> [ha:t] | – <i>haarer</i> | ‘hard(er)’ |
| d. | <i>gild</i> [gilt] ‘money’ | – <i>gila</i> | ‘to yield, to suffice’ ¹⁶ |
| | <i>uld</i> | – <i>uligkeit</i> | ‘property of being old’ |

These developments create a problem for the synchronic analysis of adjectives and nouns, parallel to what we found in the previous section. The cluster form *uld* [ult] is the predicative form, while the two attributive forms have the reduced cluster: *ul/ula*. We can only connect the predicative form [ult] and the attributive forms [ul]/[ulɐ] synchronically, if we assume the underlying form /uld/ for [ult], /ulde/ for [ul] and /ulden/ for [ulɐ], under application of intervocalic cluster reduction (R9) together with the rules R5,6,7. Similar relations hold between *rout/rour/roure* which can only be synchronically related if we assume that these are underlyingly the representations: /roud/roude/rouden/ under application of intervocalic rhotacism R8 + R5,6,7. Notice that intervocalic rhotacism and cluster reduction must be ordered diachronically before schwa-apocope or synchronically in tandem with this.

15. See Birkenes (2014) for an overview of subtractive effects in various German dialects. See Bye & Svenonius (2012) for a formal account.

16. The word *duweld* [duvɔlt] ‘double’ does not participate in intervocalic cluster reduction: *duwelta weeg* ‘double road’. It apparently changed from underlying -ld- to underlying -lt-.

Cedeño's autosegmental approach to intervocalic rhotacism can be extended to cluster reduction. It describes the intervocalic lenition as an intersonorant lenition, where the preceding sonorant {lrn} together with the following schwa causes lenition. It is even more defensible as there is a trigger in the case of clusters: the spreading might be parasitic on spreading the place features of /lnr/ and adjacent /d/, having the place feature [coronal] in common. The OCP then coerces these double [cor] features to be represented as a spread feature, and enforces other features on the supralaryngeal tier, such as [-son], to participate as well, so that /d/ become /rln/, dependent on what extra manner features (nasality or laterality) are present. Below we represent the -ld- to -l- cluster reduction. The spreading is, therefore, at least one level higher than in the case of intervocalic rhotacism, namely the supralaryngeal node. The last /*/ is probably delinked because of the rise of an objectionable feature, for instance, because the lateral features sit on a V-slot. The remaining /ll/ is reduced by geminate reduction (cf. Section 2.3.10). This analysis can *mutatis mutandis* be applied to the other cases: /rd/ and /nd/. The feature spreading leads to illicit features on the vocalic root node, and is delinked (schwa apocope).



Notice that intervocalic cluster reduction and schwa apocope are one and the same process in this analysis.¹⁷ This cannot be the full story in view of *schuuler* < **schulder* 'shoulder' and *ule* < **ulden* 'old.MASC.ACC' where schwa is retained. Hence, delinking may also happen at the supralaryngeal level, which gives rise to schwa again. The dependency on the voiced nature of the cluster consonant, i.e. -d- not -t- (*planta* → **plana*) makes it plausible that the level of spreading upon lenition is in fact one level higher than indicated above, i.e. immediately below the CV-tier.

17. This can be seen as an implementation of Birkenes' observation that (coronal) sonorants favour schwa-apocope: "Andererseits ist Apokope nach Liquiden und Nasalen (l, m, n, r) häufiger als nach anderen Lauten. (...). Allgemein scheint folgendes Gesetz zu gelten: Je sonorer der vorangehende Laut ist, desto wahrscheinlicher ist die Apokope des Schwa." (Birkenes 2014: 52).

As the completely underspecified subsequent vowel (schwa) participates in this spreading, it must delete because of an incompatibility of [son] with the V nature. This reduces schwa catalexis to autosegmental spreading: deletion taken as “a reaction to an objectionable feature” in the sense of Bye & Svenonius (2012): adjacent C and V with equal place and manner features are ruled out by the OCP. Furthermore, it reduces this type of lenition to the possibility of degemination in the language. Fairly similar processes occur in Dutch and Flemish dialects (Taeldeman 1980), which have a similar degemination rule.

2.3.2.4 Other consonants. There are some further consonantal developments without noticeable impact on the grammatical system. These are treated in this section.

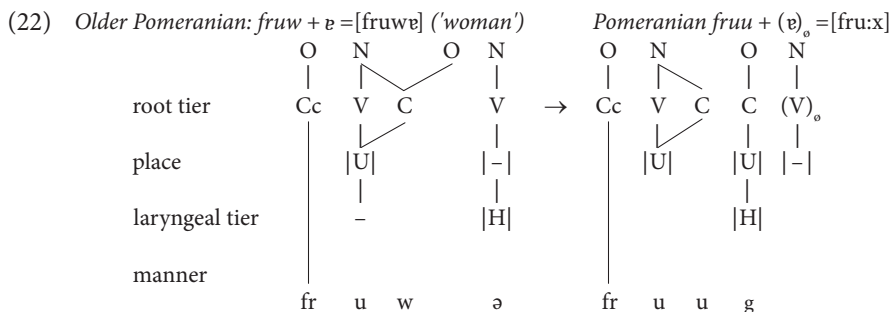
2.3.2.4.1 *ks* → *ss* and *sk* → *f*. The first change **waksen* > *wassen* > *wassa* ‘grow’, **fokse* > *fosse* > *foss* ‘fox’, **oksen* > *ossen* > *ossa* ‘ox’, **weksel* > *wessel* ‘change’, **deksel* > *deistel* ‘adze, cutting tool’ is a typical Low German development, shared by Groningen, Dutch and Flemish, but not by Frisian or the High German dialects, which retain /ks/.

The second change, *sk* → *f*, e.g. **skap* > *schâp* ‘sheep’ is a typical feature of all German dialects, Low and High German alike, as well as English, and contrasts with bisegmental realizations in Dutch /sx/, Flemish /sx/, and Frisian /sk/. Brazilian and European Pomeranian hence patterns with German. As for EP, only a small coastal strip near Treptow/Rega in the Greifenberg and Kolberg municipalities has /s/, /sx/ or /sk/, which might be due to its Frisian substrate or trade contacts.¹⁸

2.3.2.4.2 Pomeranian glide velarization -w/-j → -g. The velarisation of the open syllable glides [w] and [j] to [x|ɣ] and [ç|j], respectively, is a characteristic that separates European and Brazilian Pomeranian from its neighboring (Mecklenburgian and Low Prussian) dialects: HG *frau* ~ Pom. *fruug* [fru:x] ‘woman’, Fri *nij* ~ Pom. *niig* [ni:ç] ‘new’, HG *bauen* ~ Pom. *buuga*, HG *schreien* ~ Pom. *sriiga* [ʃri:jɐ] ‘cry’, Du *blauw* ~ Pom. *blåg* [blɔx] ‘blue’, Du. *naaien* ~ Pom. *nöiga* [nøijɐ] ‘knit’, HG *bleistift* ~ Pom. *blijgstift* [bli:çift], Du *taai* ‘tough’ ~ Pom. *teeg* [tɛ:x]. We will interpret the process as onset strengthening triggered by schwa apocope. Before the change, the glide is an ambisyllabic segment: *fruwe*. When the ambisyllabic nature is resolved into a true coda element and a pure onset element (fru)(u)(we), the glide

18. On the basis of the Wenker database (Tisch ‘table’), we could identify the following locations with dis(k). /s/: Gützlaffshagen (W00398), Zamow (W00543), Tribus (W51413), Voigtshagen (W51412), Arnsberg (W51414), Wustrow-Camp (W00536); /sk/: Mittelhagen (W50994), Hagenow (W00542); /sx/: Robe (W51416). These are all in the area with juw (~ Fri jou) instead of general Pomeranian juuch ‘you.PL.ACC’.

must undergo strengthening, as an output constraint. Its input might be the more laryngeal articulation of schwa in Pomeranian: if no schwa follows, velarization is absent as in the (frozen) expression: *nij-jårsdag* ‘new year’s day’. Element Theory is an adequate model to represent it. If we represent 1. the w-glide as C—|U|, 2. the laryngeal schwa as a vowel with an empty place node to which a laryngeal element |H| is added, i.e. V—| - |—|H|, and 3. the velar fricative as C—|U|—|H|, onset strengthening provides the following diagrams:



In this scenario, *fruug* emerged because of schwa apocope and extended to related forms.¹⁹ A similar diagram holds for *nijg* [ni:ç] ‘new’ where the [ç/j] is represented by only replacing |U| by |I|. In section 8.2 we present a full list of the velarizations. The process is limited to semi-long vowels and homorganic diphthongs, probably not as an input condition, but because the shift of the ambisyllabic glide to the onset produces the long vowel or homorganic diphthong. Heterorganic diphthongs remain unaffected: *daua* ‘to do’, *tau* ‘to’, *schau* ‘shoe’, *kau* ‘cow’, *wai* ‘pain’, *fai* ‘cattle’. In one case, the new velar has undergone final fortition under syllable contraction, as in *swālk* ‘swallow’ (-*luw* > -*lug* > -*lk*, cf. Du. *zwaluw*). In one case, the process applies to a stress-bearing suffix -*erig* [-ə’rɪç]: *bäkerig* [bɛkə’rɪç] ‘bakery’ (cf. HG *Bäckerei*, Du *bakkerij*).

An interesting case is the Pomeranian plural *köich* [ç] ‘cows’ with velar fricative. The singular *kau* [ka^u] ‘cow’ does not have a velar fricative. This is perhaps parallel to the fact that only the plural has a glide in Dutch: *koe-koeien*. Notice that also Frisian shows allomorphy here: Fr. *kou* [ko^u] – *kij* [kɛⁱ] ‘cow(s)’. The form *kau*, not **kauch*, allows us to situate the Pomeranian diphthongization before the velarisation, because of [ku:] → [kau] created an insensitive heterorganic diphthong. The *terminus ante quem* of the Pomeranian diphthongization is, therefore, before the 15th century, in view of the occurrence of the velar glide in *früig* ‘free’ in the toponym *Frigenwald* from 1418 onward, cf. Section 9.3. (Modern Pomeranian

19. It is possible that *fruug* is still underlyingly *fruug(e)_o* with a catalectic schwa. Evidence for this is the plural *fruuges*.

frai ‘free’ is a Germanism). We may identify the u-diphthongization with the Westphalian and East-Frisian diphthongization (Rakers 1944; Miedema 1954).

Another consideration provides the glide velarisation of /w/ with a *terminus post quem*. Proto-Germanic /au/ monophthongized to /ō/ in OHG, OS, and Dutch: Got. *auso*, OHG *ora*, OS *ora*, Du. *oor* ‘ear’; Got. *augo*, OHG *ouga*, OS *oga*, Du. *oog* ‘eye’, except before /w/ where /au/ was retained: Common Gmc. **hauwana*, OHG *houwan*, OS *hauwan*, Dutch *houwen* (Van Loon 1986: 47). Significantly, Pomeranian has *houga* [hoˈɥɐ] ‘hit/beat’ i.e. it has an underlying long /ō/, rather than [haˈa] with a heterorganic diphthong.²⁰ This situates the rise of the velarization in the earliest period of the Pomeranian language, i.e. after the 12th century.

There are dialects in Europe that have been subjected to /w/-velarisation as well, e.g. the Westphalian dialects such as the Paderborn dialect, and there are traces in Dutch as well: *spuwen* – *spugen* ‘to spit’, *vro(lijk)* – *vreugde* ‘happy(ness)’, *schuw* – *schichtig* ‘shy’, etc.²¹ The /w/ velarisation has also affected the pronominal system in Pomeranian, where the [u] glide in *juw* ‘you’ changed it into *juuch* [juːx]. This made Pomeranian 2PL pronoun accidentally similar to the neighbouring High German pronouns with accusative markers -ch/-k: *üch*, G. *euch* ‘you.PL’. Within the grammar, this has no visible structural effect, though.

While the velarisation of the w-glide is historical and frozen, there are indications that velarisation of the /j/ glide is an ongoing change, in view of recent borrowings from Portuguese: Portuguese *milho* [miˈlu], popular [miju] ‘corn’ → Pom. *mijlcha* [miːçə]. This is parallel to a perhaps much older borrowing *famijlch* [famiːlç] ‘family’, and the suffix -*erig* < French -*erie*: *bäkerig* [bəkəriç] ‘bakery’. So, it seems that the velarisation of /w/ is pre-15/16 century, while the velarisation of /j/ is modern and still active. Conversely, many /g/ onsets, reduces to a glide *geeva* [jɛːvɐ] ‘give’.

In general, ongoing changes can be found whenever process reversal can be observed, by way of hypercorrection. And indeed, the process created reversed variants in Pomeranian, which are in phonological opposition to each other, such as *forjâwa* < *forjâga* ‘to chase’.

2.3.2.4.3 Intervocalic voicing /t/ → /d/. Perhaps in a drag chain relation with the change /d/ → /t/, there was the – not exceptionless – intervocalic voicing with underlying /t/. It is unclear if these forms were imposed by analogy on the underived forms because of final devoicing, as Tressmann’s spelling assumes: *sward* [swaːt] – *swarda* ‘black’, Dutch *zwart* – *zwarte*; *groud* [groːt] – *grouda* ‘big’ Dutch

20. Other cases in the table in Section 8.1.

21. Frisian (*nij* – *niget* ‘new / curiosity’) can be explained by an older form *nuw* (which is the Hollandish form). Alternatively, *niget* may be a direct borrowing from Low Saxon.

groot-grote. This tendency might be more general than reflected in Tressmann's spelling, cf. there is an alternative pronunciation of written /planta/ as [plandə] besides [plantə].

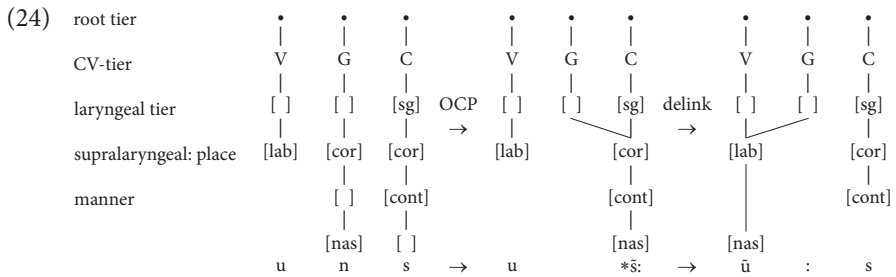
2.3.2.5 Velarisation of root final /f/ >/g/. This rather limited change from [f] > [x/ç] occurs root finally, as in *douw* [do^uf] > *douch* [do^ux] 'deaf', *seew* [sɛ:f] ~ *sijch* [si:ç] 'sieve'. This might be related to the change in Section 2.3.2.4.2, where a glide [w] velarizes to [x/ç]. Apparently, the fricative in [dof] is interpreted as a glide, and participates in glide velarization. This gives us the following developmental parth: /do:f/ > /do:^u/ > /do:x/. Another possibility is that it is a back formation of the plural forms *douwa* > *douga*. Velarization also occurs before -/t/ as in *sijchta* 'to sieve'. The latter process has been productive in Dutch: *luft* > *lucht* 'sky', *kraft* > *kracht* 'force', etc.

In an isolated case, only the velar form survives, e.g. *buknâgel* litt. 'belly + navel' with *nâgel* < **nâwel*. The form (*buk*)*nâgel* 'navel' now coincides with (*finger*) *nâgel* 'nail'. The lexemes *buknâgel* and *fingerⁿnâgel* now require the disambiguating compounding.

2.3.2.6 Nasal spirant law. In Section 1.1, we listed some Invaesonisms in which Pomeranian participates, despite the fact it makes not geographically part of the North Sea area. One of these was the nasal spirant law, which describes the reduction of /n,m/ before spirants (s,f,ʃ,θ). Robinson (1992) describes this Ingvaemonic change as a phonological assimilation process of a nasal to a subsequent fricative, which we schematized in (23).

- (23) R0: {n, m} → ø / ____ {s, ʃ, θ, f}
 [α place, -cont, +nasal] → ø / ____ [α place, +cont, +sg]

The trigger of this assimilation is: if two coda consonants share a set of (place) features, the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) requires them to be a realization of a single feature bundle. Since [+nasal] and [+continuant] (i.e. nasal and bocal release) are incompatible, the nasal feature is delinked and links directly to the root node. The now underspecified nasal feature must get support from the previous vowel, which spreads its place features. This results in nasalization + lengthening. If the nasal feature is simply delinked, the vowel fills up the empty grid node and a lengthened vowel results.



The coronal feature in (24) may be replaced by a labial feature in order to derive cases like *fumf* → *fuuf*. In general, place identity is a sufficient trigger for manner assimilation, which in case of fricatives has the conflicting outcome *[cont, nas, cons] (Padgett 1994: 476).²² This approach still leaves open two questions: why does place assimilation only happen in the Ingvaenic variants of West Germanic, and not e.g. in HG? And furthermore: why may an additional [A] element show up, e.g. Pom *ous* [ous] /o:s/ < *uns, Fri *meenske* [mē:skə] < *minske, or in synchronic phonology: Fri *w[ɪ]nne* – *w[ē:]st* ‘to gain – gain’?

2.3.3 Palatalization

Pomeranian has a context-dependent palatalization of velars [x/ç], which seems to be the extension of a general West Germanic process, present in Standard German, Eastern and Southern Dutch dialects, as well as in a few Frisian dialects. It is absent in Dutch, Flemish and the majority of the Frisian dialects. In Pomeranian, the process has been generalized.

1. context-dependent [x/ç] (cf. the High German “ich/ach-Laut”), in function of the preceding vowel is a common property in Pom: *näigt* [nøiçt] ‘(he) sews’; *ik fråg* [x] – *duu frögst* [ç] ‘I/you ask’. The palatal [ç] realizes after <ü/ö/œ/i/ij/ei>: *ik mach* [max] ‘may’ – *ik müücht* [myçt] ‘I might’.
2. -ng- as [ŋ] or [ɲ] in function of the preceding vowel: *angel* [ɲ] ‘angling rod’; *ängel* [ŋ] ‘angel’. This also occurs within paradigms: *lang* [ɲ(k)] – *länger* [ŋ]. This palatalisation to [ŋ] is optional. It might very well be a recent phenomenon under Portuguese influence. It seems that Pomeranian [ɲ] is associated with Portuguese nasalization which exhibits palatalization in function of the vowel, e.g. compare *um* ‘one’ [ũ] or [ũɲ] and the diminutive morpheme *-im/inho* in *mocim/mocinho* ‘small boy’: *-inh(o)* [ĩ] or [ĩɲ]. The [ɲ/ŋ] alternation in paradigms gets extended

²² This corresponds to the SPE “marking convention”, rule XV: [+cons, +nasal] → [-cont] (cf. Chomsky & Halle 1968:405). An alternative formulation, [+nasal, +cont] → [-cons] expresses the tendency for the context to become a (nasalized) vowel. I thank Marc van Oostendorp for a discussion on this point.

to nonvelar nasals clusters in modern speech. For instance, it is possible to hear the opposition *blind/bliner* ‘blind’ (with intervocalic cluster reduction) realized as *blink/bliner*, probably through intermediate [bliner] which has [blin] and [blɪŋk] as back formations. The transition of underlying /nd/ to underlying /nk/ seems to be cued by palatalization, as it is dependent on the vowel /i/.

3. g- in function of the subsequent vowel: *ik gâ* [gɔ] ‘I go’ – *hai geit* [jeit] ‘he goes’ and *gâbel* ‘fork’ [gɔbəl], *geel* [je:l] ‘yellow’. The first opposition is also regularized to [jɔvə]/[jeit] ‘go/goes’ in some speakers. The [j] pronunciation of onset /g-/ is always possible (e.g. even [jɔbəl]), but the [j] is obligatory before front vowels [i/e/ɛ]: *[gɛ:l] ‘yellow’. The past tense *gaif* of *geewa* [je:və] is always pronounced [jaif] not [gaif].

2.3.4 Affrication

Affrication (sometimes labeled “palatalization”) of -k- to a coronal fricative [t(s)] before and after front vowels was found in some European Pomeranian dialects (e.g. Meesow in Kreis Regenwalde, Leba in Kreis Lauenburg) and Low Prussian dialects (e.g. Lisewo in Kreis Konitz): *keerl* > *tjeerl* ‘man’, *kääm* > *tjeem* ‘came’. I have not found any such affricates in Brazilian Pomeranian in Espírito Santo. It is a common feature in Mennonite German (Low Prussian) variants around the world (Jedig 1966; Nieuweboer 1998; Loudon 2016), and it can be observed in earlier stages of Frisian and English (*tsjerke* ‘church’). Cases of affrication of initial /g/ to [dʒ] or [ʒ] can be found, though, at least in some speakers of Pomeranian. The common pattern in ES is a glide realization: *geewa* [je:və].

2.3.5 Unrounding

Various complex rounded sounds, such as [y] and [ø], are realized in an unrounded manner in some EP dialects and in some speakers in Brazil, for instance *üm* [ym] → [im] ‘around’, *sün* [zyn] → [zin] ‘sun’, *mücht* [my(:)çt] → [mɪçt] ‘might’ are neutralized, especially in the younger generation (Schaeffer 2012). This might be a language contact effect with Portuguese, where these complex vowels are absent. However, it was already a feature in pre-war European Pomeranian, e.g. *jung* – *jinger* ‘young – younger’, instead of *jung* – *jünger* (Mahnke 1931: 49). Other notable cases in contact Pomeranian: *höirn* ‘horns’ [hein] < [hø:n], *müts* ‘bonnet’ [mits] < [myts], *lüür* ‘people’ [li:] < [ly:r].

2.3.6 Debuccalization (deletion of [place])

Various final consonants can be optionally silent (with leaving an audible trace) while these may show up in careful speech. Such deletion of place features (delinking the place tier) especially happens with coronals /n, r, l/ in final position. It is not clear if there is any relation with the Ingvaemonic reduction discussed in

Section 1.1.1. Debuccalization should be treated separately from catalexis (cf. Section 2.3.6), where (non)realization is not optional, but completely ruled by absence/presence of further derivation. Moreover, in the case of debuccalization, a trace of the consonant in the form of laryngeal friction is often audible.

debuccalization of -n: *u(n)* ‘and’, *fo(n)* ‘of’, *ei(n)* ‘in’ (verbal prefix), *ka(n)* ‘can’.

debuccalization of -r: *kai(r)* ‘no one’, *swij(r)* ‘swine’.

debuccalization of -l: *ik wi(l)* ‘I want’, *ik scha(l)* ‘I shall’

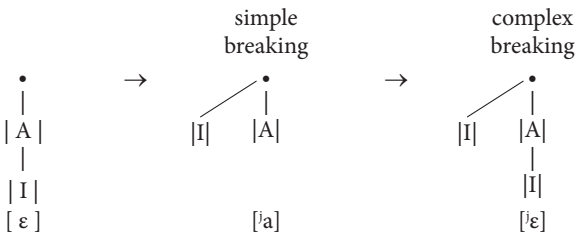
This seems to be a postlexical process. On the other hand, the process is not exclusive part of post-lexical phonology, as some morphosyntactic contexts seem to favor this reduction, for instance, auxiliaryhood of verbs: *ik wi(l)*, *ik scha(l)*, *ik ka(n)* ‘I will/shall/can’. If the vowel is lax, it remains lax, as in [wɪɫ] > [wɪh] and *schal* [ʃaɫ] > [ʃa]. This dropping creates words that are seemingly under the minimal word level of two moras. In these cases the coda is vanishing to [-h/-ɹ/-x/-ç] or null, but must be underlyingly present.²³ The dropped consonant shows up in corresponding plurals: *wila*, *schoila*, *koina*. In some cases, it is not clear what consonant sits in the coda, as in *wat fo(n)* + N and *wat fo(r)* + N, which both mean ‘what kind of N’. Debuccalization might be the cause of the (seemingly) irregular comparative in *schwå(r)*-*schwöner*/*schwårer* ‘heavi(er)’. I found one case with systematic dropping of -g, as in *jeira dag* [jeiredaʔ] ‘every day’ in one speaker.

2.3.7 Complex breaking of short vowels

The short stressed vowels [ɛ], [ɔ], [ɪ], [œ], [o], [y] are sometimes realized with a slight pre- or post-articulation, while remaining short. Such short diphthongs are: [jɛ|e^ɛ], [ʊɔ|ɔ^ɐ], [ɪɪ|ɪ^ɐ], [ʏœ|œ^ɐ], [ɪy], and [ʷo]. Examples: *telg* [tʲɛɫç|tʲe^ɛɫç] ‘branch’, *melk* [mʲɛɫk|mʲe^ɛɫk] ‘milk’, *ik kots* [kʰɔts] ‘I vomit’, *weg* [vʲɛx|vʲe^ɐx] ‘away’, *foss* [fʰɔs] ‘fox’, *ik* [ɪk] ‘I’, *löt* [lʲœt|lʲœ^ɐt] ‘(he) lets’, *sün* [sʲyn|syⁿ] ‘sun’. Only complex vowels are sensitive to it: it does not happen with the simple vowels [a], [i], and [u], though it may occur in *uld* ‘old’ in those speakers who pronounce [old]: [ʷoɫt|o^ɐɫt]. Complex breaking versus simple breaking can be represented as in (25):

23. The existence of words under the minimal word level is sometimes taken to be a sign of catalexis (Kiparsky 1991; Kager 1995). This phonological catalexis is, however, not the morphological catalexis we are discussing in this grammar.

(25)



It happens in some speakers, and some words (Tressmann 2006b: vi),²⁴ especially when the word has emphasis. It is often difficult to judge if the glide is before or after the stress-bearing vowel;²⁵ it is perhaps suprasegmental. We use the phonemic notation 'V. Whether realized as a pre- or post-articulation, the duration of the complex sound remains short i.e. both sounds are realized on one root node.²⁶ Short diphthongs conform to the phonetic properties of *stød*, listed in Kiparsky (2006) in his discussion of Livonian, a now extinct language in the Baltic:

- (26)
1. Falling pitch contour.
 2. Markedly shorter duration of the stressed syllable or foot.
 3. Highly variable glottalization, ranging from no audible glottal effect up to, rarely, a complete glottal stop.
 4. Decreasing intensity.

Nevertheless, coarticulation is different from *stød* in that it does not create minimal pairs, i.e. coarticulated vowels are not in opposition with vowels without it. It seems to be only an optional phonetic reflex of an underlying pattern, not an underlying phonological feature (see also Section 2.7 and 2.10).

The historical source of this articulation is not entirely clear, but a subsequent complex coda, visible (*uld*) or etymological²⁷ (*foss*, HG *Fuchs* 'fox'), is the most common trigger, but also paradigmatically contracted contexts (*weeg* 'road'

24. Schaeffer (2012: 68–69) represents both diphthongs and prearticulated short vowels as VG where V is a vowel and G is the glide. This is inaccurate for two reasons. First, diphthongs are long (two root nodes) while prearticulated vowels are short (one root node). Secondly, prearticulated short vowels can realize as prearticulation or postarticulation which is mainly prosody dependent. Diphthongs in Pomeranian are always realized as VG.

25. I found one case in Schaeffer (2012), where the prearticulated vowel is not under the main stress but under a secondary stress: [m'ɛdlə'se'ŋ], standard *melisijn* 'medicine/drug'.

26. Here Pomeranian differs from Frisian which shows a length opposition in the pre- and post-articulated vowels (pre-articulated ones are short, post-articulated ones are long (Booij 1989; Postma 1990).

27. The underlying reality of the written double consonant in *foss* 'fox' may be derived from its resistance to intervocalic voicing to [z].

[vɛ:ç] ~ w'eg 'away' [vɛx|vɛ^ɛx], *klain* – *kl'ener* 'small(er)', *lâta* 'let' ~ (*hai*) *l'öt* 'he lets', *flaiga* 'fly' ~ (*hai*) *fl'ücht* may realize it. Pre-/post-articulation is common in the 2nd/3rd person singular present tense of strong verbs, where contraction is part of the paradigmatic pattern (cf. Section 3.6.4). The contracted segmental material then triggers co-articulation of the preceding vowel. It seems to be a faithfulness effect of some segmental material without prosodic anchoring (see Section 2.7). Coarticulation also occurs in otherwise lengthened vowels that are underlyingly short: *bork* 'bark' with reduction of /r/, either under compensatory lengthening [bɔ:k] or under prearticulation as [b^ʊɔk|bɔ^ɛk].

Perhaps we should add a third trigger: schwa apocope. This might explain *ek* [ɛk] 'corner', or *sün* [sʏn] 'sun', to be compared with HG *Ecke* and *Sonne*. Interesting is the case of written *porch* [p^ʊɔ|ɔ^ɛx], 'toad', which should probably be analyzed as underlying *pog*, in view of mDutch and East-Frisian *pogge* 'toad', and the absence of length in the Pomeranian word (Schaeffer 2012: 70).²⁸ In this case, Tressmann's spelling has <porch>, which erroneously attributes the coarticulation to an underlying /r/, instead of being triggered by schwa apocope: *pogg(ə)*.

Pairs like *ul*[t]~*üler* 'old~older', which, under prearticulation, are pronounced as [ʷolt]~[jylər] (Tressmann 2006a: vi), shows that the prearticulation is not part of the lexical frame but derived. Moreover, it shows a relative independence of the overt complexity of the coda, but the articulation is probably a sign of the underlying presence of /ld/ in *üler*. Prearticulation can combine with aspiration, as in *korw* 'basket' [k^hʊɔf] < [k^hɔrf].

One might be tempted to compare the Pomeranian prearticulation with the second Frisian breaking in underived forms, e.g. *koart* [k^wat] 'short' < *koart* < *kort* with deletion of /r/ and glide insertion before the vowel. In contrast to Pomeranian, however, this glide can be heterorganic with the vowel in Frisian. Compare, for instance, Frisian *boarst* 'breast', which is pronounced as [b^wast] (simple breaking), with Pomeranian *borst* [b^wɔst] (complex breaking). Moreover, while breaking has been morphologized in Frisian (it mainly occurs in derived forms, plurals, diminutives, derivation and compounds), it seems to be a purely phonological property in base forms in Pomeranian. It seems to be expanding in young speakers, and more present in females than in males.

2.3.8 Intervocalic voicing

There is optional intervocalic voicing of obstruents. This must be due to the fact that the fortis-lenis opposition is neutralized intervocalically and in intervocalic clusters. However, individual speakers show systematic voicing in some specific

²⁸ Pomerelian had *pog* 'toad' (Schweminski 1853: 138). See also the plural *pageh* 'frogs' in Section 9.4.

words and absence of it in others. It seems that intervocalic voicing is a process that proceeds under lexical diffusion. This can be explained if bilingual speakers store its realization within a contact grammar, as the two forms are in lexical opposition in Portuguese.

2.3.9 *Final devoicing*

An important point is final devoicing. While European Pomeranian could retain voiced obstruents in final position *ik gaiw* [ja^v], ‘I give’, at least in some dialects (e.g. Schlawe, Mahnke 1931: 59–60), Brazilian Pomeranian has developed final devoicing, although it is not written in Tressmann’s spelling: *ik gaiw* [ja^f]. Final devoicing has led to loss of oppositions, like EP *korf* – *korw* ‘basket(s)’, which was replaced by umlaut + suffix in BP, *korw* – *körwa* [ko:f/kø:və], while the direct phonological development should have led to *korf* – *korf*, without any opposition. Note the merger of the 3rd person forms of present and past tense in weak verbs: EP *hai räir*[t] ‘he talks’ – *hai räir*[d] ‘he talked’ to *hai räir*[t] – *hai räir*[t] in Brazilian Pomeranian, meaning both ‘talks’ and ‘talked’. This merger has probably contributed to the decline of the suffixal past tense in weak verbs (Postma 2014) and its replacement by composed tenses (cf. Section 3.6.3).

The fortis-lenis oppositions in obstruents, t/d, p/b, are neutralized in final position. It is not entirely clear if this should be described as final fortition or final devoicing. As to the fricatives, there is neutralization of f/w and s/z. The fricatives [ɣjxç] are positional variants. In final position only [xç] occur. The choice between [xç] depends on the preceding vowel. It seems that underlying /t/ and devoiced underlying /d/ (incompletely)²⁹ neutralize acoustically but remain distinct in articulation: while /t/ is realized as a dental obstruent, final devoiced /d/ is realized as a coronal with weak release. We write this as [d̥].

There is no neutralization between [ŋ] and [ŋk] in final position, parallel to the other continental Germanic variants. For instance, a nonsense word *ik seng* XXX and *ik senk* ‘I sink’ are in opposition with each other. Significantly, final fortition does happen in predicative adjectives, *jung* ‘young.ATTR’ versus *junk* ‘young. PRED’, *eng* ‘narrow.ATTR’ versus *enk* ‘narrow.PRED’, *lang* ‘long.ATTR’ versus *lank* ‘long.PRED’, etc. This creates a morphological paradigm parallel to the opposition between *gaur* ‘good.attr’ and *gaud* ‘good.pred’, cf. Section 3.3.1.

29. Pomeranian displays an incomplete neutralization that is similar to what must have been present in older modern Frisian. Anecdotic evidence: I observed “soft” realizations of final /d/ in my Pomeranian recordings that reminded me of the (to my ear) archaic accent of my oldest Frisian aunt.

2.3.10 Degemination

There is an general degemination rule that applies whenever the morphology produces /d(s)t/, /t(s)t/, or /ss/, as in *hai set* ‘he sets’ < *hai set+t* or *haitst* ‘hottest’ < *hait+st*, *du passt* < *du pas+st* ‘you fit’. In contrast to German, dt/tt/ss is never resolved by schwa epenthesis *hai *setet*, *dai *haitesta* cf. German *er rettet* ‘he saves’, *der heißest* ‘the hottest’. Pomeranian patterns with Dutch, Flemish and Frisian in this respect. Notice that this degemination rule is needed in the intervocalic cluster reduction + schwa apocope, cf. Section 2.3.2.3.

Historically, Pomeranian might have had a different resolution of geminate /tt/: spirantization, i.e. /tt/ > /ts/, to be compared to the “thick t” in Low Saxon in the Netherlands, cf. Van der Velde (1994). For instance, a gemination analysis of /ts/ is probable for *hüütsendägs* < **hüüt-tam-dägs*, ~ Fri *hjoedtedei*, Du *heden ten dage* ‘at present/today’. Another case might be Pom *hait* – *hits* ‘hot – heat’, which becomes parallel to Pom *daip* – *daipt* ‘deep – depth’ (see Section 5.1.1.1). The native status of final /ts/ might get confirmation in Pom. *rauts* ‘soot’, which cannot be a borrowing from HG (in view of *Ruß* ‘soot’) and Pom. *bits/beets* ‘a bit’, which can hardly be borrowed from HG *Bisschen* ‘a bit’ (See also Lessiak 1933: 112). A similar geminate origin of /ts/ is found in the Frisian island dialect of Schiermonnikoog, which shows systematic /rd/, /rt/ cluster reduction *rt* > *tt* > *ts*, e.g. **swert* > **swett* > *swets* ‘black’ (GRTP location B004).

2.4 Monophthongization

Various new processes of monophthongization occur which do not seem part of EP (cf. WA map 438 *kai*) and might be Brazilian innovations. I here give two of them, which might be related.

- (27) au → a: *blaum* → *blaam* ‘flower’
 ai → a: *stai* → *staa* ‘stone’, *bai* → *baa* ‘bone’, *saia* → *saa* ‘to see’
 kai → *kaa* ‘no one’
 ai → *aa* ‘a(n)’
 knai → *knaa* ‘knee’

To what extent it is limited to (underlying) nasal contexts, and whether nasalisation is a favoring factor, deserves further investigation.

2.5 Assimilation

There is fortis assimilation in compounds and on word boundaries. The direction is cued to the most fortis segment, whatever the order in obstruents and fricatives: *doudblijwa* ‘die’ is realized with [tp] or [db] (which are not in opposition, both

perceived as /db/) but not [t^hp^h]. Similarly, *thoupbijna* ‘to bring together’ is realized with a geminate [pp], which is perceived as /bb/. If there is high sonority, the assimilation proceeds to the segment with the highest sonority: *doudmāka* ‘kill’ is realized with [dm].

2.6 Catalexis of final suffixal (ə) and (n)

Many irregular paradigms³⁰ become regular if we assume final -e or -n without exponence. In the scheme below, this so-called catalectic realization is written as (...)_ə, e.g. (ə)_ə and (n)_ə, and affects the final morpheme only. Catalexis regularizes paradigms, as it creates the correct context in which intervocalic cluster reduction and intervocalic rhotacism or final devoicing applies.

(28) Analysis without catalexis:			Analysis with catalexis + intervocalic
irregularity			reduction: regularity
<i>wijlt</i>	– <i>wijl</i> – <i>wijla</i>	‘wild’	wijld – wijld(ə) _ə – wijld(ə)(n) _ə
<i>gaut</i>	– <i>gaur</i> – <i>gaura</i>	‘good’	gaud – gaud(ə) _ə – gaud(ə)(n) _ə
<i>bilt</i>	– <i>bila</i>	‘image’	bild – bild(ə) _ə
<i>haut</i>	– <i>huir</i>	‘hat’	haud – huid(ə) _ə
<i>kruut</i>	– <i>krüür</i>	‘herb’	kruud – krüüd(ə) _ə
<i>ai</i>	– <i>ain</i> – <i>aina</i>	‘a(n)’	ai(n) _ə – ai(n)(ə) _ə – ai(n)(ə)(n) _ə

Catalexis can be most easily represented by a misalignment of prosodic skeleton and melodic tier. This approach uses four relatively uncontroversial assumptions from autosegmental theory and the structure of syllables.

- (29)
- Morphemes are {grid, melody} pairs (McCarthy 1979)
 - (Post-lexical) lining up of grid and melody is left to right (McCarthy 1979)
 - Morphemes can be degenerate, i.e. melody without grid point (Marantz 1985)
 - Pomeranian allows final {t,s}* as an appendix,³¹ i.e. they do not need prosodic licensing.

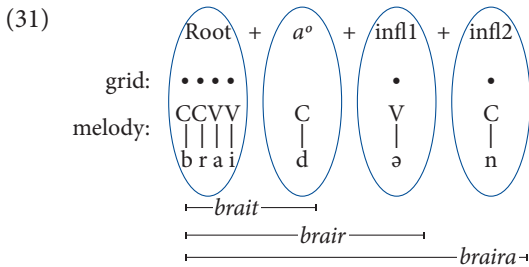
30. The suppletive account of subtractive morphology in Bye & Svenonius (2012, Section 10) clearly misses a generalization.

31. Cf. Booij (1983), Steriade (1991).

Apart from these cross-linguistic assumptions, we assume one language specific property of Pomeranian, and which causes a misalignment between the grid and the melody, cf. (30).

(30) Pomeranian categorial suffixes n° , a° are degenerate

We illustrate the working in the diagram under (31) which represents the subtractive morphology in *braid* ‘broad’, which has the morphological realizations in function of the grammatical context: *brait/brair/bairra* (cf. Section 3.3.1). As it stands, the three forms seem to form an irregular paradigm as Pomeranian has only zero and -e as adjectival endings, e.g. *dün* and *düna* ‘thin’. The principles under (29)–(30) shed light on this problem. Consider the structure below:



The last segment of the stem *braid*, /d/, is analyzed a categorial morpheme, a° , that turns the root /brai-/ into the adjectival stem /braid/. As it is a categorial suffix, it lacks a grid point •, because of (30). Because the alignment of grid points and melody is left-to-right, the segment /d/ remains without a grid point. Hence, /d/ can not be realized structurally, and realizes as an appendix /t/. Upon further derivation, e.g. by the inflectional morpheme /ə/ (infl1 in (31)), and upon left-to-right alignment, the categorial morpheme /d/ now occupies the grid point that is provided by the following morpheme (the third oval in (31)), while this inflectional morpheme /ə/ itself remains without a grid point. This -d- undergoes intervocalic rhotacism because it sits between two Vs (cf. Section 2.3.2.2) despite the fact that the vowel itself does not have exponence.³² Upon further derivation, this musical chair game repeats itself: upon adding an inflectional /n/, the schwa can now realize, while the final morpheme /n/ remains silent, etc. Notice that the segmental content of the last morpheme is not derivable from the construction itself. This would constitute a learnability problem unless (1) catalexis is an option of UG,³³ and (2) general patterns of morpheme identification exist in the

32. There is no reduced form of schwa available, other than zero.

33. Catalexis might be an important difference between the innate acquisition strategies of L1 and the learning strategies of L2. Notice that both strategies are compositional.

language. In this case, the root *brai-* ‘broad’, the verbal stem *braid-*, the causative stem *brair-*, the infinitive1 *braira*=/braide(n)_o/, and the infinitive2 *taum brairen* = braiden(e)_o ‘to broaden’ provide evidence for the segmental content of the /n/. Notice that this simple representation only partially accounts for catalexis in the presence of intervocalic cluster reduction, since the reduction frees one grid point, e.g. *frun*[t] – *früün* ‘friend(s), *har*[t] – *haar* ‘hard’. Here, the free grid point is used for lengthening the vowel rather than exponence of schwa. For some reason, the root occupies as much prosodic space as possible.

Arguments for catalexis + intervocalic lenition come from: the structure of the determiner system (3.1.1–3.1.7), predicative and attributive adjectives (Section 3.3.1), comparative adjectives (Section 3.3.5), genitive adjectives (Section 3.3.5), and irregular plurals in nouns (Section 3.2.1), as well as derivational morphology (*arbeit*[t] ‘work.noun’, *arbeira* ‘to work’, cf. 5.3), the short diphthong in *ula* < *uld*(a)_o (Section 2.3.9). Apart from the paradigm regularization, there are various independent arguments that support the synchronic status of schwa apocope in Pomeranian: (1) projection rules of Pomeranian surname pronunciation: Gaede ~ [jœr] (Section 6.3), (2) borrowings from Portuguese, with systematic -o/-a drop: *prima* ‘cousin’ > Pom. *prijm*, Port. *sobrinha* ‘niece’ > Pom. *sobriijn*, etc. (Section 6.4). Independent evidence for synchronic n-apocope: Port. *aipim* ‘cassava’ > *eipi* [‘eipi], Port. *cupim* ‘termite’ > *kupij* [kupi]. An extra piece of evidence that the plural morpheme in verbs -a [v/ə] is -e(n)_o is the fact that the enclitic form *’m* of the 1PLURAL morpheme *wij*, e.g. in *wi’m gâa!* < /wiə(n)_o wij gâa/, ‘let us go’. The nasal feature in the enclitic is not provided by the pronoun, and hence must be an exponence of underlying (n)_o, which is, after cliticization, not at the end of the prosodic domain anymore, and hence cannot not be silent. As present tense plural and infinitive are without exception equal to the else INF1 (ending in -e) in Pomeranian, the latter must be Root-ə-(n)_o as well. Notice that infinitive 2, which ends in -en, can be analyzed as either V-ən-(ə)_o, or V-and-(ə)_o with intervocalic cluster reduction.³⁴

2.7 Vowel breaking

Pomeranian participates in the so-called Westphalian diphthongization, e.g. **fl?ga* > *flaiga* ‘to fly’ though European Pomeranian is not geographically connected to

34. The latter is the historical form. “Tom vofften schulen sie ock nene beruchtigede und unehrliche, schendliche und untüchtige mans- oder frouen- und megdepersonen, ock keine junge gesellen to sick laten, ut und in ghan, oder die nacht mit ehm sitten, nicht mit solken vele to **donde** hebben, sondern sick derselven mit allem vlite entslaen, nicht alleine vele verdeckticheit, sondern ock grote fähr to **vormiedende**, wente Sirach sprickt: wer pick anröret, der beschmittet sick”. Statutes of the female monastery at Colberg, 1586 (apud Bülow 1881).

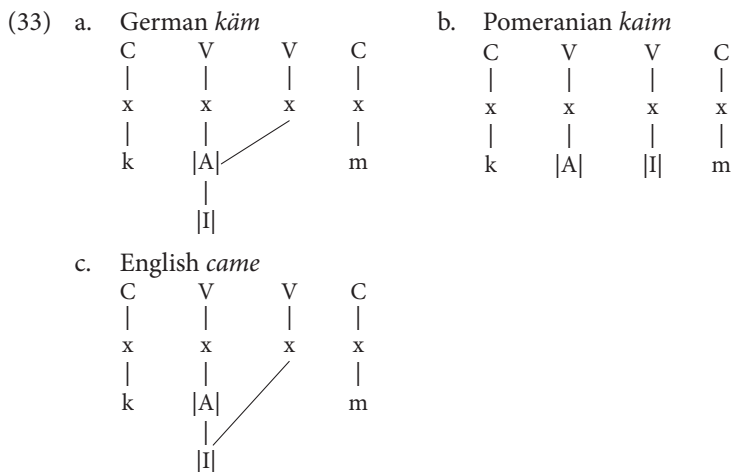
the Westphalian area. This exclave feature might be a consequence of migration (*Ostsiedlung*), but not necessarily so, as breaking is a cross-linguistic structural process. This diphthongization especially affects the umlauted vowels. Umlaut comes about by a derivational floating coronal feature (i.e. a floating [I] element), which seeks anchoring to a stressed root vowel. Such umlauted long sounds were realized in a broken, i.e. in a segmental way in Pomeranian:

(32) Older Pomeranian EP and BP

*[y:]	→ [ui]
*[œ:]	→ [oi]
*[ɛ:]	→ [ai]

Examples are *gruin* ‘green’ < **grün*, *doir* < **dör* ‘door’, *kaim* ‘came’ < **käm* ‘came. subj’. There is evidence that the umlauted forms are original and that the breaking is a later development (cf. Section 3.6.5). Breaking links all elements directly to a root node, indicated with x (cf. (33b)). Let us call this the *Boots-on-the-Ground* tendency in Pomeranian.

This type of breaking only occurs in long vowels, i.e. if sufficient prosodic space is available. English also underwent this process, but did not de-link the original A-I link (33c).

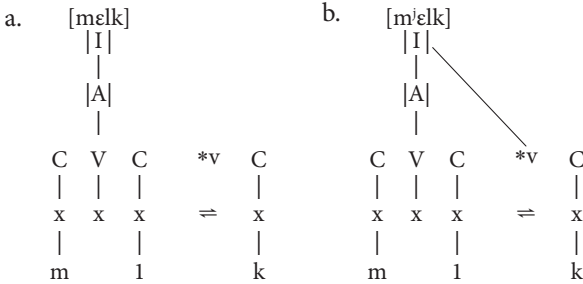


This development does not imply that Pomeranian has lost all umlauted vowels. Short vowels were not affected because no root node is available to spread to. Furthermore, some long umlauted were retained *dröig* ‘dry’, which is of the English type (33c).

The coarticulation effect, discussed in Section 2.3.7, might be another instance of this *Boots-on-the-Ground* tendency. Coarticulation typically occurs before

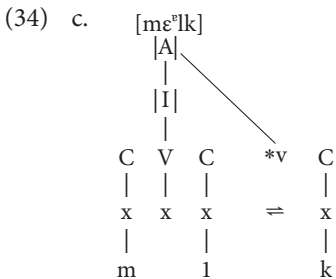
complex codas -CC, and in a framework of underlying CVCV, there must be an underlying ghost vowel position $*v$ available: $-C^*vC$. This $*v$ is without prosodic space, because of the intersegmental government between the consonants of the coda cluster, /lk/, in the case of *melk* 'milk'. This intersegmental government, indicated by \Rightarrow on the root node tier, deactivates the prosodic space (root node) of this intermediate vowel. The floating vowel is indicated by $*v$.

(34) *Pomeranian* /melk/ 'milk' and coarticulated /m^ɛɛlk/.



..., where $*v$ is a non-anchored, i.e. floating, vowel without prosodic space of its own.

We assume that the floating $*v$ in (34b) realizes as a pre-articulation rather than as a post-articulation, because of the low sonority of /j/: [m^ɛɛlk]. An alternative realization is (34c), where |A| is the dependent element, spreading to $*v$. It is realized as a post-articulation because of its high sonority: [mɛ^ɛlk].



Notice that in all these cases, the root vowel + its coarticulation has only one root node for its realization. The diagrams represent short vowels with internal prosodic structure.

2.8 Epenthetic schwa

Pomeranian lacks epenthetic schwa in inflectional morphology: Pom. *hai set*/**setet* 'he sets', cf. German *er rettet* 'he saves', English *it passes*. Furthermore *braidst*/**braidest*/**brairest* 'broadest', cf. German *breitest*. For the past tense

morpheme, obsolete in Brazilian Pomeranian, European Pomeranian did not use epenthesis either: EP *hai seer* < *sedde* < *setde*, not the typical Low German form **he settede* ‘he put’, cf. High German *rettete* ‘he saved’, English *it sounded* with epenthetic [ɪ]. Pomeranian differs in this respect from English, High German and most German dialects, and pattern with Dutch and Frisian that realize suffixes immediately to the root. There are two contexts in which Pomeranian differs from Dutch and Frisian: the possibility of plural *-es* in nouns (*fruug-fruuges* ‘woman/women’)³⁵ and the genitive morpheme *-es* in adjectives; *wat gaures* ‘something good’. These schwas, however, are not epenthetic but underlyingly present. The schwa in *fruuges* shows up because of catalexis of the feminine class marker -ə in *fruug(ə)*_o, while the *-es* in *gaures* is simply part of the ending since it is present in all adjectives. The morphemes in English and German are *-s* and *-t* respectively, but realize as *-es* or *-et* only if needed. Whenever the morpheme is *-t* or *-st* in Dutch/Frisian/Pomeranian, the suffix can never realize as *-et*. It is unclear what the locus of this property is within the grammar. If we may store it in the lexical phonological matrix, e.g. like *-(e)t* for German, it is unclear why no dialect whatsoever in the Netherlands, or in Frisia, or in Pomerania opts for this lexical storage. It must be some deeper property than a lexical specification.

2.9 On the alternation /ui/ ~ /öi/

Various words with a homorganic diphthong /öi/ have a variant in the heterorganic /ui/,³⁶ e.g.:

I , A , U	I , U	
<i>dröig</i>	<i>druig</i>	‘dry’
<i>köich</i>	<i>kuich</i>	‘cows’
<i>forspöira</i>	<i>forspuira</i>	‘to observe’ etc.
<i>nöirg</i>	<i>nuirg</i>	‘necessary, needed’
<i>öil</i>	<i>uil</i>	‘oil’
<i>forsöika</i>	<i>forsuika</i>	‘to try’

35. This might also be analyzed as *fruug(ə)*_o -*fruug(ə)*s, with silent ə in the singular, which shows up, on further inflection.

36. For a similar opposition in EP, described by Böhmer, cf. Section 9.1. See also Priewe & Teuchert (1927/1928:140ff).

In terms of elements, the first of these pairs contain { |I|, |A|, |U| }, while the second of these pairs only contain { |U|, |I| }. Such alternates do not exist in the case of /oi/, e.g.:

I , A , U	I , A , U	
<i>forsoiga</i>	* <i>forsöiga</i>	‘to deteriorate’
<i>joiga</i>	* <i>jöiga</i>	‘to itch’
<i>oiwer</i>	* <i>öiwer</i>	‘over’
<i>koiken</i>	* <i>köiken</i>	‘kitchen’
<i>noit</i>	* <i>nöit</i>	‘nut’
<i>moil</i>	* <i>möil</i>	‘mill’

In terms of elements, the two sets retain lexical contrast despite the fact that both contain { |I|, |A|, |U| }. This anti-conservation effect asks for an account.

The competitive tier model in Postma (2019) may shed light on this alternation. In this model, some surface /ui/ diphthongs are to be analyzed as the regular i-umlaut of /au/. The idea is that /ui/ derives from /au/ upon the addition of |I|, under the assumption that elements are competitive in right-to-left alignment, as represented by *druig* ‘dry’ in (35). A lexical root $\sqrt{[dr|A,U|g]}$ takes a floating categorial morpheme $a^0 = |I|$ to turn it into an adjective, according to (30). The structure is parallel to (7). This is the analysis in which the elements are competitive.

$$(35) \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{dr} \bullet \bullet g + \rightarrow \text{dr} \bullet \bullet g \\ \text{Tier 2} \quad \begin{array}{c} | \quad | \\ |A| |U| \end{array} \quad |I| \quad \begin{array}{c} | \quad | \\ |A| |U||I| \end{array} \end{array} \quad /dra^u g + i \rightarrow dru^i g/$$

If, on the other hand, the speaker realizes the two vocalic elements in a non-competitive way, i.e. the vocalic elements are realized on a phonological tier that allows for coalescence, addition of the floating umlaut factor |I| produces the coalescent alternate under the retention of the root element |A|. This is represented in (36), which is parallel to (8).

$$(36) \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{dr} \bullet \bullet g + \rightarrow \text{dr} \bullet \bullet g \\ \text{Tier 1} \quad \begin{array}{c} | / \\ |A| \end{array} \quad |I| \quad \begin{array}{c} | \backslash | \\ |A| |I| \\ | \\ |U| \end{array} \end{array} \quad /dro:g + i \rightarrow droe^i g/$$

This root + a^0 analysis with floating /i/ connects the two variants in an insightful manner. For details on the competitive tier model, we refer to the Postma (op. cit.).

It is unclear what is the trigger of the different realization of |A| and |U| on either the competitive tier or the coalescent tier. One may think it to be a difference in lexical specification. If so, in a non-systematic way, some speakers opt for

one of these alternants. To a high degree, this is indeed so. The choice between the two variants is part of the individual's lexicon and hardly shows intra-individual variation. However, there are some phenomena that point to a dynamic process. Incidentally, the alternation is part of a paradigm, e.g. the verb *forspuira* 'to observe', which – according to Tressmann (2006b: 141) – has the past tense *forspöir*.³⁷ This can be explained if we assume the addition of the weak past tense suffix $-d(e)_o$ with catalectic schwa. In combination with the root final $-r$, the $/rd/$ cluster undergoes intervocalic cluster reduction and is subject to the derivation of *forspuir* + $d(e)_o \rightarrow \text{forspuir}(e)_o$. Now a conflict looms between catalexis, which proceeds under left-to-right alignment (cf. (31)), and the expulsion of $|A|$ in $-spuir-$, which proceeds under right-to-left alignment on the competitive tier by the umlaut factor $|I|$. In other words, catalexis requires coalescent alignment of *forspöir* in the past tense. Similar effects with the alternates *druig* / *dröig* 'dry' which have *dröigt* 'draught' as their only nominalization. There is reason to believe that the deadjectival nominalizator $-t$ is in fact underlying $-d(e)_o$, with catalectic schwa. This will be worked out in Section 5.1.1.1. This analysis provides us with a parallel explanation of the past tense *forspöir*, which is only seemingly apophonic, but is in fact the result of a weak suffixal past tense morpheme and regular phonological processes.

2.10 Contact speech and community mixing

In this section, we list some phenomena that are part of modern/mixed speech, which are basically left out of this grammar, though we mention some aspects in passing. The idea is that these phenomena deserve special study and an independent treatment. The present description of Pomeranian as a stable system is a preparatory step for it.

Modern mixed speech is more and more influenced by the superstrate Portuguese. We here list four aspects.

1. Portuguese does not have complex round vowels ($[y]$, $[\emptyset]$, $[\text{œ}]$). Portuguese L1 speakers replace these sounds upon borrowing by their unrounded counterparts, $[i]$, $[e]$, $[\text{ɛ}]$, and this might extend to 2L1 speakers.
2. Portuguese in ES may realize coda $-r$ by $[\text{ɣ}/\text{x}]$ as in *Carioca* accent and it sometimes happens in Pomeranian as well.
3. Mixed speech may have partial merger of $-l$ and $-r$ (as in many dialects of Portuguese) in coda position
4. Portuguese does not have phonological length opposition in vowels.

37. A similar opposition is probable for *bluira* – *blöir* 'bleed.pres-past' and *buiga* – *böig* 'bow.pres-past'.

In contact Pomeranian, these properties have various effects on Pomeranian. Portuguese realize complex vowels in an unrounding way. Portuguese speakers may merge coda -r and coda -g [x], producing -g codas in, say, *suur* 'sour': [su^ux], They may pronounce *blind* as [blink] instead of target form [blint], perhaps as an avoidance strategy for the Brazilian final-t palatalization [blint_ɕ]. Finally, there is a tendency in young/female speakers to realize long vowels short, while marking short vowels as short diphthongs. If we mark short diphthongs by superscript ', we may have the following opposition in the tense-lax realization:

(37)		tense	lax
	traditional	VV	V
	↓	↓	↓
	"modern"	V	'V

More sociolinguistic and phonological research is needed here.

We refer to the respective sections for a more extensive discussion of these processes. These contact phenomena are more present in the municipality of Santa Leopoldina than in the core Pomeranian area of Santa Maria de Jetibá. Interaction with Hunsrückisch may also have played a role, which is almost absent in the latter area. Hunsrückisch influence on Pomeranian is fading, though, as it is moribund in Espírito Santo, as is Dutch, and the other varieties of West Germanic, Swiss and Tirolese. Only Pomeranian seems to survive for the near future. Mennonite (i.e. Low Prussian) influence is absent in ES. Only a further increase of the influence of Portuguese is to be expected.

Morphology

Pomeranian is a relatively richly inflected language: though slightly deflected with respect to High German, it is rather conservative compared to Dutch and Frisian. It must be kept in mind that deflection does not necessarily lead to loss of oppositions, nor does the accretion of morphemes necessarily lead to extra oppositions, as we will see below.

3.1 D-domain

3.1.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns vary along the dimensions of person (123), number (SG/PL), gender (M/F/N), and Case (NOM/DAT/ACC). This is systematized in the scheme in (1).

(1)	1	2	3M	3F	3N	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	ik	duu/ø	hai/-e	sai/-s	dat/-t	wij/'m	jij	sai/-s
DAT	mij	dij	em	eer	–	ous	juuch	eer
ACC	mij	dij	em	eer	dat/-t	ous	juuch	eer/-s

There is full neutralization between dative/accusative Case in strong pronouns. This Ingvaeonic feature was already present in Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon for 12SG and 12PL, but not for 3SG/PL. EP represents this old Ingvaeonic situation, at least in the five dialect grammars or dictionaries available. For 3SG, DAT/ACC forms were *em/en* ‘him’ and *eer/sai* ‘her’. BP extended DAT/ACC neutralization to 3SG.MASC *em/em* and FEM *eer/eer* by extending the dative form to the accusative, reserving *sai* ‘she/they’ for nominative only. Also 3PL joined this pattern of dative extension to accusative. Pomeranian differs from Low German and Low Prussian, which both retained accusative *sai*.

- (2) a. *Wen air meisch kümt un düit eer darbij forstöira, ...* (UmL:101)
when a person comes and does them then disturb.INF1
‘when a person comes near and disturb them, ...’

- b. *Wen man eer argra dääit, ...* (UmL:102)
 when one them annoy does, ...
 ‘when one annoys them’
- c. *Wen sai brüla daua, höirt man eer fijw*
 when they scream.INF1 do.PL, hears one them five
kilomeiter af. (UmL:102)
 km off
 ‘when they scream, one can hear them from a distance of 5 km.’
- d. *dat kair hâwk eer greepa krigt* (UmL:104)
 so that no hawk them caught gets
 ‘so that no hawk can catch them’

The reduced enclitic pronoun -’s is the only relict of the old use of *sai* in accusative function. The striking parallel with the other varieties of Coastal Germanic (cf. (4h)), might be an indication that the system under (1) was already a property of EP, though it is also possible that it is an innovation of BP, being in close contact with the neighboring variety of Dutch in ES. Notice that the Wenker Atlas reports the heavy pronoun *sai* ‘them’ in accusative use, next to clitic ’s, in the Kolberg region.¹

Pronouns have the same distribution as full arguments, but there are a few exceptions in the realm of V2. There is a zero-counterpart of the second person singular in inversion only. The syntax of this so-called “pro-drop” is discussed in Section 4.5.1.

Weak pronouns in Pomeranian only occur in enclitic position: 3PL (’s), 3SG FEM (’s), 3SG MASC (-a), and 2SG, which is empty (Ø). The weak enclitic counterpart of accusative *eer* ‘them’ is ’s. Examples of weak pronouns are given under (3).

- (3) a. *Wen’s dröig sin, ...* NOM
 when-they dry are
 ‘when they are dry, ...’
- b. *Dun säär’a blous: ...* NOM
 then said-he simply ...
 ‘then he said simply ...’
- c. *Must ø wekmåls froiga so “mama, wat is dat?”* NOM
 must you sometimes ask such “mum, what is that?”
 ‘Do you sometimes need to say: Mum, what is it?’
- d. *un (wij) hâwa’s ranerhängt ana kangal* ACC
 and we have them onto-hung to-the yoke
 ‘and we hung them onto the yoke’

1. For instance WS8: dei fuit daue mi seer weih, ik gloow, ik hew sei dorchloope (Kolberg, 52272) versus ..., ik hefs mie durchloppe (Necknin, 00553).

The scheme in (4) gives the positional reduction in some varieties of coastal Germanic.

- (4) *Stressed and reduced pronouns (red) in 5 variants of Coastal Germanic: context-free and positional phonological reduction (below double line). -x indicates that the reduced form only occurs in enclitic position.*²

		Dutch		Klaai - Frisian		Wäld - Frisian		Groningen		Pomeranian	
		full	red	full	red	full	red	full	red	full	red
a.	'me'	mēi	mə	mēi	mi	mi	-	mi	-	mi	-
b.	'thee'	<u>ˌtʰe</u>	-	dēi	di	di	-	di	-	di	-
c.	'ye'	jēi	jə	jo ^u	jə	jo ^u	-	(j)i	-	ji	-
d.	'we'	wēi	wə	wēi	wə	wi	-wə	wi	-wə	wi	-m ⁸⁹
e.	'she'	<u>zēi</u>	<u>zə</u>	<u>sēi</u>	<u>sə</u>	hja/si	-sə	zai	-zə	sai	-s
f.	'he'	hēi	-i	hēi	-ər	hi	-ər	hai	-ə	hai	-ə
g.	'thou'	-	-	dou	-ø	du	-ø	duu	-ø	duu	-ø
h.	'them'	hen	-ze	har	-se	har	-se	heur	-ze	eer	-se

Weak pronouns with positional reduction are listed below the drawn line. While Dutch and Klaai-Frisian developed a *phonological* reduction strategy [ei]→[i/ə], Groningen and Pomeranian have a *positional* reduction only, while context-free phonological reduction is absent. Frisian is in the middle with a Klaai versus Wäld opposition. Notice that Dutch and Klaai-Frisian also show some cases with positional reduction. This makes it probable that Pomeranian-type positional reduction was original and has been generalized to context-free phonological reduction in Dutch.³ Notice that the systematic relation between the full and reduced vowel has been facilitated in Dutch by the merger of Old Germanic long *ī (in *mij/dij/wij/jij*) and the Old Germanic *ia (in *hij/zij* instead of *hai/sai*). The old contrast has been retained in Groningen and Pomeranian. Frisian is in the middle.

The honorific in Pomeranian is formed by a 3rd person singular pronoun in 2nd singular use. This was a feature of 18th century High German, but died out in the 19th century.

- (5) a. *Geit dat ales gaud met Em?*
Goes that all good with Him
'Is everything well with you.hon?'
b. *Geit Hai uk mit?*
goes he also with
'Do you.HON go with us/them too?'

This honorific use is limited to the older generations, though some young speakers continue to use them in addressing, for instance, the Lutheran priest.

2. Data extracted from Peters' Atlas 1949; SAND 2006; Reker (2006: 40–47).

3. For a syntactic analysis of this process, cf. Postma (2013).

3.1.2 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronoun is identical to the personal pronoun, apart from the third person singular and plural, where the form is invariably *sich*.

(6)	1SG	ik schääm mij
	2SG	dou schäämst dij
	3SG	hai/sai schäämt sich /*em/*eer
	1PL	wij schääma ous
	2PL	jij schääma juuch
	3PL	sai schääma sich /*eer

The heavy reflexive can be created by collocating *selwst* after the reflexive pronoun: *mij selwst/dij selwst/sich selwst*, e.g. *dau dat for dij selwst* ‘do it for yourself’. This is a rather rare strategy in Pomeranian. Usually the simple pronoun suffices. About the syntax of reflexive constructions, cf. Section 4.1.14.2 and 4.3.3.2.

3.1.3 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronoun is *mijn/dijn/sijn* ‘my/your/his’ in the singular, and *ous/juug/eer* ‘our/your/their’ in the plural. The root final *-n* of the singular pronouns is elided in some contexts. This truncation is morphologically conditioned.

(7)		MASC (‘brother’)	FEM (‘cow’)	NEUT (‘swine’)	PLURAL (‘plants’)
	NOM	mij- \emptyset braurer	mijn kau	mij- \emptyset fetswijr	mijn planta
	DAT	mijnem braurer	mijner kau	mijnem fetswijr	mijna planta
	ACC	mijna braurer	mijn kau	mij- \emptyset fetswijr	sijn planta

There is n-truncation in nominative MASC and neuter and accusative neuter. This is indicated with the scissors \bowtie . Zero inflection is indicated with -. The inflectional scheme is as follows:

(8)	<i>mijn</i>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>PL</u>
	NOM	\bowtie	–	\bowtie	–
	DAT	em	er/a	em	-/a
	ACC	a	–	\bowtie	–

For the plural forms *ous*, *juuch* and *eer*, there is no distinction between the truncated and zero forms. Coordinations, such as *papa un mama* ‘dad and mum’ function as plurals in selecting the zero form *mijn* not *mij*.

- (9) *mijn papa un mama*
my.PL dad and mum

3.1.4 The “Saxon” genitive with family names

West Germanic has a genitive in *’s*, which is often called the Saxon genitive in English grammars: e.g. *John’s book*. Just as in English, it is *’s* [s] in Pomeranian. The distribution in Pomeranian is rather limited. It is only available with family names and only with feminine referents, as illustrated in (10). This genitive morpheme *’s* should not be confused with the derivational suffix *-sch* [ʃ], which creates feminine nouns and adjectives through derivation, to be discussed in Section 5.1.1.2.

- (10) a. *Grulke’s Laura* [grulkəs] *Müntge’s Frida* [myntçəs]
 ‘daughter Laura in family Grulke’ ‘daughter Frida in family Möntschow’

The Saxon genitive has a variant in *-a*, which is used whenever the Pomeranian family name is monosyllabic, illustrated in (11).

- (11) *Kalka Marij / Swantsa Marij / Bruna Marij*
 ‘daughter Mary of family Kalk / Swants / Brun’

The *-a* genitive is parallel to the Frisian genitive in *-e*, which is used with some short kinship terms only: *heite stoel* ‘daddy’s seat’, *memme pop* ‘mum’s darling’, etc.⁴ For an extensive list of examples of both *’s* and *-a*, cf. Section 6.3.

3.1.5 Nominalized possessive pronouns

Nominalized forms are *mijnd* ‘mine’, *dijnd* ‘yours’ and *sijnd* ‘his’. These can be compared to Frisian *minent*, *dinent*, *sinent*, *usent*, etc (Fokkema 1948). It is not clear if

4. Alain Corbeau draws my attention to similar alternations between *’s* and *-e* genitives in the Hoeksewaard dialect, as in (i).

- (i) *Janne weuning*
Jan.INFL house
‘John’s house’

Cf. van Dam et al. (2006: 31)

- (ii) *‘t Is t’r één van Klaorties*
it is QR one of Klaortie.INFL
‘It is one of Clara’s family’

all forms exist for the plural pronouns in Pomeranian: the 3PL seems to be absent: *ousd/juuchd/*eerd*. *Aind* ‘one’ and *kaind* ‘noone’ (Frisian *gjint/gjinent*) follow the same morphology, but might be limited to oblique Cases. As the article is missing, this might be analyzed as a DP-internal fronting of the possessive:

- (12) $[_{DP} - de [sijn...]] \rightarrow [_{DP} sij n de [sijn...]]$

Ales(t) ‘everything’ carries this ending optionally. It is written in Tressmann’s spelling with /t/.

- (13) a. *Dai hāt sijnd antrekt hat, as hai doud wäir.*
 he.TOP has his-one worn has, when he dead was
 He (i.e the other) has put on his one after his death’
 b. *Dai hâwk kaim an flaigend un greip sich aind.*
 the hawk came PRT flying and caught REFL one
 ‘The hawk arrived flying and caught himself one (of the chickens)’

Albeid/beid [beːd] ‘both’ originally has this ending too, but is also inflected like an adjective: with *beid* the predicative form (*wij beid* ‘we both’), also used for the floating quantifier (*wij dânsa beid pulsch* lit. ‘we danse both polka’) and *beir(a)* the attributive form (*dai beira jonges*, lit. ‘the both boys’). *Anerd* [anət], being both an inflected adjective (*anerd*) and a pronoun, goes with the article most of the time, as in *dai anerd/andrer* ‘the other(s)’.^{5,6} In some contexts, no article is needed: *Anerd māl mākā wij dat* ‘next time we do it’. Pomeranian and Portuguese behave on a par (*outra vez fazemos isso*).

There is a generic pronoun *man* ‘one’, which is nominative. No accusative or dative forms exists. Instead, the standard anaphoric and non-anaphoric pronouns are used (*man schü sich for sijn kiner schääma!* ‘one should be ashamed of one’s children’). The indefinite article *air* [ai(ɐ)] used as a pronoun can be used in this function as well.

- (14) *Air is ni meir as dai anerd* (UmL :8)
 ‘one is not more (worth) than the other’

This function was already present in E-Pomeranian, as shows WS22 for Gützlaffshagen 00398: *Eie muit lur schrigje* ‘one must shout out loud’.

5. Notice that the underlying form must be *ander-* with intervocalic cluster reduction.

6. The Invaeonic form without -n- (Frisian *oar*, English *other*) is absent in Pomeranian in this case.

3.1.6 Definite determiners

The definite article ‘the’ is *dai*, which is monophthongized to *da* in some speakers (cf. Section 2.4). In dative Case, it is: *dem/dera/dem/de*, while it is *dat* in nominative/accusative neuter, and *de* in dative singular feminine and plural.

(15)	<i>def. art.</i>	<u>MASC</u>	<u>FEM</u>	<u>NEUTER</u>	<u>PL</u>
	NOM	dai (> de) ⁷	dai	dat	dai
	DAT	dem	dera/de	dem	dera/de
	ACC	dera/de	dai	dat	dai

The deictic determiner is *de* [de:] ‘that/those’ in the forms where the article is *dai*. The deictic form of *dat* is *dat* or *dait*. Usually, however, there is syncretism of the deictic and the article in Pomeranian. If explicit deictic reference is needed, the postnominal adverb *dår* ‘there’ is used: *dat määke dår* ‘that girl’.

(16)	<i>de</i>	<u>MASC</u>	<u>FEM</u>	<u>NEUT</u>	<u>PL</u>
	NOM	de	de	da(i)t	de
	DAT	dem	dera	dem	dera
	ACC	dera	de	da(i)t	de

The form *den* means ‘then’. The proximate deictic determiner is *dis* ‘this one’, with variants *deis/deich*.⁸

(17)		<u>MASC</u>	<u>FEM</u>	<u>NEUT</u>	<u>PL</u>
	NOM	dis/deich	dis/deich	dit	dis/deich
	DAT	disem/deichem	deiche	dit	deich
	ACC	dis(a)/deicha	dis/deich	dit	dis/deich

The deictic pronoun *jena* ‘those’ is not used (anymore) in Brazilian Pomeranian. *Sa’n(a)* ‘so a’ can be used not only for type deixis ‘such a’, but also for token deixis, i.e. as ‘that/those’.

7. In some contexts, there is reduction of *dai>de* in MASC nom and the nom-acc opposition is neutralized. This happens in many West-Germanic variants (Alber & Rabanus 2011; Elsässer 2016).

8. It is unclear where the velar comes from. Perhaps a generalized plural form < PGmc *þai* with velarisation of the glide. See Section 8.2.

The definite article is not used before names, unless they are adjectivally modified. In this respect Pomeranian differs from High German as well as from the superstrate Portuguese. Pomeranian follows the system of English, Frisian, and Dutch. The definite article is identical to the deictic pronoun.

In prepositional contexts, the well-known R-pronominalization (van Riemsdijk 1974) shows up: *dârup*, *dârin* instead of the expected **up dat* ‘on it/that’, **in dat* ‘in it/that’. *Dâr* and the preposition can be separated by scrambling and topicalization, both with static and directional readings, e.g. *dâr ... in* and *dâr ... riner*, cf. Section 3.7.2 and 4.6.4.

3.1.7 Indefinite articles

The indefinite article *ain* ‘a/an’ and the negative indefinite article *kain* ‘no’ behave equally as to their morphology. They have two inflected forms *aina/ainem*, a form *ain* with zero ending, and a truncated form *air* [ai(ə)] in structural Cases, also reduced to [a:].⁹ Truncated forms occur in nominative masculine, and nominative and accusative neuter, just as in possessive pronouns, cf. (8). Notice that English has undergone a similar development, though it has developed a phonological condition in the modern language.¹⁰

(18)	<i>(k)ain</i>	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL
	NOM	air [ai(ə)]	ain	air	kain
	DAT	ainem	ainer [a ¹ nɐ]	ainem	–
	ACC	aina	ain	air	kain

Some examples from the corpus are given in (13).

(19)	<i>ain</i>	<u>MASC</u>	<u>FEM</u>	<u>NEUT</u>	<u>PL</u>
	NOM	air walach	ain im	air fat/air blad	kain strâta
	DAT	ainem seegabuk	ainer kau	ainem/aim huus	–
	ACC	aina dag/ kamaraad	ain schâl/ kain stel	air rad/strik/ kair drek ¹¹	kain swijn/ hüüser

9. Cf. Gaede (1983).

10. Catalexis (cf. Section 2.6) connects the Pomeranian development to n-catalexis in the verbal domain. Pomeranian behaves on a par with English in this respect.

11. *Drek* ‘dirt’ is neuter in Pomeranian in contrast to High German *Dreck*, which is masculine.

(i) *Dârweegen schâla wij kair drek ina fluss smijta.*

The Pomeranian and the Standard German scheme are closely related, as can be inspected from (20), where the reconstructed form represents an older stage of the morphological system, identical to Standard German.

(20)	Pomeranian					←	Standard German				
	<i>(k)ain</i>	M	F	N	PL		<i>(k)ein</i>	M	F	N	PL
	NOM	⌘	–	⌘	–		NOM	–	e	–	e
	DAT	em	er	em	X		DAT	em	er	em	en
	ACC	a	–	⌘	–		ACC	en	e	–	e

One can derive the Pomeranian chart by the projection rules α , β , γ given under (92).

(21)	Standard German		Pomeranian
	α . einen	→	aina [aine]
	β . eine	→	ain
	γ . ein	→	ai (written <i>air</i>)

The Pomeranian scheme is straightforwardly generated from High German system by the sound changes mentioned under (10) in Chapter 2.

(22)	-n	→	-ə
	-ə	→	–
	–	→	⌘ (n-truncation)

Notice that these projection rules only give the correct results if they operate in tandem, not ordered. For, whatever ordering is chosen, the rules would feed each other. This suggests a synchronic status, for instance as a spellout rule, where the ultimate morpheme is silent under the deletion rules in (22). This silent morpheme is indicated with $(\dots)_\emptyset$. This so-called catalectic system is represented in (23).

(23) *Systematic Catalexis in Pomeranian*

ain	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>PL</u>
NOM	ai(n) _∅	ain(e) _∅	ai(n) _∅	kain(e) _∅
DAT	ainem	ainer	ainem	¹²
ACC	aine(n) _∅	ain(e) _∅	ai(n) _∅	kain(e) _∅

12. This form is absent as negative plural NPs are not possible within PP, cross-linguistically.

This implies that Pomeranian and Standard German are underlyingly equal apart from catalexis of /n/ and /e/.¹³

3.1.8 The (pronominal) forms *kainer* and *ainer* and the loss of NOM-ACC opposition

In the previous sections, we have seen how phonological reduction of suffixes in Pomeranian (schwa-apocope, n-drop) proceeded under preservation of the main grammatical oppositions of Case (NOM/ACC), gender (M/F/N) and number (SG/PL). In this section, we consider the reverse: the *addition* of a Case marker leads to reduction of Case oppositions. In Contact Pomeranian, e.g. in Domingo Martins & Santa Leopoldina, a new form *kainer/ainer* ‘no one/someone’ can be heard as a nominative singular pronoun instead of the original Pomeranian *kai/ai* (written /kair/air/), cf. (18) above. This is probably under influence of Hunsrückisch *kein-er/einer* ‘no one/someone’, and less so under influence of High German.

The suffixed nominative form is not part of European Pomeranian, but is part of the entire German dialect continuum. Pomeranian, on a par with Flemish, Dutch, and Frisian, is outside this continuum, being without *-er/-es/-et* (cf. the isoglosses discussed in Section 1.1.2). Now, this new *kainer* < Germ. *keiner* is realized as [kaine], which is identical to the masculine accusative *kaina* in Pomeranian. So, this new extra *-er* morpheme causes Case neutralization in the masculine pronoun. Significantly, masculine is the only gender with a nominative/accusative Case opposition. This is a general property of German, Hunsrückisch as well as Pomeranian, cf. for instance the tables in (8)–(20) show. This development is an instructive illustration of how borrowing a new Case form may lead to loss of oppositions.¹⁴

It seems that this new neutralization is broader in contact speakers. It can also be heard adnominally: *aina keirl* – *aina keirl*, instead of *air keirl* – *aina keirl* ‘a man. NOM-ACC’. Therefore, it seems that the NOM-ACC opposition itself is under pressure in this contact variety. Also the pronouns *wee* ‘who’ and *wem* ‘whom’ neutralize to *wem* in such speakers. I did not hear this loss of NOM-ACC oppositions in younger speakers in Santa Maria de Jetibá, where the influence of High German and Hunsrückisch is limited. I do not exclude the possibility that this Case neutralization is a hypercorrect realization of masculine gender in careful speakers, such as priests and older school teachers.

13. The absence of strong inflection morphemes (*-er/-et/-es*) in Pomeranian is a fundamental difference, though.

14. Similar and (as it seems) stronger tendencies toward case neutralisation can be found in the Pomeranian of the Southern state of Rio Grande de Sul. (cf. Rosenberg 2006).

3.1.9 Quantifiers

Pronominal quantifiers are: *kai* ‘noone’, *wek* ‘some’, *jeira* ‘every’, *ala* ‘all’, (*dat*) *ales* or *alest* ‘everything’. The form *alest* might have come about by quantifier raising past the determiner, as in *mijnd*, etc.: [ales d- [ales]]. However, *anerd* has the article and cannot be analyzed as [_{DP} aner de [aner]]. It seems that the final dental is secondary.

- (24) Air is ni meir às dai anerd
‘one is not more than the other’

The pronominal universal quantifiers *jeir-* (with singulars only) and *al-* (with plurals and mass nouns only) have an even less articulated paradigm:

(25)	<u>MASC</u>	<u>FEM</u>	<u>NEUT</u>	<u>PL</u>
NOM	jeira (jeirer)	jeira	jeira	ala
DAT	jeira	jeirem	ala	
ACC	jeira	jeira	jeira	ala

Attributive forms are *jeira* (sometimes written as *jeirer*) in structural cases, and *jeirem* in oblique cases. The quantifier *pår* ‘some/a couple’ may lack the indefinite article, as in (26b).

- (26) a. *Dår sin nog ain pår fiska*
there are still a couple fish.PL
‘There are still a couple of fish’
b. *Pår weeka wijrer*
couple weeks later
‘some weeks later’

While lexical *pår* is neuter (*dat pår*), the indefinite article in the quantifier is not *air* but, if present, invariably *ain*.

3.1.10 Interrogative pronouns and the existential reading

The interrogative pronouns are *wee/wem* ‘who’, *wat* ‘what’, *wou*, meaning both ‘where’ and ‘how’, *wounair* ‘when’, *weka/weken N* ‘which N’, *wat fon N* ‘what kind of N’. The neuter *wat* does not have NOM-ACC opposition, while the MASC/FEM *wee* [ve:] ‘who’ is the NOM form, and *wem* [vem] the ACC form. Dative and accusative coincide in the pronominal system. In some contact varieties with Hunsrückisch, the NOM-ACC dimension is not always realized (generalized *wem*). See the discussion in Section 3.1.8 for details.

The interrogative pronoun *wat* ‘what’ can be used as an indefinite meaning ‘something/anything’ (*ik häw wat* ‘I have something’). The same is true for *wek(en)* ‘which’.

- (27) a. *Ik wil nuu ais wat säga*
I want now once something say
‘I would like to tell something’
b. *Dun häw ik wek darfon schoota un mijn sroud is alwoura.*
then have I which of them shot and my lead had run.out.
‘Then I shot some of then and finished all my bullets’

Wek means ‘some’ when it is uninflected: *wek* ‘some’, *wek lüür* ‘some people’, *wek-måls* ‘sometimes’, *up wek stela* ‘in some places’. It means ‘which’ whenever it is inflected: *weken fruug* ‘which woman?’, *weken farw* ‘which color?’. Indefinite *wek* can be in the sentence-initial position, but indefinite *wat* ‘something’ and *wou(hen)* ‘somewhere’ cannot.

- (28) a. *Wek häwa anhula am leiren.* wek, existential
‘some have stopped learning’
b. *Wat hät juuch kwäält* wat, interrogative/*existential
‘what bothered you?’
c. *Wou büin ik hen gää* wou, interrogative/*existential
where have I PRT gone?
‘where have I gone?’
d. *Ik büin wou hen gää wou schata wäir* wou, existential
I am where PRT go, where shadow was
‘I went to a place with shadow’
e. *Då wair aine keirl ana doir.*
there was a.ACC man at the door
‘there was a man at the door’
f. **Då wäir wee ana doir* who, *existential
there was someboy at.the door
g. *Wee wäir ana doir* who, interrogative
who was at.the door?

In situ *wat* is the standard way to express ‘something’, even in PP contexts, e.g. *tau wat* ‘to something’ *sou wat* ‘such a thing’ (cf. Frisian *soksawat* ‘such a thing’). It has a reinforced variant: *irgendswat* ‘anything/whatever’. The interrogative pronoun *wou* ‘where?’ and *wou hen* ‘where to’ can also have an indefinite reading ‘somewhere’.

- (29) a. *Hai mud sicher wouhen gää, weegen hai hät sündägstüüg an*
‘he must for sure be going somewhere, as he wears his Sunday best’.

- b. ..., *wen man wou hen rijra wul*
 ..., if one somewhere PRT drive wanted
 ‘... if one wanted to drive somewhere’

Interrogative pronouns are used as relative pronouns: *wat* ‘who, what/that’, *wou* ‘where/how’, the R-pronouns *wou-up*, *wou-in*, the pass-partout relative particle *wou*, etc. The (free) relative pronoun to *wounair* ‘when’ is *wen* ‘when/if’. Pomeranian has lost all d-relative pronouns, even in: *Nuu, wou dai schaul uut is, koine jij werer speela* ‘now that the school has finished, you-guys can play again’.

3.2 The NP domain

3.2.1 Number

Nouns have two forms: a singular and a plural form.¹⁵ The plural formation process can be: suffixation, vowel mutation, vowel lengthening, truncation, zero-derivation, suppletion. Some instances are given under (30).

(30) Plural formation

1. suffixation (-a/-er/-n/-s/-ns):
dail – daila ‘thing(s)’, *plant – planta* ‘plant(s)’,
huun – huiner ‘chicken(s)’
ossa – ossen ‘ox/oxen’, *lopa – lopen* ‘heap’
bambu – bambus ‘bamboo(s)’, *määke – määkes* girl(s), *fruug – fruuges*
‘woman’.
oowa/oowens ‘oven’
2. root vowel mutation:
mutation: *boum – böim* ‘tree(s)’, *foss – föss* ‘fox(es)’, *nägel – noigel* ‘nail(s)’
apophony: *swans – swins* ‘tail’, also *swäns*.
3. lengthening:
dag [dax] – *dåg* [dɔ:x] ‘day(s)’.
4. truncation + compensatory lengthening ± umlaut:
fründ [frynt] – *früün* [fry:n] ‘friend’, *kind – kiner* ‘child’, *hund – huun*
‘dog’,
peird-peira ‘horse(s)’.
hand – häin ‘hand(s)’

15. BP does not show any trace of dative inflection on the noun, which had been present in EP: *dai hund – dem hun* ‘the dog.NOM/DAT’ (Mahnke 1931: 40), *dat feld – dem fel* ‘the field.NOM/DAT’, with *fel* < *felde with intervocalic cluster reduction before a catalectic schwa. Or *dai fuit – de fuite* ‘the feet.NOM/DAT’, with *fuite* < *fuiten with catalectic -n (Wiesinger 1983: 890). Compare also W38 en W40 for *lүүr* and *feld* in Section 8.3.

5. no difference:
schau – *schau* ‘shoe(s)’, *schâp* – *schâp* ‘sheep’, *knai* – *knai* ‘knee(s)’
 and words in *-el*: *tâfel* – *tâfel/tâfels* ‘table(s)’, *taigel* – *taigel/taigels* ‘tile(s)’.
6. suppletion:
(stäärer)meisch – *(stäärer)lüür* ‘(city) person(s)’

The default plural marker is the suffix *-a*. It applies to all genders. However, most nouns belong to a specific class with a specific plural marking.

Cases with truncation are wide-spread. It typically occurs with nouns that have codas with consonantal clusters. This might be a consequence of a *synchronic* phonological rule of post-stress cluster reducing /-nd-/ → /-n-/ and /-rd-/ → /-r-/ intervocalically (+ subsequent schwa deletion), as *andra* – *aner* ‘other’ and *gesund* – *gesuuner* ‘healthy(er)’ might suggest, but this rule is not absolute: *end* – *enda* ‘duck(s)’, *konfirmandaschaul* ‘Sunday school’. Diachronically, such a rule has certainly applied, in full parallelism to Frisian: Fri *fine* Pom. *fijna* < **finden* ‘find’, Fr *bine*, Pom. *bijna* < **binden* ‘bind’. While this development has not caused paradigmatic alternations in the verbal domain: *ik fijnl*/**fjnd*[t] – *wij fijna*,¹⁶ it does cause alternations in nouns and adjectives: *bijld*[t] – *bijla* ‘photo(s)’, *wjld* – *wijla* ‘wild’. The plural *fruuges* from *fruug* might be taken as evidence for -e catalexis: *fruug(e)*_o. The plural *oowens* from *oowa* might be taken as an argument for -n catalexis: /oowe(n)_o/, which shows up overtly upon further suffixation.

3.2.2 Noun classes

Nouns can be divided in six morphological classes, according to their plural and their forms in compounds. No plural directly correlates to a specific gender, but there are patterns. Plural forms can be equal to singular forms, e.g. *schau* ‘shoe(s)’.

(31) Nominal classes according to their plural morpheme and gender

1. *-a* [ɐ/ə] This is the general plural marker which does not correlate to gender.
 NEUTER: *dail* – *daila* ‘thing(s)’,
 FEM: *plant* – *planta* ‘plant(s)’,
 MASC: *slang* – *slanga* ‘snake(s)’.
2. only umlaut: non NEUTER.
 boum – *böim* ‘tree’, *but* – *büt* ‘bundle, packet’ (m)
 muus – *müüs* ‘mouse/mice’ (f)
- 3a. suffix + umlaut if possible: NEUTER.
 huus – *hüüser*, *huun* – *huiner*, *kind* – *kiner* ‘child’, *eig* – *eiger* ‘egg’,
 nest – *nester* ‘nest’

16. Imperative *fijn!*/**fjnd!*

3b. only *-er*: NEUTER.

folk – folker ‘people(s)’

4. lengthening (+coloring) : MASCULINE.

dag – dâg ‘day’, *fründ – früün*

5. *-n* : NEUTERS and MASC.

swijr – swijn ‘pig(s)’, *farka – farken* ‘sucking pig(s)’, *bula – bulen* ‘ox’,
felsa – felsen ‘rock’

6. *-s/-es* This plural marker is used for loan words, but also for heritage words.
It is an Ingvaenonic feature.

fruug – fruuges ‘woman’, *keerl – keerls* ‘man’, *jong* [ŋ] – *jonges* ‘son’,
bruud – bruuds, ‘bride’, *braiw – braiws* ‘letter’.

7. *-es* Rare ending. Only three cases found.

MASC *jong* [ŋ] – *jonges* ‘son’

FEM *fruug – fruuges* ‘woman’, *bank – bankes* ‘bank’

8. Subtractive morphology – mostly masculine.

MASC *fründ – früün* ‘friend’, *band – bän* ‘band’, *hund – huun* ‘dog’

FEM *hand – hän* ‘hand’

NEUT –

One noun has a separate oblique SG form, which is identical to the plural. *dag* (SG) – *dâg* (plural and oblique): *aina halwa dag* ‘a half day’, *teigen dâg* ‘ten days’ but also: *bij dâg* ‘at daytime’, *hüütsendâgs* ‘at present’, *sündâgs* ‘on sunday’, etc. but: *namirdags* ‘in the afternoon’.

There are one or two nouns with an irregular plural (32ab). Other seemingly irregular nouns, e.g. (32cd), are regular under the assumption of synchronic vowel mutation, intervocalic rhotacism + catalectic schwa.

- (32) a. *kau* – *köich* [køⁱç] ‘cow(s)’
b. *guis*[juⁱs] – *gees* [jɛ:s] but also regular *guis-guisa* ‘goose/geese’
c. *faut* – *fruit* ‘foot/feet’
d. *haud* – *huir* ‘hat(s)’

The nouns *lüür* ‘people’, *jonges* ‘boys’ are pluralia tanta.¹⁷ It takes a verb in the plural. *Jonges* is also the plural of *jong(a)* ‘son’: *mij jong(a)* ‘my son’. The noun *wai-dog* ‘pain(s)’¹⁸ behaves like a feminine singular: *Dai waidog* is *forgâa* ‘the pain has

17. Grimm’s dictionary takes High German *Wehtagen* and its Low German source *waidâg* as < *wai* + *dâg* ‘pain+days’. However, it is more likely to see in *waidâg* a deverbal noun to *wai-daua* ‘do pain’, with glide velarization. If so, the (rare) High German calque *Wehtagen* is a result of laic etymology.

18. Tressmann’s orthography has *waidâg*. However, its vowel is short [ɔ], being not related to *dag* ‘day’ but to *daua* ‘do’.

gone'. *Hai hāt groud waidog ina bain* 'he has great pain in his legs', but plural cases do occur as well: *dai waidog häwa nâlâta* 'the pain has gone'.

There are no weak nouns in Pomeranian. Originally weak nouns, like *bula* 'bull' and *ossa* 'ox', are regular masculine nouns in *-a* and take an *-n* plural.

In European Pomeranian, a class of nouns had a separate dative form, e.g. *fild* 'field', *fil* 'field.DAT', *fila* 'fields'. This subtractive dative morphology (Birkenes 2014) can be explained by adding a catalectic singular dative schwa: *fil* underlying *fild(e)*_o, with intervocalic cluster reduction. I only found one instance of these dative forms in Brazilian Pomeranian in my corpus: *sljipstair* [sli:pstaia] once realizes as *upm sljipstain* '(on the) whetstone'. This seems to be an error (*upa sljipstain* is plural unless we interpret it to be an old dative < **staine*). Another possible candidate of an underlying nominal dative form is *huus* which shows a length opposition between the dative context *im huus* / *tuus* (~300 ms) and the accusative context *nâ huus* (~180 ms). There are uncertainties though.¹⁹ Although no decisive case is present in my corpus, it might also be present in plural forms as there is alternating pronunciation of final *-r* in *filer* 'fields': [filer] / [filɐ]. This might be analyzed as *file(r)*_o in the structural cases and *filer(n)*_o in plural dative case, as in German. More research is needed.

3.2.3 Diminutives

Low German in Europe includes a wide area that lacks diminutives, e.g. Sleswig-Holstein and the Oldenburger Platt, as well as Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Wenker 1874). Hinter-Pommern was not part of that diminutive-less area. Although there were European Pomeranian villages that lacked a diminutive, the majority was rich in diminutives (e.g. Schlawe, Mahnke 1931). Brazilian Pomeranian, however, lacks this morphological category altogether, apart from some lexicalized cases, such as *määke* (n). 'girl', *kinka* 'small child, baby',²⁰ *biss/bits/beets/bitske* (f) 'little bit', *knöipka* 'bachelor button (a plant: gomphrena globosa)', and *lifke/lüfk* 'bra' and perhaps *buurka* 'bird cage'²¹ and *haimka* 'cricket'. The latter might be a loan translation from High German. The absence of diminutives is a robust feature: Pomeranian has even induced a similar loss in the Dutch-Flemish

19. The data are in the appendix under 'casa', 'em casa' and 'vamos pra casa'. Alternatively, the length opposition is due to the length of the utterance, words in isolation and a full utterance.

20. For instance in the lullaby *Slâp, kinka, slâp* 'sleep, my child, sleep' (Tressmann 2006b). However, this song is not traditional in Brazilian Pomeranian but a recent re-introduction.

21. Possibly from Slavic origin, cf. Lower Sorbian *budka* from *buda* 'kennel, dog house' + *-ka* (diminutive).

neighboring dialects in Espírito Santo (e.g. in Garrafão and Alto Jatiboca). This development goes against the abundant presence of diminutives in the superstrate language Portuguese and the source language Dutch/Flemish. A structural cause is probable. The trigger might reside in the functional status of the adjective *klai(n)* ‘little’ in Pomeranian, which participates in the richer D inflection rather than the adjectival inflection (cf. Section 3.3.4).

3.3 The AP domain

3.3.1 Predicative and attributive inflection

Predicative adjectives have the bare form as the contrast in (25ab) shows.

- (33) a. Ik saig de **bruna** boum
I saw the brown tree
b. Dai boum is **brun**
the tree is brown

Prenominal adjectives agree with the noun, in function of gender, number, case, and definiteness. For some adjectives there is a specific predicative d-form, (pronounced as [d̥/t] under final devoicing), e.g. predicative *uld* [ult] versus attributive *ul(a)* [ul(ɐ)] ‘old’.

- (34) a. Dat **ul** huus attributive, NEUT SG
the old house
b. dai **ula** hūsa attributive, PL
the old houses
c. Wen sai airsta **uld** sin,...
when they first old are predicative
‘when they are old, ...’

Similarly, *wijld* [vi:lt] versus attributive *wijl(a)* [vi:l(ɐ)] ‘wild’, *roud* [roʊt] – *rou(a)* ‘red’. The attributive forms find their origin in a phonological process of cluster reduction, cf. Section 2.3.2.3. It is unclear if this process is still synchronically operative or morphologized.

The comparative grade (*rouer* ‘redder’, *küler* ‘colder’, etc.) is based on the attributive form, even when they are used in predicative position. This might be taken as an argument against the idea of a predicative case in Pomeranian, and in favor of phonological derivation through intervocalic rhotacism and cluster reduction (cf. Sections 2.3.2.2–2.3.2.3).

(35)	attributive forms		predicative form	gloss	comparative
a.	<i>rour</i>	<i>roura</i>	<i>roud</i> [t]	'red'	<i>rourer</i>
b.	<i>gaur</i>	<i>gaura</i>	<i>gaud</i> [t]	'good'	(<i>beeter</i>)
c.	<i>blour</i>	<i>bloura</i>	<i>bloud</i> [t]	'naked'	–
d.	<i>brair</i>	<i>braira</i>	<i>braid</i> [t]	'broad'	<i>brairer</i>
e.	<i>sijr</i>	<i>sijra</i>	<i>sijd</i>	'low'	<i>sijrer</i>
f.	<i>wijl</i>	<i>wijla</i>	<i>wijld</i> [t]	'wild'	<i>wijler</i>
g.	<i>ul</i>	<i>ula</i>	<i>uld</i> [t]	'old'	<i>üler</i>
h.	<i>kul</i>	<i>kula</i>	<i>kuld</i> [t]	'cold'	<i>küler</i> ²²
i.	<i>haar</i>	<i>haara</i>	<i>hard</i> [t]	'hard'	<i>haarer</i>
j.	<i>jung</i> [ŋ]	<i>junga</i>	<i>jung</i> [ŋk]	'young'	<i>jünger</i>
k.	<i>früüsch</i>	<i>früüscha</i>	<i>früü</i>	'early'	<i>früüer</i>
l.	(<i>dourig</i>)	(<i>douriga</i>)	<i>doud</i> [t]	'dead'	–
m.	<i>gesuun</i>	<i>gesuuna</i>	<i>gesund</i> [t]	'healthy'	<i>gesuuner</i>
n.	<i>afgesoogen</i>	<i>afgesoogena</i>	<i>afgesoogend</i> [t]	'weaned'	–
o.	<i>bloud</i> ²³	<i>bloura</i>	<i>bloud</i> [t]	'bare/naked'	–

The adjective *doud* 'dead' is defective (**dour*/**doura*) in the attributive forms as well as the comparative. In attributive position, it is suppleted by the derived adjective *dourig(a)* 'dead'. *Doura* only exists as the nominalized form 'dead person'. Incidentally, adjectives do not have a predicative form because of semantic reasons, e.g. *früüsch* 'early, ancient': *dai früüscha lüür* 'the early Pomeranians', but: *du bist früü* 'you are early'.

There is no predicative agreement in adjectives, but there is predicative agreement in nominalizations:

- (36) *sai is dai swäkst* FEM
hai is dai swäksta MASC

There is no morphological difference between adjectives and adverbs. Pomeranian lacks an adverbial morpheme comparable to English *-ly*, just as Dutch, Frisian, and German do.

3.3.2 Definite contexts

In definite contexts, i.e. after definite determiners *dai* 'the', *jeira* 'every', etc. the adjectival ending is *-a*, apart from nominative singulars and feminine and neuter accusative singulars, where the adjective is zero. The scheme is given in (37).

22. The related adjective *kuil* [ku^h] (German *kühl*) 'cool' is regular: *kuil/kuiler/kuilst*.

23. For the underlying /d/ < WGmc. **blod* cf., Philippa et al. (2003) s.v. *bloot*.

(37)	Pomeranian					←	Standard German				
	<u>A</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>PL</u>		<u>A</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>PL</u>
	NOM	–	–	–	a		NOM	e	e	e	en
	DAT	a	a	a	a		DAT	en	en	en	en
	ACC	a	–	–	a		ACC	en	e	e	en

Notice that the Pomeranian scheme is, once again, produced by applying the phonological changes in (22) on the inflectional scheme of Standard German. Instances found in the corpus are in (38).

(38)	a.	NOM	<i>dai sijbend stok</i>		MASC
			‘the seventh floor’		–
		DAT	<i>in dem grouda dop</i>		
			‘in the big hedgehog’		a
	ACC		<i>Duu kast de fainsta boum neema</i>		
			‘You can take the best tree’		a
	b.	NOM	<i>dai ul kirch</i>		FEM
			‘the old church’		–
		DAT	<i>ina wijra wild</i>		
			‘in the wide world’		a
	ACC		<i>dai sward kat</i>		
			‘the black cat’		–
	c.	NOM	<i>dat groud rad, dat düürst hold</i>		NEUT
			‘the big wheel’ the ‘most expensive wood’		–
		DAT	<i>mit dem neemliga tüüg</i>		
			‘with the same cloths’		a
	ACC		<i>dat gans huus</i>		
			‘the entire house’		–
	d.	NOM	<i>dai klaina eenda</i>		PL
			‘the small ducks’		a
		DAT	<i>mita bloura ougen</i>		
			‘with the naked eyes’		a
	ACC		<i>air alaina däir dai gansa kiner ni twinga</i>		
			‘one alone could not rule all the children’		a

In some fixed prepositional contexts, the article *dai* may cliticize and reduces to *‘d* and creates a pseudo neuter context: *in’d schaul* [int faʊl] instead of *ina schaul* ‘in school’.²⁴ I don’t know if this should be analyzed as a phonological effect of contraction or as a morphological process.

3.3.3 Indefinite and possessive contexts

In indefinite (*k*)*ain* and possessive contexts, the so-called “*ein*-group” of German, the adjectival inflections are *-a* and zero according to the following inflectional scheme.

(39)	Pomeranian				~	High German				
	<i>Adj</i>	M	F	N	PL	<i>Adj</i>	M	F	N	PL
	NOM	–	–	–	a	NOM	er	e	es	en
	DAT	a	a	–	a	DAT	en	en	en	en
	ACC	a	–	–	a	ACC	en	e	es	en

The Pomeranian and the High German schemes are, once again, related through catalexis, but there are two differences that make them underlyingly different. In the first place, the Pomeranian indefinite scheme lacks the strong *-es/-er* inflectional endings on the adjective, as given in the gray cells. The absence of these strong endings in Pomeranian has already been discussed in Section 1.1.2. It is a North Sea Germanic feature. The second property that makes Pomeranian underlyingly different from German is the absence of adjectival inflection in neuters: the bare dative form cannot be explained by catalexis. Catalexis of the German endings would predict *ainem grouda rad* ‘a big wheel’ instead of the observed *ainem groud rad*. The systematic zeroness in indefinite neuters is a typical property of Frisian and Dutch dialects, e.g. *met lekkere drank* (*m*) / *melk*(*f*) / *bonen* versus *met lekker-ø bier* (*n*) ‘with tasty drink / milk / beans / beer’. This might be due to a structural parallel between Frisian, Dutch and Pomeranian or else to a historical connection.

Occasionally, an inflection shows up different from what one would expect on the basis of (39). This can be due to variation in Case selection, as in *Dat müst kookt waara in ain groud schötel* ‘it must be cooked in a big pan’, which shows an accusative instead of an expected dative. Furthermore, there is variation in the morphology itself, e.g. in the plural paradigm: *mit jung bläärer* ‘with green leaves’,

24. This might be the same effect as Dutch *van ‘t winter* and *van ‘t zomer* instead of the expected *van de winter/van de zomer* ‘this winter/this summer’. It seems to be pro-cliticization in Dutch: [van tso⁰mər].

instead of the expected *mit junga bläärer*. It is not clear what triggers this variation. Perhaps it concerns incorporated adjectives (cf. Section 3.3.6 and 4.3.4). It is also possible that there is difference in phonology, i.e. final devoiced [ŋ] or not: [jun] = /jung(a)_o/ while [jun̥k] = /jung.PRED/. We leave it for further research. Below we give a table with typical examples.

(40)	Case	Example	Gender	Affix
a.	NOM	hai wäir air seir gaur praister	MASC	–
	DAT	in ainem grouda telg		a
	ACC	Wen dai aikkata kaina hola boum fijna daua,		a
b.	NOM	ain swår tijd / ain groud partai / kain råt	FEM	–
	DAT	Nå aina korda tijd		a
	ACC	ain rour schal / ain nijg kirch		–
c.	NOM	air fuul huld / air gaur huld	NEUT	–
	DAT	ainem groud rad		–
	ACC	air gruïn hemd		–
d.	NOM	dat sin uk seir nijgliga tijra	PLURAL	a
	DAT	mit klaina fijna bambus		a
	ACC	gruina banana/gaura ossen		a

A class of adjectives has separate predicative forms, for instance the predicative form to *gaur(a)* ‘good’ is *gaud*[t], the predicative form of *blour(a)* ‘bare, naked’ is *bloud*[t], the predicative of *ul(a)* ‘old’ is *uld*[t], *wijl(a)* – *wijld*[t], *kul(a)* ‘cold’ – *kuld*[t], etc. This typically happens with etymological /d/. Historically, this is a consequence of intervocalic d-lenition or {nd/ld/rd} cluster reduction, and final devoicing of /d/ to [t].²⁵ It is not obvious what the synchronic analysis should be: and underlying /d/ plus schwa apocope in *gaur* < *gaude* and final devoicing in *gaud*, or a predicative morpheme -t in some adjectives.

25. This also happens in some Flemish dialects (Taeldeman 1980).

- (i) zij is kwaa[t] (=kwaad)
 she is agry
 een kwaa[i] wuf (=kwaad(e)_o)
 an angry woman

Taeldeman assumes that this non-realized schwa is synchronically deleted by a morphophonological apocope rule. It occurs in virtually the same adjectives as in Pomeranian: good, old, cold, wild, etc.

- (41) a. Dat is gaud[t]/*gaur taum hūüser buugen
 it is good for-to houses build.INF2
 'it is good for building houses (with)'
 b. Wen sai söss mounata uld[t]/*ul sin,..
 when they six months old are
 'when they are six month old'

Predicative adjectives have the zero inflection, never the subtractive one. The adjective *klain* 'small' is an exception to this rule. *Klain* will be discussed in the next section.

For the sake of completeness, we also give the predicative form of *ain*: *air*, illustrated in (42).

- (42) *Ik wäir dār al air fon.*
 I was there already one of
 'I was one of them already'

The adjective *klain* 'small' optionally participates in the indefinite *ain/kain* inflection instead of in the adjectival inflection, treated below. It should then be analyzed as a functional morpheme.

3.3.4 The case of *klain* 'small'

The adjective *klain* 'small' is exceptional in not only allowing for the two adjectival schemes under (37) and (39), but also the D inflectional scheme of *mijn/dijn/sijn* 'my/thy/his' and *ain/kain* 'a(n)/no' in (8) and (20), respectively. In other words, *klain* can also participate in the three-way inflectional system of -a [ɐ/ə], – (no ending), and ✂ (the subtractive morphology, deleting the final root consonant [n]). In this use, we take it to mean 'little', rather than 'small'. This diminutive paradigm is given under (43).²⁶

26. Other adjectives in -n, like *fijn/fain* 'fine/good/mashed' and *regen* 'pure', *gruin* 'green', *bruun* 'brown' do not participate in the three-way inflection, since subtractive forms are missing: **fjir*/**gruir*/**bruur*.

- (i) Dar kast duu eiger, (...), fisch, **fijn** flaisch, (...) un ales wat dij gaud smekt,
 There can you eggs, (...), fish, fine meat.neuter, (...) and all that to-you good tastes,
 mang māka.
 through put
 (ii) Geeltioub is air seir **fain** eeten.
 Yellow tioba is a very good food.neuter
 (iii) Jeirer kreig air **gruin** hemd.
 Everyone got a green shirt

(43)	<i>klai(n)</i>	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLU
	NOM	☞	–	☞	–
	DAT	a	a	a	a
	ACC	a	–	☞	–

The extra subtractive morphology in the structural cases, i.e. (NOM, MASC) and (NOM/ACC, NEUT) has a diachronic phonological origin of *n*-apocope, cf. Section 2.3.1.2, but has grammatical status in the synchronic grammar. *Klain* should be characterized as a free diminutive morpheme, e.g. the nominative neuter singular *air klair keirl* in (44a), is to be compared with German *Männchen* and can often be translated by English *little* rather than *small*: ‘a little man’. Tressmann’s dictionary recognizes this when under the lemma *klairkind* ‘criancinha’, when he writes [*Dim. de kind*]. The other cases with subtractive morphology *klair* are given under (44bc). If ‘small’ is used in focus, i.e. where German would not use the diminutive but *klein*, it inflects like a true adjective, cf. (44d).²⁷ True diminutive uninflected forms in the plural are given under (44ef), which are parallel to the bare DP-plurals *mijn/dijn/sijn* of (8), rather than on a par with adjectives in (37) and (39). Contrary to what one might perhaps expect, the truncated form is possible with proper names, cf. (44g).

(44)	Case	Example	Gender	Affix
a.	NOM	Dai klair apel / dai klair keirl ‘the little apple’ / ‘the little man’	MASC	☞
b.	NOM	Den waard air stok nooma un air klair stük bred Then AUX.PASS a stick taken and a little piece.N (of) wood (lit. shelf)	NEUT	☞
c.	ACC	Uut forrüktheid häwe’s ainem jeirer air klair huldgeweer sou måkt Out.of silliness have-they to one each a little gun so made ‘Crazily, everyone made himself a little gun’	NEUT	☞
d.	ACC	Dai blaumasuugers daua sich air klain nest måka The humming birds do themselves a small nest make.INF1 ‘The humming birds make themselves a small nest’	NEUT	–

27. We must reckon with the possibility, though, that the coda -n in *klain* is a misinterpretation of the n- onset in *nest*.

e.	ACC	un anerd tijra häwa klain hüüser and other animals have small houses	PL	–
f.	ACC	Dai दौरा lait twai klain kiner ‘The deceased left behind two little children’	PL	–
g.	NOM	dai klair Arthur Schneider ‘the little Arthur Schneider’	MASC	⊗

Against such an analysis as a DP inflection might plea the occurrence of *klair* in predicative position, as under (45a). However, it must be noticed that *ain* and *kain* may show subtractive forms in the predicate as well: *klair* (45a) is parallel to (*k*)*air* in (42). The adjectival form is possible in predicative position as well (45b–e).

- (45) a. Ik bün klair ⊗ (UmL:110)
I am small
b. Wen man klain is, ... ∅ (UmL:48)
‘when one small is, ...’
c. Wek blijwa klain. ∅ (UmL:10)
‘some remain small’
d. As wij klain wäira, ... ∅ (UmL: 13, 14)
‘when we small were, ...’
e. Wen dai farken klain sin,.. ∅ (UmL:36)
‘when the pigs small are, ...’

The functional nature of *klain* puts the absence of a specific diminutive morpheme in Brazilian Pomeranian in a different perspective. *Klain* is deviant in another respect. Etymologically, *klain* derives from PGmc **klainja*- (Philippa et al. 2008), i.e. it corresponds to MLG *ê³* (cf. Wortmann 1960 and section 1.1.3). Hence, under regular sound change, Pomeranian /klain/ would have been [kleⁱn], parallel to [kleⁱd] < **klaidja*-, not [klaⁱn], as it does in Brazil. In fact, the adjective jumped to the *ê^{2b}*-class, and is now parallel to *ain* and *kain* as to its vowel setting. Though the *ê³* vowel may join the *ê^{2b}*-class in some European Pomeranian dialects, e.g. Wiesinger’s d-dialects (Wiesinger 1983:886ff), this does not occur in BP: no cases of ***klaid*, ***sais*, etc. are heard in Brazilian Pomeranian, being true offspring of a Wiesinger’s c-dialect (cf. Wiesinger map 47.15). The functional nature of *klain* makes this shift to *ain* and *kain* understandable.

3.3.5 Grades of comparison

Degrees of comparison is suffixal *-er[v]/-st*, sometimes with vowel mutation (46d–j). In adjectives with a distinct predicative and attributive form, the comparative and superlative grades are based on the attributive form.

- | | | | |
|---------|------------------------|---|-----------|
| (46) a. | <i>waik</i> | <i>waiker</i> [k/g] – <i>waikst</i> | ‘soft’ |
| b. | <i>gesund</i> [jɪzunt] | <i>gesuuner</i> – <i>gesuunst</i> | ‘healthy’ |
| c. | <i>bruun</i> | <i>bruuner</i> – <i>bruunst</i> | ‘brown’ |
| d. | <i>jung</i> [ŋk] | <i>jünger</i> [ŋ] – <i>jüngst</i> | ‘young’ |
| e. | <i>uld</i> [t] | <i>üler</i> – <i>ülst</i> | ‘old’ |
| f. | <i>lang</i> [ŋk] | <i>länger</i> [ŋ] – <i>längst</i> [ŋ] | ‘long’ |
| g. | <i>houg</i> [x] | <i>höiger</i> [ç/j/i] – <i>höigst</i> [ç] | ‘high’ |
| h. | <i>swak</i> | <i>swäker</i> – <i>swäkst</i> | ‘weak’ |
| i. | <i>grow</i> [f] | <i>gröwer</i> – <i>gröwst</i> | ‘course’ |
| j. | <i>kort</i> | <i>körder</i> – <i>kördst</i> | ‘short’ |
| k. | <i>klauk</i> | <i>kluiker</i> – <i>kluikst</i> | ‘smart’ |

Allomorphic and suppletive adjectives and adverbs are:

- | | | | |
|---------|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| (47) a. | <i>groud</i> [t] | <i>gröiter</i> / <i>gröter</i> / <i>gruiter</i> ²⁸ – <i>grödst</i> | ‘big’ |
| b. | <i>klain</i> | <i>kläner</i> – <i>klänst</i> | ‘small’ |
| c. | <i>gaud</i> [t] | <i>beeter</i> – <i>best</i> | ‘good’ |
| d. | <i>bald</i> [bal] (adverb) | <i>airer</i> – <i>airst</i> | ‘soon’ |
| e. | <i>feel</i> | <i>mei(ge)r</i> – <i>meist</i> | ‘much, many’ |
| f. | <i>geirn</i> [je:n] (adverb) | <i>laiwer</i> – <i>laiwst</i> | ‘with pleasure’ |
| g. | <i>spår</i> | <i>spårer</i> – <i>alerspårst</i> / <i>letst</i> | ‘late, not early’ |

Spår is one end of the scale ‘early’ – ‘late’. The form *letst* is an inherent superlative without positive grade, and is one end on the scale ‘first’ – ‘last’.

- | | | |
|---------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (48) a. | <i>dai letst fruug</i> | ‘the woman that is last in a row’ |
| b. | <i>am letste boum</i> | ‘at the tree that is last in a row’ |

Notice the opposition:

- | | | |
|---------|---|-------------------------|
| (49) a. | <i>fijn</i> – <i>fijner</i> – <i>fijnst</i> | ‘fine, i.e. not course’ |
| b. | <i>fain</i> – <i>fainer</i> – <i>fainst</i> | ‘fine, good’ |

Fijn means ‘fine/small’ (of mashing) while *fain* is ‘fine/good’ (of taste and smell).

Seemingly allomorphic is *swår* – *swöner* ‘heavy – heavier’. What happens here is that a final consonant in *swå(r)* (German *schwer*, Dutch *zwaar*, Frisian *swier*) is reanalyzed as a catalectic final *n*, *swå(n)*_ø, which gives rise to *swöner* (with umlaut). Speakers with *swår*-*swöner*, therefore, have underlying *swå(n)*-*swöner*, which is regular.

Analytic forms of the comparative also occur, as in (50).

28. This form is an umlauted form of **graud*, which I did not encounter.

- (50) *Åwer wen dai eir meir hard is, ...*
 but when the earth more hard is, ...
 ‘but when the soil is harder, ...’

This might be an accommodation to Portuguese analytic forms like *mais duro* ‘harder’. The synthetic form is sometimes combined with the analytic form:

- (51) *wen dai farken meir gröter sin, ...*
 when the pigs more bigger are, ...
 ‘when the pigs are bigger’

This also happens in substandard Portuguese.

The degree comparison comparable to English *the + comp*, *the + comp* is made in a similar way with *ji ... ji*. The adjectives are not inflected in this construction.

- (52) a. *Ji beeter land, ji beeter is dai geruch un farw.*
 the better land, the better is the smell and color
 ‘the better the land is, the better is the smell and color (of the wood)’
 b. *Ji üler, ji düler*
 the older, the madder

One trace of the genitive form [ɐs] of the adjective is found.

- (53) a. *wat groudēs*
 what great.GEN
 ‘something big’
 b. *seir wat gaures*
 very what good.GEN
 ‘really something good’
 c. *wat nijges*
 what new.GEN
 ‘something new’
 d. *wat suldiges*
 ‘something savoury’

Pomeranian is here completely parallel to Dutch and Frisian, but it uses a connecting vowel [ɐ/ə] rather than attaching the genitive -s directly to the root as Dutch/Frisian (*wat goeds* [watxuts] / [wɔdgu³ɔs] do. This is an exception to the general pattern not to use *Bindvokale*, binding vowels, cf. Section 2.8. Notice that the genitive -es attaches to the attributive form *gaur*. This might be an extra indication that the opposition *gaud/gaur* does not realize the dimension of predicative/attributive, but a phonological dimension of intervocalic rhotacism and catalexis.

Just for reference, we list here the other comparative constructions: (*grår*) *so groud* ‘as as big as’ and *tau spår* ‘too late’. Notice that Pomeranian participates in the

as yet unexplained West-Germanic identity of the preposition ‘to’ and the comparative marker ‘too’. Similar identities are found in Frisian, Dutch, and German.

3.3.6 Adjective incorporation

Adjectives may incorporate in the noun. This can happen morphologically through compounding resulting in a new lexical item, e.g. *wijldswijr* ‘wild pig’, but it is also operational in the syntax, i.e. through syntactic incorporation, when no lexical specialisation occurs, e.g. *groudswijr* lit. ‘big.pig’ is not a type of pig, but simply a big pig, as a translation of Port. *porcão*. See further Section 4.3.4.

3.3.7 Material adjectives

Material adjectives are declinable in Pomeranian. However, they obligatorily incorporate into the noun when they are without inflection, being the modifier that is closest to the noun (Cinque 2015), and Pomeranian has adjective incorporation (cf. previous section and 4.3.4): *ijserhåmer* ‘iron hammer’, *huldhåmer* ‘wooden hammer’. Upon incorporation, they carry stress of the first member. There is no difference in stress with lexicalized nominal compounds such as *ijserheird* ‘specific iron stove’, or *huldbair* ‘wooden leg’. This means that *huldsruuw* is ambiguous between ‘wooden skrew’ and ‘woodskrew’, *huldkar* can both mean ‘wooden chariot’ and ‘chariot to transport wood’. *Dat is ain huldkar*/**dat is ain huld kar*. Furthermore: *Ik haw ain *huldenkar* / *hulden kar* (double stress). *Ik hāw twai huldna kara* (double stress). *Ik hāw air hulduus* (single stress) versus *hai hāt twai huldne hūüsa* (double stress).

3.3.8 Adjective + Bodypart + ED

A productive strategy of adjective formation is a pseudo-participle formation with body parts: *dikbukt*, lit. thick.belly.ed ‘with a big belly’, which is an alternative formation to *dikbukig* with the same meaning, *braidmuuld*, lit. broad.mouth.ed ‘with a big mouth/gossip’, *langhård* long.hair.ed ‘with long hair’. This strategy might be favoured by the Portuguese augmentative *-udo* suffix (cf. *barrigudo* ‘with a big belly’, *cabeludo* ‘with long hair’). However, it can be used with non augmentative adjectives as well: *kalkopt*, lit. bold.headed ‘bold’, *witbukt* ‘with a white belly’ (said of some animals/birds). Notice that these pseudo-participles lack a GE-prefix, cf. the next section.

3.3.9 The GE-prefix

The participial ge-prefix is absent when a participle is used verbally, but is present when it is used adjectivally: *dai gekookt banan* ‘the fried banana’, *afgesoogen kalw* ‘weaned calf’. The ge-prefix is not used with pseudo participles discussed in Section 3.3.8: *braidmuuld* / **braidgemuuld* ‘with a big mouth’.

3.3.10 The participial -en suffix

The -en suffix in participles of strong verbs is absent when it is used verbally: *af-suuga* ‘wean’, *afsooga* ‘weaned’, but it is present when it is used adjectivally: *air afgesoogen kalw* ‘a weaned calf’. In predicative and adjunct position, the participle ending is -end: *dai boum wäir ümgefalend fuuna* ‘the tree was found fallen down’. It is possible, therefore, that the underlying form of the adjectival participle of strong verbs is -end/end(e)_o/ende(n)_o with catalexis and intervocalic cluster reduction. In the absence of predicative e-inflection, the -end suffix shows up.

3.4 Adverbs

There is no adverbial marker in Pomeranian like English -ly or German -e. Deadjectival adverbs are identical to the *predicative* form of the adjective (cf. 3.4). This becomes visible in the irregular adjectives, for instance ‘good’ has a distinct predicative and adverbial form *gaud* ‘good’/‘well’, while the attributive adjectival forms are *gaur/gaura*.

- (54) a. *Dat is gaud*[t] predicative adj.
 ‘That is good’
 b. *Wen dai fal nâheer ni gaud*[t] *reigenwuscha waard*, ... adverb
 when the trap after not well clean.washed is, ...
 ‘If the trap is not well cleaned after, ...’
 c. *Wen air meisch gaura ossen hâwa wil*, ... attributive adj.
 when a person good oxen have want, ...
 ‘if somebody wants to have good oxen, ...’
 d. *Ik hâw ain seir gaur kau* attributive adj.
 I have a.F very good.F cow.F
 ‘I have a very good cow’

The adverb *dun* ‘then’ (Dutch *toen*, Frisian *doe*) has a past feature and combines only with past tenses (55a) or perfect tenses with a past reading (55b). *Dun*

contrasts with *den* ‘then’ (Dutch/Frisian *dan*), which has a successive reading and combines with present and future tenses (55c).

- (55) a. *Dun kaima dai soldâta dêrhen*
 then came the soldiers there.DIR
 ‘Then the soldiers went there’
- b. *Dun sin twai ima ankooma un hâwa em stooka.*
 then are two bees PRT.COME and have him stitched
 ‘Then there arrived two bees and stitched him’
- c. *Mijlcha waard plant un (...) ernt. Un den kan man dar feel*
 corn is planted and harvested. And then can one ther many
daila mit mâka.
 things with make.INF1
 ‘Corn is planted and harvested. And then one can make many things
 with it’

A similar difference is found in embedding complementizers, *âs* (‘when’ past) and *wen* (‘if’ habitual), cf. 4.4.6. In main clauses, Pomeranian behaves on a par with Dutch/Frisian, in embedded clauses it behaves like High German.

3.5 Numerals

3.5.1 Cardinals

Cardinals are not inflected, apart from *ain* ‘one’ which participates in the D-inflection. In isolation they are:

(56) 1. <i>ain(d)</i> [aɪnd̥]	11. <i>âlwen</i>	
2. <i>twai</i>	12. <i>twelw</i>	20. <i>twansig</i> or <i>swansig</i>
3. <i>drai</i>	13. <i>draitseen</i>	30. <i>draisig</i>
4. <i>fair</i>	14. <i>fiertseen</i>	40. <i>firtsig</i>
5. <i>fijw</i> [fi:f]	15. <i>fuwtseen</i> ²⁹	50. <i>fuwsig</i>
6. <i>söss</i> [soəs]	16. <i>sechstseen</i>	60. <i>sechstsig</i>
7. <i>soiwen</i>	17. <i>sijbtseen</i>	70. <i>sijbsig</i>
8. <i>acht</i> [axt]	18. <i>achtseen</i>	80. <i>achtsig</i>

²⁹ Notice the absence of umlaut in *fuwtseen* and *fuwtsig*, in contrast to HG *fünfzehn* and *fünfzig*. It is unclear whether the onset cluster in *-tseen* [tse:n] is taken from HG *-zehn*, or is original, in view of Frisian *tsien* [tsiən].

9. *neegen* [nɛ:ɣən]19. *nuintseen*90. *nuinsig*10. *teigen* [te:jən]100. *huunerd*1000. *duuzend*

I found one instance with *drai* with inflection: *draia*. It seems to be an error.

- (57) *Mijn swijgermutter däär sich glijk sou'n draia kluka seta.*
 My in-law.mother did REFL right-away those tree hens install
 'My mother-in-law took herself three hens right from the start'

The use of cardinals in time indication is *klok* + the numeral. It is optionally inflected for oblique case with the suffix *-a*, just as in Dutch and Frisian. After *halw* 'half', the oblique inflection is absent on the numeral: *halw neegen* / **neegenen*. Here, Pomeranian patterns with Dutch (*half negen* / **negenen*), and contrasts with Frisian *healwei* [hjelwə] **njoggen* / *njoggenen*).

- (58) a. *Edson hät bet klok soiwēn(a) slāpa*
 Edson has till clock seven.(OBL) slept
 'Edson has slept until seven o'clock'
 b. *Fernando kümt klok neegen(a)*
 Fernando comes clock nine.(OBL)
 c. *Dai schaul füngt klok aīnda an*
 the school starts clock one.OBL off
 'The school starts off at one o'clock'
 d. *Dat is halw neegen*
 it is half nine
 'it is half past eight'

The oblique case is obligatory after prepositions:

- (59) a. *Nā teigena kümt hai nā huus.*
 after ten.OBL comes he to house
 'he comes home after ten o'clock'
 b. *Ik koom sou fōir faira*
 I come a bit before four.OBL
 'I will come just before 4 o'clock'

Cardinals higher than 1 are combined with a plural noun, apart from some nouns denoting quantity: *drai jår* or *drai jåra*, *söss stuun* or *söss stuuna* 'six hours', *twai pår* 'two couples'.

- (60) a. *air klair jong (...) fon twelw jår* (Seibel C)
 a small boy of twelve year.SG
 'a small, twelve year old boy'

- b. *twai jår tröichuut* (ES)
two year.sg ago
'two years ago'
- c. *hai is twelw jår uld* (ES)
he is twelve year.sg old
'he is twelve years old'
- d. *Fon hijr bet Santa Marij sin uk söss stuun tau faut* (DP:461)
from here till Santa Maria are also six hour.sg on foot
'It is six hours on foot from here to SM'
- e. *Dat duurd nuu nog oiwer twai stuun* (DP:99)
it lasts now still over two hour.sg
'It still lasts more than two hours'

This can also be done with the word *man* 'man'. It then means 'person' irrespective of the gender: *huunerd man* 'a hundred persons'.

3.5.2 Ordinals

Ordinals are made under suffixation with -d under assimilation to the root consonant.

(61) Adjective	Adverb ³⁰	Fractions
1. <i>airst</i>	1. <i>airst</i>	1. -
2. <i>twaid</i> [twa ⁱ d], also [svait] ³¹	2. <i>twaid</i>	2. <i>hälwt</i>
3. <i>drür</i>	3. <i>drürd</i>	3. <i>drütel</i>
4. <i>firt</i>	–	4. <i>firtel</i>
5. <i>fünwt</i>	–	
6. <i>söst</i>	–	
7. <i>soiwend</i> (also <i>sijbend</i>)	7. <i>sorwd</i> ³²	
8. <i>acht</i>	–	
9. <i>nuind</i>	9. <i>näägd</i>	
10. <i>teigend</i>	–	

30. As used by children in game ranking. The lemma's with – are identical to the adjective. In Dutch this system has generalized the -st morpheme after the ordinal (*tweedst* 'second', *derdst* 'third', etc.).

31. From High German *zweite* [tsvait]. Notice the German [v] instead of the expected Pomeranian [w]. Notice further that it is [sv], not [fv]. This must be due to the underlying cluster onset [(t)sv].

32. This spurious /r/ is probably a postarticulation caused by the short vowel. Cf. Section 2.3.7.

They are inflected like adjectives, cf. Section 3.3. Many ordinals are drawn from High German, cf. the non-Ingvaeonic *-n-* in *fünwt*. As in Portuguese, ordinals draw their forms from the superstrate. In Portuguese, they are late borrowings from Latin. In Pomeranian, they are borrowings from High German. This was already the case for European Pomeranian in the 19th century (Mahnke 1931: 48). It is unclear why Pomeranian has this sociological ranking, while there is no effect whatsoever in Frisian, where all ordinals are regular derivations from Frisian cardinals, never from Dutch.

3.6 Verbal morphology

Pomeranian has two synthetic tenses, a present tense and a past tense (“preterite”). The past tense can also be realized analytically with HAVE/BE + participle (with certain aspectual consequences). The past tense can also be analytically realized with DO.PAST + infinitive (with certain aspectual consequences). The future tense is usually realized as a bare present tense. Future tense can also be realized as a future auxiliary + infinitive (with certain modal consequences). WERDEN + infinitive has connotations of uncertainty, MOD + infinitive are modal strategies to realize future tense.

3.6.1 Two infinitives

Like Frisian, and in contrast with the other modern West Germanic varieties, Pomeranian (EP and BP alike) has two infinitives, an infinitive 1 (inf1) in *-a* [v/ə], and an infinitive 2 (inf2) in *-en* [ən], an *-* in origin nominalized *-* form with full-fledged verbal properties. These are morphologically distinct in all verbs, except for the verb *sijn* ‘to be.inf1/2’.

(62)	infinitive 1 or “infinitive”:	stem + <i>a</i>	[-v/-ə]	<i>kooma</i> ‘come’
	infinitive 2 or “gerund”:	stem + <i>en</i> ³³	[-ən]	<i>koomen</i> , e.g: <i>taum koomen</i>

The infinitive 1 always ends in *-a*: *geewa* [jɛ:və] ‘give’. This is also the case with open root verbs, which are monosyllabic with final *-n* in the other West-Germanic languages, Dutch *doen*, German *tun*, Frisian *dwaan*, where Frisian has *-n* in both

33. Verbs in *-ijra* and (incidentally) iterative verbs in *-era* (ambisyllabic roots) do, occasionally, not realize a separate gerund: *tam kurijra* instead of the expected *tam kurijen* (*spatsijra*, *passijra*, *tam ous swijn futra/futren*). Such formes without *-n* are considered ill-formed upon second explicit elicitation. Verbal clusters may follow this pattern: *tam sich ni natreegna lâta/lâten*.

infinitive 1 and 2. These are disyllabic verbs in Pomeranian: *daua* [daue] ‘do’, *gâa* [gɔːɐ̯] ‘go’, *saia* [saie] ‘see’, *stâa* [ʃtɔːɐ̯] ‘stand’, though the ending *-a* can be silent. Pomeranian is on a par with English here (cf. *do/go/see*). The infinitive 2 is *dauen*, *gâen*, *saien*, *stâen*, respectively. Only *sin* ‘be’ has *-n* in both INF1 and INF2: *sin*/**sia*.

In a system with synchronic (ə) and (n) catalexis, we may assume these endings to be: V-ə(n)_o for INF1, and either N-ən(ə)_o or N-ənd(ə)_o for INF2,³⁴ according to their historical shapes (cf. Section 9.4). The assumption of catalexis has the advantage to relate the infinitive 2 to the present participle. If fact, the infinitive 2 is an inflected present participle. Indirect synchronic evidence for underlying infl as -ə(n)_o is given in the next section. The further advantage of catalexis is that we can relate this silent n in the infinitival system with absence or latency of /n/ in the indefinite article in Pomeranian and English.

3.6.2 Personal endings

The personal endings in Pomeranian are selected from three morphemes: *-st*, *-t*, *-a* [ɐ/ə]. Second person singular *-st* sometimes realizes as *-s*, when the verbal root ends in *-t*: *duu aits* ‘you ate’, *duu lōts* ‘you let’. The third person singular *-t* only occurs in the present tense, not in past tenses, just like English *-s*, Dutch *-t*. There is a unified plural (“Einheitsplural”), which is typical for the Anglo-Saxon, Low Saxon, and Frisian dialects, and which sets them apart from Low Franconian (Flemish/Limburgian). The plural ending is in present and past the same, as in Dutch and German, and unlike Frisian (which has *-e* in present tense and *-en* in past tenses). The infinitive is without exception identical to the plural of the present tense, as in Dutch and German, but unlike Frisian (e.g. Fr. *wy sjogge* ‘see.1PL’ versus *sjen* ‘see. INF’, etc.), Low Saxon (*wij doat* versus *dohn* ‘do.INF’). Notice that the plural ending is probably *-e(n)_o*, i.e. there is a catalectic *-n*. This catalectic /n/ shows up as a nasal feature upon enclisis of *wij* ‘we’, when it is not at the end of the prosodic domain: *wi’m gâa* ← *wile(n)_o* *wij* ‘let us go’. The personal endings always attach directly to the root, without epenthetic schwa: *hai set*/**settet* ‘he sets’.

In strong verbs, the 23SG personal ending is accompanied by vowel mutation (when possible), indicated with “ in the scheme in (63) and/or shortening.

34. With intervocalic cluster reduction *-nd-* → *-n-* (Rule 9). These data shed light on the nature of INF2 morpheme, *-nne-* rather than *-ne-*, in Middle English (Los 2005; Abrahams 2016). If so, it is *-nde* in all older Coastal Germanic variants and *-ne* (i.e. a dative case marker) in Middle High German.

(63)	weak verbs		strong verbs	
	<u>present</u>	<u>past</u>	<u>present</u>	<u>past</u>
1.	–	–	1.	–
2.	st/s	st	2.	“ + st
3.	t	–	3.	“ + t
123PL	a	a	123PL	a

The phonological effect of this morphological umlaut in 23SG is given in (67) below. The plural ending *-a* occurs in present and past tenses. It is an exceptionless *Einheitsplural*. The plural ending *-a* occurs in all verbs, irregular verbs included, apart from the present tense *sin* ‘to be’. The ending *-a* also is the dominant plural marker in the nominal and the adjectival domain.

3.6.3 Regular suffixal verbs (weak verbs)

The productive class of verbs forms its perfect tense with an auxiliary + participle by attaching a dental suffix *-d/t*. These form the so-called weak verbs. Pomeranian also used to form its past tense by attaching *-d*, which became [t] under final devoicing in some dialects. This synthetic past has become obsolete in Brazilian Pomeranian.

(64) *Paradigm of the weak verb schika ‘send’*

present	past (obsolete)	perfect	imperfect
ik schik	ik schikt	ik hä(w) schikt	ik däir schika
duu schikst	duu schiktst	duu häst schikt	duu däist schika
hai schikt	hai schikt	hai hät schikt	hai däir schika
wij/jij/sai schika	wij/jij/sai schikta	wij/jij/sai häwa schikt	wij/jij/sai schika

There is form identity between 3SG present and past, indicated in the two bold forms. This might be the reason why the synthetic past has fallen into disuse in regular verbs. See Section 2.3.9 for a discussion. The final consonant in participles is written /d/ or /t/. The Tressmann spelling does not give a clue here. In BP there is always final devoicing (or rather fortis-lenis neutralization in final position), but some European dialects retained voicing in the past tense suffix, but not in the participle.

Brazilian Pomeranian differs from European Pomeranian on three points, if we take the dialect of the town of Schlawe (Mahnke 1931) and Stolp (present-day Słupsk) as indicative. In the first place, European Pomeranian did not have final devoicing: *ain korf – twai korw* ‘one/two baskets’. Secondly, its assimilation of the past morpheme was backward (forward in BP), i.e. underlying *-d-* turns preceding

voiceless spirants and obstruents into voiced segments, e.g. *lewa* – *lewd* ‘lived’, *schimpa* – *schimbd* ‘taunted’. Third, the EP morpheme was $-d(e)_o$ with catalectic schwa, not $-t(e)_o$ as in BP. This can be traced by the past tense of *sette* ‘set’ which becomes *seer* under suffixation of $-de$: $/set+de/ \rightarrow /sedde/ \rightarrow /serre/ \rightarrow /seer/$, with backward assimilation, intervocalic rhotacism, and schwa apocope (under compensatory lengthening). It would be challenging to connect these three differences between BP and EP to one formal property.

3.6.4 Strong verbs

Strong verbs show apophony in the past tense and participle, and have a participial suffix $-a$ instead of the d/t -suffix: *raupa* – *raip* – *roopa* ‘call(ed)’. In the present tense, strong verbs have vowel mutation in 23sg, which changes the vowel to a front vowel. The mutated vowel shows up in contracted form. A typical case is *raupa* ‘to call/shout’.

(65) Paradigm of strong verb *raupa* ‘call/shout’

present	past	perfect	imperfect
ik raup [ra ^u p]	ik raip [ra ⁱ p]	ik häw roopa [rɔ:pə]	ik dāir raupa
duu röpst [œ]	duu raipst	duu häst roopa	duu dāist raupa
hai röpt [œ]	hai raip	hai hät roopa	hai dāir raupa
wij/jij/sai raupa	wij/jij/sai raipa	wij/jij/sai häwa roopa	wij/jij/sai dāira raupa

The broken form [a^u] (=|A|+|U|) in the root of *raupa* (Frisian *roppe*) is palatalized as if it were /o(:)/ (=|A|•|U|) and is realized as its shortened palatalized counterpart [œ]: *röpst* ‘you call’. The broken form [aⁱ] (=|A|+|I|) in the root of *gaita* ‘pour’ is fronted as if it were /e(:)/ (=|A|•|I|) and realizes as short [ɪ]: *gitst* ‘you pour’. It is sometimes realized in a rounded fashion as [y]: *forlaira* – *forlürst*. If the root already contains a high front vowel, the root does not show palatalization, but it always undergoes shortening, if possible. A pure case of shortening is in *blijwa* [bli:və] ‘to stay’.

(66)

<u>present</u>	<u>past</u>	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect/durative</u>
ik blijw [ɪ]	ik bleiw [ble ⁱ f]	ik bün bleewa [blɛ:və]	ik dāir blijwa
duu bliwst [ɪ]	duu bleiwst	duu büst bleewa	duu dāist blijwa
hai bliwt [ɪ]	hai bleiw	hai is bleewa	hai dāir blijwa
wij/jij/sai blijwa	wij/jij/sai bleiwa	wij/jij/sai sin bleewa	wij/jij/sai dāira blijwa

In the table below, we give the respective vowel mutations/length contractions in function of the root vowel. Deviations from this general scheme occur, mostly in preterit-present verbs.

The umlauted contracted vowel in 23SG is often realized with pre- or post-articulation (cf. Section 2.3.7). The co-articulated vowel remains short.

(67)	<u>inf</u>	<u>2/3</u>	<u>pre/post-articulation</u>	<u>example</u>		
	[ou]	[œ]	[ʸœ œ³]	loupa	löpst	‘to run’
	[ɔ:]	[œ]	[ʸœ œ³]	fråga	frögst	‘to ask’
	[ai]	[y]	[ʸy y³]	forlaira	forlürst	‘to lose’
	[a]	[y]	[ʸy y³]	fala	fülst	‘to fall’
	[u]	[y]	[ʸy y³]	hula	hülst	‘to keep’
	[i:]	[ɪ]	[ʸɪ ɪʱ]	blijwa	bliwst	‘to stay’
	[ai]	[ɪ]	[ʸɪ ɪʱ]	gaita	gitst	‘to pour’
	[ɛ:]	[ɪ]	[ʸɪ ɪʱ]	geewa	giwst	‘to give’
	[ɛ:]	[ɛ]	[ʸɛ ɛʱ]	steeka	stekst	‘to sting’

Incidentally, some speakers realize a double past marker in velar roots: *krijga* – *kreigt* and *saia* – *saicht*³⁵ ‘to see – saw’, instead of the more general *kreig* and *saig*. This might be a generalization of the verb class that includes *bringa-bröcht* ‘bring-brought’, *suika-söcht-söcht* ‘to seek’. In the case of *bruuka* ‘need’, this occurs in all speakers: *bruuka* – *brüükt* – *brüükt* ‘to need’.

Below we list a few frequent strong verbs with some discussion. A complete list of the four basic morphological forms of strong verbs is given in Section 3.6.8. The preterite tense of strong verbs is in full use, in contrast to those of weak verbs, which is virtually obsolete, as discussed in the previous section.³⁶ In many cases, the participle links up with the vowel of the past tense, or with the present tense. In the latter case, the infinitive and the participle are identical: e.g. *fala* – *fail* – *fala* ‘to fall’. When that happens, participles are sometimes regularized as in the case of *geewa* – *gaif* – *gewt* [jeft] instead of the expected *geewa* ‘given’) without effecting the past tense (*gaiw* [jaif]). Conversely, the past tense may turn strong without the participle being affected: *måka* – *maik* – *måkt* ‘to make’ where a non-etymological apophonic form *maik* shows up in the past tense. Similarly, *smeka* – *smaik* – *smekt* ‘to taste’, with a non-etymological *smaik*.

35. This is also the regular past tense of *saicha* ‘to point/direct’ from High German *zeigen*.
 36. Some younger speakers often replace it by periphrastic constructions. This might ultimately lead to a complete *Präteritumschwund* as has happened in High German dialects.

blijwa – ‘to stay’

<u>present</u>	<u>preterite</u>	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>
ik blijw	ik bleiw	ik hä(w) bleewa	ik däir blijwa
duu bliwst	duu bleiwst
hai bliwt	hai bleiw		
wij blijwa	wij/jij/sai bleiwa		

geewa – ‘to give’

<u>present</u>	<u>preterite</u>	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>
ik geew	ik gaiw	ik hä(w) gewt	ik däir geewa
duu giwst	duu gaiwst
hai giwt	hai gaiw		
wij gewa	wij/jij/sai gaiwa		

māka – ‘to make’

ik māk	ik maik		
duu mökst	duu maikst		
hai mökt	hai maik	hai hät mākt	hai däir māka
wii māka	wij maika		

bruuka – ‘to need’

ik bruuk	ik brüükt	ik häw bruukt	
duu bruukst	duu brüükst		
hai bruukt	hai brüükt		
wij bruuka	wij brüükta		

3.6.5 On the etymology of the apophonic past marker

A brief remark on the etymology of the strong past tense marking: Pomeranian merged the Germanic past indicative and past subjunctive (optative or “Konjunktiv II”) into one past form: e.g. /kam/ & /käm/ → *kaim*.³⁷ In most cases, the past subjunctive form, which had umlaut as its regular marking, has been selected as the

37. Only in the modal verb *wila* ‘will/want’ and **schoila* ‘shall’ both forms are retained as past and irrealis: *wu(l)* and *wüü*, and *schu(l)* and *schüü*, respectively. This is similar to Dutch *wilde* and *wou* both past tenses of *willen* ‘to want’ with similar specialization of meaning (past and optative, respectively).

past tense.³⁸ The past form of ‘to be’ in BP is *wäir*, the past subjunctive EP form, not the EP indicative past form *was* ‘was’. The subjunctive marker in EP had i-umlaut. This floating umlauting element often shows up in BP in “broken” form (/ö/ → /oi/, /ä/ → /ai/, etc.). As a consequence, the strong past tense in BP often has a segmental /i/, which has been reanalyzed as the marker of the past tense: *gaiw* ‘gave’, *kaim* ‘came’ *naim* ‘took’, *lait* ‘let’, *laig* ‘lay’, *froig* ‘asked’, etc. In preterite-present verbs, this marker shows up in the present tense: *koina* ‘can’, *muitta* ‘must’, *schoila* ‘shall’, etc.

The original Pomeranian form must have been *käm*, which later underwent breaking to *kaim*. Evidence comes from European Pomeranian dialects (e.g. in the Netze-region), that, probably under language contact with Slavic, palatalized [k] to [č] in contexts with ä/ö/i/e, etc., but not in contexts with a/o/u, etc.³⁹ Meesow (Mieszewo) in Kreis Regenwalde is such a Pomeranian dialect, having *tjeel* </keerl/ ‘man’, *tjind* < /kind/ ‘child’, and *tjlere* < /klere/ ‘cloths’, but simply *kole* and *kouken* for ‘coal’, and ‘to cook.^{INF2}’⁴⁰ Interestingly, the Meesow dialect displays the palatalized form *tjaime* < /kaime/ ‘came’. The palatal form *tjaime* can only be explained by assuming an older *käme* > *tjäme* > *tjaime*. This means that the Pomeranian breaking of mutated vowels must be a relative late development, i.e. be situated in time after this palatalization. The important conclusion is that Pomeranian /uiC/ is not an immediate reflex of the Old Germanic umlaut factor /uCi/, but a breaking of umlauted /ü/.

3.6.6 Some notes on HAVE and BE and other irregular verbs

All auxiliary verbs (of tense, aspect, modality) are morphologically irregular, be it suppletive (*sin*, ‘be’) or allomorphic (all others).

sin ‘to be’ – taum sin		
ik bü/ bün ik	ik wäir	ik bü im Boat wääst
duu büst	duu wäist	
hai is /iss-e (inversion)	hai wäir	
wij sin/sün	wij wäira	
jij sin/sün	jij wäira	
sai sin/sün	sai wäira	

38. See also Besch (2000: II–1434) and the references cited there. An exception is *haar* ‘had’, while an optative origin would have given *häir*.

39. This also happens in various Low Prussian dialects especially in the Pomerelia (Schweminski 1853; Darski 1973), as well as in many Mennonite dialects around the world. Mennonite Platt should be characterized as Low Prussian from the Pomerelia (the “Polish corridor”, southeast to Pomerania).

40. Tonaufnahmen der Vertriebenenmundarten, WE952AW1.

This auxiliary has an infinitival form *sin* illustrated under (68).

- (68) a. *Taum mijlchabroud baken mud dai bakoowa seir hait sin* copula
 for.to corn bread bake.INF2 must the oven very hot be.INF1
 ‘For baking corn bread, the oven must be very hot’
- b. *Dat mud dai Uulaspeigel bijna wääst sin* perfect aux
 that must de Eulenspiegel almost been be
 ‘That must have almost been Eulenspiegel’

häwa ‘have’ – taum häwen

ik hä(w)	ik haar	ik häw hat
duu häst	duu haast	
hai hät – hädd-e (inversion)	hai haar – haar hai	
wij/jij/sai häwa	wij/jij/sai haara	

The root consonant /w/ is often dropped in 1sg. The infinitive 1 and 2 only exist with lexical ‘have’ in the sense of ‘possess’.

wila ‘will’ – no taum form

ik wi(l) dat daua/måke (‘I will do it’)	ik wu	ik häw wud
duu wist -wilstu	duu wust	
hai wi(l)	hai wu	
wij/jij/sai wila dat daua	wij/jij/sai wula	

The root consonant /l/ in *wil* is debuccalized in the singular forms: [vih] or [viə] rather than [vil], but the full /l/ forms show up in the plural. In the past singular form, /l/ is zero, parallel to Frisian *woe*, past tense to infinitive *wolle* ‘to want’, Dutch *wou* to *willen*. The auxiliary *wila* + infinitive is used as a future auxiliary, side by side to *waara* + infinitive. It suppletes *schoila* as a future auxiliary verb, as *schoila* is, as a future marker, restricted to negative and interrogative contexts.

- (69) a. *Sai daua anwijsa wen dat reegna wil*
 They do indicate when it rain will
 ‘They indicate when it will rain’
- b. *Sai wil mit Frijdrik reisa* (PD, s.v. wila)
 ‘She will travel with Fred’
- c. *Spårer wil ik broud baka* (PD, s.v. spårer)
 ‘I shall bake bread later’

In inversion, *wila wij* ‘will we’ or the contracted *wi’m* [vim] functions as a hortative particle, also realized as *wi’w* [vif] (in RS, cf. Tale of the Wolf and Seven Goats).

- (70) *Wi'm nã huus gâa!*
 let's to house go.INF I
 'Let's go home'

There is an optative formative *wür* [vyə], also realized as *wör* [wœ:r] (HB).

- (71) a. *Ik wür kooma*
 'I would come'
 b. *Wen mij dat air uutdüürt haar, den wür ik dat forstâa häwa*
 If me that one explained had, then would I that understand have
 'If somebody had explained it to me, I would have understood'

It is unclear to me if the formative *wü* is derived from *waara* (as Tressmann, s.v. *waara* assumes) or from *wila* 'will', as final -r or -l are debuccalized. *Wila* is also used as a lexical verb 'to want', as in (53).

- (72) *hai hät wud dai fruug angâa*
 he has wanted the woman have.sex.INF
 'he wanted to have sex with the woman'

geewa 'give' [jɛ:wɐ] – **taum** geewen

ik geef	ik häw gewt [jɛ:ft]
duu gifst	
hai gift	hai/sai/DAT gaiw [jaif]
wi geewa	

Just like in German, *geewa* is also used as an existential auxiliary *dat giwt* – 'there are', without agreement.

- (73) *Dat giwt [jift] böim wat twai urer drai liter melk geewa daua up ainmal.*
 That gives trees REL two or three liter milk give.INF do.PL at once
 'there are trees that give two or three liter of milk at once'

***schoila** 'shall' – (no *taum* form, nor infinitive1, nor participle)

- ik scha(l) 'must'
 du schast
 hai scha(l) hai schu(l) dat daua/schul-e dat daua?
 wai schoila/schâla⁴¹

Debuccalization of /l/ in the singular present and past tense is virtually obligatory. In neutral order, *schoila/schâla* has a deontic reading of obligation (cf. 'you must,

41. The form *schâla* is used in Tressmann's orthography. I only heard *schoila*.

you should'). Under operators, like negation and interrogation, it functions as a future modal with epistemic connotation, as in (74).

- (74) a. *Un nuu, wat schåla wij nuu måkà?*
 And now, what shall we now do?
 b. *wat schåla wij dår singa?*
 what shall we there sing.INF1
 'what shall we sing there?'

We have starred the infinitives of the modals, because they do not exist, as auxiliaries do not stack in Pomeranian and never realize an infinitive. The infinitival form is based on the present tense plural. Tressmann (2006b) makes a difference between past morphology *schul* and conditional *schüül* and gives the example in (75).

- (75) a. *Dai meisch säär, sai schul spärer kooma*
 The man said, she should later come
 'The man said that she would come later'
 b. *Hai säär, dat schüül ales ain regirung waara ina gansa wild*
 He said it should all one government become in.the whole world
 'He said that the whole world should get one government'

Schoila 'shall' and *wila* 'will' are the only two verbs with an opposition between the past tense and the past subjunctive. In all other verbs, the two forms are neutralized.

***koina 'can' – (no *taum* form)**

ik ka	ik küü(n) dat daua	hai hāt küüt
du kast – kast-ø	du küüst	
hai ka – kann-e (inversion)	hai küü(n) dat daua / kü-hai dat daua?	
wie/jij/sai koine -koine wie	sai küüna	

The final -n generally drops in the present tense singular, in non-inverted contexts. In the past tense it is optional in the singular.

macha 'may' – (no *taum* form)

*ik mach – mag ik	*ik müücht – müücht ik	
*duu machst – machstu		
*hai mach – mach hai	müücht hai	hāt mücht hai ...
*wij/jij sai mächà – mächà wij		

The auxiliary *macha* only occurs in inversion. In formal terms, it lexicalizes T-to-C, apart from the lexicalized (*dat*) *mach sin* 'perhaps', cf. Portuguese *pode ser*.

- (76) a. Wou mach⁴² dat an leiga? (UmL:5)
 what may that PRT lay
 ‘What might be the reason?’
- b. Wat mach⁴² dat dâr ais sin? (UmL:97)
 what may that there PRT be.INF
 ‘What might that be over there?’
- c. Wat mach⁴² dat nog ais mit ousa juugend waara? (DP:303)
 what wil it PRT PRT with our youth become
 ‘what will become of our youth’
- d. Mach⁴² dat eeten raika? (DP:303)
 may the food reach?
 ‘will the food be sufficient?’

I found one instance of a cluster inversion with this verb.

- (77) Hât mücht hai dat trecht måkt hâwa?
 has may.PTC he that ready made have
 ‘should he have finished it?’

The special C-oriented verb *macha* might be an indication that there is no T-to-C in SU – V modal contexts. If this is the correct interpretation, Pomeranian is like English in modal contexts (either TP in SVX or CP in XVS contexts), but it behaves like German in non-modal contexts (always C). The verb also occurs as a realization of embedded T.

- (78) (Ik wait ni) of dai meisch dat wol eeta mücht (UmL:55)
 (I don’t know) if the human-being that PRT eat might
 ‘whether one should eat that’

As a lexical verb (*maga* ‘to like’ with an orthographic /g/), it also occurs in direct contexts.

- (79) a. Jeirer mag⁴³ de wijnachtzman geirn (UmL:14)
 Everyone likes the Santa Claus very.muchb.
- b. Ik mag seir geirn im wald gâa (UmL:82)
 I like very much in.the wood go.INF1c.
- c. Dai ima maga seir geirn dai maluulabüsch eer blauma (UmL:115)
 the bees like very much the maluula-tree their flowers
 ‘The bees like the maluula tree’s flowers very much’

42. The text has an erroneous *macht*.

43. The text has an erroneous *magt*.

• **muita**⁴⁴ ‘must’ – müst – müst

ik mut/muit	müst	ik haw müst
du must		
hai mut		
wij muita	müsta	

In the past tense it can have an irrealis reading.

- (80) Wen hijr kair water wäir, müsta wij ala doudblijwa. (UmL:118)
 when here no water were, must.PAST we all dead.stay
 ‘when there was no water here, we would all die’

• **waara** ‘to become’ – wūr – woura (< *warden ~ HG werden)

ik waar	ik wūr ⁴⁵	ik bün V _{prt} woura
duu waarst		
hai waard		
wij waara	wij wūra	

This auxiliary occurs in two contexts: with infinitival or with participial complementation.

1. **aux + infinitive**1 as a future marker

- (81) a. Dai wäira ina wald gaa. (UmL:107)
 they would in-the wood go.INF1
 ‘they had the plan to go into the woods’
 b. Ik waar ma’s sega. (Hartuwig:113)
 I will but PRT say.INF1
 ‘I would like to say’
 c. Ik waar dij de weeg wijsa. (DP:520)
 I will you the way point.out
 ‘I will point out the road to you’

44. Tressmann 2006 writes *muida*.

45. Sometimes the past tense *wäir* and participle *wääst* of *sin* ‘be’ can have an inchoative reading and takes the function of the past tense and participle of *waara*.

- (i) Am 22. april bün ik 80 wääst un Elisabeth is 74 wääst.
 on 22nd April am I 80 been and E. is 74 been
 ‘On the 22nd of April, I turned 80 and Elisabeth turned 74’

In this function, *wila* + infinitive 1 ‘will’ and *daua* + infinitive 1 are used as well. See above. One case with *waara* + infinitive 2 was found. This might shed light on the (Slavic?) origin of the construction, as *werden* + present participle (Kleiner 1925), or from other sources (Leiss 1985, Abraham 1989, Heine 1995).

- (82) Süsta waard’s seir nâna rouk smeken. (UmL:53)
 otherwise will.she very after.the smoke taste.INF2
 ‘otherwise it (i.e. the sausage) will taste too smoky’

I leave this for further research.

2. aux + participle as a passive construction

Like in all continental Germanic languages, BE is not used as a passive auxiliary. The language uses a specific passive auxiliary: *waara*, the parallel to German *werden*, Dutch *worden*, Frisian *wurde* [wœrə].

- (83) Tauna hochtijd wûr dera tijra eera kopgestel mit blauma
 At.the wedding AUX.PASS the animals their head collar with flowers
 bewikelt
 adorned
 ‘At weddings, the animals’s collars were adorned with flowers’

• *daua* ‘to do’ -

ik dau	ik dâi(r) lere	dâa
du dâist		
hai dâit	hai dâi(r)	
wij daua	wij dâira	

As a lexical verb, the infinitive often drops the ending *-v/ə* [dau], rather than realizing [dauə]. As an auxiliary verb, it is not used in the infinitive.

• *eeta* ‘to eat’ – *ait* – *geeta*

ik eet	ik ait	ik hâw geeta
duu etst		
hai et		
wij eeta	wij aita	wij hâwa geeta

This is the only verb with a participial prefix *g-*: *geeta* ‘eaten’. Pomeranian differs from the other prefixless participle languages, Frisian and English, which have *iten* and *eaten*, respectively. The initial *g-* is the incorporated doubling of the prefix, not the prefix itself, which is systematically absent in participles.

3.6.7 Apophonic sequences

The Old Germanic apophonic sequences, **i - a - u** and their variants (cf. Ségéral & Scheer 1998) have collapsed and developed into a new system in Pomeranian with little connection to the Old Saxon system. The addition of heterorganic glides /i/ or /u/ as a marker of the past tense, is a common feature of most Pomeranian sequences and might be an extension of the (consonantal)⁴⁶ **a - i - a** and **a - u - a** sequence that shows up in the Old Germanic reduplication class. Perhaps it involves just the features [coronal] and [velar]) under formation of diphthongs (oi/ui/au/ai) or complex vowels (öi/üü/ä) The classification below must be taken to represent the diachronic development, not the synchronic system.

- I. The Proto-Germanic **ī - ai - i** shows up as **i - ei - ε**: e.g. *kijka* – *keik* – *keeka* ‘to look’. Verbs that follow this pattern are: *blijwa* ‘to stay’, *krijga* ‘to get’, *rijra* ‘to drive/ride’, *smita* ‘to throw’, *snijra* ‘to cut’, etc. There is a second variant in realization. The sequence shows up as **ī - ai - ē** in *grijpa* – *graip* – *greepa* ‘grab’ (but *begrijpa* – *begreip* – *bigreepa* ‘to understand’). This /ai/ probably emerged in analogy to the dominant sequences with /ai/ in the preterite of (IV/V/VI). The preterites of *srijwa* ‘write’, *drijwa* ‘float/propulse’ show up as *sreew* and *dreew*, where the participle vowel is generalized to the preterite, as has happened in Dutch across the board. The forms in 23sg shows up with a contracted /i/: *kikst*.
- II. Proto-Germanic **eu - au - u** shows up as **ai - ou - ʊ**: e.g. *laiga* – *loug* – *looga* ‘not to speak the truth’. Verbs that follow this pattern are *bedraiga* ‘to cheat’, *flaiga* ‘to fly’, *gaita* ‘to pour’, *schaita* ‘to shoot’, *forlaira* ‘to lose’, *(for)baira* ‘to (for)bid’, *fraira* ‘to freeze’. This class shows the marker /ai/ in the present tense. PGmc /eu/ developed into West Germanic /eo/ (before a) and /iu/ (before i), cf. Goossens (1974: 30), Van Loon (1986). In Pomeranian, this is realized as /ai/ and /ü/, respectively. This causes an /ai-ü/-alternation in the present tense, which is preserved in Pomeranian (*bedraige* – *bedrügt* ‘deceive(s)’, *fraira* – *frürt* ‘freeze(s)’) in contracted form, while it was leveled in NHG *betrügen* – *betriegt* ‘deceive(s)’ or NHG *gießen-gießt* ‘pour(s)’ (early NHG *gießen* – *geußt*). The Pomeranian forms of 23sg have /ü/, which is the expected etymological form, and incidentally derounded to [ɪ] (*git* ‘(he) pours’). The preterite of this class shows a lot of variation, *schöit/schuit/schoot* ‘shot’; *floug/fluig* ‘flew’. The forms are listed in the verb table in Section 3.6.8. The borrowing *saiga* ‘to show’ (from HG *zeigen*) joined this class.

46. Postma (1996) distinguishes between vocalic ablaut, which is ternary ([I]-[A]-[U]), and consonantal ablaut, which is binary ([A]-[I]-[A]) or ([A]-[U]-[A]), which is the vocalic surface realizations of consonantal ([ɹ]-[T]-[ɹ]). In collocations, the two apophonic systems are realized as *pif-paf-puf* and *hand en tand*, respectively.

- III. Proto-Germanic **i – a – u** follows two distinct paths in function of the subsequent consonant nasals and liquids, as in Dutch and Frisian.
- a. **i – a – u** with nasals shows up in Pomeranian as **i – a – u**, e.g. *drinka – (drank) – drunka* ‘to drink’, *stinka – stank – stunka* ‘to stink’. Clusters with -d- are standardly reduced, but there are some changes in the consonantism: *fijna – fung – fuuna* ‘to find’. This velarization is specific to the past tense of verbs. Verbs that follow this scheme include: *bijna – bung – buuna* ‘to bind’.
 - b. **i – a – u** with r/l shows up as **e – u – u**, e.g. *helpa – hulp – hulpa* ‘to help’. This class has virtually disappeared. The verb **sterwa* ‘to die’ was mostly replaced by *doubbliwa* ‘to stay dead’.⁴⁷
- IV. The Proto-Germanic four-way gradation with lengthened grade in the preterite **e,i – {a – ē} – u** shows up in Pomeranian as a three-way distinction **ε: – ai – ɔ:**, e.g. *neema – naim – nooma* ‘to take’. Verbs that follow this sequence include roots with nasals, liquids and velars: *steela* ‘to steal’, *breeka* ‘to break’, *steeka* ‘to stab’, *spreeka* ‘to speak’. Also *kooma* ‘to come’ and the strong u-stems (*kruupa*, *schuuwa*) follow this pattern. The 23sg present forms can show in contracted form (*kūmst*, *nimst*) when the verb changes in root vowel, or in full form (*breekst*/**brekst*, *steelst*/**stelst*) when the verb is without vowel change. Tressmann’s dictionary, however, has *steckt*/**steekt* ‘stab(s)’.
- V. The Proto-Germanic four-way gradation with lengthened grade in the preterit **i – {a – ē} – i** shows up in Pomeranian as a three-way distinction **ei – ai – ε:**, e.g. *leiga – laig – leega* ‘to lay’. This is a considerable class, that has been extended to other verbs. Verbs that follow this sequence include: *eeta* ‘eat’, *geewa* ‘to give’, *smeeka* ‘to taste’. Some of these verbs have developed weak participles, e.g. *gewt* ‘given’. One verb has a preterite without diphthong: *forgeeta – *forgait / forgat – forgeeta* ‘to forget’. The class has synchronically merged with the reduplicative VI-VII class. The 23sg present forms show up contracted form, e.g. *ligst*, *giwst*.
- VI. This class has /a/ in the present stem. It includes the Old Germanic reduplication class with **a – i,u – a**. It shows up in Pomeranian as **â – ai – â**, e.g. *slâpa – slaip – slâpa* ‘to sleep’. Verbs that follow this class include: *fala* ‘to fall’, *fâta* ‘to fetch’, *hula* ‘to hold’, *lâta* ‘to let’, *mâka* ‘to make’. There is some variation in the preterite, e.g. *fait*/*foit*/*fuit*/*fôt* ‘fetched’ (Du *vatte*, Ger *fasste*). The latter verb displays extreme variation, presumably because it has joined this class rather recently. If the stem ends in -g [y/χ], the high preterite marker -i- may show up as -u- under homorganic articulation: *drâga – draug – drâgt* ‘to carry’, *frâga – fraug – frâgt* ‘to ask’. Various verbs in this class are half-strong. The 23sg present tense form show up with /ö/ or /ü/: *slöpst*, *fülst*.

47. In a translation task, one informant replaced High German *gestorben* in one of the Wenker-sentences by the original Pomeranian *sturwa*. Tressmann’s dictionary does not include this item.

To sum up, it seems that the emerging pattern in strong verbal tenses in Brazilian Pomeranian is a strong, i.e. apophonic, strategy with an additional /i/ in the preterite (especially /ai/), and a weak, i.e. suffixal, -d/t strategy in the participle. The weak preterite in -d/t is obsolete.

3.6.8 Table of tenses⁴⁸

infinitive	23sg present	past sg	participle	translation
(koina)	<i>kast/ka(n)</i>	<i>küü(n)</i>	<i>küüt</i>	‘can’
(muita)	<i>must/mut</i>	<i>müst</i>	<i>müst</i>	‘must’
(schoila/schåla)	<i>schast/scha(l)</i>	<i>schu(l)</i> <i>schüül (subj)</i>	–	‘shall’
<i>anfänga</i>	<i>fängst/fängt an</i>	<i>fong an</i>	<i>anfonga/anfunga</i>	‘begin’
<i>baira (for-)</i>	<i>bairst/bairt</i>	–	<i>boora</i>	‘bid/offer (forbid)’
<i>befeela</i>	<i>befeelst/befeelt</i>	–	<i>befeelt/befoola</i>	‘order’
<i>bedraiga</i>	<i>bedrüügst/bed-rüügt</i>	–	<i>bedrooga</i>	‘cheat’
<i>beweega</i>	–	–	–	‘move’
<i>bijna</i>	<i>binst/bint</i>	<i>buuna</i>	<i>buuna</i>	‘bind’
<i>bijta</i>	<i>bits/bit</i>	<i>beit</i>	<i>beeta</i>	‘bite’
<i>blijwa</i>	<i>bliwst/bliwt</i>	<i>bleiw</i>	<i>bleewa</i>	‘stay’
<i>bluire (blöira)</i>	<i>bluirst/bluit</i> <i>blörst/blört</i>	–	<i>bluird/blöird</i>	‘bleed’
<i>breeka</i>	<i>breekst/breekt</i>	<i>braik</i>	<i>brooka</i>	‘break’
<i>bringa [ɲ]</i>	<i>bringst/bringt</i>	<i>bröcht [ç]</i>	<i>bröcht</i>	‘bring’
<i>bruuka</i>	<i>bruukst/bruukt</i>	<i>brüük / brüükt / brukt</i>	<i>bruukt</i>	‘need’
<i>buiga/böiga</i>	<i>böigst/böigt</i>	–	<i>buigd</i>	‘bow’
(döra/dörwa)	<i>dörwst/dörwt</i>	<i>dürst</i>	<i>dürwt</i>	‘dare’
<i>daua [da^u(e)]</i>	<i>däist/däit</i>	<i>däir</i>	<i>dåa [dɔ:(e)]</i>	‘do’
<i>denka</i>	<i>denkst/denkt</i>	<i>dacht</i>	<i>dacht</i>	‘think’
<i>dråga</i>	<i>drögst / drögt [ö^ɔ]</i>	<i>druig/draug</i>	<i>drågt</i>	‘carry’
<i>drinka [k]</i>	<i>drinkst / drinkt</i>	–	<i>drunka [g]</i>	‘drink’
<i>eeta</i>	<i>eets / et (also [iæt])</i>	<i>ait</i>	<i>geeta</i>	‘eat’

(continued)

48. A dash (-) in a cell means that the form did not occur in the corpus, nor was elicited yet. It does not mean that the form does not exist, though that may be the case.

infinitive	23sg present	past sg	participle	translation
<i>fala</i>	<i>fülst/fült</i>	<i>fail/foil</i>	<i>fala</i>	'fall'
<i>fānga</i>	<i>fängst/fängt</i>	<i>fong</i>	<i>fonga / funga</i>	'catch'
<i>fāta</i>	<i>fötst / föts / föt</i> [ö³]	<i>fait/foit/föit/fruit</i>	<i>fât</i>	'take' (Du. vatten)
<i>fijne</i>	<i>finst / find</i>	<i>fung</i>	<i>fuuna</i>	'find'
<i>flaiga</i>	<i>flügst / flügt</i>	<i>fluig</i>	<i>flooga</i>	'fly'
<i>forbaira</i>	<i>forbürst / forbürt</i>	<i>forböir</i> (rare)	<i>forboora</i>	'forbid'
<i>fordarwe</i>	<i>fordarwt</i>	–	<i>fordurwa</i>	'spoil/rot'
<i>forlaira</i>	<i>forlürst / forlürt</i>	<i>forlöir</i> (rare)	<i>forloora</i>	'lose'
<i>forgeeta</i>	<i>forgest / forget</i>	<i>forgait</i>	<i>forgeeta</i>	'forget'
<i>forståa</i>	<i>forståist /</i> <i>forståit</i> ⁴⁹	<i>forstüün</i>	<i>forståa</i>	'understand' 'know how'
<i>fråga</i> [x]	<i>frögst / frögt</i> [ö³]	<i>froug / fraig /</i> <i>fruig / froig</i>	<i>frågt</i>	'ask'
<i>freeta</i>	<i>frets/fret</i>	<i>frait</i>	<i>freeta</i>	'eat' (of animals)
<i>gåa</i> [gɔ:], also [jɔ:]	<i>geist/geit</i> [je¹st]	<i>güng</i> [jyn]	<i>gåa</i> [gɔ:]	'go'
<i>gaita</i>	<i>gitst/git</i> also <i>jüt</i>	<i>güüt</i>	<i>goota</i>	'pour'
<i>geewa</i> [je:və]	<i>giwst</i> [jifst] / <i>giwt</i>	<i>gaiw</i> also <i>gaiwt</i> [jaif]	<i>gewt</i>	'give' Imp:giw!
<i>gefala</i>	<i>dat gefült</i>	<i>dat gefail</i>	<i>gefala</i>	'please'
<i>gewina</i>	<i>gewinst/gewint</i>	–	<i>gewuna</i>	'win'
<i>griipa</i>	<i>gripst/gript</i>	<i>graip</i>	<i>greepa</i>	'catch'
<i>hääwa</i>	<i>håw/håst/hät</i>	<i>haar</i>	<i>had</i>	'have'
<i>haita</i>	<i>hitst/hit</i>	–	<i>hita</i>	'be called'
<i>håla</i>	<i>hålst/hålt</i>	<i>hång/hong</i>	<i>håld</i>	'go for'
<i>helpa</i>	<i>helpst/helpt</i>	<i>hülþ</i>	<i>hulpa</i>	'help'
<i>hula</i>	<i>hülst/hült</i>	<i>hail</i>	<i>hula</i>	'hold'
<i>kijka</i>	<i>kikst/kikt</i>	<i>keik</i>	<i>keeka</i>	'look'
(koina)	<i>ka(n)/kast/ka(n)</i>	<i>küü(n)</i>	<i>küüt</i>	'can'
<i>köipa</i>	<i>köfst/köft</i> [ö³]	<i>köft/köfta</i>	<i>köft</i>	'buy'
<i>kooma</i>	<i>küüst/kümt</i>	<i>kaim</i>	<i>kooma</i>	'come'
<i>krijga</i>	<i>krigst/krigt</i>	<i>kreig</i> (also <i>kreigt</i>)	<i>kreega</i>	'get'
<i>kruupa</i>	<i>krüpst/krüpt</i>	<i>kraip</i>	<i>kroopa</i>	'creep'

49. Tressmann spells: *forsteit*.

infinitive	23sg present	past sg	participle	translation
<i>laiga</i>	<i>lūgst/lūgt</i>	<i>loug/luig</i>	<i>looga</i>	‘lie, not speaking the truth’
<i>lāta</i>	<i>lōt [ō³]</i>	<i>lait</i>	<i>lāta</i>	‘let’
<i>leiga</i>	<i>ligst/ligt</i>	<i>laig</i>	<i>leega</i>	‘lie, to be laid’
<i>lijga</i> (lijwa)	<i>ligst/ligt</i> (liwst/liwt)	–	–	‘borrow’
<i>lijra</i>	–	–	–	‘bear’ ⁵⁰
<i>loupa</i>	<i>lōpst/lōpt</i>	<i>laip</i>	<i>loupa</i>	‘run’
(macha)	<i>mach/machst/mach</i>	<i>müücht</i>	<i>müüch(t)/micht</i>	‘may’
<i>maga</i>	<i>mag/magst/mag</i>	<i>müücht</i>	<i>müücht? micht</i>	‘like’
<i>māka</i>	<i>mōkst/mōkt</i>	<i>maik</i>	<i>mök(t)</i>	‘make’
(muita)	<i>mud/must/mud</i>	<i>müst</i>	<i>müst</i>	‘must’
<i>neema</i>	<i>nimst/nimt</i>	<i>naim</i>	<i>nooma</i>	‘take’
<i>rijra</i>	<i>rirst/rirt</i>	<i>reir</i>	<i>reera</i>	‘drive’
<i>raupa</i>	<i>rōpst/rōpt</i>	<i>raip</i>	<i>roopa</i>	‘call’
<i>rijta</i>	<i>ritst/rit</i>	<i>reit</i>	<i>reeta</i>	‘rip’
<i>rijwa</i>	<i>riwst/riwt</i>	–	<i>reewa</i>	‘rub’
<i>sāga</i>	<i>sāgst/sāgt</i>	<i>säär</i>	<i>sāgt</i>	‘say’
<i>saia</i>	<i>süüst/süüt</i>	<i>saich</i> (also <i>saicht</i>)	<i>saia</i>	‘see’ <i>saich!</i>
<i>saiga</i>	<i>sūgst/sūgt</i>	–	<i>saiga</i>	‘show’
<i>schaita</i>	<i>schüst/schüt</i>	<i>schöit / schüt</i>	<i>schoota</i>	‘shoot’
<i>schijna</i>	<i>schinst/schint</i>	<i>schein</i>	<i>scheena</i>	‘shine’
(schoila)	<i>scha/schast/scha</i>	<i>schu</i> <i>schüül</i> (conj)	–	‘shall’
<i>schijta</i>	<i>schits/schit</i>	<i>scheit</i>	<i>scheeta</i>	‘shit’
<i>schuuwa</i>	<i>schüwst/schüwt</i>	<i>schouw</i>	<i>schoowa</i>	‘shove, push’
<i>sin</i> ⁵¹	<i>bün/büst/is</i>	<i>wäir</i> ⁵²	<i>wääst imp. wäs!</i>	‘be’
<i>sita</i>	<i>sitst/sit</i>	<i>sait</i> (also <i>seet</i>)	<i>seeta</i>	‘sit’

(continued)

50. This negative polarity verb seems to be defective. Only the infinitive is found.

51. I did not find any trace of the infinitive *wäisa* (cf. Frisian *wêze* ‘be’) in BP, though some EP dialects in the Treptow area had it (Prieue & Teuchert 1927/1928: 226).

52. EP had *was*, which is the indicative form. Modern BP systematically uses the past subjunctive form, which had /r/, as a simple past

infinitive	23sg present	past sg	participle	translation
<i>slåa</i>	<i>sleist/sleit</i> also <i>slöit</i>	<i>sloug/slöig</i>	<i>slåga</i>	'hit'
<i>slåpa</i>	<i>slöpst/slöpt</i>	<i>slaip</i>	<i>slåpa</i>	'sleep'
<i>sluka</i>	(weak)	(weak)	<i>slugd/slooka</i>	'swallow'
<i>sluuta</i>	<i>slütst/slüt</i>	<i>sloit</i> (?)	<i>sloota</i>	
<i>smeka</i>	<i>smekst/smek</i>	<i>smaik</i>	<i>smekt</i>	'taste'
<i>smijta</i>	<i>smitst/smit</i>	<i>smeit</i>	<i>smeeta</i>	'throw'
<i>snijra</i>	<i>snirst/snirt</i>	<i>sneir</i>	<i>sneera</i>	'cut'
<i>speela</i>		<i>spail</i> ⁵³		'play'
<i>bispreeka</i>	<i>bispreekst/spreekt</i>	<i>bespraik</i>	<i>bisprooka</i>	'bless'
(for) <i>spuira</i>		(for) <i>spöir</i>		'observe, notice'
<i>srijga</i>	<i>srigst/srijgt</i>	<i>sreig</i> (?)	<i>sreega</i>	'scream'
<i>ståa</i>	<i>stäist/stäit</i>	<i>stüün/stung</i>	<i>ståa</i>	'stand'
<i>steeka</i>	<i>stekst/steht</i>	<i>staik</i>	<i>stouka</i>	'put'
<i>steela</i>	<i>steelst/steelt</i>	<i>steelte</i> (PL. only)	<i>stoola</i>	'steal'
<i>stijga</i>	<i>stigst/stigt</i>	<i>steig</i>	<i>steega</i>	'rise'
<i>stöita</i>	<i>stötst/stöt</i>	–	<i>stöt</i>	'bump'
<i>suika</i>	<i>suikst/suikt</i>	<i>söcht</i>	<i>söcht</i>	'look for'
<i>suupa</i>	<i>süpst/süpt</i>	–	<i>soopa</i>	'drink' pejorative
<i>swela</i>	–	–	<i>swula</i>	'swell'
<i>swema</i>	<i>swemst/swemt</i>	<i>swum</i>	<i>swuma</i>	'swim'
<i>swöira</i>	<i>swöirst/swöirt</i>	–	<i>swoora</i>	'give an oath'
<i>trefa</i>	<i>trefst/treft</i>	<i>trüf</i>	<i>trufa</i>	'meet/hit'
<i>twinga</i>	<i>twingst/twingt</i>	<i>twung</i>	<i>twunga</i>	'force'
<i>wäaga</i>	<i>wägst/wägt</i>	–	<i>wooga</i>	'weigh'
<i>waara</i>	<i>waarst/waart</i>	<i>wü(r)/wö(r)</i> <i>wäir</i> ⁵⁴	<i>w(o)ura</i>	'become', 'will' 'future. aux'
<i>waita</i>	<i>wätst/wät</i>	<i>wüst</i>	<i>wüst</i>	'know'
<i>wascha</i>	<i>waschst/wascht</i>	–	<i>wuscha</i>	'wash'
<i>wassa</i>	<i>wasst/wasst</i>	<i>wuss</i>	<i>wussa</i>	'grow'
<i>wila / wüla</i>	<i>wi(l)/wist/wi(l)</i>	<i>wu(l) wüü</i> (conj)	<i>wud</i>	'want'/'will'

53. Usually, *speela* is a weak verb and, hence, defective in the preterite. I encountered this form once in European Pomeranian, but I lost track of the place.

54. This form is identical with the past tense of *sin* 'to be', and is perhaps a form of *sin*. The verb *sin* is sometimes used in an inchoative sense, cf. note 45.

3.6.9 The imperative

The imperative singular is identical to the form of the present tense 1SG, cf. (84abcd), with the exception of long /i:/ roots, which shorten, and apophonic verbs with e→i vowel change (84g), which have the /i/-form: *Giw!* < *geewa* ‘give’, and the verb *sin* ‘to be’, which uses the suppletive root *wäs*. The plural imperative adds -t to the verbal stem: *geewt!*.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------|---|------------|
| (84) | a. | <i>dau!</i> | < <i>daua</i> – ik <i>dau</i> – duu <i>däist</i> | ‘to do’ |
| | b. | <i>gå!</i> | < <i>gåa</i> – ik <i>gå</i> – duu <i>geist</i> | ‘to go’ |
| | c. | <i>koom man!</i> | < <i>kooma</i> – ik <i>koom</i> – duu <i>kömt</i> | ‘to come’ |
| | d. | <i>säg!</i> | < <i>säga</i> – ik <i>säg</i> – du <i>sägst</i> | ‘to say’ |
| | e. | <i>schriw!</i> | < <i>schrijwa</i> – ik <i>srijw</i> – duu <i>schriwst</i> | ‘to write’ |
| | f. | <i>bliw!</i> | < <i>blijwa</i> – ik <i>blijw</i> | ‘to stay’ |
| | g. | <i>giw!/geewt!</i> | < <i>geewa</i> – ik <i>geew</i> – duu <i>giwst</i> | ‘to give’ |
| | h. | <i>wäs!</i> | < <i>sin</i> – ik <i>bü</i> – du <i>büst</i> | ‘to be’ |

Singular and plural imperatives may have specific forms, distinct from all other present tense forms. If a language has specific imperative forms, this has consequences for the V2 syntax (Barbiers 2007), cf. Section 4.4.3. In the scheme below we compare the forms in Pomeranian.

- | (85) | <u>Imperative</u> | <u>Present tense</u> |
|------|---|-------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Koomt ni tau spår!</i>
come.IMP.PL not too late
‘Don’t come late!’ | <i>koom, kümst, kümt, kooma</i> |
| b. | <i>Gåt!</i>
go.IMP.PL
‘Go!’ | <i>gå, gäist, gäit, gåa</i> |
| c. | <i>Daut mij ni for oiwer⁵⁴ neema.</i>
do.IMP.PL me not evil take
‘Don’t blame me’ | <i>dau, däist, däit, daua</i> |
| d. | <i>Giw/geewt!</i>
<i>Giw mij ain ijser tään werer!</i>
give me an iron tooth back
‘Give me back an iron tooth’ | <i>geew, giwst, giwt, geewa</i> |
| e. | <i>Bliw man sitend!</i>
stay PRT sit.INF2
‘Remain seated!’ | <i>blijf, blifst, blift, blijwa</i> |

55. This is Tressmann’s spelling. As the value of the final consonant is not clear, it might be analyzed as *oiwel* ~ Dutch *euvel* ‘evil’.

There is no difference in final devoicing in 1SG and imperative, *ik sing* [ɪksɪŋ], *sing!* [sɪŋ] not *[sɪŋk], which might indicate that there is a catalectic e-ending in 1SG present tense as well as in the imperative: sing(e)_o. A catalectic imperative schwa suffix also explains the rhotacized forms: *arbeir!* ‘work!’ (cf. *dai arbeid* [t] ‘the work’), *Rår ais wat ik hijr ina hand häw!* ‘Guess what I have in my hand!’ (cf. the noun *råd* ‘counsel’). Catalexis would classify Pomeranian on a par with German, which has *arbeite!*, contrasting with Dutch and Frisian, which use the bare stem in the imperative singular: Du/Fri *arbeid!*, Du. *zing!*, Fri *sjong!*, ‘sing.IMP.SG’, etc. It is also possible, however, that the zero form is the underlying form in Pomeranian, i.e. sing-ø ‘sing.IMP.SG’. If so, Pomeranian is on a par with Dutch and Frisian.⁵⁶ Evidence for this analysis is the form *wäs!* ‘be.IMP.SG’, without rhotacism, parallel to Dutch *wees!*, Frisian *wês!* The former analysis has slightly better cards.

The imperative usually leaves the subject position unexpressed, as illustrated above. In the rare cases the 2.SG/PL pronoun does show up, it appears in the accusative form: *dij* and *juuch*, not in the expected nominative forms (*duu* and *jij*).

- a. *Slåp* *dij* *man uut!*
 sleep.IMP.SG you.SG.ACC PRT out
 ‘Take a good nap’
- b. *Daut* *juuch* *åwer ni lacha* *oiwer mij!*
 Do.IMP.PL you.PL.ACC but not laugh.INF over me
 ‘Do not laugh at me’

These subject pronouns are difficult to separate from the use as ethical dative pronouns.

3.7 Prepositional morphology

There are only heavy prepositions, no weak or clitic ones, apart from the lexicalized *t’houp* ‘together’, *t’huus* ‘at home’ and *trecht* ‘ready’. In some European Pomeranian dialects *to* was a reduced form of *tau*. I have not encountered this weak *to* in Brazilian Pomeranian.

56. Frisian has the imperative *-je* ending in a separate weak class (the so-called *-je* verbs), such as *hjelje!* It is plausible that it is the bare stem, in view of the vocalic 23sg forms: *hellest*, *hellet*.

3.7.1 P + D contraction

Prepositions (P) can undergo contraction with the determiner (D). It is a phonological contraction that is blind for morphosyntactic features of case, gender, number.

(86)	P + <i>dem</i>	P + <i>de/</i> <i>dera/dai</i>	P + <i>dat</i>	Case	gloss
<i>nå</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nåna</i>	–	DAT	‘after’
<i>tau</i>	<i>taum</i> [tam]	<i>tauna</i> [tana]	–	DAT	‘to, for, until’
<i>in</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>int</i> [it]	DAT/ACC	‘in’
<i>an</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>ant</i>	DAT/ACC	‘at’
<i>up</i>	<i>upm</i> [um]	<i>upa</i>	<i>upt</i>	DAT/ACC	‘on, up’
<i>fon</i>	<i>fom</i>	<i>fona</i>		DAT	‘of, from’
<i>bij</i>	<i>bijm</i>	<i>bijna</i>		DAT	‘at, in, near’
<i>üm</i>	–	–		ACC	‘around’
<i>mit</i>	<i>mitm</i> [mim]	<i>mita</i>		DAT	‘with’
<i>bet</i>	–	–		–	‘till’
<i>foir</i>	<i>fom</i>	<i>fona</i>		DAT/ACC	‘before, in front of’
<i>for/för</i>	–	–		ACC	‘for’
<i>uut</i>	–			DAT	‘out’
<i>doir</i>	–	–		ACC	‘through’
<i>mang</i>	–	–	–	DAT	‘among’
<i>tüschen</i>	–	–	–	DAT+ACC	‘between’

Notice that both *fon* ‘of’ and *foir* ‘before’ with the dative article *dem* contract to *fom*. Forms with incorporated MASC/NEUT dative article: *taum* [tam], with FEM/PL dative article: *tauna* [tana]. Examples:

- (87) *taum pulderåwend* ‘at polterabend’
tauna hochtiid ‘at the wedding’
tauna festdåg ‘on holidays’
fon ain nacht tauna anerd ‘from one night to the other’

3.7.2 Prepositions, postpositions, and verbal particles

Adverbial particles and postpositions are created from prepositions by both prefixing *r-* and suffixing *-er*. For instance, *an* ~ *r-an-er*. The prefix *r-* has no prosodic

space of its own (“onset”). The structure might be as in (88d), with XP-fronting. The suffix *-er* might then be needed to bind the empty slot. This might be compared to quantitative *er* in Dutch (cf. Section 4.3.1).

- (88) a. *Un hai wäir ana dijk ranerreera* accusative
and he was on.the.ACC dike onto ridden
'and he drove onto the dike'
- b. *(Sai) häwa ni forgeeta im tüügkasta drai daila*
they have not forgotten in.the.DAT suitcase three things
rinermäken: ... dative
into-put:
'They did not forget to put three things in their luggage'
- c. *Un (wij) häwa's ranerhängt ana kangal*
and we have.them onto-hung to-the yoke
'and we hung them onto the yoke'
- d. *[ana dijk]_i an [ec]_i*

These are parallel to German *draus* ‘out to’, *drin* ‘into’ which have a *dr-* prefix < *darin* ‘therein’. If the preposition ends in *-er*, no suffix is added. Some particles are identical to their prepositions, if the prefix cannot be added for phonological reasons, e.g. if cliticization would create an illegitimate onset (89h–k). One preposition (*fon* ‘from’) has an allomorphic particle (*af* ‘off’). The particle to *doir* can also be *rümer*.

(89)	<u>Static</u>	<u>Directional</u>	
a.	<i>ut</i>	<i>ruter</i>	‘out’
b.	<i>in</i>	<i>riner</i>	‘in(to)’
c.	<i>an</i>	<i>raner</i>	‘on(to)’
d.	<i>up</i>	<i>ruper</i>	‘up(to)’
e.	<i>uuner</i>	<i>ruuner</i>	‘under’
f.	<i>oiwer</i>	<i>roiwer</i>	‘over’
g.	<i>üm</i>	<i>rümer</i>	‘(a)round’ (relation not transparent)
h.	<i>hijner</i>	<i>hijner</i>	‘behind’
i.	<i>nå</i>	<i>nå</i>	‘after’
j.	<i>mang</i>	<i>mang ... doir</i>	‘among’
k.	<i>doir</i>	<i>doir</i>	‘through’
l.	<i>fon</i>	<i>af</i>	‘from, off’

A variant of the verbal prefix *riner-* is *ei-* (cf. German *ein* ‘in’ with apocope of *-n*). I only have one example with the prefix *ei-*, which is without doubling element.

- (90) *Oft wäir't eidailt wat kaim.* (Seibel D)
 often was it in-divided what came
 'Whatever came in, was divided'

The connection between *üm* and *rümer* is synchronically weak, if present at all. While the preposition *üm* has limited its scope, losing its purpose readings to *taum*, *rümer* has broadened to an independent adverb 'around, everywhere', which often combines with other prepositions: *doir*, *in*, etc.

- (91) *Dai taxi is ina stad rümerfuirt*
 'The cab has circulated in the city'

For the syntax of these postpositions/verbal particles, we refer to Section 4.6.4.

Syntax

In this chapter, we list some properties of the verbal, nominal, adjectival, and prepositional syntax in a contrastive way with the West Germanic sister languages. It may be clear that we do not claim completeness.

4.1 Verbal syntax

4.1.1 Verbal complementation and Verb second (cluster V2)

Pomeranian, just like the other continental West Germanic languages¹ has overall OV order with additional V2 of the finite verb in main clauses.

- (1) a. ... *dat hai air bauk lääsa mut* (ES)
 ... that he a book read must
 b. *hai mut air bauk lääsa*
 he must a book read
- (2) a. ... *wou slim as dai biss wääst is.* (UmL:80)
 ... how severe PRT the bite been is
 ‘...how severe the bite has been’
 b. *Awends is hai darhen wääst*
 at night is he there-to been (UmL:39)
 ‘he went to it at night’

A difference with German and Dutch is that verbal clusters of perfect auxiliary + modal participle can undergo joint V2, illustrated in (3).

- (3) a. *Dun [hät küüt] hai sijn leewstijd im schata*
 Then has could.PTC he his life.time in-the shadow
 rijra. (UmL:42)
 ride.INF1
 ‘Then he could drive his whole life in the shadow’

1. Apart from Yiddish.

- b. *Dun [hät müst] papa sou seir loupa, ...* (UmL:103)
 then has must.ptc daddy so much run.INF1
 ‘Then, daddy had to run so much’
- c. *Dun [hät müst] mijn fruug drägt waara bet Campinho upm*
 then has must.ptc my wife carried AUX.PASS till Campinho on-the
naka (DP:333)
 neck
 ‘Then my wife must be carried on my neck till Domingo Martins’

Cluster V2 only occurs when the sentence final verbal position is not empty. This might be a simple consequence that cluster V2 only occurs with auxiliaries.

As the past tense is often replaced by a periphrastic perfect in Pomeranian (cf. Section 3.6.3), one might be tempted to see the V2 cluster as a superficial spellout of the [MOD • past] with fission to [past] + [MOD], where [past] is lexicalized by the HAVE and [MOD] takes the shape of the participle. This would mean that (3a) would be an alternative spellout of (4).

- (4) *Dun [küü] hai sijn leewstijd im schata rijra.*
 then could he his life.time in-the shadow ride.INF1
 ‘Then he could ride in the shadow his entire life’

However, this would not explain the obligatory 12 relative order of the two lexemes in V2 position, in view of the variety of orders in embedded clauses, which includes, next to the orders (12)3, 3(12), also the orders 3(21) and the, here irrelevant, order (132): (I think that he) *hät müst gaa* (123) / *gaa hät müst*(312) / *gaa müst hät* (321) / *hät gaa müst* (132). This indicates that V2 cannot be a late spellout effect, but a consequence of morphosyntactic incorporation. Moreover, the cluster movement is not obligatory, as illustrated in (3).

- (5) *Bet sijn stuun ranerkaim, hät hai müst seir feel*
 Until his hour arrived, has he must.PTC very much
uuthula (DP:461)
 suffer.INF1
 ‘Until his last hour came, he had to suffer a lot’

For a more elaborate account, cf. Postma (2014), where cluster V2 is related to other syntactic properties, such as *daua* support and the rise of the complex complementizer *taum*.² In interrogatives, cluster V2 is not possible.³

- (6) a. *Haarst duu küüt em dat ni fråga?*
 had you could him that not ask
 ‘Couldn’t you asked him?’
 b. **Haarst küüt dou em dat ni fråga?*
 have could you him that nit ask

Also pronominal material, like the reflexive verbal marker *sich*, can be part of this V2 positioning:

- (7) *Jeira dag gript sich hai air küüka.* (UmL:112)
 every day fetches REFL he a.NEUTER chicken
 ‘Every day he fetches himself a chicken’

Perhaps also referential pronouns subsume to this scheme, but these can also be analyzed as cases with verb projection raising.

- (8) a. *Wij häwa ous müst [seir kwäälä darmit].* (UmL:64)
 we have us must.PTC very-much torture therewith
 ‘we must have tortured ourselves with it’
 b. *Dai film schal gaud sin, äwer ik häw em küüt ni saia* (PW, sv schâla)
 the film shall good be, but I have him could not see

‘the film must be good, but I was not able to see it yet’

Clitic pronouns, such as *’t* ‘it’, *’s* ‘they’, and perhaps *-a* ‘he’ intervene obligatorily between the two auxiliaries. The structures in (6) and (8) suggest the following template for Pomeranian:

- (9) prefield V2 CL V4 SU with SU = NP or (non-clitic) pronouns

2. See also van Gelderen (2000) for the relation between the complementizer and absence of V-to-T in Shakespearean English.

3. This construction is also present in Pomeranian in RS (Kaufmann 2018).

- (i) *Gistern hä küüt ik mija fingering forköft häwa*
 Yesterday have could.ptc I my rings sold have
 ‘Yesterday I could have sold more rings’

From a translation test, Kaufmann concludes that there is default 3sg agreement in cluster V2 constructions. This might be the reason why (6b) is ungrammatical.

Apart from the CP layer with a topicalized constituent XP and verbal movement to the V2-position, we have a third position where the weak subject and object pronouns are realized. This position may trigger the V4-position by a participle (only if there is a further verbal embedding). Even more down in the structure sits the subject position SU filled with a full NP. This configuration makes that weak object pronouns such as *sich* precede the derived lexical subject (in bold), as illustrated in (10).

- (10) a. *Wou gaud dait sich **dat** ais leesa!* medio-passive
 how good does REFL it PRT read.INF1
 b. *Den hüllt sich **dai wijnachtsman** im mijlcha* inherent reflexive
 then keeps REFL the christmas-man in.the corn(field)
 c. *Den plegt sich **jeira hân** par hiner neema* benefactive
 then use.to REFL every cock some hens take
 d. *As ik werer henkaim, wäir mij **de mijlchen** uutfreeta.* passive
 when I again PRT.came, was me the corn.PL PRT.eaten
 ‘When I returned, my corn was eaten’

A pronominal underived subject always precedes object pronouns.

- (11) *Dikrijs kan **man** sich t’huus kooka.*
 Sweet-rice can one REFL at.home cook.INF

The conjunctions *u(n)* ‘and’, *ure(r)* ‘or’, *awe(r)* ‘but’ and *weegen* ‘for’ do not count for V2.

- (12) *Weegen dai kluk passt beeter na dai klaina pedla up.* (UmL:33)
 for the hen cares better for the small chickens PRT
 ‘For the hen takes better care for the small chickens’

Verb fronting also occurs in pseudo-coordinative constructions under *anfanga* ‘begin’ and *hengaa* ‘go’, cf. Section 4.7.1.

- (13) *Wen den air meisch hengeit un [nimt dai eiger mit dai hand **nimt**], ...*
 when the one person PRT.goes and takes the eggs with the hand
 ‘When somebody goes and takes the eggs by hand, ...’

We assume this is due to the same operation as the main clause V2 placement.

4.1.2 Verb raising

In our corpus, there are virtually no verb raising constructions, neither with modals, nor with perfect or passive auxiliaries: only V_2V_1 orders occur in embedded clauses. However, we need assume it with AUX + participles, as a cluster may

undergo V2, cf. (3) above. So, it seems that verb raising is only possible if it is not the endpoint of movement. Upon explicit elicitation, however, informants accept raised verbal clusters, as given in (14a).

- (14) a. ... *dat hai air bauk lääsa mut/mut lääsa* (HB)
 ... that he a book {read.INF must/must read.INF}
 ‘... that he must read a book’
- b. ... *wou dai lüür häwa leewt un wou dai hüüt leewa*
 where the people have lived and where they today live
daua (DP:83)
 do
 ‘...where they [the Pomeranians] have lived and where they live now’

I do not have an explanation for this split in active language use and passive language judgements. For verb raising in three-verb clusters, see the discussion in Section 4.1.1. There is never verb raising with *daua*-support (see also Jäger 2006 for German dialects). An indicative example is given in (14b) with two clauses in coordination, where HAVE + PTC is in 12-order, while DO + INF is in 21-order. The first order is variable, the latter fixed. This can be interpreted that Pomeranian has V-raising to Asp, but no V-to-T raising.⁴

4.1.3 Infinitive 1 and infinitive 2 (use)

4.1.3.1 Overview

Like Frisian (Tiersma 1985:125ff, Hoekstra 1997 *passim*), and in contrast with general West Germanic, Pomeranian has two infinitives, a verbal form, called infinitive 1 (INF1), and an originally nominalized form with synchronically full-fledged verbal properties, the infinitive 2 (INF2) or gerund.

4. For the sake of completeness, I give the other example of verb raising in the corpus under (i).

(i) *Sai hät uk forstâa, dat sai küün kooka, brâra un chokolade kooka*
 ‘She had also understood that she could cook, fry, and make chocolate’

A shared property with (13b) is that the sentence continues with a coordination and that the list intonation drives the deepest embedded verb to a stressed position.

-
- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (15) | infinitive 1 or “infinitive”: stem + <i>a</i> [-v/-ə] | <i>kooma</i> ‘come’ |
| | infinitive 2 or “gerund”: stem + <i>en</i> ⁵ [-ən/ən] | <i>koomen</i> , e.g. <i>taum koomen</i> |
-

The infinitive 1 is in *-a* [v/ə]: *geewa* [jɛ:və] ‘give’. The infinitive 2 is in *-en* [-ən/ən]. The two infinitives virtually have a complementary distribution. Contexts exist, however, where both infinitives may occur. Presumably, these contexts are underlyingly distinct.

4.1.3.2 Use of infinitive 1

The infinitive 1 typically occurs under modal auxiliaries (16a), under the (periphrastic) auxiliary verb *daua* ‘to do’ (16b), the causative verb *lâta* ‘to let’ (16c), aspectual verbs such as *gâa* ‘to go’ and *kooma* ‘to come’ (16d–h), in bare infinitive construction with imperative i.e. modal import (16i), the negative polarity auxiliary *bruuka* ‘to need’ (16j), and finally under the hortative particle *wim* or *wif* ‘let’s’ (16k).

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|-------|
| (16) | a. | <i>Ik wi aira na huus kooma</i>
I want early to house come.INF1
‘I want to come home early’ | MODAL |
| | b. | <i>Ik dau morgen mijlcha planta</i>
I will tomorrow corn plant.INF1
‘I will plant corn tomorrow’ | FUT |
| | c. | <i>Ik loat mine jaung ni so spâr na hus kooma</i>
I let my son not so late to home come.INF1
‘I do not let my son come home so late’ | CAUSE |
| | d. | <i>Un hai wâir dêrmit spatsijra reera.</i>
and he was there-with trip.INF1 ride.PTC
‘and he had gone ride on a trip with it (i.e. a horse)’ | ASP |
| | e. | <i>Wen mijlchatijd is, den gâa sai ala t’houp steela.</i>
when corn.time is, then go they all together steel.INF1
‘During the harvest, they go and steel together.’ | ASP |
| | f. | <i>un gâa in aina hola boum slâpa.</i>
and (they) go in a hollow tree sleep.INF1
‘and they go and sleep in a hollow tree’ | ASP |
| | g. | <i>Aina dag bün ik ina wald jagta gâa</i>
one day am I in.the wood hunt.INF1 gone
‘One day, I went into the wood hunting’ | ASP |

5. Verbs in *-ijra* and (incidentally) iterative verbs in *-era* (ambisyllabic roots) do not have a separate gerund: *tam kurijra* and not **tam kurijen* (*spatsijra*, *passijra* (to be checked)), *tam ous swijn futral/futren*. Verbal clusters may follow this pattern: *tam sich ni natreegna lata*.

- h. *Hai kümt ous betåla* ASP
 he comes us pay.INF1
 ‘he comes to pay us’
- i. *un den gaud fijnstampa!* Imperative
 and then good fine.crunch.INF1
 ‘and do crunch it then well’
- j. *Dai brüükta den ni gans hengåa na Frans Lange*
 They needed then not entirely PRT.go.INF1 to FL’s house
 ‘They did not need to go entirely to FL’s house’
- k. *Wim nâ huus gâa* Hortative
 will.we to house go.INF1
 ‘Let’s go home’

Wim, *wif* and *wüf*⁶ ‘let’s’ are contractions of the modal verb *wila* ‘will’⁷ with the reduced form of the pronoun *wij*/*w* ‘we’, incidently with final devoicing. The hortative particle is functionally parallel to the Portuguese particle *xe* < *deixe*, from *deixar* ‘to let’. Infinitive 1 complementation is always without complementizer. A one-way correlation holds: in a context with infinitive 1, there is no complementizer. The reverse is not true: not all infinitive 2 constructions have a complementizer.

4.1.3.3 Use of infinitive 2

The infinitive 2, with ending *-en*, typically occurs with *blijwa* ‘stay’ (17ab), in Acl constructions (17cd), and furthermore in combination with the complementizer *taum* [tam], cf. (18).⁸

- (17) a. *An dera paika bleiw ous määkes dai kopdauk anhängen*
 to the peaks stayed our girls the head headkerchief PRT.hang.INF2
 ‘The headkerchief stayed hanging to the hooks’
- b. *Dai snee is deis nacht bij ous leigen bleewa* (HB)
 the snow is this night at us lay.INF2 stayed

6. From the tale of the Wolf and the Seven Goats: *vif as úna dái dóa kika* ‘let’s look under the door’ (from São Lorenzo (RS)). Also Pomeranian in ES has these forms. Neither *wim*, nor *wif* or *wüf* are given in Tressmann’s dictionary.

7. Old Saxon has dummy *wita* ‘know’ in this function: *uuita kiasan im ôdrana niudsamna namon: he niate of he môti* ‘let us choose him another name: “he (=God) is merciful if needed” (i.e. the name “Iohanan”) (Heliand 224).

8. The two infinitive system was also in vigor in EP. The *blijwa* case can be extracted from W10 (*ståen blijwa*), the *tau(m)* case from W2 (*taum snijgen uphöira*), W16 (*ut-tau-drinken*). There is no Acl construction in the Wenkersätze, but see also the EP texts in Section 9.5.

- c. *Ik häw nog kanous **uplâren** saia* (Seibel:D)
 I have yet canoes up.load.INF2 see.PTC
 'I saw the canoes being loaded'
- d. *Ik kan dij härts **slâen** höira* (PD:425)
 I can your heart beat.INF2 hear.INF1
 'I can hear your heart beat'
- (18) a. *Ik neem de wâga **taum** aira na hus **koomen*** (ESB)
 I take the car for.to early to house come.INF2
 'I take the car in order to arrive home early'
- b. *Wij arbeira upm laand **taum** da arme luur **helpen*** (ESB)
 we work on the land for.to the poor people help.INF2
 'We work on the land to help the poor people'
- c. *Dai lüür sin arm un häwa kair gild **taum** sich air huus*
 The people are poor and have no money for.to REFL a house
buugen (UmL:78)
 build.INF2
 'The people are poor and have no money to build themselves a house'
- d. *Den waard dai gumi ina fluss rinermakt **taum** ni sward*
 then is.PASS the gum in the river put for.to not black
waaren. (UmL:94)
 become.INF2
 'Then the gum is put into the river for it not to become black'

The following asymmetric implication holds: if there is infinitival complementizer is lexical, there is infinitive 2. This distribution of the infinitive 2 (um...tau, AcI constructions, and under *blijwa* 'to stay') is parallel to Frisian.

Taum is historically a contraction of *tau* + *dem* 'to + the.DAT', but was reanalyzed in BP as a complex complementizer *tau* + *üm* 'for.to' (Postma 2016). Two variants occur: the split gerund [*taum* ... V_{gerund}], and the aligned gerund, [... *taum* V_{gerund}]. The latter is the only option in Frisian (Hoekstra 1997). In Frisian material between *te* 'to' and the gerund obligatorily incorporates into the verb (Hoekstra *op. cit.*). In Pomeranian, the material between *taum* and gerund may not only contain particles, bare nouns, indefinite nouns, and lower adverbs, but also definite nouns (18b), pronouns (18c), and negation (18d). This shows that the material is not incorporated in Pomeranian, contrary to Frisian. High adverbs (discourse and epistemic adverbs) are excluded from this construction.

The verb *blijwa* also takes a present participle complement (cf. Section 4.1.6). Verbs of motion that function as aspectual verb select infinitive 1 (see above 4.1.3.2), but verbs of motion can also go along with the *taum* + INF2 if it has a purpose reading. The *taum* clause is here an adjunct.

- (19) *Wij sin ais upa land gâa [taum rijsland putsen]* (UmL:103)
 we are once to-the land gone for.to rice-land cleaning
 ‘Once we went to the countryside to clean the rice field’

Scopal adverbs cause distinct readings before or after *taum*.

- (20) *Ik benuts dijn seip rasch [tam afwaschen]* (ESB)
 I use you soap quick to PRT.wash (temporal adverb)
 ‘I use your soap to quickly wash the dishes’
- (21) *Ik benuts dij hait wâter [tam rasch afwaschen]* (ESB)
 I use your.n hot.n water to quick (manner adverb)
 ‘I use your hot water to quickly wash the dishes’

4.1.3.4 *Taum constructions with stacked verbs*

In *taum* constructions with stacked verbs, only the hierarchally highest verb has the gerund, as expected:

- (22) *...taum [dera hingst drinka] lâten* (UmL:41)
 ...for.to the stallion drink.INF1 let.INF2
 ‘...for letting the stallion drink’

However, cases with neutralization to the *-a* infinitive in the entire cluster are found:

- (23) *(Hai) is ni fon dem imakasta ruunergâa taum sich ni*
 he is not from the beehive away gone for-to REFL not
natreegna lâta (UmL:44)
 wet rain.INF1 let.INF1
 ‘He did not leave the beehive for him not to get wet from the rain’

When realized as an adjunct, the truly nominalized form is possible, e.g. under the preposition *bij* [bi:] ‘at’. This construction may have incorporated material between P and the nominalized verb.

- (24) *Ik hâw Fritz saia [bijm ranja steelen]* (ESB)
 I have Fritz seen at.DAT oranges steal.INF2
 ‘I saw Fritz stealing oranges.’

This is a nominal construction that does not give accusative case, but requires incorporation to license its object (Baker 1988).

4.1.3.5 Contexts with infinitive 1 or infinitive 2: Complement clauses

In selected complements, there is no complementizer *taum* (=um + tau). This is without exception. Complement clauses typically realize with the infinitive 1, but cases with the infinitive 2 (without *taum*) occur, as well as with the participle.

4.1.3.5.1 Complement clauses with infinitive 1 Examples of control contexts with infinitive 1 are *helpa* ‘to help’, *plega* ‘used to’, *säga* ‘to say’, *befeela* ‘to order’. These seem to have complex thematic grids, with a possible dative argument.

- (25) a. *Sai häwa dai* “*Numer Eins Kirch*” in Luxemburg *buuga*
they have de “Number one Church” in Luxemburg build.INF1
hulpa. (Seibel:D)
help.PTC
‘They helped building the Number One Church in Luxemburg.’
- b. *Den plegt sich jeira hân* [*pår hiner neema*] *un mökt sich*
then use-to SE every cock [PRO some hens take.INF1] and makes
air nest. (UmL:32)
SE a nest
‘Then every cock usually takes some hens and makes himself a nest.’
- c. *Mama hät sägt, ni spår nå huus kooma*. (DP:265)
mum has said not late to house come.INF1
‘Mum said not to come home late.’
- d. *Dai dokter hät befoula* [*jeira dag gâa*]. (DP:41)
the docter has ordered every day walk.INF1
‘The docter ordered to walk every day.’

4.1.3.5.2 Control contexts with infinitive 2 Verbs that systematically take infinitive 2 complements are *forståa* ‘to understand/know to’, *forgeeta* ‘to forget’, *anbaira* ‘to offer’. It seems to be a heterogeneous class.

- (26) a. *Sai forståit jâ nog* [*kair broud baken*]. (DP:141)
She understand PRT yet no bread bake.INF2
‘She does not know yet how to make bread/She cannot bake bread.’
- b. *Sai hät forgeeta* [*stuuta köipen*]. (DP:135)
she has forgotten white.bread.SG buy.INF2
‘She forgot to buy bread.’
- c. (*Sai*) *häwa ni forgeeta im tüügkasta drai daila*
they have not forgotten in.the suitcases three things
rinermaak: ... (DP:48)
PRT.put.INF2
‘They did not forget to put three things into their suitcases: ...’

- d. *Sai dääit sich anbaira dij helpen, wen duu bruukst.* (DP:17)
 she does SE offer you help.INF2, when you need.2SG
 ‘She offers herself to help you whenever you need.’

Notice that the negation in *kair* ‘no’ in (26a) has wide scope (NOT > CAN) just as standard with modal verb constructions, which take infinitive1 complements. Notice that the deontic context of (26a) is semantically parallel to *sai kan nog kair broud baka* ‘she cannot bake a bread yet’, which has infinitive 1 complementation obligatorily. It shows that both infinitive 1 and infinitive 2 constructions are transparent for negation, and might lack TP.

4.1.3.5.3 Verbs with varying complementation: INF1 or INF2 without taum. The verbs *forsuika* ‘to try’ and *uphöira* ‘to stop’ show both INF1 and INF2 complementation. The complementizer *taum* is excluded though.

- (27) a. *Ik fersuik [ais aira na hus gää].* (ESB)
 I try PRT early to house go.INF1
 ‘I try to go home early’
- b. *Ik forsuiik [dat up Pomerisch ø sägen]* (DP:141)
 I try that in Pomeranian say.INF2
 ‘I try to say that in Pomeranian’
- c. **Ik fersuik [taum ais aira na hus gään]* (ESB)
 I try to.DAT early to house go.INF2
 ‘I try to come home early’
- d. *Dat instituut hät (dårmit) uphöirt [soura måken]* (DP:505)⁹
 the institute has therewith stopped serum make.INF2
 ‘The institute stopped making serum.’
- e. *Soura hät dat instituut uphöirt måka* (HB)
 serum has the institute stopped make.INF1
 ‘The institute stopped making serum.’

It is not clear what triggers this choice between (27a) and (27b), and between (27d) and (27e), but it seems to correlate with the presence of a resumptive pronoun and lack of extractability.

- (28) **Soura hät dat instituut dårmit uphöirt måken* (HB)
 serum has the institute stopped make.INF2

The verb *anhula* ‘to stop’ takes an *am*+INF2 complement.

Most of the time, however, Pomeranian prefers finite complementation over infinitival complementation, as in (29).

9. (i) *Dat instituut hät uphöirt soura måken* (HB)

- (29) a. *Ik forspreek, dat ik stilswijg.* finite
 I promise that I keep.silent
 'I promise to keep silent.'
- b. *Dai dokter hât em forornd dat hai jeira dag gâa schal.* finite
 the docter has him ordered that he every day walk shall
 'The docter has ordered him to walk every day.'

This is a common feature of German dialects (Brandner 2006).

4.1.3.5.4 Nominal and adjectival complementation. In complement clauses to adjectives and nouns without complementizer, the infinitive 1 shows up (30a), but cases with an infinitive 2 exist as well, as in (30b).

- (30) a. *Dai kel is ni gaud [mit nâ huus neema].* (UmL:33)
 the spoon is not good with to house take.INF1
 'One should not take the spoon home'
- b. *Dar is uk kainer, wat dat recht hât, ous uutlachen un*
 there is also none who the right has, us PRT.laugh.INF2 and
uutspoten.
 PRT.mock.INF2 (UmL:5)
 'No one has the right to ridicule and mock us.'

The distribution needs further study.

4.1.3.6 Four verb stacking

I found two cases of four-verb stacking. The two highest verbs have undergone joint V2, while the lower two are in sentence final position (ignoring the two extraposed phrases).

- (31) a. *Dun [hât müst] mijn fruug drâgt waara bet Campinho upm*
 then has must.PTC my wife carried AUX.PASS till Campinho on-the
naka (DP:333)
 neck
 'Then my wife must be carried on the neck till Domingo Martins.'
- b. *Jeirer mitglijd [hât müst] firtsich bet fuwsich dâg arbeira*
 every member has must.PTC fourty till fifty days work.INF1
helpa (Seibel:D)
 help.INF1
 'Every member was obliged to help work 40–50 days.'

These must be derived from clause final 43(12)-order under cluster V2. This type of construction receives ample discussion in Kaufmann (2018).

4.1.3.7 BE + taum

The copula + *taum* forms a modal passive, as in Dutch and German.

- (32) a. *Dat wäir ni taum bruuken*
 that was not to use
 ‘that could not be used’
 b. *(Dai kastangaboum) is uk licht taum fijnen im urwald fon Guianen*
 ‘(The Brazil nut tree) is easy to find in the forest of Guiana’

There seem to be no special properties to report. Since it is always the object that is extracted, one cannot test the verbal nature of this construction. Since negation and other dative pronouns are forbidden, we assume that *taum* + gerund is a nominal construction.

4.1.3.8 VP coordinations under taum

In coordinative constructions under *taum*, only the first conjunct has *-en* (33a). This first conjunct can be subject to ellipsis (33b). It thus appears that the gerund *-n* and the coordinator *un* are in complementary distribution.

- (33) a. *taum mijlchabroud baken, urer polenta mākā.* (UmL:75)
 for-to corn.bread bake.INF2 or polenta make.INF1
 ‘to bake corn bread or to make polenta’
 b. *taum sich fona huun un jagter forsteeka.* (UmL:78)
 for-to REFL from-the.PL dogs Ø and hunters hide.INF1
 ‘... to hide themselves from the hounds and hunters’

I found one case where a control verb takes a complement clause with *taum*.

- (34) ... *dat feel juugend wat pomerer sin, sich schääma taum*
 ... that much youth REL pomeranians are, REFL shame for-to
 Pomerisch reeren. (UmL:5)
 pomeranian speak
 ‘... that a lot of pomeranian youngsters are ashamed of speaking pomeranian’

This exception might be only apparent. It might also be analyzed as a nominalization with an incorporated noun: /P N+N/ structure.

4.1.4 Participle complementation

Complement clauses of the verb *kriija* ‘to succeed’ select a perfect/passive participle (35a–e), but I found cases with a present participle (35fg) as well.

- (35) a. ...*dat kair hâwk eer greepa krigt.* (UmL:104)
 ... (so) that no hawk them caught succeeds
 ‘... so that no hawk succeeds in catching them’
- b. *Dai hâwk hât dai klain kat nischt greepa kreiga* (UmL:112)
 the hawk has the small cat not caught get.INF1
 The hawk did not succeed in catching the little cat’
- c. *Meir hâwa sai ni mâkt kreega as dai gansa*
 more have they not done succeeded then the entire
lûür uutrüüma (Seibel:A)
 people inspect
 ‘They did not succeed in more than inspect everyone’
- d. *Ik hâw dat meist ales leest kreega* (PD:313)
 I have it most all read.PTC succeeded
 ‘I succeeded to read the main part of it’
- e. *Hai hât dai krümd ni mâkt kreega* (PD:274)
 he has the curve not made succeeded
 ‘he did not succeed in making the curve.’
- f. *As dai stäärerlûür oiwer dai gefâr waitend kreiga, ...*
 when the citizens about the danger knowing get.PAST (DP:159)
 ‘However, when the citizens realized the danger, ...’
- g. *Ik hâw dat hemd nij meir saierend kreega.* (PD:401)
 I have that shirt not anymore seeing get.PTC
 ‘I never saw that shirt back.’

The distribution is limited to some resultative verbs (accomplishments), such as *griipa* ‘to get’, and *mâka* ‘to make, to do’. It might be a collocation.

4.1.5 Pseudo-coordination (parataxis)

Just like Frisian, Middle Dutch and English, Pomeranian uses coordination as a way to express subordination under *hengâa* ‘to go off’, *forsuika* ‘to try’, and *anfanga* ‘to start off’. It is a slightly more eye-catching construction in Pomeranian than the English *try and do* because of the Pomeranian basic OV order and the fact that there is verb fronting under the coordinator. This creates an order /OV & VO/ that is different from subordinate complementation.

- (36) a. *Wen den air meisch hengeit un [nimt dai eiger mit dai*
 when the one person PRT goes and takes the eggs with the
hand] (DP:136)
 hand
 ‘If somebody goes and takes the eggs by hand.’

- b. *Un vasoikt ji ouk un [schrieft wat am*
and try you.PL too and write something to
Semeador] (Hartuwig 2011: 113)
Semeador
'and you try to write something to the S. (a magazine)'
- c. *den fānga sai an un [freeta mijlcha]* (UmL:30)
then start they off and eat.INF1 corn
'Then they start eating corn'
- d. *den kan man anfānga un [slachta wek]* (UmL:30))
then can one off.start.INF1 and slaughter.INF1 some
'Then one can start slaughtering some'

Anfanga 'to start off' (36cd) is a special case, as the complementation not only occurs paratactically but also by subordination. The verbal form is the infinitive 2 (*legen* in (37a)), rather than the infinitive 1 in the coordination. This must be due to the preposition/complementizer *ana*.

- (37) a. *Dai hiner fānga den [ana legen] an.* (UmL:30)
The hens start then [COMP lay.INF2] off
'Then the hens start off laying (eggs).'
- b. *Åwer dai sijpa hāt [ana wassen anfonga.* (UmL:42)
But the cipô has [COMP grow.INF2] off.start.INF2
'But the lianas started growing.'
- c. *Wen sai grōter sin, den fānga sai [ana freeten] an.* (UmL:36)
when they bigger are, then start the [COMP eat.INF2] off
'When they are bigger, they start to eat.'
- d. *Mit ais fāng dat [ana reegnen] an.* (UmL:44)
with once start that [COMP rain.INF2] off
'Suddenly, it started to rain.'

Complementation can also be realized under extraposition.

- (38) a. *Wen dai schouda anfānga [ana upplatsen], den...* (UmL:91)
when the pods PRT.start [COMP open.burst, then...
'When the pod vegetable starts to burst open, ...'
- b. *Dai schouda waara ina sün legt bet dai anfānga daua [ana*
the pods are in.the sun laid till they start.INF do COMP
upplatsen]
open.jump.INF2
'The pod vegetables are laid in the sun until they start to open'

- c. *Mit ais hāwa dai brülapa boowen ous ina böim anfunga*
 with once have the howl.monkeys above us in.the trees start
 [*ana brülen*] (Uml:103)
 COMP scream.INF2
 ‘Suddenly, the howler monkeys in the trees started to scream.’

A curious construction is (39a) with a suppressed instance of the particle *an*. Apparently there is a block on the haplology in (39b).

- (39) a. *Im september fānga dai ana upplatsen.* (Uml:93)
 in.the september start they COMP open.burst
 ‘In september, they start bursting open.’
 b. *Im september fānga dai ø/*an ana upplatsen.* (HB)
 c. *Den fōnga wij ana sitren fon fröir.* (DP:145)
 then started we out shiver.INF2 of joy
 ‘Then we started shivering with joy.’

This construction deserves further study and analysis.

4.1.6 Present participle

Under *kooma* ‘to come’, the verb takes the form in *-end* if the action and the COME event overlap (i.e. they share T), otherwise the ending is *-a* (cf. (16h)). Historically, *-end* is the present participle. It is historically closest to the English *-ing* form, which is the velarized counterpart. The *-d* is often silent,¹⁰ as in (40d). Also *blijwa* and *saia* select the *-end* form (40efg), as well as infinitive 2 in (17abcd) above.

- (40) a. *Den kooma sai an loupend.* (Uml:105)
 the come.PL they PRT walking
 ‘Then they arrive on foot.’
 b. *Dai hāwk kaim an flaigend.* (Uml:112)
 the hawk came PRT flying
 c. *Dat wāter wat darin pār dāg ruuterlekend kümt,* (Uml:63)
 the water that therein some days out-leaking comes
 ‘The water that drips from it in a few days...’
 d. *Den kaima dai āpa mit dem kind andragen.* (Uml:99)
 Then came the monkeys with the child carrying

10. Hilda Braun (*pers. comm.*). There was ample variation in the gerund form in European Pomeranian: the three forms *-end/-en/-et* alternate in the dialects. Some of this variation survives in Brazil. The present participle and the infinitive 2 are perhaps not completely distinguishable. The latter might be underlyingly V-*end(e)*₀ with intervocalic cluster reduction *-nd- → -n* before catalectic schwa.

- e. *Dait klok is nachts stâend bleewa.* (DP:447)
 that clock is tonight standing stayed
 ‘That clock has stuck tonight’
- f. *Weegen dai uupa oiwer ain halw stuun steekend bleewa is.* (DP:451)
 because the bus over a half hour sticking stayed is
 ‘Because the bus was stuck for more than half an hour.’
- g. *Wen man hüüt nog aina meischa rijrend süüt, ...* (DP:383)
 when one today still a person riding sees, ...
 ‘When one sees a person riding today, ...’

As to the surface form, *loupend* seems to have an extra d-morpheme. However, in a system with catalexis, *loupen* must have the extra catalectic schwa with intervocalic cluster reduction: *loupen* = *loupend(e)*.⁶ This implies that *loupen* is underlyingly the longer form, not *loupend*.

The present participle can be used adjectivally, both predicatively (41) and attributively (42).

- (41) a. *Dat haar papa im kasta leigend.* (Seibel:A)
 that had Dad in the cupboard laying
 ‘Dad had it stored in the cupboard’
- b. *Wen ain soig drâgend is, ...* (UmL:36)
 When a sow carrying is
 ‘when a sow is pregnant, ...’

The present participle can be fully adjectival, as in (41). It then shows adjectival inflection.

- (42) a. *(Dat) mud man tau tauneemenda¹¹ mân planta* (UmL:16)
 It must one at crescent moon plant.INF1
 ‘One should plant it at crescent moon’
- b. *mit kookend wâter* (UmL:46)
 with boiling water

The *-end* form is also used in some (lexicalized) deverbal nouns with neuter gender.

- (43) a. *Srijwa wat war is, wat fon air leewend as dai pomerer wirklig*
 Write.INF what true is, what of a life as the Pomeranians really
hâwa.
 have.PL
 ‘To write what is true, what kind of life the Pomeranians really have’

11. Pronounced as [taunɛ:mənɐ], but also [taunɛ:mənɐ].

- b. *un (sai) hāwa feel lüür dat leewend rert.*
 and they have many people the life saved
 ‘and they saved many people’s life.’

This nominalizer *-end* is a typical feature of Low Saxon,¹² but it already existed in Middle Low Franconian, cf. the text of *Van den levende ons Heeren* ‘Of the life of our Lord’ (AD 1300).

4.1.7 Modal verbs

4.1.7.1 Morphology

There are ten modal verbs: **koina* ‘can’, **muita* ‘must’, **dürwa* ‘dare’, **schoila* ‘shall’, **maga* ‘may’, *wila* ‘will/want’, *daua* ‘do/must/will’, the negative polarity auxiliary verbs *bruuka* ‘need’ and **dörwa* ‘dare’, and the future auxiliary *waara*. Modal verbs select infinitive 1 and act as full verbs in forming participles, but most lack infinitival forms (type 1 and type 2), whence the asterisk in the above forms. This defectiveness is due to a syntactic block on auxiliary stacking and *taum* + auxiliary.

- (44) a. *Ous kina muita leere.*
 our children must.PL study.INF1
 ‘Our children should go to school.’
 b. *Duu must dat bauk leesa.*
 you must.2SG the.n book read.INF
 ‘You must read that book.’
 c. *Ik waar man ais säga.*
 I FUT but once say.INF1
 ‘I will just say.’
 d. *Dai wäira ina wald gaa.*
 they would in-the wood go.INF1
 ‘They had the plan to go into the woods.’
 e. *Solang as dat möiglig is, daua wij dat im stâen lâte.*
 as long as it possible is, do we that in stand.INF2 let.INF1
 ‘As long as possible, we should leave it intact.’

The verb *wila*, when it means ‘to want’, the verb *macha*, when it means ‘to like’ (with an orthographic /ch/, instead of /g/), as well as lexical *daua* ‘to do’, have infinitives 1 and 2 when used as lexical verbs.

12. For instance, the 16th century Emden church council protocols (Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der Reformierten Gemeinde Emden, 1557–1620 / bearb. von Heinz Schilling und Klaus-Dieter Schreiber; hrsg. von Heinz Schilling) show abundant use of this type of nominalization.

The semantic relations within the modal verbal lexemes basically follows the system of High German. The syntactic distribution is similar too, with one exception: the modal verb *māga* ‘may’ only occurs in interrogative contexts in Pomeranian.

- (45) a. *Wouweega maga's dat as mākā?*
 why may they that PRT make
 ‘why would they do that?’
 b. *Mach dat werer helpa tröch?*
 may it again help back
 ‘may it help to restore (Pomeranian)?’
 c. *Wat mach dat dar ais sin?*
 what may that there PRT be
 d. *Wou mach dat an leiga?* (ES: 2015)
 where may that to lay
 ‘To what can it be attributed?’
 e. *Mach ous gild henraika taum dat köipen?*
 may our money be-sufficient to that buy.INF2 (DP:193)
 ‘Will our money be sufficient to buy that?’
 f. *Mach em de twein ni alwaara?* (DP:498)
 will him the twine not run.out?
 ‘Will he not lose his mind?’

Embedded interrogatives with *maga* might subsume to this rule, being dependent on the interrogative marker of ‘if’:

- (46) *Dai lüüra keika ala nijglic of dai meisch dat wol eeta*
 the people saw all curiously if that person that PRT eat.INF1
mücht. (UmL:55)
 might
 ‘the people all watched with curiosity if that person really could eat it’

As a lexical verb, with the meaning ‘to like’, *māga* is not subject to this licensing condition. This means that (46) might also be a case of lexical *mācha*.

4.1.7.2 Verb projection raising under modals

There is verb projection raising under modals. Some constructions can also be analyzed as cluster V2 (cf. Section 4.1.1).

- (47) *Ik hä müst [dat bauk leesa]* (ESB)
 I have must.PTC the.n book read.INF
 ‘I had to read that book.’

- (48) *Wij häwa ous müst [seir kwääla darmit].* (UmL:64)
 we have us must very-much torture therewith
 ‘We must have tortured ourselves with it’

Verb projection raising cannot be the analysis of the clauses with inversion in (49). Only V2 with modal clusters (*hai hät küüt/müst/dürwt/...*) will do. (cf. De Vos 2005: 176ff).

- (49) a. *Dun [hät küüt] hai sijn leewstijd in schata rijra.* (UmL:42)
 then has could.ptc he his life.time in-the shadow ride
 ‘Otherwise he would have driven his whole life in the shadow.’
 b. *Dun [hät müst] papa sou seir loupa, ...* (UmL:103)
 then has must dad so much run.INF,
 ‘Then, dad had been obliged to run so much, ...’

See also Section 4.1.1.

4.1.7.3 Non verbal complementation to modal verbs

Pomeranian modal verbs allow complementation without a lexical verb. It patterns with Frisian and Dutch in this respect.

- (50) a. *Ik wil nām Swarda-Felsen* (ES)
 I want.to.the Black Rock
 ‘I want to go to Pedra Preta (location).’
 b. *Dörwst duu upa bal?* (DP:323)
 may you to the party
 ‘Are you allowed to go to the party?’
 c. *Ik häw müst nacht drai māl weg*
 I have must.ptc tonight three times away
 ‘I had to leave tonight three times.’

In all these cases, an understood ‘go’ is present. The directionality is carried by a directional preposition or particle.

4.1.8 Infinitive 2

The infinitive 2 realizes as stem + *en* ([ən]). It is historically a nominalized form of the verb in *-en* with an additional dative *-e*. It might be that this dative *-e* protected the *-en*-suffix from n-apocope under the phonological change under (19) of Chapter 2. If these rules operate synchronically, we must still assume the ending *-ene* underlyingly under schwa catalexis. It is most frequently used under the *taum* complementizer [ta^um]/[tam].

- (51) a. *Wij plüke dit [taum hospital dat geewen]* (ESB)
 we pick this for.to hospital that give.INF2
 ‘We harvest this in order to give it to the hospital.’
- b. *Wij arbeida upa laand [taum da arme lüür helpen]* (ESB)
 we work on the land for.to the poor people help.INF2
 ‘We work on the land to help the poor people.’
- c. *Ik māk dat im computador taum rascher sin* (ESB)
 I make that on.the computer for.to quicker be.INF
 ‘I do it on the computer to be quicker.’
- d. *Ik benuts kaina boter, blous süs-öl taum kuken bakken* (ESB)
 I use no butter, only sweet-oil for cookies bake.INF2
 ‘I use no butter, only olive oil for baking cookies.’

Incidentally there is no leading complementizer. It is then selected and controlled by the matrix clause. The West Germanic infinitival prefix *zu/to/te/tau* has completely been lost in Brazilian Pomeranian. We assume this position is empty.

- (51) e. *Dar is uk kainer, wat dat recht hät, ous uutlachen un*
 there is also none, what the right has, \emptyset_C us PRT- \emptyset_T -laugh and
uutspoten,
 PRT- \emptyset_T -mock
 ‘No one has the right to laugh at us and mock us.’

Alternatively, the infinitive 2 is analyzed as *-ende* with intervocalic cluster reduction and catalexis of the final schwa. Evidence for this underlying form is the existence of *-end* forms in some speakers.

- (52) *Dai besoopener kümt knap un noud bet nå huus gåend.*
 The drunk comes hardly and almost until to home go.INF2
 ‘The drunk can hardly reach his house.’

This might be a reordering of the two rules involved. See also the present participle in the Sections 3.6.1 and 4.1.6.

4.1.9 Passive/perfect participles

The perfect and passive participle of weak verbs is in *-d*, with final devoicing: [d̥]. Strong verbs have participles in *-a* from older *-en*, *flooga* ‘flown’. Verbal participles lack overt *-n* systematically, even in monosyllabic verbs such as *saia* ‘to see’- *saia* ‘seen’. The West Germanic participial prefix GE [jɪ] is used with passive participles in adjectival use only, never with verbal participles. An exception is the verb *eeta* ‘to eat’, where the prefix is not syllabic and incorporated into the verbal root: *geeta* ‘eaten’.

- (53) a. *Den häwa sai mij fragt, ...* (perfect pp, -GE)
 then have they me Ø-said, ...
 'Then they said to me...'
 b. *Åwer ik häw em seir gaud taudekt.* (perfect pp), -GE
 but I have him very good PRT-Ø-covered
 'But I covered him very well.'
 c. *Wij häwa hüüt kair fleisch geeta.* (incorporated GE)
 we have today no meat GE+eaten
 'We haven't eaten any meat today.'

The passive voice is formed with *waare* + participle without GE-prefix. The participle in unaccusative constructions is without GE- as well (52b).¹³

- (54) a. *Kookbanan waard kookt, brård urer ina bakoowa*
 cook.banana is cooked, stewed, or in an oven
bakt. (passive, -GE)
 Ø-fried
 b. *Ik bü tuus bläüwa.* (unacc., -GE)
 I am in house stayed
 'I stayed at home.'
 c. *Wen air köiter geboura waard, ...* (adjective, +GE)
 when a male GE.born AUX.pass
 'When a male (monkey) is born, ...'

In adjectival use, on the other hand, the GE-prefix is obligatorily present: *dai gebakt*/**bakt banan* 'the baked banana', *gekookta/geklopta eiger* 'boiled/scrambled eggs', *afgesoogen kalw* 'weaned calf', *gereewena koukos* 'shredded coconut'. Notice that adjectivally used participles of strong verbs have suffixal *-en* rather than *-a*. This *-en* is probably underlying *-en(e)*₀ with catalexis or *-end(e)*₀ with catalexis and intervocalic cluster reduction. For instance, the verbal and adjectival participle of *afsuuga* 'to wean' are *afsooga* and *afgesoogen*, respectively. Participles used as adjuncts get the GE-prefix (55a) and, in the case of strong verbs, the suffix *-end*, illustrated in (55b).

- (55) a. *Dai kan man roug eeta, gekookt, gebrård.*
 those can one raw eat.INF1, cooked and fried
 'One can eat them raw, cooked and fried'

13. In some contact varieties of German in Brazil, the prefix can be heard in passive and unaccusative constructions, as in (i). The shape of the participle in *-en* shows its mixed character.

(i) *Ik ben in Huus geblieven.*

A dialect in the European Pomerelia that behaves like this, is Quiram (Chwiram, Wenker location 01111, in the Kreis *Deutsch Krone/Walcz*).

- b. *Dai boum wäir ümgefalend fuuna.*
 the tree was PRT.GE.fall.PTC.PRED found
 ‘The tree was found in fallen state’

In prenominal position, participles are inflected like adjectives: *gebrårda banana* ‘fried banana’, *uutgelektä käis* ‘leaked cheese’, *dat uutgekwetscht blaud* ‘the pressed blood’, *dai gepresst gumi* ‘the squeezed gum’, *dai geköfta råtafala* ‘the bought rat falls’, *dai angefongena dag* ‘the commenced day’ etc.

4.1.10 Auxiliary selection

Perfect tense in Pomeranian is formed periphrastically with *håwa* ‘to have’ or *sin* ‘to be’. All transitive and intransitive verbs take the auxiliary *håwa* ‘have’ just as in English, but unaccusative verbs, such as *fala* ‘to fall’, *kooma* ‘to come’, *gåa* ‘go’, *doudblijwa* ‘to die’ select the auxiliary *sin* ‘to be’, as does the static use of the verb *blijwa* ‘to stay’.

- (56) a. *Dat kind is uuta boum fala.*
 The child is out-the tree fallen
 ‘The child fell out of the tree’
 b. *Sai sin na Brasilien kooma im jårsål 1859.*
 ‘They have come to Brazil in 1859’
 c. *Dai fruug is gaud ina krankahuus ankooma*
 The woman is good in.the hospital arrived
 ‘the woman has arrived well in the hospital’
 d. *Dai wijlswijn sin in dat plantland gåa.*
 ‘The pigs have gone into the plantage’
 e. *Hai is hijr bleewa.*
 he is here stayed
 ‘He has stayed here’

Some verbs of going and coming select *håwa* and *sin* in function of their telic internal aspect.

- (57) a. *Sai is fon hijr bet Palmeira reera* telic
 she is from here to P. driven
 ‘She has driven by horse from here to Palmeira.’
 b. *Hai håt stuuna lang upm eesel reera* atelic
 he has hours long on.the donkey ridden
 ‘He has ridden for hours on the donkey.’

Pomeranian fully parallels Dutch and German in this respect. However, Pomeranian treats *anfanga* to ‘begin’, *uphöira* ‘to stop’, *frijga* ‘to get married’, *gefala* ‘to please’ as non resultative: these verbs take HAVE.

- (58) a. *Hai hät anfunga ana hüülen.*
 he has PRT.started PRT cry.INF2
 b. *Dai bola-smiss hät al uphöirt.*
 the ball game has already stopped
 ‘The soccer game has already finished.’
 c. *Ous grousüler häwa ... ni forgeeta in tüügkasta drai daila*
 our grandparents have ... not forgotten in closet three things
rinernâken.
 PRT.make.INF2
 d. *Wij häwa am 07.10.1949 in Alto Santa Joana frigt.*
 we have on [date] in [place] get.married
 e. *Dat fest gistern hät mij gaud gefala.*
 the party yesterday has me good pleased
 ‘I liked the party yesterday a lot’.

Pomeranian is in this respect on a par with German, not with Dutch, which selects BE for these verbs.¹⁴ I do not have an explanation for the Dutch-Pomeranian contrast.

4.1.11 The verb *daua* (lexical and auxiliary verb)

There are various uses of *daua* ‘to do’, being both a full verb and an auxiliary verb, quite parallel to English.

4.1.11.1 Lexical verb *daua*

Lexical ‘to do’ is usually rendered by *mâka* ‘make’ both for concrete and eventive objects, cf. (59). Lexical *daua* is virtually non existing, apart with the complement *dat* ‘it’: *dau dat*.¹⁵ Compounding is possible though: *waidaua* ‘to ache’, *updaua* ‘to open’, etc., cf. (60).

- (59) a. *Wijnachta is air festdag âwer ni taum sich besuupa un freeta as*
 Christmas is a holiday, but not for-to oneself booze and stuff as
dat feel mâka
 that many do

14. I thank Werner Abraham for drawing my attention to this difference between Dutch and German.

15. But see the Wenker sentence nr. 3 in Section 8.4.

- b. ... *un dâr dat blaud manga mākā*
and there the blood through put
'and (we) put the blood through it (the sausage)'
- c. *Sai hāwa de wijn ina flascha mākt*
they have the wine in.the bottle put
'They put the wine in the bottle'
- (60) a. *Ik forspreek, dat ik dat ni werer dau.*
I promise that I that not again do
'I promise not to do it again.'
- b. *Dai tāāna daua mij wai.*
my teeth do me pain
'My teeth ache.'

This reduced use of the lexical verb *daua* might be related to *daua*'s abundant use as an auxiliary.

4.1.11.2 Auxiliary *daua*

Pomeranian has a do-auxiliary *daua* that selects infinitive 1. Auxiliary *daua* has four functions: progressive (61abc), future/obligation (62abc), optative (Section 4.1.11.5), and as a true dummy verb ("*daua*-support", cf. Section 4.1.11.6).

4.1.11.3 Progressive *daua*

The durative construction *daua* + INF1 corresponds to the *estar* + gerund construction in Brazilian Portuguese. *Estar* + gerund is an extremely common construction in Brazilian Portuguese as is *daua* + INF1 in Pomeranian.

- (61) a. (why is this book here on the table)
Ik dāir dat leesa. (~Port. *eu estava lendo*)
I did that read.INF1
'I was reading it.'
- b. *Ik dau srija.* (~Port. *eu estou escrevendo*)
I do write.INF1
'I am writing.'
- c. *Hai dāit air huus buuga.* (~Port. *ele está construindo uma casa*)
He does a house build.INF1
'He is building a house'

The earliest description of Brazilian Pomeranian calls the *daua* + infinitive "o gerúndio" (Gaede 1983, Kuhn 2012, apud Beilke 2013: 6). It is certainly not a mere calque of Portuguese. If so, one would expect complementation by infinitive 2.

However, it is clear that Portuguese language contact supports this construction, which was absent in European Pomeranian.¹⁶

4.1.11.4 *Future/obligation (with negation)*

The second use of *daua* 'to do' is with future reading and/or obligation.

- (62) a. *Ik dau ais nij stela*
 I do PRT not steal
 'I should not steal'
- b. *In Espírito Santo hât dat de besta jakaranda geewt. Un wat dar*
 In ES has there the best jakaranda given. And what there
nog is, daua sai ni meir forköipa.
 yet is, do they not anymore sell.INF I
 'The best jakaranda was in ES, and what is left may not be sold anymore'
- c. *Dat ypsilon daua wij ni oft benutsa bijm*
 the 'y' do.PL we not often use upon-DAT
srijwen. (Tressmann-course)
 write.GERUND
 'We do not often use 'y' in our spelling.'

In the future/obligation reading, *daua* is often combined with negation, but there are exceptions, cf. (16e) above.

4.1.11.5 *Optative daua*

The third use of auxiliary *daua* is as a periphrastic optative (past conjunctive or Konjunktiv II in High German). In such contexts, *däir(a)*, i.e. the preterite of *daua*, can be used. It is parallel to the *würden* + *infinitive* in Standard High German, which is parallel to *tät* + *infinitive* in colloquial speech (Göz Kaufmann, *pers.comm.*).¹⁷ This parallelism was already a property in European Pomeranian (cf. Mahnke 1931: 74).

- (63) a. *Wen ik tijd haar, den däir ik nâ Düütsland gâa.* (HB)
 if I time had, then did I to Germany go
 'If I had time, I would go to Germany.'
- b. *Wen ik jild haar, däir ik mij aina nijga wâga köipa.* (HB)
 if I money had, did I me a new car buy
 'If I had money, I would buy myself a new car'

16. This construction is also reported for Pennsylvania Dutch (albeit with an iterative reading, Reed 1947), and in "Pomerode German" spoken in Santa Catarina, cf. Emmel (2005: 221ff) with a progressive reading.

17. This context is elicited in W18: *und es thäte besser um ihn stehen*. This use of *tun* 'to do' is uninterpretable in Dutch and Frisian.

The optative of the lexical verb (which is identical to the preterite, cf. (64) is possible as well.

- (64) a. *Wen ik tijd haar, den güün ik nå Düütsland.* (HB)
 if I time had, then went I to Germany
 ‘If I had time, I would go to Germany.’
 b. *Wen ik jild haar, köcht ik mij aina nijga wåga.* (HB)
 if I money had, bought I me a new car
 ‘If I had money, I would buy a new car.’

This type of optative *daua*-support also occurs in main clauses, for instance with the adverb *geern* ‘willingly’.

- (65) *Ik däär mij geern aina nijga wåga köipa* (HB)
 I did me willingly a new car buy
 ‘I would like to buy a new car’

These are all constructions where *daua* contributes semantically.

4.1.11.6 Periphrastic *daua* (“do-support”) in embedded clauses

In if/when-clauses (i.e. after *wen* ‘when’, *as* ‘if’, and the comparative marker *as* ‘than’), *daua* generally appears as a true dummy and is virtually obligatory.¹⁸

- (66) a. *Dai lüür wat upm land woona/Dai lüür wat upm land woona*
 the people that on-the land live.PL/the people that on-the land live.inf
daua.
 do.PL
 b. *Wen ainer wat srijwa dääit oiwer dai pomerer, ...*
 when someone something write does about the Pomeranians
 ‘when people write something about the Pomeranians, ...’
 c. *Wen dai aikkata kaina hola boum fijna daua, ...*
 when the squirrel no hollow tree find do, ...
 ‘When the squirrel cannot find a hollow tree, ...’
 d. *Soulang as sai upm nest sita daua, passa dai hâns buuten rümer*
 as long as they on-the nest sit do, watch the roosters outside around
up.
 out
 ‘As long they sit on the nest, the roosters watch out the environment outside.’

18. Relative clauses without either *daua* or another auxiliary are extremely rare in the corpus. Our informants think that absence of *daua*-support makes the clause ill-formed (“something is missing”).

- e. ...*soulang* as *Butantan soura schika däär*.
 ...as long as Butantã serum send did
 'As long as Butantã was sending serum.'
- f. *Den forlata sai eer staiwmutter nij ais airer, as wen sai werer*
 then leave they their stepmother never earlier as when she again
bröiga dääit.
 breed does
 'Then they never leave their stepmother before she breeds again.'

These are the true periphrastic *daua*-constructions. For an analysis, see Postma (2014).

4.1.11.7 Syntactic restrictions of auxiliary *daua*

Auxiliary *daua* cannot be stacked with other auxiliaries. In this respect, it participates in the ban on stacking modal verbs.

- (67) **Ik däär dat bauk leesa muita*.
 I did that book read.inf must.INF1

This can be explained by the direct insertion of *daua* and the modal in T, parallel to English. The lexical verb cannot move to T like in English, but may undergo full sloop movement to C (Postma 2014). Secondly, auxiliary *daua* is never present in *taum*-clauses.

- (68) a. *wij plüke dit [taum hospital dat geewen / *geewa dauen]*
 we pick this to-DAT hospital that give.INF2
 'we harvest this in order to give it to the hospital'
- b. *wij arbeida upa laand [taum da arme lüür helpen / *helpa dauen]*
 we work on the land to.DAT the poor people help.gerund
 'we work on the land to help the poor people'

The ban on *taum* + *daua* follows from the two conflicting rules: 1. the insertion of *daua* in T, and 2. the complementizer *taum* as a lexicalization of C + T.

Upon VP fronting, *daua* is obligatory like in the rest of continental West Germanic. The fronted VP has the infinitive-1 form, as is also the case in Frisian (cf. Hoekstra 1997).

- (69) *Åwer forgåa dääit hai ni*.
 But perish.INF1 did he not

Lexical 'do' is usually rendered by *måka*, not by *daua*, as in most German varieties (70a). *Daua* can also have the meaning of performing the liturgic service (70b).

- (70) a. *Wat mökst duu hijr?*
 what make you here
 ‘what do you do here?’
 b. *...dat feel praisters uk nischt meir up Pomerisch mǎka wila.*
 ...that many priests also nothing anymore in Pomeranian make want
 ‘...that many priests do not recite anything anymore in Pomeranian.’

This use of *mǎka* as lexical ‘do’ is general in German dialects, but absent in Dutch and Frisian. There might be a connection with the grammaticalization of ‘do’ as a dummy in periphrastic constructions in most German dialects (Erb 2001), whereas it is absent in Dutch and Frisian.¹⁹

4.1.12 *Bijm* + nominalized verb construction

The derivational *-en* suffix is used to create deverbal nouns that need case, for instance under *bij* ‘upon’. This construction is an approximation of the *ao* + infinitive in Portuguese (cf. Eng. *upon* + gerund). However, in contrast to Portuguese and English, this form is unable to assign accusative case (71b) in Pomeranian. Object incorporation is possible though (71cd).

- (71) a. *Bijm singen müsta sai sijla.*
 At.the sing.NMN must they aim
 ‘They had to aim their guns while singing’
 b. **Bijm deis hüüsa buugen musten sai singa.*
 Upon these houses bild.INF2 must.PAST they sing
 ‘Upon building these houses, they had to sing’
 c. *Ik häw Fritz saia [bijm ranja-steelen].* (ESB)
 I have Fritz seen at-DAT oranges.steal.NMN
 ‘I saw Fritz stealing oranges.’
 d. *Ik wäir bijm sloidel-afgeewen.* (DP:4)
 I was at.the key.drop.NMN
 ‘I was away to drop the keys.’

19. The overall pattern is that Low German dialects have periphrastic DO in embedded clauses, while High German dialects have periphrastic DO in main clauses. Using the SAND, test sentence 187, I found two Dutch dialects in Groningen with the Low German pattern in its function of Konjunktiv-II.

- (i) Jan wol nait hemmen dat wie Merie bellen deden (Leermens, C041)
 (ii) Jan wol nait hebb’n, dat wie Merieke bell’n deed’n
 John would not have that we Mary phone did.PL
 (Bellingwolde, C165)

- e. *Sai wäir bijm broud rinerbringen.* (DP:384)
 she was at.the bread PRT.bring.NMN
 'She was putting bread into it (the oven).'

It is doubtful that the *verbal* *bei(m)*+infinitive construction, present in Pomerode German (Emmel 2005), and the Standard German verbal *dabei* + infinitive construction (Ebert 2000), exists in Pomeranian of ES. I have not come across this verbal construction in the corpus, and the two structures *bijm* + Verb.NMN that become closest (71de) have a bare (apparently incorporated) object. It is possible that *daua* + infinitive 1 is in direct competition here.²⁰

4.1.13 NP raising constructions

NP raising is the phenomenon that a DP receives a thematic role from an embedded verb, while it receives formal Case in a higher clause, e.g. Eng. *John seems to work hard* which is related to *It seems that John works hard*. It is doubtful whether Pomeranian has any biclausal NP raising constructions. A possible candidate is given in (72), where the verb *plega* 'to seem' goes along with an expletive subject *dat* 'it'. However, it is not clear if this *dat* is the expletive subject of *reegna* 'to rain' or the expletive subject of *plega*. In (72b) the subject *dat weerer* is clearly the subject of the embedded verb *äänra* 'to change', but the fact that it is semantically a weather context makes it a less convincing illustration.

- (72) a. *Dat plegt sich im reegen lega.*
 that seem SE in.the rain lay.INF1
 'It seems that it is going to rain.'
 b. *Dat weerer plegt sich äänra.*
 the weather seems SE change.INF1
 'It seems that the weather is going to change.'

The Pomeranian counterpart of the English verb *to seem* is *lâta* but this verb selects a finite clause which disallows NP-raising.

- (73) a. *Dat löt as Julius lustig is.*
 it seems if Julius happy is
 'Julius seems to be happy.'

20. I found one instance of *am* + present participle.

- (i) *Dai fluss is am stijgend*
 the river is on.the rising

Furthermore, in a translation test, one informant translates Port. *fumando* 'smoking' by *is bijm rouken*.

- b. *Dat löt as wen dêr reegen kûmt.*
 it seems as if there rain comes
 ‘There seems to come rain.’
- c. *Dat löt sou as of dai kiner dem schaulleirer lijra.*
 it seems so as if the children the school.teacher like.PL
 ‘The children seem to like the teacher.’

NP raising in resultative small clauses, however, can be observed, as in (74a), where the subject *ik* ‘I’ is the subject of *nat* ‘wet’, not of the expletive verb *reega* ‘to rain’. The subject is, therefore, a derived subject.

- (74) a. *Ik bûn nat reegend.* (DP:335)
 I am wet rained
 ‘I got wet from the rain.’
- b. – AUX reegend [_{SC} ik nat]

The derived subject status of *ik* in (74a) is confirmed by the selection of BE as a perfect auxiliary. This is fully parallel to the constructions in Dutch and Frisian.

4.1.14 Passive constructions

4.1.14.1 *The periphrastic passive*

The passive is construed by the auxiliary *waara* ‘become’ + participle without the prefix *ge-*. WERDEN is used in all tenses and aspects, like in German, and in contrast to Frisian and Dutch, which only use WERDEN in imperfect tenses. The optional agentive phrase is introduced by the preposition *fom* + dative case.

- (75) a. *Dai pot is kaput makt woura.*
 the jar is broken made AUX.ptc
 ‘The jar had been damaged’
- b. *Dai waard fom president sôcht.*
 he.TOP AUX.PASS.PRES of-the president sought
 ‘he is being looked for by the president’

The preposition of the by-phrase is identical to the cause in causal constructions. Pomeranian uses the passive construction only rarely. Notice that *waare* + infinitive 1 has a future tense reading, cf. Section 3.6.6.

4.1.14.2 *Medio-passive*

Pomeranian has various medio-passive constructions. Apart from the standard reflexive middle as in (76a), transitive verbs form their medio-passive by the reflexive auxiliary *sich lâta* (Dutch *zich laten*, German *sich lassen*) as in (76b), or with SE + do support (76c). With intransitives, plain *sich* is possible, but the subject

must be realized with *dat* (76d). This construction is similar to the Portuguese impersonal SE construction, with the extra requirement of an expletive subject *dat* ‘it’. Finally, Pom. has the impersonal construction (parallel to German *man* ‘one’) (76e), which also realizes as impersonal *dat* (76f).

- (76) a. *Dit tüüg wascht sich licht.*
 this.SG cloth.SG washes SE easily
 ‘These clothes wash easily.’
- b. *Deisa koukus löt sich gaud upmâka.*
 This coconut let SE well open.make
 ‘This coconut opens easily.’
- c. *Wou gaud dâit sich dat ais leesa!*
 how good does SE it PRT read
 ‘How good it would be to read it.’
- d. *Hijr woont sich dat gaud.*
 here lives SE it well
 ‘One lives well here’
- e. *Dâr köft man guld.* (they buy gold professionally)
 There.expl buys one gold
 ‘One buys gold.’
- f. *Dat dâit ana doir klöpa.*
 that does to-the door knock.inf
 ‘Somebody is knocking at the door.’

The presence of *daua*-support in (76f) may be due to its durative nature.

4.1.14.3 The “Active *pro* passive participle” effect (APP)

An important issue in West Germanic is the *Infinitivus pro Participio* effect (IPP effect, “Ersatzinfinitiv”) (Haider 1993). There is no IPP effect in Pomeranian (Postma 2014). Pomeranian is parallel to English, Frisian, and Mecklenburgisch/Near-Pomeranian (cf. Harweg 2014: 197) in this respect. These languages lack the *ge*-prefix,²¹ which seems to be the trigger of the IPP effect (Lange 1981; Vanden Wyngaerd 1994; Zwart 2007).

There is a curious construction in Pomeranian, however, where the passive participle is substituted by the active participle, as in (77a).

21. Harweg’s conjecture of the absence of IPP in all Low German dialects is correct. Even the Low Prussian dialects, which have the participial *ge*-prefix, drop the *ge*-prefix in potential IPP contexts, i.e. these dialects do not replace the participle *geblāwe* ‘stay.ptc’ by the infinitive *bliewe* ‘to stay’ but by the *ge*-less participle *blāwe*. Only one location, Pasewalk, 52567, which has *ge-broka* and *gefalla* in W4, has the infinitive *legen* *bliewa* in W25.

- (77) a. *Dat wat ik doirset hāw, is kainem hund gūnend.* Pom
 that what I undergone have, is no.DAT dog granting
 ‘One does not wish to anyone, what I have undergone’
- b. *Wat ik doorstaan heb, is niemand gegund.* Dutch
 what I undergone have, is noone granted

Here, the form *gūnend* ‘granting’, the present participle of *gūna* ‘to grant’, is inserted where one would expect the prefix-less passive participle form *günd* ‘granted’. This has clearly to do with the absence of participial *ge* in Pomeranian (‘*günd* feels too short’), just as the existence of the Infinitive-pro-Participle effect in Dutch and German is related to the presence of *ge-* in participles in Dutch and German. To what extent the prosodic length (too long or too short) is a ruling factor deserves further study. Notice that Dutch has a construction where the passive participle may replace the infinitive, as in the pairs in (78), which are both grammatical and mean the same.

- (78) a. *Daar kwam een man rustig aanwandelen.* Dutch
 there came a man quietly PRT.walk.INF
- b. *Daar kwam een man rustig aangewandeld.* Dutch
 there came a man quietly PRT.walk.PTC

In this case the replacement systematically involves an unaccusative verb, whose infinitive and participle do not differ in case assigning properties. This structure is not possible in Frisian, which lacks the *ge-* prefix.

I found one further case of this extended form: *dai boum wāir ümgefalend fuuna* ‘the tree was found in fallen state’, where we encounter the longer form *ümgefalend* instead of the expected form *ümgefalen*. Notice that this must be an extended form of the passive participle, not the the present participle, which would be *ümfalend*.

4.2 Negation

Negation is expressed by a single negative lexeme, be it adverbially or adnominally. There is no negative verbal prefix, i.e. no double negation. I found one case of an expletive negation under *airer* ‘before’, given under (79). This expletive negation is not obligatory.

- (79) *Airer dai oowens ni ala haitmākt waara, blöigt dai mijlcha ni.*
 Before the ovens (not) all hot.made aux.pass, blooms the corn not.
 ‘Before the ovens are all made hot, the corn does not bloom.’

4.2.1 Adverbial negation

The simple negative marker is *nij* [ni:] or *ni* [ni] ‘not’.

- (80) a. *Papa is ni tuus.*
‘Dad is not home’
b. *Ik wait dat ni.*
I know that not
‘I do not know that’
c. *Fritz eet ni geern patüfele.*
Frits eat not with-pleasure potatoes
‘Fritz does not like potatoes’
d. *Kümstu ure (kümstu) ni?*
come.2SG or (come.2SG) not
e. *Ik bü ni rik.*
I am not rich
f. *Ik häw de sloidel nainwou fuuna.*
I have the key nowhere found
‘I did not find the key anywhere’

The adverbial *nijs* [ni:s], i.e. *nij* + the adverbial -s suffix means ‘never’. *Nijs* is probably a contracted form of *nij ais*. The latter collocation can also mean ‘not even’ (81c).

- (81) a. *Ik bü (nog) nijs in Paris west.*
I am still never in Paris been
‘I never was in Paris’
b. *Wen man dai pedla bröiga löt, giwt nij ais wat gaures*
when one the chicken breed let, gives (it) never anything good.GEN
dår ruuter.
there out
‘When we let the chicken breed, nothing ever will come out.’
c. *Wij däira nij ais denka wen dat ais al wäir.*
we did.PL not even think when it once away were
‘We would not think when it would be gone.’

4.2.2 Negation in NPs

The negative determiner *kain* within NPs inflects for number, gender, and case. We refer to Section 3.1.7 for the paradigm. There is no adverbial negator in this case.

- (82) a. *ik sai kaina meesch.*
I do not see anybody
I see no human

- b. *Ik häär kaina meesch saia.*
I have not seen anybody

The noun can be empty. In this case *kair* [kai(ə)] ‘no one’ is a pronoun. It can be debuccalized to *kai* and even *kaa*.

- (83) a. *Kair wil mi helpa.* nobody
none wants me help.INF
‘nobody wants to help me’
b. *Ik hä gâr ni/nüsch leest.* nothing
I have at all nothing read.PTC
‘I have read nothing.’

4.2.3 Negative polarity

There are few negative polarity items in Pomeranian. Examples are the modal verbs *bruuka* + infinitive 1 ‘to need to’, the lexical verb *lijra* ‘to like’, *utstâa koina* ‘can stand’, and the emphatic particle *gâr* ‘at all’. These require the presence of negation. There are also negative polarity items that have just a tendency to co-occur with negation, such as the verb *uuthula* ‘to bear, suffer’, the verb *güna* ‘to grant’, and the auxiliary *daua* ‘to do’, used as an optative auxiliary (cf. Section 4.1.11.5). The modal verb *dörwa* + INF1 ‘may, dare’ has a strong tendency to cooccur with negation, interrogation, and contrastive polarity, cf. (84gh).

- (84) a. *Dai brüükta den *(ni) gans hengâa na Franz Lange.*
They need then no entirely PRT.go to Franz Lange
‘They needn’t go all the way to Franz Lange’
b. *gâr nisch*
‘nothing at all’
c. *Maria leest gâr *(k)air bauk.*
Mary reads at all no book
‘Mary doesn’t read books at all’
d. *Dat wat ik doirset häw, is kainem hund gûnend.*²²
that what I undergone have, is no.DAT dog granted
‘what I have undergone, one does not wish to anyone’
e. *Ik kan de keirl ni uutstâa.*
‘I cannot stand that man’

22. I have no explanation for this *Active pro Passive Participle* effect (APP). It has clearly to do with the lack of the *ge*-prefix in Pomeranian, just as the IPP in Dutch has to do with presence of it.

- f. *Dai koina sich ni lijra.*
 they can SE not like'
 'they cannot go along'
- g. *Duu dörwst dat ni luur säga.*
 you dare.2SG that not loud say.INF1
 'You do not dare to say that loud'
- h. *Bet hijrheer dörwst duu kooma, åwer wijrer ni.*
 Till here dare.2SG you come, but further not
 'You can get until here, but not further.'

4.3 Nominal syntax

The nominal syntax is similar to general West Germanic: The standard pattern is D + A + N orders. There are 3 genders (MASC/FEM/NEUT), 2 numbers (singular/plural), 3 cases: two structural cases (nominative, accusative), and one oblique case (dative). The nominative-accusative opposition only shows up in masculine noun phrases and in pronouns.

4.3.1 Possessive constructions

There is no morphological genitive case in Pomeranian apart from in family names. This was treated in the morphological section. In all other cases, the genitive is circumscribed with *fon* + dative NP or by the dative possessive construction, where the possessor precedes the head: [DP.DAT his N]. The construction occurs with full DPs (85abc), complex DPs (85d), as well as with pronouns (85e). The construction allows interrogative pronouns, cf. (85f).

- (85) a. [*Dem grouda Oto*] *sij-ø fäter (is rijk).* NOM
 the.DAT big Oto his father (is rich)
 'Otto's father is rich.'
- b. (*Ik saig*) *Maria eera fäter.* ACC
 (I saw) Mary her.ACC father
 'I saw Mary's father'
- c. *in Maria eerem huus* DAT
 in Mary her.DAT house
 'In Mary's house'
- d. *Karl Schwambach, wat [Rudolf un Florian] eer unkel wäir.* NOM
 KS, what R and F their uncle was
 'KS, who was Rudolf and Florian's uncle'

- e. [Em] *sij-ø nest is mit (...) klain feederer måkt.* NOM
 him his nest is with small feathers made
 ‘Its nest is made with small feathers.’
- f. *Wem sijn hûûser sin dat?* interrogative
 who-DAT his houses are that
 ‘Whose houses are those?’

4.3.2 Empty NPs

The NP domain can be left empty after definite and indefinite determiners (86ab) and also after bare numerals (86c). The agreement is the form as if the noun were present.

- (86) a. *Den behûlst duu dai wit kau un ik behul dai sward.*
 then keep you the white cow and I keep the black
 ‘Then you keep the white cow, I keep the black one.’
- b. *Air groud (keirl)*
 a big (man)
- c. (talking about wild boars (*wijldswijr*, neuter))
Ik hâw neegen kaputschoota. Air – hâw ik mij nâ huus
 I have nine Ø dead shot. One.NEUT have I me to home
nooma.
 taken (UmL:106)
 ‘I have shot nine. I took one home.’

There is no quantitative particle, like Dutch *er* Broekuis & Keyzer (2012: 932), to bind the empty slots, as (86ac) show. Pomeranian behaves on a par with Frisian and German in this respect. In the following sections, we will subsequently discuss the the D domain, the NP domain, and the AP domain.

4.3.3 DP domain

The D domain is occupied with personal pronouns, articles, and possessive pronouns. These mutually exclude each other, just as in Standard German. We refer to Section 3.1 for the morphology of this domain. Syntactically, pronouns saturate entire nominal groups, but 12PL personal pronouns may combine with an NP: *wij / jij pomera* ‘we / you Pomeranians’. In their reference, they can refer deictically or anaphorically to the discourse.

4.3.3.1 Coreference

Third person pronominal reference follows the formal gender distinctions in inanimate nouns, where *dat*, *hai/em*, *sai/eer* refer to neuter, masculine, and feminine nouns, respectively.

- (87) a. *Gistern hāw ik air düür bauk köft weegen ik küü dat*
 yesterday have I.NEUT expensive book bought, for I could it.n
gaud binutsa
 well use
- b. *Gistern hāw ik aina twairad köft, āwa ik schā em amin*
 Yesterday have I a.MASC bicycle bought, but I shall it.MASC perhaps
ni feel binutsa
 not much use
- c. *Gistern hāw ik ain nijg bank köft, un ik schā eer hijna ina*
 Yesterday have I a.FEM new bench bought, an I shall it.FEM in the
gåra seta
 garden put

In the case of animate nouns, a semantic reference strategy is obligatory.

4.3.3.2 SE-constructions

Apart from inherent reflexives (88a), the reflexive pronoun is used as a reciprocal (88b), the medio-passive (88c), in grooming and bodily actions (88d), with psych-verbs, as a possessive/benefactive (88e), and as a general detransivizer (88f).

- (88) a. *Dat kind rougt sich* (inherent)
 The child rests SE
 ‘The child is resting.’
- b. *Däira sich alla kena?* (reciprocal)
 did.PL SE all know?
 ‘Did everyone know each other?’
- c. *Wou gaud dāit sich dat ais leesa!* (middle)
 how well does SE it PRT read
 ‘It reads so easily!’
- d. *Dat kind legt sich an sijn schuuler raner* (bodily action)
 the child put SE to his shoulder to.DIR
 ‘The child positioned itself at his shoulder.’
- e. *Dai walach hät sich ängst, dārweegen is hai schüüg*
 the horse has SE feared, hence is he fearful
woura (psych-verb)
 become
 ‘The horse was frightened, whence it became fearful.’

- f. *Hai lait sich de bård wassa* (possessive)
 he let SE the beard grow
 'He grew a beard.'
- g. *Dai walach hāt sich richt mit den rijrer* (detransivizer)
 the horse has SE pranced with the horseman
 'The horse pranced with its horseman.'

These constructions cover the entire range of what is well known from Romance SE-constructions (Kemmer 1993).

The position of the reflexive clitic seems to be higher than other pronouns. *Sich* sits higher than the subject pronouns *alla* 'all' and *dat* 'it' in (88bc). This can also be interpreted as a joint movement of the finite verb + *sich* under V2, as in (89).

- (89) *Jeira dag gript sich hai air küüka.* (UmL:112)
 every day fetches REFL he a.neuter chicken
 'Every day he fetches himself a chicken.'

This might be related to the cluster V2 in Pomeranian as discussed in Section 4.1.1.

4.3.4 Adjectival syntax

Pomeranian has productive adjective incorporation, especially with *klain* 'small' and *groud* 'big'. In those cases, it has the function of a analytic diminutive or augmentative: *klairwāga* 'small car', *klairkind* 'small child', *groudeesel* 'big donkey'. This productive strategy might have emerged in language contact with Portuguese with its full-fledged diminutive and augmentative system. It is certainly used to translate this Portuguese dimension (*klairkind* < Port. *criancinha* 'small child', *groudeesel* < Port. *burrão* 'big donkey, stupid person', *groudfründ* < Port. *amigão* 'great friend'), but this incorporation strategy was already present in European Pomeranian and might be a Baltic Sprachbund feature in view of its presence in Danish and Swedish (Dahl 2007: 119). Some adjectives are not used predicatively, such as *spits* 'sharp', *bår* 'cash'.

4.4 The CP domain

4.4.1 Main clause interrogation

Interrogation is realized by inversion of the finite verb and the subject. In addition, a WH constituent can be fronted to the sentence initial position, just as in the rest of West Germanic. WH in situ is rare and has an echo reading. Interrogative

words are: *wee/wem*²³ ‘who(m)’, *wat* ‘what’, *wou* ‘where’ and ‘how’, *wen* ‘if’, *wounair* ‘when’, *wouweegen* ‘why’, *wou’n* ‘which one’.

- (90) a. *Büstu al in Paris west?* ja, ik bü da al west
 are-you already in Paris been yes, I am there already been
 ‘have you ever been to Paris?’
 b. *Wem däir dâr in de tijd kirch hula?*
 who did there in that time church hold
 ‘who did the church service at that time?’
 c. *Wou düür wäir dai wâga?*
 ‘How expensive was the car?’
 d. *Dai wâga wäir wou düür?* (only echo)
 the car was how expensive?

Embedded interrogation is realized with a double filled COMP, i.e. WH + *as*, if the fronted constituent is an adjunct, cf. Section 4.4.7.

4.4.2 Interrogative tags

There are three interrogative tags, but they do not have the grammaticalized status that they have in English.

-
- (91) *né?* : from Port. *né, não é* ‘isn’t it?’
weets(t)? : from Port. *sabe* ‘you know’.
ura/ula? : hortative tag (cf. Germ. *oder*) ‘don’t you?’
mani? : the same as (142a): *Duu wäirst doch dârhen bij em, mani?*
-

Probably a combination of *man* ‘but’ + *ni* ‘not’. Tressmann claims it to be of Mecklenburgian origin. If so, the word must have been borrowed in Europe, as there are virtually no immigrants from Mecklenburg in ES.

4.4.3 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses have the finite verb in sentence initial position. The subject is generally empty, but can be lexical. This fully corresponds to the other West Germanic languages. Pomeranian have some imperative adverbial particles, such as *ais*, *mas*, *man* without clear meaning.

23. The case distinction has been lost in some speakers. These speakers only use *wem*. See Section 3.1.7.

- (92) a. *Kijk ais dâr, dâr löpt air grouda tijger.*
 Look PRT there! There runs a big tiger
 ‘Look there, there runs a big onça!’
- b. *De kop hul kuld, dai fuit hul warm!*
 the head keep cold, the feet keep warm
 ‘Keep the head cold, and the feet cold.’

The imperative in (92b) shows that imperatives allows for fronting to the sentence initial position. Pomeranian patterns with German in this respect, not with Dutch. This has to do with the distinct imperative morphology in Pomeranian (cf. Section 3.6.9). For a discussion on the theoretical relation between morphological form and syntax, cf. Barbiers (2007).

4.4.4 Exclamative clauses

Exclamative clauses behave like normal V2 contexts with inversion. The first constituent is usually a WH-constituent (93abc). There are also cases with V1, that functions as an insubordinated conditional clause, cf. (93d).

- (93) a. *Wou gaud däit sich dat ais leesa!*
 how well did SE it PRT read
 ‘It reads so easily!’
- b. *Wou reegent dat!*
 how rains it!
 ‘It really rains!’
- c. *Wou rasch häst duu dat huus måkt!*
 how quick have you the house made
 ‘How very quick you built the house!’
- d. *Haar ‘k doch airer mulka!*
 ø had I PRT earlier milked
 ‘If I had milked earlier!’

4.4.5 Existential quantification

This has been treated under the morphology in Section 3.1.10.

4.4.6 Complementizers

The complementizer position is always lexical in Pomeranian, apart from complementation with the infinitive 1, that are not fully sentential and where C is absent. With infinitive 2, the complementizer is *taum* or *ana*. The complementizers include:

- (94) a. *wou* 'that'. Generalized relative pronoun extracted from adjunct position. The form has merged *wou* 'where' and *wou* 'how'.
- b. *wat* 'that'. Generalized relative pronoun, extracted from structural position.
- c. *dat* 1. 'that'. Complementizer with finite clauses.
2. 'in order that'. Complementizer introducing finite purpose clauses.
- d. *as* 1. 'as, than, if'. Complementizer in comparative clauses (*grouder as/sou groud as*, 'bigger than, as big as').
2. 'when' in temporal clauses/episodic contexts.
- e. *wen* 'if, when, whenever'. Introduces habitual, non-episodic contexts.
- f. *airer* 1. 'before (that)'. *Airer dai oowens ni ala haitmakt waara, blöigt dai mijlcha ni.*
'Before the ovens are all heated up, the corn does not bloom.'
- g. *bet* 'until (that)'. *Dat waard drai mounata bet dai mijlcha groud is.* 'It takes three months until the corn is ready'
- h. *taum* 'for ... to'. Infinitival complementizer.
Always with infinitive 2. See Section 4.1.3.3.
- i. *ana* 'for to'. Only used when selected by *anfānga* 'begin'.
Always with infinitive 2. Cf. 4.1.5.
- j. *as wen* 'as if'. Typically selected by the impersonal verb *lāta* 'to seem'.
Cf. Section 4.1.13.
- k. *wen uk* 'though'. Discontinuous complementizer in admittive clauses.
Uk remains in the middle field.
- l. *of* 'if/whether'. Typically used with embedded yes/no-questions:
Ik fruig of sai dat wüsta. 'I asked if they knew it.'

The preposition *üm* 'around', the etymological counterpart of German *um* and Dutch *om*, is absent as a complementizer in Brazilian Pomeranian.²⁴

24. The single case under (i) must be considered a Germanism. Tressmann's dictionary does not include *üm* as a complementizer (correctly so in view of our fieldwork).

(i) *Hai graip mit ais rasch nā de Bijbel, üm sich de spruch ruutersuika.*
'He reached suddenly for the bible to find himself a verse'.

4.4.7 Double filled comp

The head of the complementizer is often filled, together with the specifier, like in Frisian. This is very widespread in embedded interrogatives and other adjuncts (95). The C position is marked in bold.

- (95) a. *Wätst duu [woufon **dat**] air boterfat måkt waard?*
 know.2SG you from-what that a butter container made is
 ‘Do you know where a butter container is made of?’
- b. *Fritz fröig Frans [wouweegen **dat**] hai sijnem walach sou weinig futer gaiw.*
 Fritz asked to Frans why that he his.DAT horse so little food gave
 ‘Fritz asked Frans why he gave his horse so little food.’
- c. *Awer sai waita ni [wou gesund **as**] dat is*
 but they know not how healthy as that is
 ‘but they don’t know how healthy that is.’
- d. *Dat kümt ümer up dat an [wou slim **as**] dai biss wääst is.*
 that comes always on it PRT, how severe as the bite been is
 ‘What matters is how severe the bite was.’

In relative clauses, no double-filled COMP occurs, cf. (96ab). There is no gender and number agreement on the relative pronoun, which is always *wat* when it refers to a DP. In the corpus, only relativization of subject, object, and PP occur.

- (96) a. *Den geit hai werer tröig in dai wald, **wou** hai woont.* PP
 then goes he again back in the world, where he lives
 ‘Then he goes back in the world where he lives.’
- b. *Dai lüür **wat** kaina stampklots kena daua* DP, PL
 the people that no pestle know do
- c. *Air walach **wat** ni futert bruukt* DP, MASC, SG
 a horse that not feed.ptc needs
 ‘A horse that does not need to be fed.’
- d. *Dai airst schaul **wat** wij had häwa* DP, FEM, SG
 ‘The first school that we had.’
- e. *Bijm airst best dail **wat** eer frömd foirkümt* DP, NEUT, SG
 upon-the first best thing that them strange seems
 ‘upon the first thing that seems strange to them.’

This absence of a double filled COMP in these cases can be explained if the generalized complementizer *wat* sits in C while the relative pronoun in the specifier is empty. This is precisely the context in which *daua*-support is common. If we take

daua support as a lexicalization of T, this may be due to the blocking of T-to-C by the lexical complementizer.

A final context with a double filled COMP is the sentential complement of the impersonal verb *lâta* ‘to seem’, as in (97a). The variant with embedded V2 in (97b) is an argument for the analysis that *wen* sits in C, while (*sou*)*as* sits in its specifier.

- (97) a. *Dat lôt* [as *wen* *dâr* *reegen*]
 it seems as if there rain
 ‘There seems to come rain.’
- b. *Dat lait* [as *wen* *dâr* *reegen kaim*] HB
Dat lait as **wen kaim* *dâr* *reegen*
Dat lait/lôt nam reegen
- c. *Dat lait* [as *kaim* *dâr* *reegen kaim*] (HB)
 it seemed as came there rain
 ‘It seemed as if rain was coming.’
- d. *Dat lôt* *sou as of dai kiner dai schaulleirer lijra*
 it seems so as if the children the school.teacher like.INF1
daua (PW, s.v. *lijra*)
 do.PL
 ‘It seems that the children like the school teacher.’
- e. **Dat lôt* *sou as of/wen dai kiner dai schaulleirer lijra* (HB)
 it seems so as if the children the school.master like.3PL
 ‘It seemed that the children like the school teacher.’

4.4.8 Complementizer clitics – enclitic pronouns

The 3S.GMASC enclitic weak pronoun *-e*, present in European Pomeranian, has virtually been lost. This is true for V-SU orders as well as for COMP-SU configurations.

- (98) a. **wenne* = if he
 b. **asse* = as he
 **datte* = that he

I found two instances of enclitic 3SG_{hai} adjoined to the main clause V2 position.

- (99) a. *Dun säär’a blous:* ... (UmL:55)
 then said-he simply ...
- b. *As dai buuer mulka güng, keik’a nâna wolka.* (PW:74)
 when the farmer milk.INF1 went, looked-he to.the clouds

This enclitic *-a* was quite common in European Pomeranian. The 3PL enclitic *ś < sai* ‘she, they’ has been fully retained, as well as the impersonal subject clitic *’t < dat*.

- (100) a. *Wen’s dröig sin, ...* (UmL:71)
 when-they dry are
 ‘When they are dry, ...’
 b. *Süsta waard’s seir nāna rouk smeken.*²⁵ (UmL:53)
 otherwise will-she very to-the smoke taste
 ‘Otherwise it will taste too much of smoke.’
 c. *den güng’t ous sou as de gruinhemda.* (Seibel B)
 then went it to-us so as the green.shirts
 ‘Then it would go with us like with the fascists.’

The 2SG pronoun in inverted context can remain empty as in Frisian, cf. (101a–d). It may be lexical, though, without any effect of focus or stress (101f).

- (101) a. *Dai däist ø dij afschäla un rijwa.*
 these do.2SG (you) yourself PRT-peel and scrub
 b. *Dat däist ø dij den up air stük tüüg ruperlega*
 that do.2SG (you) yourself then up a piece of rack upto.lay
 ‘You lay that then on a piece of rack.’
 c. *Un däist ø dat water gaud dröig uutdrüka.*
 and do.2SG (you) the water good dry out.press.
 ‘And you squeeze the water (until it is) really dry.’
 d. *Dat mökst ø den in ain kum riner.*
 it make.2SG (you) then in a bowl into
 ‘Then you put it into a bowl.’
 e. *Dat stelst ø ina bakoowa riner taum baken.*
 it put.2SG (you) in.the baking oven into to bake.
 ‘You put it into an oven to bake.’
 f. *Dār kast duu eiger (...) mang mākā*
 there can-2SG you eggs (...) among make
 ‘One can put eggs (...) into it.’

4.4.9 Complementizer agreement

I found one Pomeranian speaker of Dutch-Pomeranian descendance who realizes complementizer agreement with 2SG subjects. I render the three contexts here because of further reference and analysis.

²⁵ Notice the deviant infinitive 2 in this example.

- (102) a. *Un mit dij wäir dat uk so, wens du dij aina catocha rangijra*
 And with you were it also so, when.2SG you you a Catholic arrange
wust, gaif dat ni, ura haar dij papa un mama dā
 wanted.SG, gave that not, or had your father and mother there
aas nischt...
 in fact nothing
 ‘and with you were it the same, when one wanted to arrange oneself a
 Catholic (for marriage), that was not possible, or did your parents not
 care at all?’
- b. *Un den... Dun wos du klain wäirs, däist du... däira*
 And then Then when.2SG you small were.2SG, did.2SG you, did.3PL
dai alast meist up Pomerisch so, dai lüür dat fortela?
 they everything mostly on Pomeranian so, the people that talk?
 ‘And then ... when you were young, did you... did they, the people, talk
 everything mostly in Pomeranian?’
- c. *Denkst du, dai kina hijrūma, wats du süs so, leera*
 think.2SG you the children around here, what you see so, learn
dai no ala Pomerisch fö dat dai Português leera?
 they all Pomeranian before they Portuguese learn?
 ‘Do you think the children around here, what you just see, do they all
 learn Pomeranian before they learn Portuguese?’

This might be a feature taken from Dutch, although it is certainly not a calque: the local Dutch immigrant dialects (Zeeuws-Flemish) lack *duu* (Eng. *thou*) completely, replacing it with the plural *ju* form (Eng. *you*). We could analyze the -s ending in *wen-s* as a contracted form of *as*, which sits in C, as in *so ās* ‘such as’, *wo ās* ‘who’, etc, but it would not explain why it only shows up with 2SG subjects, not with other subjects as in (103).

- (103) ... *wen dai praister allast up brasilianisch mökt*
 ... when the priest everything in brazilian makes
 ‘when the priest does (the service) in Portuguese’

This leads us to believe that there are some true traces of complementizer agreement in Pomeranian, which can be provoked by language contact with the local immigrant Dutch. This might be a trace of an underlying I-V2 syntax next to C-V2 syntax. (Zwart 1993; Postma 2013).

4.5 The structural subject position

4.5.1 Null subjects

Null subjects are not allowed in Pomeranian. The language always needs an expletive, e.g. as a proleptic subject (104a), with weather verbs (104b), impersonal verbs (104b), presumptive subject pronoun (104d), and in existential clauses (104efg). The subject position is then lexicalized with *dat* ‘there, it’.

- (104) a. *Dat is mij eigål, of hai kümt urer ni.* (DP:104)
 it is me alike, if he comes or not
- b. *Dat hört glijk up tam issen.* (HB, WS1)
 It stops now PRT for-to ice.INF2
 ‘It is going to stop snowing.’
- c. *Dat joikt mij upm gansa lijw.* (DP, s.v. *lijw*)
 ‘It itches me on my entire body.’
- d. *Dat is gaud dat wek lüür nog air stük wald bij sich*
 it is good that some people still a piece of forest with them
häwa daua. (UmL:83)
 have do
 ‘It is good that some stil are keeping a piece of forest.’
- e. *Dat wäira ais twai bruirers.* (DP, s.v. *dat*)
 it were once two brothers
 ‘Once upon a time, here were two brothers.’
- f. *Dat giwt twai sorta jekitiba.* (UmL:84)
 ‘There are two kinds (of) jekitiba trees’
- g. *Dat giwt im gansa huus kair wat tijd hät taum*
 there is in the entire house no one who time has for.to
mit em speelen. (DP:488)
 with him play.INF2
 ‘There is no one in the entire house to play with him.’

There are three contexts where the subject may be empty: 1. with 2SG verbs if the subject is not in sentence initial position, most often in questions (105a), and in the tag *wets* ‘you know’ in the spoken language (105b), perhaps as a calque of Portuguese *sabe*. 2. with 3SG expletive if the subject is not in sentence initial position (105cd), and 3. if the subject undergoes topic drop (105e).

- (105) a. *Must ø wekmåls froiga so: “mama, wat is dat?”*
 must you sometimes ask such: “mum, what is that?” (ESB)
- b. *Jå, mas, sou, wäts, wij fänga den an.* (ESB)
 Yes, but (Port.), so, you know.2SG, we start.PL then off

- c. *Gaud is ø wen dar ümer rouk uuner is.* (UmL:53)
 good is (it) when there all the time smoke under is
 ‘it is good if there is smoke under it all the time.’
- d. *Un sääga’s dā wat tau? Is ø gaut? Is ø egich?*
 and say-they there something at? Is (it) ok? “Is (it) ugly”?
Ura is’t normal? (ESB)
 Or is it normal?
- e. *Dat kümt fan de reegen.*
 it comes from the rain
 ‘It is caused by the rain.’

(105d) can also be analyzed as topic drop of a third person pronoun. Such cases of topic drop are common West Germanic. The next example comes without discussion.

- (106) *(Dat) wait ik ni.*
 that know I not
 ‘I do not know.’

In contrast to Frisian, there is no 2SG pro-drop in embedded contexts in Pomeranian, probably because of the lack of complementizer inflection in the language. Some cases of expletive *dat* may be left out in embedded clauses.

- (107) a. *Wen ø mijlchatijd is, den gāa sai ala t’houp*
 when (it) harvest is, then go they all together
steela. (UmL:101)
 steal.INF1
 ‘during the harvest, they go and steal together’
- b. *Wen dai mijlcha blöigt, wet man dat ø Wijnachta is.*
 when the corn blossoms, knows one that ø Christmas is
 ‘When the corn blossoms, one knows that it is Christmas’

In part, it might be a phonological reduction to *t < dat*, assimilated to the preceding coda.

4.5.2 Impersonal constructions

An expletive, typically *dat* ‘it’, is needed in impersonal constructions, e.g. *dat lât*, to be compared to English ‘it seems’ (108a), *dat reegent* ‘it rains’ (108bc), existential *dat gewt* ‘there are’ (108e), as well as in Pomeranian-specific constructions, such as in impersonal medio-passives (108f), cf. Cornips 1996: 52), and impersonal subject where *dat* replace *man* ‘one’ (108gh).

- (108) a. *Dat lât (sou) as ...* 'it seems'
 it let so as if ...
 'it seems that ...'
- b. *Dat reegent/dat dunert.* weather verbs
 'It rains/it thunders.'
- c. *Mij is dat kuld un mij släipert.* bodily experiences
 to.me is it cold and to.me sleep.ITER.3s
 'I am cold and sleepy'
- d. *Em dâir dat fraira.* bodily experiences
 to.him did it freeze
 'He felt cold.'
- e. *Dat giwt feel daila.* existential construction
 'There are many things'
- f. *Hijr woont sich dat gaud.* impersonal middle
 here lives REFL it good
 one lives well here
- g. *Dat dâit ana doir klöpa.* impersonal passive
 that does to-the door knock
 '(Some)one was knocking at the door'
- h. *Dat klopt.* impersonal passive
 'Someone is knocking at the door'

This is even the case in inversion, XP V-expl, so it is not an epiphenomenon on the V2 constraint.

- (109) *Glijk nâheer dâir dat ana doir klopa.* (PW, s.v. *doir*)
 just afterwards did it at the door knock

4.5.3 Existential constructions

Existential constructions are construed with *geewa* 'to give', with *sin* 'to be', or with other (ergative) verbs, such as *kooma* 'to come'. The auxiliary *geewa* selects *dat* as its expletive subject (110a), the lexical verbs select *dâ* 'there' as their expletive (110b). The verb *sin* allows for both (110cd).

- (110) a. *Dâr gaiw dat blous air ul huus.* (DP:159)
 over there gave EXPL only a old house
 'There was only an old house over there.'
- b. *Dâr kaim ain nijg regirung riner.* (DP:385)
 There came a new government into
 'A new government was installed.'

- c. *Dat wäira ais twai bruirers.* (DP, s.v. *dat*)
 that were once two brothers
 ‘Once upon a time, there were two brothers.’
- d. *Dâr is sunâwend air fest.* (DP:120)
 there is Saturday a party
 ‘There will be a party on Saturday.’

Pomeranian excludes the double-argument expletives with *dat*, but allows them with *dâr*.

- (111) a. **Dat hâwa twai lüür air huus köft.* *
 EXPL have two people a house bought
- b. *Dâr dâir ain fruug air bauk leesa.* ok
 EXPL did a woman a book read.INF1
 ‘A woman was reading a book.’

Now it has been suggested that VO-languages without V-to-T lack transitive expletive constructions (Bobaljik & Jonas 1996; Rohrbacher 1996; Zwart & Koster 2000).²⁶ As Pomeranian lacks V-to-T (Postma 2014), we conclude that this empirical generalization extends to Pomeranian on the basis of (111a). However, if we consider *dâr* an expletive as well – as it is devoid from any locational connotation –, the OV-language Pomeranian violates this empirical generalization that was drawn on the basis of VO-languages.

4.6 Prepositional syntax

Prepositions select for a DP or for a PP. Especially *bet* ‘until’ realizes both options: e.g. *bet foir* ‘until before’. When P and D are adjacent, they contract, cf. the scheme in 3.9.1. In contracted form, there is neutralization between *foir* ‘before’, *for* ‘for’, and *fon* ‘of’, which hardly ever gives rise to confusion, because of the collocational nature of *foir*-contraction. For instance, both *fon* ‘of’ and *foir* ‘before’ with the dative article *dem* contract to *fom*.

- (112) a. *fom düüstra* foir + dem
 ‘before the night’
- b. *fom slâpen*
 ‘before going to sleep’

²⁶ This is related to the generalization that languages with object shift allow for transitive expletive constructions (Bures 1992) and vice versa.

- c. *Meist ümer waard wurst fom bulaflaisch måkt.* fon + dem
 most often AUX.pass sausage of bull.meat made
 ‘Sausage is most often made from beef.’

Moreover, *foir* + *dai* and *fon* + *dera* contract both to *fona*.

- (113) a. *Fona reis* foir + dai
 before.the.FEM trip
 b. *Drai meter houfona eir* fon + dera
 three meter high of.the.FEM earth

Foir contracts only rarely. The contraction has a lexical collocational flavor.

4.6.1 Case selection by prepositions

Prepositions select for accusative or dative Case. Some select either, in function of the static/telic aspect of the construction, e.g. *in* ‘in’ selects the accusative with a directional small clause, cf. the list in Section 3.7.1.

- (114) a. *Hai is im fluss.*
 he is in.the.DAT river
 b. *Wij gaa ina fluss.*
 we go in.the.ACC river

Pomeranian is fully parallel to Standard German in this respect. In the case of a directional reading, Pomeranian often adds a directional particle, in this case *rin*er ‘into’, cf. (115).

- (115) *As wij ina fluss rinergünga, ...*
 when we in.the river into-went, ...

Most prepositions have a specific directional particle, which is often morphologically related. See Section 3.7.1 for a list. As a preverbal particle, *ein* may show up in reduced form: *e-*, *ei-* or *in-*: *ei-sluca* [eʔslukɐ] ‘swallow’ and in *ik sluk dat ei* [eʔ]. We briefly review the other prepositions (*up* ‘up’, *an* ‘at’, *fan* ‘of’, *foir* ‘before, for’, *tüschen* ‘between’) that exhibit this double Case behaviour.

4.6.2 *Up* ‘on’

The preposition *up* ‘on’ selects for accusative Case when it is directional, e.g. when the verb is prefixed with a directional particle, such as *ruper* ‘onto’, as in (116a) or *hen* in (116b). If, on the other hand, it is static, it selects for dative Case, as in (116c).

- (116) a. *Den waara dai upa bananablad up ain blek*
 then are they on-the banana-leave on a field
rupelegt. (accusative, FEM)
 PRT laid
- b. *Dai waard gebrård urer kuld henstelt upa disch.* (accusative, MASC)
 that gets fried or cold positioned on-the table
- c. *un ik bün up ainem dika boum wääst.* (dative, MASC)
 and I am on a thick tree been
- d. *Dai mama drögt dat klain upm naka.* (dative, MASC)
 the mum carries the puppy on-the neck

4.6.3 *Fo(n)* ‘of’

The preposition *fon* ‘of’ [fon/fo] selects for dative Case or accusative Case (117).

- (117) a. *Ik wil nuu ais wat fon ainem seegabuk fortela.* dative
 I want now once what of a.DAT goat tell
 ‘Now I want to tell something about a goat’
- b. *Fon dai melk häw ik käis makt un boter.* accusative
 of the.ACC milk have I cheese made and butter
 I have made cheese and butter from that milk
- c. *Denasta waard air klair rad fana bred makt.* dative
 after that AUX.pass a small wheel of.the wood made
 ‘Next, a little wheel of wood is made’

It also participates in the counterpart of the Dutch *wat voor*-construction and the German *was für*-construction (118).

- (118) *Ik wi waita wat fon kau höirt dij urer mij.* -
 I want to know which cow belongs to you or to me
 ‘I want know which cow belongs to you or to me.’

In contrast to Dutch and German, Pom. *wat fon* has both a type and token reading: ‘which type?’ or ‘which individual?’. Because of the debuccalisation of the *-n* in *fon* and *-r* in *for*, it is also written as *wat for*.

4.6.4 *Ana* – postposition and verbal particle

Adverbial particles and postpositions are created from prepositions by both prefixing *r-* and suffixing *-er*. For instance, *an* → *r-an-er*. The prefix *r-* has no prosodic space of its own (“onset”).

- (119) a. *un hai wäir ana dijk raner-reera.* accusative
and he was on.the.ACC dike onto.ridden
'and he drove onto the dike.'
- b. *(Sai) häwa ni forgeeta im tüügkasta drai daila*
they have not forgotten in.the.DAT suitcase three things
rinermäken: ... dative
into-put:
'They did not forget to put three things in their luggage'
- c. *un (sai) häwa's ranerhängt ana kangal.* dative
and they have them onto-hung to-the yoke.FEM
'and they hung them onto the yoke.'

Directional PP contexts with a preposition are often doubled by the corresponding particle prefixed to the verb (which might stand alone if the finite verbs undergoes V2), cf. (120ab). Some cases lack the *r*-prefix (120c), though the prefixed counterpart does exist: *uuner/ruuner*. This might be an animacy effect. Other prepositions lack the prefix systematically (120d–f). One preposition *fân* 'of' has a suppletive particle *af* 'off' (120g).

- (120) a. *Dai seegabuk (...) is [[upa imakasta] ruper] hüpt.*
the bock is on.the beehive onto jumped
'The bock jumped onto the beehive.'
- b. *Taum dat broud ina bakoowa rinerbringen, bruukt man aina*
For-to the bread in.the oven into-bring.INF2 needs one a
schüüwer.
shovel
'One needs a shovel to bring the bread into the oven.'
- c. *As (s) uuner dai kluk uunergåa.*
when (they) under the hen under.go.PL
'When they go under the mother-hen.'
- d. *Dai kuia waara manga andrer planterig mang plant.*
the kui.PL become among other planting among planted
'The kuis are planted among other plants.'
- e. *Dai jakaranda wäir köft nâna farw nâ.*
the jacarada became bought after.the color after
'The jacarandá (tree) was bought because of their paint.'
- f. *Wij gâa doir de tuun doir.*
we go through the fence through
'We cross the fence.'
- g. *Dai flaiga wijd fom boum af.*
they fly far from-the tree off
'They fly far from the tree.'

4.6.5 Preposition stranding

There is no preposition stranding in Pomeranian, apart from extraction of adverbial pronouns (so-called “R-pronouns”), *dår* ‘there, that’, *hijr* ‘here/this’, *wou* ‘where/what’, etc. under topicalization, scrambling, or WH-movement.

- (121) a. *Dår hāw ik nog gār ni [ec] an [ec] dacht.* topicalization
 there have I yet PRT not of thought
 ‘I have not thought of that.’
 b. *Åwer hai begreip ni wat [dår hijner [ec]]*
 however, he understood not what there after [ec]
staik. internal scrambling
 stuck
 ‘He did not understand what was behind it.’
 c. *Sai kooma dår ni hijner [ec] wat wij fortela daua.* middle field
 they come there not after what we discuss do
 ‘They won’t find out what we discuss.’
 d. *Ik wāir dår al air fon [ec].* middle field
 I was there already one of
 ‘I was already one of these.’
 e. *... air dail wou ik mij seir üm [ec] kümra dau, ...* WH movement
 ... something where I me very on [ec] worry do
 ‘... something that worries me a lot, ...’

Pomeranian is equal to the other continental West Germanic languages in having object shift. There is preposition stranding by an empty pronoun.

- (122) a. *Mijlchameel t’houp mit eiger (då) kan man baka fon [ec] bråra.*
 corn flour together with eggs can one cake of [ec] bake.INF1
 ‘One can bake cakes from corn flour with eggs.’
 b. *Fom sukerrour küün man sich uk suker [ec]_{pp} kooka.*
 of.the sugar.cane could one REFL also sugar cook
 ‘One could cook oneself sugar from sugar cane.’

We only mention this construction because its relation with R-pronominalization.

4.6.6 *Tau* ‘to’

The infinitival prefix *tau* e.g. in *tau dauen* ‘to do’, which was still present in European Pomeranian, has been lost in Brazilian Pomeranian completely. Syntactically, the infinitival prefix *tau* in T merged with *üm* in C and formed the complex complementizer *taum* in Brazilian Pomeranian (Postma 2016). *Tau* is retained as a degree marker before adjectives (cf. Section 3.3.5., < Old Saxon *te/ti-*) and as a

preposition. The latter use is discussed here. *Tau* (< Old Saxon *tu*) always selects for a dative complement. As a preposition, it has three uses: to introduce temporal complements (123a–g), to introduce purpose NPs (123h), and as a preposition selected by the verb (next section).

1. *Tau* as introducing temporal complements. Here a couple of examples are given without discussion. These constructions seem to have a lexical character.

- (123)
- a. *tau wainachta* ‘at christmas’
 - b. *tau taunemenda mån* ‘at crescent moon’
 - c. *tau festdåg* ‘at holidays’
 - d. *taum pulderåwend* ‘at polterabend’
 - e. *tauna hochtiid* ‘at the wedding’
 - f. *tauna festdåg* ‘on holidays’
 - g. *fon ain nacht tauna anerd* ‘from one night to the other’
 - h. *taum weitbroud mud man dai geela bataada airsta kooka*
for wheat bread must one the yellow potatoes first cook

2. As a selected preposition, it marks a beneficent or target argument, just as in English, e.g. *säåga tau* ‘to say to’, *forkoipa tau* ‘to sell to’, *doiga tau* ‘to serve to’. Three examples are given in (124).

- (124)
- a. *Ik säg tau eer / dår tau.*
‘I say to her / upon that.’
 - b. *Dat dögt tau feel daila.*
‘It serves to many things.’
 - c. *Hai kümt tau nischt.*
he comes to nothing
‘He does not do anything.’

3. As a complementizer, *taum* introduces rational and purpose clauses (Eng (for) ... to) and, in some cases, a controlled complement. Synchronically, it should not be analyzed as a preposition anymore in this function. See the discussion in Section 4.1.3.3. In all three cases above, *tau* can be considered linked to tense, which is reminiscent of its use as an infinitival prefix (*taum*).
4. Finally, *tau* shows up in reduced form as *t* in the lexicalized *t’huus* ‘at home’, *t’röig* ‘back’, *t’recht* ‘ready’, and *t’houp* ‘together’.

4.6.7 *Bet* ‘until’

The preposition *bet* ‘until’ selects accusative case complements.

- (125) a. *Bet anerda sündag*
Till next Sunday
- b. *Dat löt man stâa fon ainem dag bet andra taum süüren.*
that let one stand.INF1 from one.DAT day until other.ACC for.to sour.INF2
'One let it rest overnight for fermentation.'

However, in most of the cases, it selects a preposition, as in (126ab) or a finite clause (126cd).

- (126) a. *bet ina huld*
until in-the.DAT wood.n
- b. *Bet am fluss*
Until on.the.DAT river
- c. *bet dai apel upplatst*
until the apple open.burst
- d. *bet dai gumimelk hard waard.*
'until the gum becomes hard.'

In the latter use in (126cd), it has the function of a complementizer.

4.6.8 *Tüschen* 'between'

The preposition *tüschen* 'between' selects for dative and accusative complements, independent of the directionality. In coordinations the second conjunct can be in the dative case.

- (127) *Dai schupa bliwt tüschen dat huus un dem kaustal*
the storehouse is located between the.ACC house and the.DAT cow.stable

A similar phenomenon has been reported for High German (Grimm 1854–1961, s.v. *zwischen*) where inhomogeneous coordinations of genitive and dative occur.

4.7 Sentence integration

4.7.1 Parataxis

4.7.1.1 *Connectors*

There are four sentential coordinators that do not count for the V2 constraint: *un* ([un] or [u] 'and', *urer* [ure] 'or', *weegen* [vɛːjən] 'for', and *âwer* 'but'. Such coordinators connect clauses and are outside the sentential syntax. The negative coordinator ('neither/nor') is circumscribed in Pomeranian as *un/âwar ... ni* with *ni* having wide scope:

- (128) *Wij koina Portugiisich lera, åwer dårweegen bruuka wij ni ous språk*
 we can Portuguese learn, but hence need we not our language
forstöita.
 abandon
 ‘We may learn Portuguese, but it is not for that reason that we should
 abandon our language.’

Embedding clausal connectors (complements of *gåa* ‘to go’, *forsuika* ‘to try’, *anfanga* ‘to start’) are discussed in Section 4.4.6.

4.7.1.2 Paratactic quantifier restriction

Universally, quantification has a tripartite structure consisting of a quantifier, a restrictor, and a nuclear scope (Heim 1982): e.g. the quantifier *dai meista* ‘most’, the restrictor *Pomersch* ‘Pomeranians’, and the nuclear scope *sin Lutheranisch* ‘are Lutheranian’ in (129).

- (129) [Dai maista]_Q [Pomersch]_{RS} [sin Lutheranisch]_{NS}

While the scope is always realized through hypotaxis, the restrictor can be realized through both hypotaxis and parataxis.

- (130) a. *Uter mij wäir kainer im huus.*
 Apart from me, nobody was at home
 b. *Kair wäir im huus, uuter dai määkes.*
 Nobody was in the house, except the girls

In the eventive domain, paratactic quantifier restrictions come with meanings such as ‘unless’, etc. In Dutch, paratactic quantifier restriction realizes as the so-called “balance construction”,²⁷ illustrated in (131). It consists of a (weak) negative prolepsis, containing a quantifier, whose restrictor, e.g. ‘(any) human’, is further narrowed down by the second clause. The two clauses are linked through the disjunctive OR while the second exhibits SU-V order, never inverted order.

- (131) *Er was nauwelijks iemand in het gehoor of hij had wel een vraag.*
 there was hardly anybody in the audience COOR he had PRT a question
 ‘There was hardly anybody in the audience that did not have a question.’

Pomeranian has a paratactic quantifier restriction that consists of two main clauses, of which the first contains a negation, be it a strong negator (*ni* ‘not’) or *weak* (*kuum* ‘hardly’), just like Dutch. However, the second clause starts with *dun* ‘then’ + subject-verb inversion.

27. This construction is coined “balansschikking” by G.F. Bos (1964: 238–257) and has become the generally accepted term.

- (132) a. *Ik haar dat noch ni sägt, dun haar hai dat antwoud al*
 I had that yet not said, then had he the answer already
trecht. (HB)
 ready
- b. *Ik wäir kuum thus, dun kaim dai reegen uk al.* (HB)
 I was hardly at.home, then came the rain PRT already

Despite the absence of hypotaxis, the first conjunct scopes over the apodosis.²⁸ As a consequence, the apodosis cannot be dropped. In some cases, hypotaxis is the only possibility with a past tense with subjunctive reading, or with past tense *daua*-support.

- (133) *Dat däir ni meir feel feigle dat ous kano uuner güng/gåa däir.* (HB)
 it did not PRT much miss that our boat down went/go did
 ‘Our boat almost sunk.’

The construction with two main clauses is much more extended in Dutch, probably because of the identity in Dutch of subjunctor *of* ‘if’ and disjunctor *of* ‘or’.

4.7.2 Hypotaxis (clausal complementation)

4.7.2.1 Subject clauses

Subject clauses are extraposed (134ab) or preposed (134c). The subject position is then filled with the pronoun *dat*, to be analyzed as an expletive (*dat*) or deictic pronoun (*dat*). These two pronouns are identical in Pomeranian.

- (134) a. *Dat löt as Julius lustig is.*
 it seems if Julius happy is
 ‘Julius seems to be happy’
- b. *Dat is gaud, dat wek lüür nog air stük wald bij sich häwa daua.*
 it is good that some people still a piece wood at REFL have do
 ‘It is good that some people keep a piece of wood.’

28. In Middle Dutch and Middle Low German, the construction underlies the meaning ‘unless’ and had a weak negator in the apodosis.

(i) De borgere wuden on nicht en laten, se enworden verwisent
 de citizens wanted him not NEG admit, they NEG.AUX.PASS informed
 ‘The citizens dit not want to let him, unless they were informed’

This second weak *en* was often omitted in Middle High German, and was lost in Standard German: *es sei den* + Konjunktiv.

- c. *Dat dai klaina folker eer språk ina ek schoowa waard, dat*
 that the small peoples their language in the corner shifted gets, that
ligt an ous.
 lays to us
 ‘It is because of us that the small peoples’ languages are marginalized.’

I did not find any in situ subject clauses (i.e. preverbal), but even if we would find them, the sentence initial clauses would probably be preposed with an empty topic pronoun.

4.7.2.2 Complement clauses

Object finite clauses are extraposed without leaving an expletive. This can be traced in complex tenses or in particle verb constructions. The same is true for infinitival complementation (135b). Infinitival clauses may remain in situ if they are simplex (135c). However, the attested cases can also be analyzed as nominal phrases.

- (135) a. *Nuu wil man ais [ec] wijsa [wat dai pomerischa lüür koina].*
 Now will one PRT point-out [what the Pomeranian people can.PL]
 ‘Now one will point out what the Pomeranians are able to.’
 b. *Sai hät [ec] forgeeta [stuuta köipen].* (DP:135)
 she has forgotten bread.SG buy.INF2
 ‘She forgot to buy bread.’
 c. *Den fängen sai [ana freeten] an.*
 then start they at eating out
 ‘Then they start out eating.’

When the object clause is the complement of a preposition, an expletive object is obligatory (136). R-pronominalization is not obligatory, in contrast to Dutch and German.

- (136) a. *Hai haar dāran dacht [dat dai ijsern kansel em dat (...)] afslåa*
 he had of it thought, that the iron gate him it cut
haar]
 had
 b. *Dat kümmt ümer [up dat] an [wou slim as dai biss wääst is]*
 that comes always on that PRT how bad COMP the bite been is
 ‘It always depends on how bad the bite was.’

This might be due to the absence of reduced pronouns in Pomeranian.

4.7.2.3 Relative clauses

Pomeranian has a multi-purpose relative pronoun *wat*. It can be extracted from any position: subject, object, or adjunct position. Relativization of PPs proceeds by

R-pronominalization and movement of *wou* + P, cf. (137e), or extraction of *wou* from the PP, as in (137f). *Wou* can also be used upon extraction from an adjunct position, when it can be analyzed as a complement clause.

- (137) a. *Dai lüür wat kaina stampklots kena daua* subject
 the people that no pestle know do
 the people that dont know the pestle
- b. *Ik häw ain historia wat mij papa ümer fortela dait.* object
 I have a story that my father always told
- c. *fon dai tijd wat hai ous hulpa hät* adjunct
 from the time that he has helped us
- d. *Wij muita ous gaud befräga wat ous kandidaat [ec] fona meisch*
 we must us good ask what our candidate [what for a person]
 is. subextract
 is
 ‘We must realize what kind of man our candidate is.’
- e. *Dai schik woumit ik hijr srijwa dau, ...* PP
 the joy where.with I here write do, ...
 ‘The pleasure with which I write here, ...’
- f. *Dat wäir den wat nijges wou dai kiner [ec] up luura*
 it was then something new.GEN where the children on wait.INF1
 däira. PP
 did
 ‘It was something new the children were waiting for.’

There is no agreement between antecedent and relative pronoun. Other relative pronouns are *wou* ‘how’ (phonetically identical to *wou* ‘where’ discussed above), *wen* ‘when’, *wat fon* ‘what kind of’ and *wen* ‘whenever’.

4.7.2.4 Free relative clauses

Relative clauses are only headless when they have generic or universal quantified reading, as illustrated in (138). They must be distinguished from embedded interrogatives, exemplified in (139).

- (138) a. *Huun bleeka an [wat sai ni kena daua].* whatever
 Dogs bark to what they not know do.PL
- b. *[Wat dai fruug mökt], waard meistens ni reekend.* whatever
 what the woman does, is usually not counted
- c. *Sai mākā jā doch wat sai wila.* whatever
 They make PRT yet what they want
 ‘They do whatever they want.’

- (139) a. *Rår ais wat ik hijr ina hand häw!* embedded interrogative
 Guess PRT what I here in.the hand have
 b. *Ik wul kijke wat in dem keetel in wäir,* embedded interrogative
 Ik wanted to look what in the kettle PRT was

When “free relatives” have a specific reference, they are obligatorily headed by a dummy pronominal antecedent, usually *dat* ‘it/that’ (140), but also *dår* ‘there’ (141).

- (140) a. *Dat [wat ik doirset häw], is kainem hund günend.*
 that what I suffered have, is no dog granted
 ‘What I suffered from, one does not wish to anyone.’
 b. *Dat [wat wij ni waita daua], fråga wij dem praister.*
 that what we not know do, ask we to the priest
 ‘What we dont know is asked to the priest.’
 c. *Dat [wat ik hijr sreewa häw], is wou ales meir krum, åwer ik denk*
 that what I here written have, is how ever more crooked, but I think
dat giwt taum forståen.
 that gives for-to understand.INF2
 ‘What I wrote here, is somewhat crooked, but I think it is understandable.’
 d. *...fon dat [wat grousmuter hijnerlåta hæt],...*
 ...of that what grandma has left behind
 e. *Giw mij dat [wat mij höirt].*
 give me that what belongs to.me
- (141) *Dår wou ik woona dau, is air gråwa.*
 there where I live do, is a grave
 ‘where I live, there is a grave’

The dummy antecedent and the relative clause can be separated, as is shown in (142).

- (142) a. *Ik häw dat alaina höirt, [wou duu sägt hæt].*
 I have that only heard, what you said have.2sg
 b. *Den küüna wij ous kiner dat uk wijsa [wat wij früüer leirt*
 then can we our children that also teach [what we before learned
häwa].
 have]
 ‘Then we can teach our children what we learned before.’

I found one case of a headless relative clause with specific reading.

- (143) *Dår fail em in, wat sijn grousmuter gistern åwend fom inslåpen em sägt haar.*
 ‘Suddenly, he remembered what his grandmother yesterday evening before sleeping had said to him.’

I cannot judge the exceptional status. Perhaps it has the reading ‘all the things that’, but I cannot confirm this yet.

4.7.2.5 Complement clauses to NPs, APs, etc.

NP-complement clauses are headed by the complementizer *dat*, as in (144a). Notice that the relative pronoun ‘that’ is realized as *wou*, illustrated in (144b).

- (144) a. *Nuu hāw ik hofnung, dat ous språk nog ais aina weird krijga dāit.*
 now have I hope that our language yet PRT a value get.INF1 does
 ‘Now I have good hope that our language will be valued.’
 b. *Nuu, wou dai schaul uut is, koina jij werer speela.*
 now that the school out is, can.PL you.PL again play.INF1
 ‘Now that the school has finished, you may play again.’
 c. *Dai tijd wou dai meista kolonista sich nog swijn futra dāira.*
 the time that the most immigrants REFL still pigs feed did
 ‘The time that most immigrants were still breeding pigs’

4.7.2.6 Complementizer drop and embedded V2

Pomeranian may drop the complementizer *dat* under bridge verbs such as *sāga* ‘to say’ and *denka* ‘to think’. The embedded clause then displays clause initial subject + V2.

- (145) a. *Dai meisch säär, sai schul spårer kooma.*
 The man said she shall.past later come
 ‘The man told (her) that she should come later.’
 b. *Hai säär, dat schüül ales ain regirung waara ina gansa wild.*
 he said it shall.opt all one government become in.the whole world
 ‘He said it should all be one government in the whole world’
 c. *Ik dacht, dai wäir nog hailig.*
 ‘I thought she was still a virgin.’
 d. *Fater-muter hāwa ous sägt, dai apa bröchta dat kind ina*
 father-mother have us said, the apes brought the child in.the
bijn.
 wrappings
 ‘My parents told us that the monkeys brought the children in wrappings’

In this field, Pomeranian patterns with German and Frisian, and contrasts with Dutch.

4.7.2.7 Cleft sentences

A cleft sentence is a biclausal realization of a simplex predicate. It is used to enhance a constituent, e.g. *it was John who opened the door*, and *what John did was to open the door* in English. There are various types of clausal clefts, but the literature typically reports cases where the enhanced constituent is realized in the main clause, while the main predicate is realized as a dependent clause. Pomeranian hardly uses cleft sentences, but the few ones that do occur, realize the enhanced element in the relative clause, as illustrated in (146). The construction was already observed in European Pomeranian by Mahnke (1931: 69), and is given in (147).

- (146) *Wat jowe lüür sin, jij kena fel wöir ni meir, wat wij noch*
 what your guys are, you.PL know.PL many words not anymore, that we still
kena däira. (BP)
 know do.PL

‘Your generation does not anymore know many words that we still know.’

- (147) *Wat miin braurædoxdæ is, dai wil nuu ook vriigæ.*²⁹
 what your brother’s daughter is, she wants now also marry (EP)
 ‘My niece was to marry too.’

Mahnke (*loc. cit.*) restricts this strategy to the subject. It is not entirely clear what pragmatic or syntactic function this circumscriptive strategy serves. Mahnke describes it as *Hervorhebung*, i.e. emphasis or focus. There are doubts about this. Mahnke also interprets embedded do-support as “*Hervorhebung*” of the verb, which is certainly incorrect, both in European and Brazilian Pomeranian embedded clauses. I do not exclude a formal mechanism: the structural impossibility of the, now mostly lost, kinship terms to be in subject position and trigger verbal agreement. More research is needed.

29. The orthography is Mahnke’s. Whereas Mahnke represented long vowels with macrons, I have taken the liberty of replacing those by doubling the vowel.

Derivational morphology

5.1 Suffixes

We list only the most important suffixes without analyzing them exhaustively.

5.1.1 Nominalizers

The most common derivational suffixes are:

(1) <i>-d/t + vowel</i> change; <i>-d(e)</i> _o underlyingly <i>-en</i>	Deadjectival. <i>droig – dröigt</i> ‘dry – draught’. Cf. Section 5.1.1.1. Typically feminine nouns (but also neuter?). Deverbal. This is the infinitive 2 or gerund suffix. It produces neuter eventive nouns. An alternative form is <i>-end</i> (<i>dat leewend</i> ‘life’). In Pomeranian, like in English, gerunds may have a verbal status (e.g. they can assign accusative case). It is a productive formation both in its verbal and in its nominal use. In lower registers, Pomeranian prefers the neuter forming suffix <i>-en</i> instead of <i>-ung</i> : <i>dat reren</i> ‘the rescue’ < <i>rera</i> ‘to rescue’ versus Dutch <i>de redding</i> , German <i>die Rettung</i> .
<i>-heit</i> or <i>-keit</i> (after <i>-ig</i>)	Deadjectival. It forms feminine abstract and eventive nouns. Productive. It seems to be a Germanism.
<i>-ung</i>	Mostly high register words and borrowings from High German to form eventive and abstract feminine nouns: <i>hofnung</i> ‘hope’, <i>forgiftung</i> ‘intoxication’ <i>formischung</i> ‘mixture’; <i>forsamlung</i> ‘collection’ <i>oiwerswemung</i> ‘inundation’; <i>forsicherung</i> ‘insurance’, <i>stärkungs(mittel)</i> ‘fortificant’, etc. In this function, mostly <i>-en</i> is used in Pomeranian. See above.
<i>-tum / -schaft</i>	Nominal suffix. Frozen borrowings from High German.

-nis	Deverbal suffix forming neuter nouns <i>forküülnis</i> ‘refreshment’, <i>gräwnis</i> ‘funeral’; <i>kair beduurnis</i> ‘no compassion’. Not really productive. In Dutch -nis and Frisian -ens form nonneuter nouns.
-er	Derivational suffix from verb to noun (agentive): <i>slachta</i> > <i>dai slachter</i> , <i>måka</i> > <i>dai måker</i> . Productive. Masculine.
-ling	Nominal suffix. Not productive. <i>Twiling</i> ‘twin’ and some animals: <i>smeterling</i> ‘butterfly’, <i>sparling</i> ‘tico-tico’. It is an old diminutive or patronymic morpheme (Wrede 1908b).
-ster	Noun to noun. This suffix forms professions: <i>schauster</i> ‘shoemaker’. Disconnected is formation <i>oiwerster</i> ‘superior’ which is built up stepwise: <i>oiwer-st</i> + <i>er</i> .
-(e)rig	Stress-bearing suffix, < -rij < from Romance -rie, with glide velarization. A binding schwa, <e>, is inserted between two stressed syllables. It produces repetitive eventive nominalizations: <i>reererig</i> [rɛ:rə'riç] ‘talking all the time’, <i>gnüglerig</i> ‘talking rubbish’, <i>strijrerig</i> ‘discussing all the time’, <i>srijwerig</i> ‘writing all the time’, <i>fikerig</i> ‘copulation’, <i>hanelrig</i> ‘trade’, <i>hexerig</i> ‘witchcraft’, <i>pukerig</i> ‘hard working’, <i>håckerig</i> ‘problems’. or locations where these repetitive activities are carried out: <i>båkerig</i> ‘bakery’, <i>slachterig</i> ‘butcher’, <i>planterig</i> ‘plantation’.
-sch	Forms feminine nouns from masculine nouns that refer to professions: e.g. <i>praistersch</i> < <i>praister</i> ‘priest’. See Section 5.1.1.2.

5.1.1.1 Deadjectival suffix -t/-d as underlying -d(e)₀

The deadjectival nominalizer -t/-d, occasionally with vowel change, creates abstract feminine¹ nouns and is to be compared with English -th, Dutch -te, German -e, e.g. *krum* ‘curved’ → *dai krümd* ‘the curve’. There are arguments that the suffix is underlyingly Umlaut + d(e)₀ in Pomeranian (see below).

1. Tressmann’s dictionary has *hålw* as a neuter noun. This must be an error.

(2)	Adj	N	translation
a.	<i>hait</i>	<i>hit</i> ²	‘hot – heat’
b.	<i>dröig</i>	<i>dröigt</i>	‘dry – drought’
c.	<i>lang</i>	<i>längt</i>	‘long – length’
d.	<i>groud</i> [t]	<i>gröid</i> [t]	‘big – size’
e.	<i>daip</i>	<i>daipt</i>	‘deep – depth’
f.	<i>houg</i>	<i>höigt</i>	‘high – height’
g.	<i>krum</i>	<i>krümd</i>	[t/ɖ] ‘curved – curve’
h.	<i>kuld</i>	<i>kül</i> ³	‘cold – cold’
i.	<i>frou</i>	<i>fröir</i>	‘glad – joy’
j.	<i>gruin</i>	<i>gruin</i>	‘green – vegetables’
k.	<i>slim</i>	<i>slimd</i> ⁴	‘bad’ – ‘badness’, ‘wound’
l.	<i>halw</i>	<i>hälwt</i>	‘half – the half’
m.	<i>braid</i>	<i>bräid</i> ⁵	‘broad – broadness’

European Pomeranian had a morpheme *-d* that did not undergo final devoicing (Mahnke 1931: 59–60). In Brazilian Pomeranian, the suffix *-d* undergoes final devoicing. This morpheme should probably be analyzed as *-d(e)* with catalexis of the final schwa, i.e. *-d(e)*_o. The level of this catalexis (lexical/postlexical) might also be the cue of whether the context of final devoicing is active or not.

There is one adjective in *-d* that subtracts final *-d* in order to form the nominalization: *kuld* ‘cold’ – *dai kül* ‘the cold’. This can be interpreted as a derivation with *-de* suffix as well, under the assumption of intervocalic cluster reduction R9 + schwa apocope, cf. (19). In terms of catalexis, the structure of *kul* must be analyzed synchronically as *kuld + d(e)*_o with intervocalic cluster reduction and catalexis of the schwa. Evidence for rhotacism and catalexis of final schwa is the nominalisation of open root *frou* ‘glad’ in (2i), which is *fröir* ‘joy’. Only if we assume an underlying schwa with intervocalic rhotacism (rule R8 in (16) of Section 2.3.2.2) can we explain this final *-r*. Notice that we must assume that a double intervocalic *-dd-* is a context of rhotacism. It can indeed be shown that *-dd-* does not block rhotacism, in view of Pom. *rera* ~ Du. *redden* ‘to save’. Paradigmatic evidence from EP

2. Also: *hits* < HG *Hitze*). The *-ts* might also be the realization of a geminate *-tt*. Cf. Section 2.3.10.

3. Tressmann’s dictionary writes *kul*.

4. This noun seems to be neuter.

5. Tressmann’s spelling has <breid>.

sette – *seer* – *set* ‘to set’, where the past tense *seer* derives from underlying *sedd(e)*_o.⁶ In Brazilian Pomeranian, the backward assimilation rule is reversed to forward assimilation, i.e. (obsolete) *set* + *de* → *sett* → *set*. Now, we have a problem with *groud* – *gröid* in (2d) instead of the expected **gröir*. This problem is only apparent. The underlying form of *groud* must be /grout/ ~ Dutch *groot*. In other words, *groud* is a misspelling in Tressmann’s orthography. The comparative *gröter* of *groud* also points in this direction. If we assume *grout* + [I] + d(e)_o, with forward assimilation, we correctly predict *dai gröit* ‘the size’. A final prediction is the invariant case *gruin* in (2j). If we add *gruin* + d(e)_o, apply intervocalic cluster reduction of /nd/ to /n/, and apply schwa apocope, we arrive at *gruin* being the Pomeranian counterpart of Du. *groente* ‘vegetables’. Notice that we do not predict the distribution of umlaut.

5.1.1.2 -sch

-sch: female nouns from masculine nouns, e.g. *schaulleirer* → *schaulleirersch* ‘schoolteacher’, *tauhöirer* → *tauhöirersch* ‘attendeé/person in the audience’, *graaw* ‘duke’ → *graawsch* ‘countess’. Also in kinship terms, e.g. *swääger* ‘brother in law’ → *swäägersch* ‘sister in law’. The *-sch* suffix [ʃ] can be compared with Frisian *-ske* (Blom 1889: 55; Fokkema 1948), Polabian Platt *-ske*, e.g. *Ehrske* < (*Herr* + *-ske*) ‘wife of an important person’ (Rost 1907: 4–9), *pastörske* ‘wife of pastor’ (ibidem: 54), Swedish *barnmorska* ‘midwife’. In Pomeranian, it derives feminine professional nouns: *dokter* ‘doctor’ – *doktersch* ‘female doctor), *praister* – *praistersch* ‘female priest’, *bespreekersch* ‘female healer’, *heewansch* < *heew-am* + *-sch* ‘midwife’.⁷ It is also attached to masculine proper names: *Berthold Kalksch* ‘wife or widow of mr Berthold Kalk’. It causes umlaut in some lexical nouns, but not in names. This suffix is also used in an adjectival sense, ‘of Kalk’s’, exemplified in (3b). This is only used for women. A curious use is *uldsch* ‘wife’ with a colloquial connotation, as in (3c).

- (3) a. *Mijn swäägersch, Berthold Kalksch, hät air bild*
 my sister-in-law, widow of Berthold Kalk.sch, has a photo
därfon (DP:469)
 of it
- b. *muter Kalksch dai ul Kalksch*
 mother Kalk.suf the old.FEM Kalk.suf
 ‘the mother in Kalk’s house’

6. In contrast to BP, which has forward assimilation of -d(e)_o, EP *-de* had backward assimilation (Mahnke 1931: ...60).

7. Compare HG *hebamme*, Du dial. *hevelmoeder* ‘midwife’.

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------|
| c. | <i>mijn uldsch</i> | <i>mij ula</i> |
| | my old.sch | my old.infl |
| | ‘my wife’ | ‘my husband’ |

This suffix must not be confused with the Saxon genitive *’s*, discussed in Section 3.1.4, which is also restricted to female referents. The suffix must be old, as it occurs in a Near-Pomeranian charter from 1415.⁸ In modern use, *praistersch* (*praister* + *sch*) is only ‘female Lutheran priest’. *Koiksch* means ‘female cook’. The masculine counterpart **koik* does not exist. Some people use *dai koch* from High German *Koch*. The *-sch* in *ain Pomersch* ‘Pomeranian woman’ is ambiguous between this *-sch* suffix attached to *Pomer* ‘male Pomeranian’ and the adjectival suffix *-(i)sch*. See Section 5.1.2.

5.1.1.3 -in

The suffix *-in* is not used to derive female nouns, apart from *näigerin* ‘female tailor’.

5.1.2 Adjectivizers

The following deverbal adjectivizers are used in Pomeranian: *-sam*, *-bar*; from nominal roots: *-lous*, *-rijk*, *-haft*. As these form their own prosodic domain, no special effects need to be mentioned. There is final devoicing in the preceding syllable.

(4)	Adjectivizers
<i>-lous</i>	Privative suffix that forms adjectives from nouns, to be compared with English <i>-less</i> . Examples include: <i>godlous</i> ‘immoral, atheistic’, <i>språklous</i> ‘speechless’. With secondary stress.
<i>-ig</i> (no umlaut)	Adjectivizer to be compared with Eng <i>-y</i> , Germ / Du / Fri <i>-ig</i> . May cause intervocalic rhotacism: <i>doud</i> → <i>dourig</i> ‘death/dead’. 1. from nouns: <i>regnig</i> ‘rainy’, <i>drekig</i> ‘dirty’, <i>draikantig</i> ‘with three sides’, <i>eeklig</i> ‘bad, ugly’, <i>glouwig</i> ‘religious’, <i>lustig</i> ‘happy’. 2. from verbs: <i>dröimig</i> ‘dreamy’, 3. from adjectives: <i>grijsig</i> ‘gray like’ 4. root derivation: <i>düchtig</i> ‘extremely’, <i>eewig</i> ‘eternal’, <i>mijrig</i> ‘small’. 5. < HG: <i>kräftig</i> ‘forceful’

8. “Heszeke Vrouendorppes de hadde pande van Hans Merszemannes vyves wegen, alse 1 hoyken vnde 1 rok, dat stun 8 marc sz meyn. Den panden hefft **Vrouwendorpsche** dan allent, dat recht is”. (Rechtbok van Stralsund 1415–1497, described in Wehrmann 1896).

-lig (+umlaut)	<p>< HG <i>-lich</i>. To be compared with Du <i>-lijk</i>. Old Saxon <i>-lik</i> has been lost. This suffix may cause intervocalic rhotacism: <i>juud</i> → <i>juurisch</i> 'Jew/Jewish'.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. from nouns: <i>eirlig</i> 'honest', <i>festlig</i> 'festive'. 2. from adjectives forming adverbs: <i>gewijslig</i> 'certainly'. 3. root derivation: <i>argalich</i> 'angry, annoyed', <i>getlig</i> 'halfway', <i>doimlig</i> 'crazy'. <p>The Old Saxon suffix <i>-lik</i>, Du <i>-lijk</i>, has been lost.</p>
-tschig	<p>Root derivation. Pejorative adjectivizer.</p> <p><i>luulatschig</i> 'lazy, sloppy', <i>klijtschig</i> 'insufficiently leavened', <i>matschig</i> 'swampy, wet'.</p>
-isch:	<p>Productive suffix forming adjectives from nouns, especially nationalities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – <i>Holändisch</i> 'Dutch', <i>Poulnisch</i> 'Polish', <i>Wendisch</i> 'Sorbian' – <i>reeknerisch</i> 'arithmetic' – <i>teknisch</i> 'technical', <i>melodisch</i> 'melodic'
-sch:	<p>Variant of <i>-isch</i>.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Forming adjectives to nations: only <i>Pomersch</i> 'Pomeranian', <i>Düütsch</i> 'German'. 2. Root derivation: <i>narsch</i> 'crazy', <i>frisch</i> 'fresh', <i>früüsch</i> 'early', <i>hübsch</i> 'elegant', <i>fenijnsch</i> 'poisonous'.

The non-syllabic morpheme *-sch* is realized in the coda of its lexical host. It is hardly productive. It should not be confused with the denominal nominalizer *-sch*, which produces female profession nouns from male profession nouns, cf. Section 5.1.1.2.

5.1.3 Other suffixes

-soin / -tochter/...	These two kinship nouns has been lost but survive as the second part of compounds: <i>swijgersoin</i> 'son in law'.
-wards / wårds	Directional suffix.

-(<i>en</i>) <i>wijs</i>	This suffix avoids ante-suffixal stress; when added adjacent to the stress there is dummy mora insertion: <i>-enwijs</i> (denominal):
<i>kilo</i> ‘kilo’	→ <i>kilowijs</i> ‘per kilo’
<i>meiter</i> ‘meter’	→ <i>meterwijs</i> ‘by the meter’
<i>stük</i> ‘piece’	→ <i>stükenwijs</i> ‘piecewise’
<i>duts</i> ‘dozen’	→ <i>dutsenwijs</i> ‘per dozen’
	But there are exceptions in the domain of time: <i>tijd</i> ‘time’ → <i>tijdwijs</i> ‘sometimes’, <i>klokwijs</i> ‘clockwise’, <i>stoutwise</i> ‘accidentally’.
- <i>erwijs</i>	This suffix forms discourse adverbs from adjectives:
<i>gelükig</i> ‘happy’	→ <i>gelükigerwijs</i> ‘happily’

5.2 Prefixes

5.2.1 Verbal prefixes

(5) <i>un-</i>	Negative and pejorative prefix. with A: <i>unsicher</i> , <i>ungesund</i> ; with N: <i>unsin</i> , <i>unglück</i> , <i>unkruud</i>
<i>be-</i> , <i>for-</i> , <i>ent-</i>	Inseparable verbal prefixes. The particles correspond to their German cognates.
* <i>zer-</i>	Old-Saxon <i>te/ti</i> is absent in Pomeranian. Its function has been taken over by <i>for-</i> . Here Pomeranian parallels Dutch, and contrasts with Fri. (<i>te-</i>), Groningen (<i>te-</i>), and HG (<i>zer-</i>).
<i>ge-</i>	The only derivational affix that is a prefix. It converts a verbal (passive/perfective) participle into an adjective, be it attributive or predicative. Always without stress. See the discussion in Section 3.3.8–3.3.10 and 4.1.9.

5.2.2 Separable and inseparable verbal prefixes

Heavy prefixes are separable, weak prefixes are inseparable. There is one exception with a heavy prefix that is inseparable: *uuner* ‘under’. It then remains unstressed.

- (6) a. *Dai dokter uunersöcht ümsüss.*
the doctor examined in vain
- b. *Dai sün geit hijner dem barg uuner*
the sun goes behind the mountain under
‘The sun sets behind the mountain.’

I did not find any verb with inseparable *doir* ‘through’, to be compared with Du. *door-snijden* ‘to cross’, nor with an inseparable *an* ‘on’, to be compared with Du. *aanbieden* ‘to worship’, or an inseparable *oiwer*, to be compared with Du. *overschrijden* ‘to transgress’. The corresponding verbs are all separable in Pomeranian: *doirsnijra* → *wij snijra* ... *doir*, *anbera* → *wij bera* ... *an*, *oiwerfuira* → *wij fuira* ... *oiwer*.

5.3 Conversion

In the case of conversion from noun to verb, intervocalic rhotacism may apply, e.g. *arbeid* ‘work’ with final devoicing [arbeit] is converted to *arbeira* ‘to work’. This points to an underlying *-d-*. However, both in 1SG present tense and in imperative, the *r*-form shows up: *ik arbeir* ‘I work’, and *arbeir ma’s gaud!* ‘have a good working time’. This illustrates the universal pattern concerning the rules of intervocalic cluster reduction and rhotacism: in the verbal domain they are only operative diachronically, never synchronically over the paradigm. I have no explanation why these historical processes may create irregularities in nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, but not in verbs.

Standard derivation of nouns to verbs use umlaut, for instance *wunsch* ‘wish’, *snaur* ‘string’ (cf. Du *snoer*), *blaud* ‘blood’ convert to the verbs *wünscha* ‘to wish’, *snuira* ‘to tie tight’, *bluira* ‘to bleed’, respectively.

5.4 Compounding

• N + N

The N + N noun composition is fully productive, but there are curious restrictions of which the nature is not clear. In those cases, loans from German are used instead, especially for the first member. This might be related to catalexis in the Pomeranian modifying noun. Perhaps, uncertainty on the segmental content of catalectic morphemes is at stake. Some nouns have a binding *-s-* between the two members, such as *wijnachtsman* ‘Christmas man’.

• A + N

There is productive adjectival incorporation. Especially mass noun adjectives incorporate obligatorily, without binding morpheme. A particular case is incorporation of *klain-* ‘little’ and *groud-* ‘big’ as a parallel strategy to the Portuguese diminutive and augmentative, cf. Section 3.3.4 and 3.3.6).

Lexis

6.1 Pomeranian lexical basis

As to lexis, Pomeranian is deeply rooted in the German cultural space. Whenever North Sea Germanic lexis is in opposition to continental Germanic lexis, Pomeranian is on a par with continental lexis, not with Dutch/Frisian/English. For instance, the absence of *Saturday*, Dutch *zaterdag*, Wäld Frisian *saterdie*, versus German *Sonnabend*, Pomeranian patterns with German: *sunâwend*. As to phonology and morphosyntax, on the other hand, Pomeranian is much more oriented to the coastal areas, for instance, the n-drop before spirants discussed in Section 1.1, the prefix *bi-* to form heavy prepositions such as English *above*, Du. *boven*, Frisian *boppe*, Pom. *boowa* versus German form *über* without *bi-*prefix. This shows that Pomeranian might be characterized having a Coastal Germanic substrate and a High German superstrate. In some cases, Pomeranian goes its own way, e.g. *sijr* for ‘low’. The cognate of English *thing*, German *Ding*, Du *ding*, was replaced by *dail* ‘part, thing’. The word for ‘pain’ is *waidog*. Below we give an impressionistic overview of the lexical differences.

(1)

Pomeranian	English	Frisian	Dutch	German	comment
sijr	low	leech	laag	niedrig	
dail	thing	ding	ding	Ding	as dummy
waidog/pijnch	pain/ache	pine	pijn	Weh , Schmerzen	
–	Saturday	saterdei	zaterdag	–	
sunâwend	–	sneon	–	Sonnabend	
rad	wheel	tsjel/rêd	wiel	Rad	
wijd(af)	far	fier	ver	weit	
nijder	down	del	neer	nieder	as a particle
loupa	run	rinne	rennen	laufen	‘walk fast’
bet	till	oant	tot	bis	
krank	sick/ill	siik	ziek	krank	

koina	can	kinne	kunnen	mögen	CAN-reading
schåla	shall	sille	zullen	werden	future
waara					auxiliary
boowa	above	boppe	boven	über	
fiiw	five	fiif	vijf	fünf	± n-drop
hijner	after	efter	achter		
	behind			hinter	
treka	pull	tsjen/lúke	trekken	ziehen	
kuus	tooth	kies	kies	Zahn	‘molar’
muul	mouth	mule	mond	Mund	‘mouth’

6.2 Locations

There are a few names of locations (in ES) and locational expressions that have a special designation in Pomeranian.

-
- (2) *(nam/im) Bout* – (to/in) Santa Leopoldina (Porto de Cachoeira)
nåna stad – to Vitoria
Buuten – in Espírito Santo (the state outside the Pomeranian area)
nå Santa Marij – to Santa Maria de Jetibá
nåna kirch – to church
nåna vend – to the stockhouse, esp. on the road to Santa Leopoldina
Swarda Felsen – Pedra Preta (lit. *Swarda Stair* ‘black stone’)
Ponta – Rio Ponte
Kampijn – Domingo Martins
Melgas – Melgaço
-

6.3 Surnames

Many official family names have a Pomeranian counterpart. The regular projections rules include intervocalic rhotacism (cf. Section 2.3.2.2), schwa-apocope (cf. Section 2.6), breaking (Section 2.7), palatalization of [g] to [j] (Section 2.3.3), and glide velarization (Section 8.2). In names with a meaning, such as *Braun* ‘brown’, the mechanism might be direct translation from High German into Pomeranian. We give a list in (3). Family names have a separate genitive form in *-a* or *-s*. The

choice is made on the phonological basis. If the Pomeranian basis consists of one syllable, the *-a* ending is chosen. The *-s* ending occurs elsewhere.

(3)	Official	Pomeranian	Genitive	
a.	Gaede	= Jöir	Jöira	
b.	Strey	= Streig [ç]	Streige	
c.	Schultz	= Schult	Schulde	
d.	Goerl	= Joil	Joila	
e.	Braun	= Br[u:]n	Bruna	
f.	Haese	= H[ɛ:]s	Heesa	
g.	Gehrke	= Jeik	Jeika	
h.	Krause	= Kruus	Kruusa	
i.	Schwanz	= Swants	Swantse	
j.	Batke	= Bâtke	Bâtke's	
k.	Hamer	= Hâma	Hâmar's	[hɔməs]
l.	Gröner	= Gr[ui]na	Gruina's	
m.	Polnath	= Paunat	Paunat's	
n.	Döring	= Dorink	Dorink's	
o.	Januth	= Jounat	Jounat's	
p.	Plaster	= Plåster	Plåster's	[pɔlstəs]
q.	Schröder	= Srörer	Srörer's	
r.	Kempin	= Kampin	Kampin's	
s.	Föger ¹	= Fäiet	Fäiet's	
t.	Kiefer	= Kifet	Kifet's	
u.	Müntchow	= Möntche [mœntçə]	Möntche's	
v.	Jastrow	= Joster	Joster's	[jostes]
w.	Stabenow	= Ståwan	Ståwan's	
x.	Bienow	= Bijna	Bijna's	[bi:nəs]

The use of these genitives is discussed in Section 3.1.4.

1. This and the next name are not originally Pomeranian, but Austrian and Hessian, respectively.

6.4 Borrowings

Pomeranian is rich in borrowings from the superstrates High German and Portuguese. In many cases the word is simply copied, with full German or Portuguese phonology, e.g. *geração* [zerasâu] ‘generation’, which is taken with the full nasalisation [âu] and onset [ʒ], which are absent in traditional Pomeranian. This must be taken as a kind of code switching. Many other borrowings have undergone and still undergo accommodation. In the examples in (4) below, the phonological material after the stress is dropped. We assume this is a lexical deletion process, as it is not completely predictable.

- (4) a. farmás < farmácia ‘drugstore’
- b. orkíjd < orchídea ‘orchid’

In the case of reduced vowel or schwa, we may assume that a synchronic productive rule of catalexis is active, instead of a diachronic apocope rule.² We assume the vowel still to be present in Pomeranian, as it causes intervocalic rhotacism (5q), i.e. we may assume catalexis: (ə),. The feminine cases in (5a–w) may be produced by this catalectic strategy, the few isolate masculine cases, illustrated in (5x–z), may have their origin in diachronic apocope not by synchronic catalexis. Some Portuguese masculine nouns show reduction to schwa: Port. *kilo* and *biscoito* > Pom. *kijla* [ki:lə] and *biskuida*. This does not seem to be productive either.

- (5) List of borrowings from Portuguese

	Pomeranian	Portuguese	gloss
a.	<i>prijm</i>	< <i>prima</i>	‘cousin’
b.	<i>abakát</i>	< <i>abacate</i>	‘avocado’
c.	<i>soubrijn</i>	< <i>sobrinha</i>	‘niece’
d.	<i>tiúb</i>	< <i>taioba</i>	‘tiúba’
e.	<i>koiáb</i>	< <i>goiaba</i>	‘guave’
f.	<i>kansél</i>	< <i>cancela</i>	‘gate’
g.	<i>mandjuk</i>	< <i>mandioca</i>	‘cassava’
h.	<i>bataad</i>	< <i>batata</i>	‘potato’
i.	<i>alkéir</i>	< <i>alqueire</i>	‘surface measure’

2. Wagemann (1915: 128ff) for the “Kolonistensprache” in ES, Schappelle (1917: 42ff) for the “Brazilian-German dialect” and Willems (1947: 281ff) for the “Teuto-Brazilian speech” in RS give similar lists. These lists do not seem to represent Pomeranian but Hunsrück-based speech, though some words are shared by Pomeranian: *fum* ‘tabaco’, *bijsch* ‘animal’. Systematic schwa apocope is absent in these German-based dialects.

j.	<i>karék</i>	< <i>careca</i>	‘bold’
k.	<i>pak</i>	< <i>paca</i>	‘low land paca (animal)’
l.	<i>polént</i>	< <i>polenta</i>	‘polenta’
m.	<i>ant³</i>	< <i>anta</i>	‘tapir’
n.	<i>faríjn</i>	< <i>farinha de mandioca</i>	‘cassava meal’
o.	<i>ranj</i>	< <i>laranja</i>	‘orange’
p.	<i>kanék</i>	< <i>caneca</i>	‘cup’
q.	<i>mour</i>	< <i>moda</i>	‘fashion’
r.	<i>kui</i>	< <i>cuia</i>	‘gourd’
s.	<i>lat</i>	< <i>lata</i>	‘can’
t.	<i>karnesék</i>	< <i>carne seca</i>	‘dried meat’
u.	<i>vend</i>	< <i>venda</i>	‘shop’
v.	<i>rosk</i>	< <i>rosca</i>	‘type of sweet bread’
w.	<i>penk</i>	< <i>penca (de banana)</i>	‘piece of a bunch’
x.	<i>bijsch</i>	< <i>bicho</i>	‘small animal’
y.	<i>fum</i>	< <i>fumo</i>	‘tobacco’
z.	<i>deputáad</i>	< <i>deputado</i>	‘deputy, member of parliament’

In other cases, there is stress shifting in order to adapt the lexeme to the Pomeranian stress initial pattern, cf. (6a), or pretonic material is deleted (6b), or even intermediate material, (6c).

- (6) a. *eipi* < *aipím* ‘cassava’
sijpa < *cipó* ‘liana’
b. *rouba* < *arróuba* ‘weight of 15 kg’
ranj < *laránja* ‘orange’
c. *konjst* < HG *Kolonjst* ‘(Pomeranian) colonist, small farmer’
konij < HG *Kolonie* ‘piece of land of 25 ha’
kaweera < Port *capoeira* ‘woods in recuperation’

If the final schwa does not drop, intervocalic voicing applies, e.g. (7a).

- (7) a. *biskuida* < *biscoito* ‘biscuit’ (but Tressmann’s dictionary has *biskuit*)
b. *ligra* < *ligar* ‘to phone’
c. *usra* < *usar* ‘to use’

3. Tressmann (2006) has *anta*.

Finally, words are borrowed including the Portuguese inflection, as in (7bc) where the infinitival suffix *-r* is reinterpreted as part of the stem: *ligr* + *a*.

6.5 Interjections

Pomeranian, being a language predominantly spoken by farmers (i.e. *upm land*, Port. *na roça*, ‘at the countryside’), has a lot of interjections in the communication with cattle, just like Frisian. Usually, every type of pet animal has its own luring call (Pom. *loka* ‘to allure’) and chasing call. Examples of the former included: *kluk-kluk*, *pita-pita*, or *tüüt-tüüt* to allure chickens, *mijs* to allure pet cats, *sik* to allure a goat (*seeg*), *lijtscha* to allure pigs, *wira-wira* to allure ducks, and *touch* to allure a horse (cf. Tressmann s.v. *loka*). We will not go into these. In the communication with other humans, we may mention the exclamative type utterances in (8).

- (8)
- | | | |
|----|--|------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Huch!</i> – ‘hey!’ | |
| b. | <i>Atschei</i> – ‘goodbye’ | < French <i>adieu</i> |
| c. | <i>Gun dag!</i> – ‘good morning/afternoon/evening’ | |
| d. | <i>Ach!</i> – ‘Ah’ e.g. <i>Nei, ach nei!</i> | |
| e. | <i>Kijk!</i> – ‘look’ | (cf. <i>ó < olha!</i> in Port.) |
| f. | <i>Maine Sait!</i> – ‘Dear heaven’ | (< HG. <i>Meine Zeit</i>) |
| g. | <i>Duu laiw tijd!</i> | (lit. ‘you dear time’) |
| h. | <i>Meischeskind!</i> | (lit. ‘child of man’) |
| i. | <i>Drek!</i> – ‘shit!’ | |
| j. | <i>Schijt!</i> – ‘shit!’ | |
| k. | <i>jå</i> – ‘for that reason’ Reason-giving intercalation. | |
| l. | <i>wäts</i> – ‘you know’ (tag + intercalation). A calque from Port. <i>sabe</i> ‘you know’). | |

6.6 Germanisms

Pomeranian has borrowed many items from the superstrate High German, both in Europe and in Brazil in the religious domain and the more abstract concepts. In the table below we present some cases with the expected, i.e. reconstructed, Pomeranian form. For the sake comparison, we added the Dutch words. For the kinship terms and the ordinals, see Section 6.6.2 and 3.5.2, respectively.

(9)	Pomeranian	High German	gloss	expected form	Dutch
	<i>hofnung</i>	< <i>Hoffnung</i> .	'hope'	*houp	hoop
	<i>tauwa</i>	< <i>taufen</i> .	'baptize'	*doupa	dopen
	<i>saicha</i>	< <i>Zeichen</i> .	'symbol'	*taika	teken
	<i>kirch</i>	< <i>Kirche</i> 'church'		*kark	kerk
	<i>hochtijd</i>	< <i>hoch</i> 'high' + Pom. <i>tijd</i>	'wedding'	*hougtijd	–
	<i>bedijnnder</i>	< <i>Bedienter</i>	'servant in the wedding ceremony'	*bedainder ⁴	bedienaar
	<i>benutsa</i>	< <i>benutzen</i> .	'use'	*benuta	benutten
	<i>grousmuter</i>	< <i>Grossmutter</i>	'grandmother'	*groutmuder	grootmoeder
	<i>fünwd</i>	< <i>fünfte</i>	'fifth'	*fiwd	vijfde
	<i>tijr</i>	< <i>Tier</i>	'animal'	*dijr	dier
	<i>herts</i>	< <i>Hertz</i>	'heart'	hert	hart
	<i>hits</i>	< <i>Hitze</i> ⁵	'heat'	*hit	hitte

6.6.1 Double forms (low and high German)

In some cases double forms of High and Low German are present without noticeable distinction in meaning.

- *amin* – *öfters* – *filaicht* 'perhaps'
- *hert* – *herts* 'heart'
- *hit* – *hits* 'heat'

See also next section.

6.6.2 Kinship terms

Kinship terms behave as ordinary nouns in all respects. For some curious reason, all etymons from Low German stock have been replaced by other nouns, either from High German (*muter* 'mother', *fâter* 'father'), from Portuguese (*prijm*

4. Cf. *dainst* 'service' and *fordaina* 'to earn' have the sound-legal /ai/.

5. But see also note 2 of chapter 5.

‘cousin’), or from native non-kinship terms (*määke* ‘daughter’, *jaung* ‘boy’). Basic kinship terms like **fader*, **moder*, **neef*, **nicht*, **soun*, **dochter* have been lost. Only *braurer* ‘brother’ and *swester* ‘sister’ have survived. Typical is the replacement of **soin* ‘son’ by *jong/jaung*, and **dochter* ‘daughter’ by *määke* ‘girl’, while these etymons only survived as second part of composita (suffix) (*-soin*) or in High German form (*-tochter*).

(10)	<i>(grous)fäter</i>	‘grandfather’
	<i>(grous)muter</i>	‘grandmother’
	<i>(grous)ülrer</i>	‘grandparents’
	<i>jaung/jonges</i>	‘son(s)’
	<i>määka(s)</i>	‘daughter(s)’
	<i>unkel(s)</i>	‘uncle(s)’
	<i>tante(s)</i>	‘aunt(s)’
	<i>swäger(s)</i>	‘brother(s) in law’
	<i>swäegersch</i>	‘sister in law’
	<i>prijm(a)</i>	‘cousin(s)’
	<i>swijgersoin/tochter</i>	‘son/daughter/
	<i>swijgermuter/fäter</i>	‘mother/father-in-law’
	<i>staiwkijnd</i>	‘stepchild’
	<i>staiwdochter</i>	‘stepdaughter’

For the *-sch* suffix in *swäegersch*, cf. Section 5.1.1.2.

6.7 Other sequences

Days of the week	<i>sündag, måndag, dinsdag, mirwek, dunerdag, frijdag, sunawend</i> ‘saturday’, lit. ‘sun(day)-eve’.
Months	<i>januar, februar, märts, abril, mai, jûni, jûli, agúst, setember, oktober, november, deicember</i> . The months’ names have the article with them: <i>im juni</i> i.e. litt. ‘in the June’.
Seasons	<i>blaumatijd</i> ‘spring’, <i>warmtijd</i> ‘summer’; <i>fruchttijd</i> ‘autumn’, <i>kultijd/winter</i> ‘winter’.

Parts of the day	<i>morgen</i> ‘morning’, <i>mirdag</i> ‘noon’, <i>åwend</i> , <i>nacht</i> ‘night’. These are nouns. As adverbs they are inflected with <i>-s</i> : <i>morgens</i> [mõins], <i>mirdägs</i> , <i>åwends</i> [ɔ:ms], <i>nachts</i> . <i>Morgens</i> means both ‘this morning’ and ‘tomorrow’. ‘Tomorrow morning’ is <i>morgentijg</i> / <i>morgenfrüü</i> / <i>morgenvormirdag</i> .
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6.8 Tongue twisters

Catalexis plus intervocalic reduction turns out to be a major ingredient of the tong-twister in (11), taken from Tressmann (2006a: 34).

- (11) *Drai gaur’ brair’ bakbläär, fijw spits’ piipköp*
 three good broad baking sheets, five sharp pipe heads

It seems to me that the phonetic string in (11) is not difficult to pronounce in itself, but it is difficult *for a Pomeranian* to pronounce, as it necessarily involves complex phonological processes, such as catalexis of schwa, intervocalic d-rhotacism, compensatory lengthening, as represented in (12).

- (12) a. [drai gaur brair bakble:r, fi:f spits pi:pkœp]
 b. drai gaud(e)_o braid(e)_o bakbläd(e)_o, fijf spits(e)_o pijpköp

The representation in (12) shows that some [d] and [r] are underlying, while other [r] are underlying /d/. Some words are without flection, both at the surface and in underlying representation (*drai*, *fijf* and *köp*), while the others have underling word final catalectic schwa, with all the consequences of it. For instance, it should be noted that the adjective *spits* cannot be used predicatively, which seems to be due to an underlying catalectic schwa as part of the root *spits*, i.e. /spits(e)_o/ (from the feminine word *spits* ‘peak’, ~ HG *Spitze*). It is precisely the final schwa which is absent in many adjectives in the predicative form. Where the difficulty lies in *pijpköp*, is not entirely clear, but an OCP-violation in *fijf* and *pijp* might be involved (Postma 2017).

CHAPTER 7

Texts

Two prose texts in Pomeranian are provided here. A specimen of a non-fiction story from the quarterly magazin *O Semeador* from 1983, probably the oldest text¹ in Brazilian Pomeranian by vic. Rudolpho Gaede, as well as a tale in the book of Tressmann. This is followed by some songs and rhymes in Section 7.2, one with music. Then I give the Wenker sentences, in European, Brazilian, and North American Pomeranian.

7.1 Prose

7.1.1 “Up Pomersch språk/Up Platt Dutsch”

This short text by Rudolpho Gaede, written in 1981, published in *O Semeador* in 1983, republished in Hartwig (2011: 113), was also included in adapted form in Tressmann’s *Upm Land*, page 4. We here render the original version, in its original orthography.

Up Platt Dutsch

Mi hewa’s fatelt dat vel vo ous Lühr deich zeitung ni lesa. Un dat schall do an leicha, dat vel dai portugisisch sprock ni oindich vastóh. Weck hara all meint, do müsst wat up hochdütsch schrewa wara. Owa wat lohnt ok dat hochdütsch? Dat sin jo ouk ni mea vel, wat dat no koina. Ik he mi oivalecht un frocht: wowechan ni up pommersch schriewa? Dat ja. dat is ous sprock, dat vastóh wi alla. Wenn dat ous sprock is, wowichan schoilas wi ni binutza? Natürlich, dat schriewan is gona so einfach, weichen wi hewa kein grammatik. Weck mol wet’ma ni wo’ma weck Wor schiewa schall. Owa dat wichtigst is, mein ik, dat wi ous vastóh, wenn’t ouk weckmol mea krumm ruta kümmt. Am vastohn, do schatt ni an leicha. Ik wait dat vel Luuh sich up platt dütsch braifs schrewa, tüscha hia un Rondônia. Ik he all

1. The older reports are only from Near Pomerania, e.g. Thomas Kantzow’s *Chronik von Pommern in Niederdeutscher Mundart*. Re-edited. by Wilhelm Böhmer. Morin, Stettin 1835. In Hinter-Pommern only Latin and High German texts are available.

sogôh so'na braif lest, un dat wei gaut tam vastohn. Dat is a Zaichan dat dai Lüh sich dreichan vastôh. So as dat haita deit: we kaina hunt het, jacht mit ein Katt.

Owa, lowa ji mi, wenn ma sich richtig oiwalecht, is dat go ni richtig, dat wi ous sprock as "quebra-galho" vastôh! Ick wa ma's secha woweichan: ous sprock het gra so seina Weit as irchans ein anat sprock. Jera volk het sin sprock. Un wi pommersch volk hewa dat recht tam ous sprock bihullan. Do is ka, wat ous dat vabaira kann. Do is ouk ka, wat dat recht het, ous utlachen un utspottan, wenn wi ous sprock rera ura schriewa. Wenn ous spock ni eht wat, dat is gro so vel as wenn dat volk ni eht wat. Dat is dai hocka. Dat pommersch volk, so as ouk vel andra klein volker, is ima meia ina eck schowa wura. Fina ji dat richtig? Wo mach dat an leicha? Anat mol moka wi ous do wira jidanka oiwa.

Owa bet anat mal mücht ick as jein waita of ji dit ouk vastôh hewa. Süsta lohnt jo gana wira schriewan. Secht juch am preista of dit tam vastohn west is. Un vasoikt ji ouk un schriefft wat am SEMEADOR.

Rudolpho Gaede, O Semeador (8 de dezembro de 1983)

Transcription in Tressmann's spelling

Mij häwa 's forteld dat fel fon ous lüür dai saitung ni leesa. Un dat schal dâr an leiga, dat fel dai Pomersch sprâk ni eindig forstâa. Wek haara al meint, dâ müüst wat up Pomersch sprâk sreewa waara. Åwer wat lount uk dat Hochdüütsch? Dat sin jâ uk ni meir fel wat dat no koina. Ik häw mij oiwerlegt un frâgt: wouwegen ni up Pomersch srijwa? Dat jâ, dat is ous sprâk, dat forstâa wij ala. Wen dat ous sprâk is, wouweega schoila's wij ni benutsa? Natürlich, dat srijwen is gâr ni sou einfach, weegen wij häwa kain gramatik. Wekmâl wet man ni wek wöir srijwa schal. Åwer dat wichtigst is, mein ik, dat wij ous forstâa, wen 't ouk wekmâlmeir krum ruuter kümt. Am forstâen, dâr schal 't ni an leiga. Ik wait dat vel lüür sich up Platdüütsch braiws srijwa, tüscha hijr um Rondonia. Ik häw al sou gâr souna braiw lest un dat wâir gaud taum forstâen. Dat is air saichen dat dai lüür sich dreigen forstâa. Sou as dat haita dâit: wer kaine hund hät, jacht mit ein kat.

Åwer loowa jij mij: wen man sich richtig oiwerlegt, is dat gâr ni richtig dat wij ous sprâk as "quebra-galo" forstâa! Ik waar ma's² säga wouweegen: ous sprâk hät grâr sou aina weird âs irgends ain anerd sprâk. Jera folk hät sijn sprâk. Un wij, pomersch folk häwa dat recht taum ous sprâk behulen. Dâr is kair, wat ous dat forbaira kan. Dâr is ouk kair wat dat recht hät, ous utlachen un utspoten, wen wij ous sprâk reera un srijwa. Wen ous sprâk ni eird waart, dat is grâr sou fel as wen dat folk ni eird waart. Dâr is dai hâka. Dat Pomersch folk, sou as ouk fel andra klain folker, is ümer meir ina ek schoowa wuura. Fijna jij dat richtig? Wâr mag dat an leiga? Anerd mâl mâka wij ous dâr wijrer gedanken oiwer.

Åwer bet anerd mâl mücht ik ais geern waita of jij dit uk forstâa häwa. Süsta loont jâ gâr ni, wijrer srijwen. Segt juugem praister of dit taum forstâen west is. Un forsuikt jij ouk ma's un srijft wat am Semeador. (From *Upm Land* p. 4)

2. ma's (=man ais).

7.1.2 “Dai porch un dai twai guisa”

This short tale, in the style of the Grimm fairy tales, nicely shows the Pomeranian value of being modest. This sometimes takes the humoristic form of self-mockery: showing how simple and hard working the Pomeranian farmer is. In this tale, it takes the moralistic form that can easily be generalized as a mirror to all human beings.

Wat kümt doir’t grouddauen

Dar wäira ais twai guisa un ain porch. Dai wäira im seira kula land. Dun säära dai guisa, sai wula wegflaiga i’t warm land. Dun säär dai porch:

– Ik wil uk mit.

Dun säära dai guisa:

– Duu häst já kain flügta taum flaigen. Dun säär dai porch:

– Lât man, ik bün klair awer hâw aina grouda kop. Jij beid neema aina stok ina snabel. Jij bijta an jeira kant roiwer un ik bijt ina mir roiwer, den koom ik uk mit.

Dun fluiga dai guisa lous un dat güng seir gaud. Dun kaima sai oiwer ain klain stad roiwer un dai lüür wäira nijdlig un keika houg un frouga:

– Wem hât sich dat uutgrüüwelt?

Dun wul sich dai porch já grouddaua un säga dat. Darbij maik sai eer muul up un säär: -Dat hâw ik mij uutgrüüwelt. Darbij fail sai ruuner und wäir doud.

Arciléia Neimog, Melgaço, Domingos Martins/ES, (from *Upm Land* p. 110)

What comes from bragging [English Translation, GJP]

Once upon a time, there were two geese and a frog. They were in a very cold land. Then the geese said that they wanted to fly away to the warm land. Then the frog said:

– I want to go with you.

Then the geese said:

– You don’t have wings to fly. Then the frog said:

– Don’t worry, I am small but I have a big head. You both take a stick in your beaks. You bite at each side and I bite in the middle, then I come with you.

Then the geese flew away and it went very well. Then they came over a small town and the people were curious and looked up and asked:

– Who figured that out?

Then the frog wanted to brag and tell it. He opened his mouth and said:

– It was me who figured it out.

Thereupon, he fell down and was dead.

A variant of this story occurs in Aesop’s Fables (with a turtle instead of a frog). The present story (with a frog) seems to have Eastern origins. It occurs in the Mongolian *Üligerün Dalai* (“Sea of Parables”), translated by Schmidt and published in St. Petersburg in 1839 (Blunden 2008: 96). The Russian writer Vsevolod Garshin

(1855–1888) includes it in his short stories as *Лягушка-путешественница* (“The Traveler Frog”).

7.2 Songs and rhymes

The following songs and rhymes are taken from Tressmann’s dictionary.

7.2.1 “Ik un mijn uldsch”

Ik un mijn uldsch	I and my wife
wij dansa beid pulsch.	we both dance the polka.
Kaie ka beeter	no one is more apt
as ik un mijn uldsch.	than I and my wife.
Unkel sijn fruug	Uncle his wife
Tanta eer keirl.	Auntie her husband
Kaie ka beeter	no one is more apt
As unkel sijn fruug	than uncle his wife

7.2.2 “Marij marak”

Marij, marak, wat hâst im sak?	Mary, marack, what do you have in the sack?
-Apel, beera un snuuwstâbak.	apples, berries and snuff tobacco
neegen beera un nog ain bak.	nine berries and another bakery.

7.2.3 Wedding song

Nuu is dat glijk fijw,	Now it is just five o'clock
un dai bal is glijk uut.	and the party is just over.
wij beid, wij tuuscha nuu rasch	we two, we change now quickly
mit dai bruud.	with the bride.
Wij gâa mit dai määkes.	We go with the girls
soulang dat nog geit,	as long as it still goes,
sou mākā wij Pomerer dat beid.	so, we Pomeranians, do it both.

7.2.4 Lover's song

Määka, wen duu frijga wist,	Girl, when you want to marry,
den frijg duu mit mij,	then marry just me
den aina doler häw ik nog,	for I still have one dollar
den geew ik den glijk dij	that I give just to you
Määka, wen duu frijga wist,	Girl, when you want to marry
den frijg duu mit mij.	then marry just with me.
ik bün dai gaura Kristiân,	I am the good one, Christian
un häw ain gaur konij. ³	and have a good colony.

7.3 “Dai Muter eira hochtijd”

This song, taken from Kuhn (2014), is from the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. I give this Pomeranian song in Tressmann's spelling.⁴ Kuhn argues that this song should be interpreted from the perspective of emigration. The song is unknown in Espírito Santo.

Dai Muter eera hochtijd	The Mother's wedding
1. Set muter eera hochtijd,	Since mother's wedding
2. giwt dat kair swijnflaisch meir. (2x)	there is no pork anymore.
3. <i>Aind, twai, drai fair, fiif, söss, soiwa,</i>	<i>One, two three, four, five, six, seven,</i>
4. <i>wou is mijn fruug doch bleewa.</i>	<i>where can I find my wife?</i>
5. <i>is ni hijr, is ni dâr</i>	<i>(She) is not here, is not there</i>
6. <i>is fon Nord-Amerika.</i>	<i>(she) is from North-Amerika.</i>
7. Fidal, fidal fumbalstair ⁵	Fiddle, fiddle, tinder stone
8. häst duu doch min bruud ni saia?	Didn't you see my bride?

3. *ko'nij* < *kolonij* 'piece of land of a colonist'. The colonist was also called *konist*.

4. The text in Kuhn (2014) goes: “**Zait** muta ena **hochtich** héa/jift dat **kaina** schwinflaisch mëia/ Ain, tuai, drai, faia, fiiv, zes, **zuovan**/ voua is min brut doa bléva/Is nich hia, is nich doa/is fon Nort Amerika/Fidal, fidal fumbal shtaia/hést duu doch min brut ni zaia?/Jistan zait's im braira shtaia/hit hef ni mëia zitan zaia”. The highlighted words have a deviant sound setting.

5. Cf. Low German *tumber-sten* 'tinder stone' and *Funkelstain* 'jewel'.

9. Gistern sait's im braira-stair, ⁶	Yesterday she was sitting on the broad stone,
10. Hүүт hāw (ik 's) ni meir sitten saia.	Today, (I) have not seen her sitting anymore.

Kuhn's emigration hypothesis gets an echo in a Dutch version of the second part of this song, which can be found in the Dutch Low Saxon area, the Groningen province (Groen 1931). The text has the perspective of those that are left behind. The Dutch text presented here, is as found in the Meertens song database.⁷ The last two lines 9–10 are clearly a later extension with another rhythm.

1. Berend Botje ⁸ ging uit varen	Berend Botje went sailing
2. met zijn scheepje naar Zuidlaren ⁹	with his little ship to Zuidlaren
3. de weg was recht, de weg was krom	the road was straight, the road was curved
4. Nooit kwam Berend Botje weerom.	Never did Berend Botje come back
5. Een, twee, drie, vier, vijf, zes, zeven	One, two, three, four, five, six, seven
6. waar is Berend Botje gebleven?	where can we find Berend Botje?
7. Hij is niet hier, hij is niet daar	He is not here, he is not there
8. hij is naar Amerika.	He went to America
9. (Amerika, Amerika,	(America, America
10. driemaal in de rondte van je hopsasa).	three times 'round like the hopsasa)

Thus far, nobody has identified this mysterious Berend Botje, but Kuhn's emigration hypothesis leads us, irresistably, to the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, the Sea Trip of Saint Brendan (Irish: *Brenaind*), written in the 11th century, which describes how the Irish abbot receives an order from God to travel past the tropics (the *flaming sword* of Genesis and, in the view of Isidorus of Seville, to the southern hemisphere) to confirm that Paradise can be found at the other side. "Father, embark the ship and let us sail to the western shores, where the lands seem to be that were promised to the saints and that were given by God to our children in the

6. *Braira-stair* is uninterpretable for my Pomeranian informants in ES. Perhaps it must be *staira-brair*, the main paved square of the village, i.e. a loan translation from Portuguese *largo* 'square, broad'.

7. <<http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoekveld=berend+botje&submit=zoek&enof=EN&zoekop=allewoordenlied&sorteer=jaar&lan=nl&wc=true>>

8. Neither *Berend* nor *Botje* 'little bone' makes any sense. One might amend this to *bootje* 'little boat', but it remains without ground.

9. Village south of the city of Groningen.

newest times”.¹⁰ He wanders around for seven years and finally finds a big fish with trees on it: Paradise. An angel finally asks him to choose: the old or the new world. He chooses the latter. St. Brendan acquires great popularity in Europe, especially in the Low Countries and the Low Saxon areas.¹¹ The modern song is, then, a later adaptation to the more modern Atlantic perspective. Most details then fall into place: Berend Botje, the ship, the trip, the counting of the seven years, the reference to America. The phrase *naar Zuidlaren* or its variant *naar de Klare* ‘to the clear’ remain uncertain. This might be an adaption of Inishglora, the holy island in Ireland, where St. Brendan went. Or might *naar de Klare* refer to County Clare in Ireland? We leave these possibilities open. In modern times, the song must have been reinterpreted as an emigration song to the Americas, while it has become uninterpretable for a present-day Dutch hearer.

The Dutch text clearly lacks the adulterous reference. However, the lines 5–8 also occur in another Dutch song that does show an adulterous purport similar to the Pomeranian song.

Een, twee, drie, vier, vijf, zes, zeven,	One, two, three, four, five, six, seven
Waar is Jan met de meid gebleven.	Where can we find John with the maid?
Jan is niet hier, Jan is niet daar.	John is not here, John is not there.
Jan is met de meid naar Amerika.	John went with the maid to America.

It may be clear that the Pomeranian wedding song, the Dutch travel song, and adulterous song stand in the same or a parallel tradition.

10. “Pater ascende in navim et navigemus contra occidentalem plagam ad insulam quae dicitur terra repromissionis sanctorum quam daturus est Deus successoribus nostris in novissimo tempore.”

11. For a Low German version, cf. Schröder (1871). <<http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/sun-site/Van%20dem%20hilgen%20Sunte%20Brandan.pdf>>

Comparative linguistics

In this contrastive grammar we position Pomeranian among its West Germanic sister languages Dutch, Frisian, English, and German. Various typical diachronic sound changes are relevant: velarisation of glides, Westphalian breaking, and *n*-drop before spirants. In 8.1 we present an overview of the Pomeranian vowels and their descent according to the sound laws (cf. Van Loon 1986, Schönfeld 1959[2006]). In 8.2 we give a comparative chart of glide velarisation, in 8.3 the development of PGmc **iu*, and in 8.4, we give the Wenker sentences in European and Brazilian Pomeranian.

8.1 Pomeranian vowels

8.1.1 Diphthongs

- PGmc /au/ (< PIE /au/ and /ou/)

→ WGmc /au/ → Pom. /o:/, [o^u] in all contexts (in contrast to German):

our ‘ear’, *oug* ‘eye’, *roud* ‘red’, *houg* ‘high’, *boum* ‘tree’ (<beam), also in “open” syllables (closed because of glide velarization):

houga ‘hew’, cf. Ger/Du/Fri *hauen*, etc.

Presumably: **hauwana* → **haugana* → *houga* ‘to beat’

→ Pom. /öi/ before i:

flöich ‘flea’ (umlauted form like Frisian *flie*).

- PGmc /ai/ (< PIE /ai/ and /oi/)

→ WGmc /ai/ → Pom. /e:/ [eⁱ] before *r*, *d*, as well as before *j/w*, which became -g:

weir ‘meadow’ (cf. Du *weide*), *seir* ‘very’, *kleid* ‘cloth’, *eig* ‘eye’

sei ‘sea’ with loss of the glide.

→ Pom. /ai/ [aⁱ] before all other, including before -h or in open syllables::

aigen ‘own’, *flaisch* ‘flesh’, *stain* ‘stone’.

wai ‘pain’.

• PGmc /eu/ < PIE /eu/

before /a/: (i.e. with |A| umlaut)

→ WGmc /io, eo/ → Pom.

/ai/ [aⁱ]

baira ‘to bid’, *laiw* ‘dear’, *daip* ‘deep’, *bedraiga* ‘to cheat’,
gaita ‘to pour’ *schaita* ‘to shoot’, *fordaina* ‘to earn, gain’
saia ‘to see’, (af)*schai*(lig) ‘horrible’, *knai* ‘knee’, *fai* ‘cattle’
 joined this class (< **fehu*).

→ Pom.

before /r/

knijra ‘kneel’.

elsewhere (i.e. including the |I| umlaut context)

→ WGmc /iu/ → Pom.

/y:/

lүүr ‘people’, *dүүra* ‘to indicate’, *үүrer* ‘udder’, *fүүr* ‘fire’
schүүg ‘shy’ (umlauted form of /schai-/)

→ Pom.

/y/ (before clusters)

bedrүgst ‘cheat.2sg’, *gүtst* ‘pour.2sg’, *schүtst* shoot.2sg,
lүchta ‘shine’, *sүүst* ‘see.2sg’, *sүүt* ‘see.3sg’.

→ Pom.

/i/ (with shortening)

licht ‘light’

→ Pom.

/iig/ [i:ç] in open syllable closed by glide velarization:

nijg ‘new’, *snijga* ‘snow’,

→ WGmc /ju/ → Pom.

/uug/ [u:x] (before w)

truug ‘true’, *Du trouw*; *juuch* ‘you’, cf. Fri *jou*, *Du jou(w)*.

• PGmc /ei/

→ WGmc /i:/ → Pom.

/i:/ *frijga* ‘to marry’, *snijga* ‘to snow’

8.1.2 Long vowels

• Proto Germ /ō/ (< PIE e+h₂₃)

→ WGmc /ō/ → Pom.

/au/ (closed syllables)

braura ‘brother’, *bauk* ‘book’, *dauk* ‘cloth’ *gaud* ‘good’,
haud ‘hat’, *naug* ‘enough’, *raupa* ‘to call’, *rauts* ‘soot’,
klauk ‘smart’, *snaur* ‘string’

→ Pom.

/au/ (open syllables)

daua ‘do’, *kau* ‘cow’, *schau* ‘shoe’, *tau* ‘to’

preterit of *drāga*: *draug* (or *druig*, an umlauted optative form)

→ Pom.

/ui/ (before /i/) (also Pom /oi/)

suika ‘seek’ (next to *sōika*), *snuira* ‘tie’, *muir* ‘tired’, *fuita* ‘feet’

→ Pom.

/öig/ (before /i/ + glide) (also Pom. /ui/)

köich ‘cows’, *blöiga* ‘to bloom’

- PGmc /ē/ (/ē₁/ < PIE /ē/)

→ WGmc /ā/	→ Pom.	/ā/ [ɔ:] <i>sād</i> ‘seed’, <i>lāta</i> ‘to let’, <i>slāpa</i> ‘to sleep’, <i>nādel</i> ‘needle’
	→ Pom.	/ai/ before /i/ (in the preterites of class 4 and 5 < optative) <i>kaim(a)</i> ‘came’, <i>ait(a)</i> ‘ate’

The Ingvaeonic dialects (English, Frisian, Coastal Dutch, Flemish) retain PGmc /e:/ which is palatalized to /i:/ in English and Frisian. Pomeranian is fully part of continental WGmc in this respect, not Ingvaeonic.

- PGmc /ī/ (< PIE /ei/)

→ WGmc /ī/	→ Pom.	/i:/ <i>stijja</i> ‘to rise’, <i>wijsa</i> ‘to point’, <i>rijra</i> ‘to drive’
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- PGmc /ī/ (< PIE i:)

→ WGmc /i:/	→ Pom.	/i:/ <i>swijr</i> ‘swine’,
	→ Pom.	/i/ with shortening) <i>sin</i> ‘to be’

- PGmc /ā/ (nasalised?)

→ WGmc /ā/	→ Pom.	/a/ <i>dacht</i> ‘thought’, (with analogical change to /ö/ in <i>bröcht</i> ‘brought’.
	→ Pom.	/ε:/ (before i) <i>pāāt</i> ‘godfather’ < Lat. <i>patrinus</i>

- PGmc. /ē₂/ Mostly functional morphemes and borrowings from Latin /e/, /e:/

→ Pom.	/i:/ <i>hijr</i> ‘here’ <i>schijr</i> ‘pure’, <i>griijk</i> ‘Greek’ < Lat. <i>scērum</i> , <i>grēco</i>
→ Pom.	/ai/ <i>lait</i> ‘let.past’, <i>hail</i> ‘held’, <i>braiw</i> ‘letter’, <i>raim</i> ‘belt’, <i>praister</i> ‘priest’ < Lat. <i>brēva</i> , <i>rēma</i> , <i>prēsbitēr</i>)
→ Pom.	/e:/ <i>speigel</i> ‘mirror’ < Lat. <i>spēculum</i>
→ Pom.	/i:/ <i>spijs</i> ‘nutrition’, <i>sijren</i> ‘in silk’, <i>krijd</i> ‘chalk’, <i>fijra</i> ‘celebrate’ <late Latin <i>expēsē</i> < Lat. <i>expensae</i> , <i>sēta</i> , <i>crēta</i> , <i>fēriari</i>

- PGmc /ū/ (< PIE /u:/)

→ WGmc /ū/	→ Pom	/u:/ <i>muus</i> ‘mouse’, <i>fuul</i> ‘rotten’, <i>suur</i> ‘sour’, <i>duu</i> ‘thou’
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8.1.3 Short vowels

- PGmc /a/ (< PIE a or o)

→ WGmc /a/	→ Pom.	/a/ (most contexts) <i>gast</i> ‘guest’, <i>acht</i> ‘eight’, <i>rad</i> ‘wheel’
	→ Pom.	/e/ (before i) <i>wer</i> ‘bet’ (cf. Dutch <i>wedde</i> , Got. <i>wadi</i>), <i>ber</i> ‘bed’

- Proto Germ /e/ (< PIE e)

→ WGmc /e/	→ Pom.	/e/ <i>fel</i> ‘skin’, <i>recht</i> ‘straight’
	→ Pom.	/i/ (before i) <i>richtig</i> ‘correct’
	→ Pom.	/ö/ <i>söss</i> ‘six’, <i>höl</i> ‘hell’

- Proto Germ /i/ (< PIE i)

before i

→ WGmc /i/	→ Pom.	/i/ <i>wid(fruug)</i> ‘widow’
	→ Pom.	/i/ <i>fisch</i> ‘fish’

before a

→ WGmc /e/	→ Pom.	/e/ <i>nest</i> ‘nest’
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- Proto Germ /u/ < PIE /u/

→ WGmc /u/	→ Pom.	/y/ <i>jük</i> ‘yoke’
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- Proto Germ /u/ < PIE /n̥/l̥/r̥/m̥/

→ WGmc /u/	→ Pom.	/y/ <i>dün</i> ‘thin’
	→ Pom.	/u(:)/ before clusters <i>huunert</i> ‘hundred’, <i>buuna</i> ‘bound’, <i>hulpa</i> ‘helped’
	→ Pom.	/y:/ before /i/ <i>süün</i> ‘sin’

8.1.4 Lengthened vowels

Old Germanic short vowels in open syllable were lengthened in West Germanic. In Pomeranian short /a/, /o/ and /u/ show up as a long monophthong [o:] (written <â> or <oo> in Tressmann’s spelling), while short /e/ and /i/ in open syllables show up as long monophthong [e:], written <ee> in Tressmann’s spelling. These have been kept separate from the developments of originally long vowels and diphthongs. They are typical markers class I, II and class V participles, and differ from their past tenses vowels in quality, which derive from PGmc long vowels.

- PGmc /u/ < IE nul grade

→ WGmc /u/	→ Pom.	[o:], /oo/ (in open syllables)
		<i>foogel</i> ‘bird’, <i>nooma</i> ‘taken’, <i>kooma</i> ‘come.PTC
	’→Pom.	/oi/ (before i)
		<i>toigel</i> ‘rein’, <i>foigel</i> ‘birds’, <i>oiver</i> ‘over’

- PGmc /a/ < IE *o

→ WGmc /a/	→ Pom.	[o:], /â/ (in open syllables)
		<i>dâg</i> ‘days’, <i>mâka</i> ‘to make’, <i>nâgel</i> ‘nail’

- PGmc /i/ < IE *i or *e

→ WGmc /i/	→ Pom.	[e:], /ee/ (in open syllables)
		<i>neebel</i> ‘damp’, <i>weeg</i> ‘way’, <i>reegen</i> ‘rain’, <i>breeka</i> ‘to break’, <i>eeta</i> ‘to eat’ participles: <i>sreewa</i> ‘written’, <i>keeka</i> ‘looked.PTC’

A similar chart on the consonants is not necessary because of the conservatism of Pomeranian in this realm. Pomeranian participates in the spirantization of /b/ in general Coastal Germanic: *leewa* < *leban*, cf. English *live*, Du *leven*. The glides need our attention, however.

8.2 List of West-Germanic glides -w and -j > Pomm -g

The change of the glides -w and -j to -g is a characteristic of Pomeranian. It might be a Baltic Sprachbund feature as Pomeranian shares this change with Swedish and Danish. It is reported to be an early Scandinavian sound change. Philippa *et al.* (2003–2009, s.v. *dauw*) calls it a characteristic of Old Norse (“with specific Old Norse -ww- > ggʷ-; New Danish *dug*, New Swedish *dagg*; < pgm. **daww*-”). That might be so, were it not that it is also present in Westphalian Low German, which is geographically disconnected to Sleswig Danish. Moreover, Dutch, Frisian, and English incidentally participate in this change (see the remarks below the table). In the table below, we give a complete contrastive inventory. The process only happens after long vowels (and homorganic diphthongs, which are underlyingly long). See Section 2.2.5.

Table 1. Comparative table of glide velarization

Pom	Eng / gloss	Du	Frisian	Ger	Swedish	Remarks
<i>bäkerig</i>	<i>bakery</i>	<i>bakkerij</i>	<i>bakkerij</i>	<i>Bäckerei</i>	<i>bageri</i>	Only the English word has no final stress.
<i>blåg</i>	<i>blue</i>	<i>blauw</i>	<i>blau</i>	<i>blau</i>	<i>blå</i>	
<i>blijg</i>	'lead (metal)'	<i>bli</i> (mDu)	–	<i>Blei</i>	<i>bly</i>	
<i>blöiga</i>	<i>to blow</i>	<i>bloeien</i>	–	<i>blüten</i>	–	
<i>borga</i>	<i>to borrow</i>	<i>borgen</i>	<i>boargje</i>	<i>borgen</i>	<i>borga</i>	(reverse path in English)
<i>bröiga</i>	<i>to breed</i>	<i>broeien</i> <i>broeden</i>	<i>briere</i>	<i>brühen</i>	–	
<i>bruuga</i> (EP)	<i>to brew</i>	<i>brouwen</i>		<i>brauen</i>	<i>brygga</i>	
<i>buuga</i>	'to build'	<i>bouwen</i>	<i>bouwe</i>	<i>bauen</i>	<i>bo</i>	
<i>douch</i>	<i>dew</i>	<i>dauw</i>	<i>dauwe</i>	<i>Tau</i>	<i>dagg</i>	HG confuses these two lemmas.
– (BP)	<i>thaw</i>	<i>dooien</i>	<i>teie</i>	<i>tauen</i>	<i>töa</i>	German <i>tauen</i> < * <i>dauen</i>
<i>döiga</i> (EP)						
<i>douw / douch</i>	<i>deaf</i>	<i>doof</i>	<i>deaf</i>	<i>taub</i>	<i>döv</i>	
<i>dreiga</i> 1	'turn'	<i>draaien</i>	<i>draaie</i>	<i>drehen</i>	–	
<i>dreiga</i> 2	<i>drive</i>	<i>drijven</i>	<i>triuwe</i>	<i>treiben</i>	<i>driva</i>	
<i>egerlig</i>	'marital'	<i>echtelijk</i>	–	<i>ehelich</i>	–	
<i>eig</i>	<i>egg</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>aai</i>	<i>Ei</i>	<i>ägg</i>	
<i>fluich</i>	<i>flea</i>	<i>vlo</i>	<i>flie</i>	<i>Floh</i>	–	<i>fló</i> (Icel.)
<i>friig</i> (EP)	<i>free</i>	<i>vrij</i>	<i>frij</i>	<i>frei</i>	<i>fri</i>	BP: <i>frai</i> < G. <i>frei</i>
<i>frijga</i>	'to marry'	<i>vrijen</i>	<i>frije</i>	–	–	
<i>fruug</i>	'woman'	<i>vrouw</i>	<i>frou</i>	<i>Frau</i>	<i>fru</i>	
<i>grüüglig</i>	'horrendous'	<i>gruwelijk</i>	<i>grouwe</i>	<i>grausam</i>	<i>gruva sig</i>	
<i>houga</i>	<i>to hew</i>	<i>houwen</i>	<i>houwe</i>	<i>hauen</i>	<i>hugga</i>	
<i>huich</i> (EP)	<i>hay</i>	<i>hooi</i>	<i>hea</i>	<i>Heu</i>	–	
<i>hui</i> (BP)						

Table 1. (continued)

Pom	Eng / gloss	Du	Frisian	Ger	Swedish	Remarks
<i>juuch</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>jou</i>	<i>jow</i>	<i>euer</i>	<i>eder/er</i>	(in Low Prussian and Groningen: <i>juun</i>)
<i>köich</i>	<i>cows</i>	<i>koeien</i>	<i>kij</i>	<i>Kühe</i>	<i>kor</i>	(var: <i>kuich</i>)
<i>kouga</i>	<i>to chew</i>	<i>kauwen</i>	<i>kôgje</i>	<i>kauen</i>	<i>tugga</i>	
<i>kräig</i>	<i>crow</i>	<i>kraai</i>		<i>Krähe</i>	<i>kråka</i>	
<i>lijga</i>	'borrow, lend'	<i>lenen</i>	<i>liene</i>	<i>leihen</i>	<i>lån</i>	
<i>mäiga</i> (EP)	<i>to mow</i>	<i>maaien</i>	<i>meane</i>	<i>mähen</i>	–	
<i>meiger</i> ¹	<i>more</i>	<i>meer</i>	<i>meer</i>	<i>mehr</i>	<i>mer</i>	Also monosyllabic <i>meir</i> [me:]
<i>möicht</i> ²	'trouble'	<i>moeite</i>	<i>muoite</i>	<i>Mühe</i>		<i>mo</i> 'tired' (Norw)
<i>mouch</i>	'sleeve'	<i>mouw</i>	<i>mouwe</i>	–	–	
<i>näig</i>	<i>next</i> 'close by'	<i>na / naast</i>	<i>nei / neist</i>	<i>nah</i>	<i>nästa</i>	
<i>näiga</i>	'to nit'	<i>naaien</i>	<i>nidzje</i>	<i>nähen</i>	–	
<i>neegen</i> ³	<i>nine</i>	<i>negen</i>	<i>njoggen</i>	<i>neun</i>	<i>nio</i>	~ Lat. <i>novem</i>
<i>nijg</i>	<i>new</i>	<i>nieuw</i>	<i>nij</i>	<i>neu</i>	<i>ny</i>	
<i>raich</i>	<i>row</i>	<i>rij / reeks</i>	<i>rige</i>	<i>Reihe</i>	–	<i>raekken</i> (Danish)
<i>röiga</i> ('to steer') <i>uprüüga</i> (‘to stir up’)	<i>to row</i>	<i>roeien</i>	<i>roeije</i>	–	<i>ro</i>	
<i>roug</i>	<i>raw</i>	<i>rauw/ruw</i>	<i>rauw</i>	<i>roh</i>	<i>rå</i>	
<i>roug</i>	OE <i>row</i> 'rest'	(rust)	(rêst)	<i>Ruhe</i>	–	ON <i>ró</i>
<i>saich</i>	(he) <i>saw</i>	<i>zag</i>	<i>seach</i>	<i>sah</i>	<i>såg</i>	3sg. preterite

(continued)

1. It is also possible that the velar [j] is original ~ Lat. *maior*, cf. Grimm s.v. *mehr* < *mag*.
2. Tressmann's dictionary has *möich*.
3. The sound laws (cf. also next section) predict *nüügen*. The ordinal is *nuind*.

Table 1. (continued)

Pom	Eng / gloss	Du	Frisian	Ger	Swedish	Remarks
säiga	to sow	zaaien	saaije	säen	sugga	
<i>schüüg</i>	<i>shy</i>	<i>schuw</i>	<i>skou</i>	<i>scheu</i>	<i>skygg</i>	
<i>snijge</i> (EP)	<i>to snow</i>	<i>sneeuwen</i>	<i>snije</i>	<i>schneien</i>	<i>snö</i>	the BP noun is <i>snei</i> < HG. <i>Schnee</i> ; EP <i>snai</i>
<i>soig</i>	‘sow’ (pig)	<i>zeug</i>	<i>sûg</i>	<i>Sau</i>	<i>sugga</i>	This word seems to derive from various roots.
<i>spijga</i>	‘to spit’	spuwen spugen	spije	spucken	–	
<i>sriiga</i>	‘to cry’	<i>schreeu- wen</i>	–	<i>schreien</i>	–	
<i>(an)stöiga</i>	<i>stow</i>	<i>stuwen</i>	–	<i>stauen</i>	<i>stuva</i>	
<i>ströiga</i>	<i>strew</i>	<i>strooien</i>	<i>struie</i>	<i>streuen</i>	<i>strö</i>	
<i>swalk</i>	<i>swallow</i> (the bird)	<i>zwaluw</i>	<i>sweltsje</i> (pseudo- diminutive < * <i>swelke</i>)	<i>Swalbe</i>	<i>svelge</i> (Norw.)	Pom < * <i>swalg</i> (with final forti- tion);
<i>teech</i>	<i>tough</i>	<i>taai</i>	<i>taai</i>	<i>zäh</i>	<i>tuff</i>	
<i>teigen</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>tien</i>	<i>tsien</i>	<i>zehn</i>	<i>tio</i>	
<i>truug</i>	<i>true</i>	<i>trouw</i>	<i>trou</i>	<i>treu</i>	<i>trogen</i>	
<i>waidâg</i>	‘pain’	–	–	<i>wehtun</i>	–	< <i>wai</i> + <i>daua</i> ‘to do pain’ ⁴
<i>Alt Schlage</i>	–	–	–	–	–	~ Kashubian <i>Sława</i>
<i>Streig</i>	–	–	–	–	–	family name Strey

The systematic occurrence of *-w/-j* to *-g* in Pomeranian and Swedish shows that it might rather be a Baltic feature. It seems that this velarization of glides is much more systematic in Pomeranian than it is Scandinavian.⁵ The West Germanic incidence

4. The Pomeranian (also Low German) form *waidâg* [vaidɔx] was borrowed into High German dialects as *Wehtag*, presumably under erroneous connection to *dâg* ‘day’. Note that the vowel is different from the pair [dax]–[dɔ:x] ‘day(s)’. It should be written *waidog*.

5. It is doubtful if Pomeranian *huch!* ‘hey’ belongs to this pattern, as it might link up with *ach* ‘ah’, Dutch *och/ach*.

of the velarization throws doubts on the -g in Eng. *egg* as from Skandinavian origin. In the list below we give some traces of velarization in other West-Germanic languages. In a few cases, the Pomeranian velar may also derive from contact with Slavic, e.g. in *snijga* ‘to snow’ (cf. Polish *śnieg* ‘snow’).

Table 2. List of incidental cases of glide velarization in West Germanic

	Velar	Glide	Gloss	Comment
1.	<i>Pagel EP</i>	< <i>Pawel</i>	‘Paul’	Name in EP reported by Müller (1759), cf. Haas (1994: 171). The present-day family name in Espírito Santo is (<i>Vor</i>) <i>Pagel</i> .
2.	<i>niget</i> (Fri)	<i>nij</i> (Fri)	‘news’	This Frisian word is probably a borrowing from LG in view of the epenthetic neuter ending <i>-et</i> .
3.	<i>-oog</i> (Fri)	<i>eiland</i> (Du)	‘island’	Suffix in toponyms, e.g. (<i>Schiermonnik</i>) <i>oog</i> , <i>Zuiderooi</i> / <i>Suthrachi</i> in Frisia. EP had <i>aag</i> ‘isle’.
4.	<i>vreugd(e)</i> (Du)	<i>vrolijk</i> (Du)	‘happy(ness)’	Cf. HG <i>fröhlich</i> ‘happy’.
5.	<i>vroeg</i> (Du)	<i>vroe</i> (MD)	‘early’	HG <i>früh</i> ‘early’. Cf. discussion in Philippa <i>et al.</i> (2003) s.v. <i>vroeg</i> .
6.	<i>reeks</i> (Du)	<i>rij</i> (Du)	‘row’	relations are not clear
7.	<i>skôgje</i> (Fri)	<i>schauen</i> (HG)	‘contemplate’	Cf. Eng <i>to show</i> .
8.	<i>schichtig</i> (Du)	<i>schuw</i> (Du)	‘skittish’	Cf. <i>scheu</i> – <i>schüchtern</i> in HG.
9.	<i>lôgje</i> (Fri)	<i>laaien</i> (Du)	‘to flame’	no corresponding lemma in Pomeranian.
10.	<i>graag</i> (VorPom)	<i>grau</i> (HG)	‘gray’	Pom <i>grüüg-</i> , Du <i>gruwen</i> ‘disgust’ is an other root, cf. the list above.
11.	<i>gnâga</i> (Pom.)	<i>knauwen</i> (Du)	‘to gnaw’	Also Du <i>knagen</i> .

8.3 Pomeranian long /üü/, [y:] (in closed syllables)

In Section 2.7, we reported that the umlauted WGmc *ü (i.e. [y:] = U+I) is realized in the ‘broken’ form [ui] in Pomeranian. Nevertheless, the long [y:] does exist, which has another source. Pomeranian [y:] fully parallels Fri /ju/, e.g. Pom *füür* versus Fri *fjûr* ‘fire’. In the next scheme, we list some examples.

Table 3. Comparative table of Proto-Germanic *iu

PGmc >eu + i	Pomeranian [y:]	Frisian [ju]	Flemish [i]	Hollandish [y:]/[ʌʏ]	Old Norse ý/jó	English [i:]/[ai]	German [oi]
* <i>deuri</i>	<i>düür</i>	<i>djûr</i>	<i>dier</i>	<i>duur</i>	<i>dýrr</i>	<i>deer</i>	<i>teuer</i>
* <i>deustri</i>	<i>düüster</i>	<i>tsjuster</i>	<i>deester/ diester</i>	<i>duister</i>	–	OE <i>ðiestre</i> 'darkness'	–
* <i>eudira-</i>	<i>üürer</i>	<i>jaar</i>	<i>uder</i>	<i>uier</i>	<i>júgr</i>	<i>udder</i>	HG <i>Euter</i> LG <i>jeder</i>
* <i>feuri</i>	<i>füür</i>	<i>fjûr</i>	<i>vier</i>	<i>vuur</i>	<i>fúrr, fýrr</i>	<i>fire</i>	<i>Feuer</i>
* <i>heudi</i>	<i>hüüt</i>	<i>hjoed</i>	<i>heden</i>	<i>huidig</i>	–	'today'	<i>heute</i>
* <i>keuk-</i> + -i suffix	<i>küüka</i>	* <i>sjuuken</i>	<i>kieken</i>	<i>kuiken</i>	<i>kjúklingr</i>	<i>chicken</i>	–
* <i>keul-</i>	<i>küül</i> 'thigh'	<i>tsjalk</i> 'ship'	<i>kiel</i> 'ship'	–	<i>kjóll</i>	– 'curva- ture'	<i>Keule</i>
* <i>leudi</i>	<i>lüür</i>	<i>lju</i>	<i>lieden</i>	<i>lui(den)</i>	<i>lýðr</i>	OE <i>leód</i> 'people'	<i>Leute</i>
* <i>steurijan</i>	<i>stüür</i>	<i>stjûre</i>	<i>stieren</i>	<i>sturen</i>	<i>stýri</i>	<i>steer</i>	<i>Steuer</i>
* <i>(ga)- teugi</i>	(be)tüüga	tsjûga	(be) tichten	(be)tuigen	–	OE <i>zeohhian</i> 'witness'	<i>zeugen</i>
* <i>peudisko</i>	<i>Düütsch</i>	<i>Tsjutsk</i> (obs.)	<i>Diets</i>	<i>Duits</i>	<i>þjóð</i>	<i>Dutch</i> ⁷	<i>deutsch</i>
* <i>(bi)- peubjan</i>	<i>bedüüra</i>	<i>bitsjutte</i>	<i>bedieden</i>	<i>beduiden</i>	<i>þýða</i>	'to mean'	<i>bedeuten</i>

The systematic connection between Frisian [ju/jœ]⁸ and Pomeranian [y:]⁹ shows that the merger of [I] and [U] has two realizations: umlauted u, which is Pom. [ui] <

6. Wangeroog East-Frisian. Word is absent in Frisian.

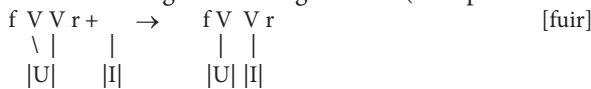
7. This is not a cognate, but a borrowing from Dutch.

8. This is not a cognate, but a borrowing from Dutch.

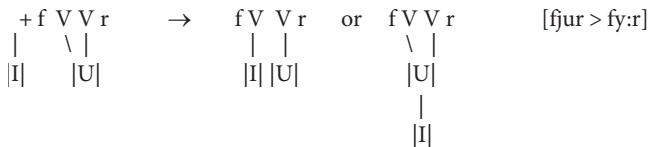
9. Apart from this transmission line, there are borrowings: 1. Pom. *büüsa* < HG *büßen* 'pay in the religious sense', Pom. *süün* < HG *Sünde* 'sin'; 2. Pom. *tüüg* 'cloth', which corresponds to modern Fri *túg*, Du *tuig* 'garment'. Here, the vowel setting of modern Frisian is deviant. *Süüd* 'south' is culture-historically too complicated to be treated here. I do not have an explanation for Pom. *süüg* 'saga'. The Frisian – Pomeranian relation *njontig* ~ *nuinsig* 'ninety' contradicts our generalization, which predicts *njontig* ~ **nüüntig*. Probably, *nuinsig* is a re-pomerization of HG *neunzig*, since Pomeranian higher numbers show High German influence, whence /sig/ instead of the etymological /tig/.

[U|+|I], and *iu, which is Pom [y:] written <üü>, from original [I|+|U]. Admittedly, in the Pomeranian alternation *üü* ~ *ai*, *üü* is synchronically the 23 sg umlauted form of *ai*, but historically it is reversed: Pom [ai] < PGmc *eo is the [A]-umlaut of PGmc *iu/io > Pom *üü*, MHG *eu* [eu]. The NHG [oi] must then be a late breaking of an earlier monophthongization of /io/ to [œ:], giving rise to the i-glide in the second position in Modern German: [oi]. However, the [I]-element was realized in Proto-Germanic in front of [U] in the etyma of the table. Applied to Pom. *füür* ‘fire’ < WGmc **fiuri*-, seemingly (cf. Kroonen 2013) from PGmc **feuri*-. A second conclusion to be drawn from Pomeranian is that umlaut is a complex phenomenon, consisting of two steps: incorporation of a floating suffixal I-formative into the root, and its optional realization as a complex vowel through anchoring to an open vowel position or submitting to existing material.

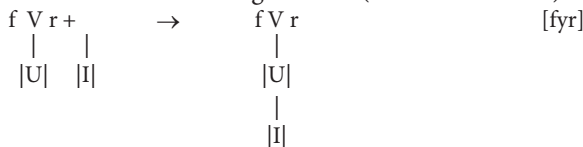
- (13) Root anchoring of a floating element (Competitive Umlaut, Section 2.2.6).



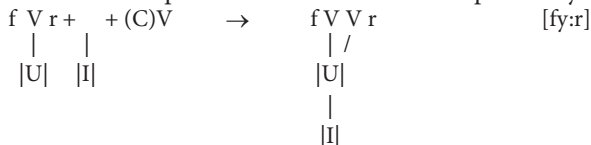
- (14) Submission of onset material to the root vowel



- (15) Submission of a floating element (Standard Umlaut)



- (16) Submission of prosodic material under compensatory lengthening



Submission of [I] to [U] is only available in Pomeranian in three cases: 1. if the [I] was part of the onset (i.e. it is already an adjunct) (*füür* < [fjur]); 2. if there is no prosodic space to anchor to a root node (short vowels), typically in the verbal system: *hula* – *duu hülst* ‘you keep’, cf. Section 2.3.7 and 3.6.2; and 3. under compensatory lengthening upon cluster reduction: *fründ* – *früün* ‘friend(s)’. Notice that one cannot pursue this etymological argumentation comparing Frisian with

Dutch (though Dutch and Pomeranian have the same vowel setting in this realm), since Dutch lacks secondary umlaut. This illustrates the importance of including Pomeranian into the etymological discussion.

Mysteriously, the above parallel between Frisian [ju] and Pomeranian [y:] only holds in closed syllables. The reason is that Frisian behaves deviantly in open syllables, e.g. in the case of Pom. *schüüg* ‘shy’, where we reconstruct WGmc **skiug*, were it not that the coda -g is a later Pomeranian velarisation (see 8.1), i.e. < WGmc **skiu*. Instead we have Frisian *skou*, not the expected **skju*. Frisian is deviant here, not Pomeranian, in view of the sound-legal German *scheu*, English *shy*. Similarly, Pomeranian *schüül*¹⁰ ‘should’ predicts Frisian *skjulde*, instead of the actual Frisian *soe* [suə]. Here Frisian is deviant in two respects: -lde- was reduced to -de- under subsequent dropping of -de, and the onset was mysteriously reduced to s-. Whenever the syllable is closed in Frisian, the regular relations between Frisian and Pomeranian come back, e.g. *hai süüt* ‘he sees’, which has a syllable closing -ch- in Frisian: *hy sjocht* / *sjucht*. In this case the Pomeranian alternation *saia* – *süüt* ‘see.inf – see.3sg’ derives by standard sound laws from PGmc /eu/, which realizes in WGmc as either /eo/ (before a) or /iu/ (before i), i.e. Pom /ai/ and /üü/, respectively (cf. Section 8.1.1).

8.4 Wenker sentences in European and Brazilian Pomeranian

Around 1870, the German linguist Georg Wenker sent a questionnaire with 40 test sentences to 40.000 locations in Germany, Switzerland and Austria. This data collection forms the basis of the dialectological database of the REDE-website <<http://regionalsprache.de>>. These 40 sentences have also been elicited in Luxemburg, The Netherlands, and Belgium. In this section, we present Wenker’s sentences in Brazilian Pomeranian, and compare them with European Pomeranian (Gumtow dialect, 00024 REDE-database). The give two ways of elicitation, through High German and Portuguese in the same informant.

10. *Schüül* from *schüüld(e)*_o with intervocalic cluster reduction and catalexis, cf. Section 2.3.2.3.

	EP (Gumtow, 1880) ¹¹	BP (in Tressmann's spelling elicited through German) ¹²	BP (in IPA, elicited through Portuguese) ¹³
1.	Im winte fleige dei dröhge bläre dücht luft rümme.	Im winta flaige dai dröige bläär doir dai luft rüme.	im wintə flaiyə dai drœijə blɛ:r doirdəluft
2.	Dat höhet glicke up tau schniegen, denn wat dat Wäre wer bete.	Dat hört gelijk up tam is-sen, ¹⁴ den waard dat wääre wääre beite.	dat høirt dər ʔup tau ʃni:ən, den wa:dat wɛ:rə ʔalbeitə
3.	Dau Koahle inne Oawe, dat dei Melk ball anne koaken fängt.	Dau koole ina oowa, dat dai melk bal ana koken fängt.	mək ta kɔ:lə ʔinəʔɔ:və (d) ¹⁵ dai miɛlk deit glik anfeŋə ʔanəkɔkən
4.	Dei gaur ul Mann is mim peet döcht Is broake u it kul Woate falle.	Dai gaura ula ¹⁶ keel is mit dem peed, doi't iis brooka u in't kul wâte fala.	dai gaura ula ʔis ʔinzakt ʔina ʔis mi-tɛmvalax u: ʔint kulvɔta fala
5.	Hei is va 4 ore 6 Wäke sturwe.	Hai is for fair oder söss weeke sturwa. ¹⁷	hai ʔisfɔ faɪə ʔora zɛsvɛkə dɔudblɛvə
6.	Dat füe was toa heiet, dei Kuchen sün ju unen ganz schwat brennt.	Dat füür wäir tau hait. Dai kuchen sin ja une gans swart brend.	dat fyçəvɛtaugrout daibiskui-ta sin ʔala fəbriɛnt fanʔunə
7.	Hei et dei Ege ümme oan Sult u Päpe.	Hai ärt ¹⁸ dai eijer one suld u peeper.	haiteitʔy:mə daʔeiçə ʔɛtə ʔounəzult ʔupepə

(continued)

11. Transcript of the handwritten Wenker sheets, location 0024, basically in German orthography, i.e. <eu> = [oi], <ei> = [ai], <ü> = [y]. The value of <g> is unclear. This sheet is chosen because of its clear handwriting.

12. The informant is fluent in German and Portuguese. The sentences were translated from German.

13. For the Portuguese text, cf. Section 8.6.

14. The informant is acquainted with the verb *snijga*, but remarks that one usually uses *issa* 'to ice', as a translation of Portuguese *gelar*. Notice that it never snows in Espírito Santo, but it can be cold.

15. Hesitation to use the complementizer *dat*. Only part of the [d] is realized.

16. The speaker systemantically uses the masculine inflected ("accusative") forms in masculine nominative contexts. This is not common. See Section 2.10.

17. *Sterwa* 'to die' and *sturwa* 'died' are not in Tressmann's dictionary. The usual term is *doud-blijwa*.

18. The form is problematic. It looks like a past tense (*ait*) with spurious *-r*. A similar *-r* occurs in *wirt* 'white' in W32. This might be a type of the postarticulation, cf. Section 2.3.8. Pre/post-articulation typically occurs with short vowels in 23SG present tense.

	EP (Gumtow, 1880)	BP (in Tressmann's spelling elicited through German)	BP (in IPA, elicited through Portuguese)
8.	Dei Fuit dauwe mi weih, ick glöw, ick hews döchlope.	Dai fuit daue mij seir wai, ik löiw, ik häw's mij doir-loupa ¹⁹	daifuit dauə seɣə wai ʔigmain ʔikhef tɒfɛ:l ɡɔ:
9.	Ick bü bi dee Frug west u hewt e seggt, u sei seggt sei wütt ei(?) Dochte uck segge.	Ik bün bij dai fruug wääst u häw eir dat segt, u sai säir sai wue dat uk eie määke säga.	ikve:mitdefruɣ θouɸ ʔu hef ʔe:ɪr dat sɛxt sai sɛ: sai deit e:ɪr mɛkə dat uk zɛɣən
10.	Ick wütt uck ni mehe werre daue.	Ik wü dat uk ni meir weira daua!	igvyɾ dat nime nɔ ais mɔkə
11.	Ick sloa die glieck mim Koakleppel ümt Ohre du Oap!	Ik slåg ²⁰ dij glijk mit dem kokleppel ²¹ üm dai ora, duu äp!	ik h:oux di mit deichem hultlepelanaʔour duʔɔp
12.	Wa gehst hen, scheuw mit die goahe?	Wo jeist du hin? Schoile wij mit dij gää?	woujistuhin schuiləvi mi-t dimi-tgɔ
13.	Dat sün slecht Tiere!	Dat sin slechte tijta. ²²	tsinʃlɛxtətītə
14.	Mie leiw Kind, bliev hie unnen stoadhn, dei Gäs biete die dodt.	Mij laif kind, blijf hie unne stää, ²³ dai slima jääse bita dij doud.	mi laif jounɣ bli:f hiʔunə dai ʃliəmə ʔe:ɪs kʰynədi dɒutpītə
15.	Du hest hüt mest lehet u büst fromm west. du kast eire noa Hus goahe as dei Andre.	Duu häst hüüt am meista leird u büst gaud wäst. Duu dörwst aira nâ huus gää as dai andre.	du hɛ-st gaut leit alaina du kʰast ʔuk ʔaiə nɔhus ɡɔ ʔas də ʔandərən

19. In contrast to European Pomeranian *döch*, Pomeranian in Brazil patterns with Dutch *door* and the umlauted Gronings form *deur* [dœər], in lacking the *-ch* suffix, cf. German *durch*, Frisian *throch*, English *through*. *Doir* is the broken umlauted form.

20. This erroneous *-g* is probably influence of the High German text source.

21. Literary translation. Alternative: *mita kel*.

22. Tressmann has *tijd[t]-tijra* 'time(s)', with underlying *-d* + intervocalic rhotacism. This informant has generalized the surface singular form. *Tijra* was considered the plural of *tijr* 'animal'. I have double-checked this judgement.

23. This infinitive 1 form is unexpected, as the informant systematically makes a distinction between the two infinitives, and *blijwa* selects INF2, cf. *leejen blewa* ('lay.INF2 stay.PTC') in W25.

EP (Gumtow, 1880)	BP (in Tressmann's spelling elicited through German)	BP (in IPA, elicited through Portuguese)
16. Du büst no nie grot naug an Flasch Wien uttaudrinken. Du must noa a En wasse un gröttæ wara.	Du büst no ni grout nauch tam ain flasch wijn ut-drinken. Du muus air ein ²⁴ wassa u gröite waara.	du byst nɔni ʔultnaux tam ʔain flaf vi:n ʔutdrinken du must nɔx aist ə meičə ²⁵ vasə
17. Godh, ²⁶ wes so gaut u segg Diene Schweste, sei schadei Klere fa juch Mutte fag nehge un mit dee Büst rege moake.	Gå, wås so gaud u säg dijn swester sai schu/schå dai klera for juuch mutter trecht näige u mit der böörst reigen måka.	gɔ vɛ'st sogaut ʔuzɛx dat̪ɪnfɛstə sai fa dat ty'ç reiçənmɔkə ʔuflikat̪at̪im:utə
18. Hast du en kennt, denn wee't annes koame, u ha bete üm em stoahæ. ²⁷	Hast du em keind, dan wäir dat aners koma u dat dāir beta üm em stāa / dat häir ²⁸ beta für em wääst.	wenduɐm kʰɛnthast deit̪dat ʔaləs ʔaners ʔu mit ʔɛm geit dat beita
19. Wem hett mie miene Koaw mit Fleisch stoahle.	Wee hät mij mijna koaw mit flaisch staula?	wɛ:hɛt minə koaf mit flaiʃ ʃtɔ:lə
20. Hei dee so as harre sei em tom Döschen bistellt sei oawe hewet sülwe doahæ.	Hai dai so as haare sai em tam kloppen bestellt, sai häwa dat āwa alaine måkt.	hai hɛt siç so ʔanʃtɛält ʔas sai ha:rə dat ʔafmɔkt ʔɔvə sai ha:rə dat ʔalainə ʔafmɔkt
21. Wemme hette dei nieg Gischicht vatellt?	Wem hät hai dai nijch jeschicht forteld?	vɛn hɛt hai dei ni'ç ʔɛʃiçt fat'ɛlt
22. Wie multe sehe schriege süste vastete us nie.	Ma muut luur srijge söste forsteit hai ous ni.	wi muita fri'çə sysa deit hai ʔous ni høirə
23. Wie sün muir u hewe Döst.	Wij sin muir u häwa dörst.	wi: si'nmuɪ ʔu hɛwa dœəst
24. As wie gistenowend tus keime, doahæ leige dei Andre im Bärri u schleipe.	Ås wij jiste åwent tröich kaima, dun laiga dai andra al ijn ber u dāira fast slāpa/ wāira fast am slāpen	aswi jistɛnɔvɛnt nɔhus kaimə dai ʔandrə wɛ:rə al in be:r ʔu de:rə daip ʃlɔpə

(continued)

24. Unusual in this sense and form (*in*) in BP. Probably an influence of the German text.

25. *meiger* 'more', translation of *crescer mais* 'grow more'.

26. Probably an imperative plural form. This is strange in view of the singular form *wes*. Alternatively, with enclitic 2SG pronoun *duu: go'd*, probably without final devoicing.

27. Schönlitz has: u 't deer bāte üm em stoahæ (stüe bāte üm em).

28. The use of HAVE is noticeable. Firstly, the usual auxiliary to the ptc *wāist* in BP is 'to be'. In Dutch dialects and colloquial speech, choice of 'to have' often happens in irrealis contexts. I did not check if this is systematically the case in BP. Secondly, it seems to be a Konjunktiv II form with umlaut.

EP (Gumtow, 1880)	BP (in Tressmann's spelling elicited through German)	BP (in IPA, elicited through Portuguese)
25. Dei Schnei is dis Nacht bie us legen blewe, oawe hüt isse schmült/ schmöla(?)	Dai schnee is deis nacht bij ous lejen bleewa, awa hüt moije is hai forsmült. ²⁹	dai fne: laiç ʔupm̩ borm̩ deizə naxt (yp) ʔin ousə fʔel ʔovə hytmoijə is sai ʔal faloupa
26. Hinne usem Hus stoathe drei schmuck Äppelböme mit rohre Aple.	Hina ousem huus stā drai schöna klaina ³⁰ äpelboima ³¹ mit roura klaina äpel.	hinəʔousəm hu:s zin drai klainə masā bəim gans ful klainə rourə masā
27. Keu ji ni a Ogeblick lure denn goah wie mit jie.	Küna ³² jij nich noch aina ougeblick ³³ up ous luure, den gā wij mit juuch.	kʰynəji: ʔous ni'ai bits lu'rə den gowi mitju:x
28. Wie döre nie so unnüt sin.	Jij döra nie so'n kinerigkeita drijwa.	ji muita ni zou kintliç zin
29. Us Bag sün nie sehe hoch, juch sünn vel höhge.	Ous beeg ³⁴ sin ni seir houg, juuch sin fääl höiger	ous beɛx sin nizouhoux ju:xsin fɛ:l høijə
30. Wuvel Pund Wust u wuvel Brot wu ji hewwe.	Woufeel kilo wurst u woufeel broud wüla jij häwa?	voufe:vust vystu hɛəvə ʔu voufe'lbrout
31. Ick vastoah ju ni, ji multe lure rere.	Ik forstā juuch ni, jij muita air [aiə] bits luura reera.	ikhørju:x ni ji'muitə ʔai bits lura (ʃ) ³⁵ rɛ:rə

29. Instead of the expected *forsmült*. Influence of High-German *smelzen* 'melt' is conceivable, but the vowel is original. Tressmann's dictionary has *forsmüla* 'melt away' instead of the expected *forsmülta* or, with intervocalic voicing, *forsmülða*. Intervocalic cluster reduction to *forsmüla* is not according to the sound laws as lenition only takes place with underlying *-ld-* not with *-lt-*.

30. The informant systematically replaces the German diminutives with periphrasis with *klain*. The EP Wenker translations usually ignore this feature whenever the dialect lacks morphological diminutives.

31. High German form. Tressmann's dictionary has *böim*.

32. This seems to be an irrealis form (Konjunktiv-II).

33. In BP, *ougenblick* 'moment' is masculine like in HG, in contrast to EP/Dutch/Frisian, where it is neuter.

34. The singular is *barg* [ba:x], the plural has umlaut and an optional schwa.

35. Probably, the speaker first wanted to say *srijga* 'scream'.

EP (Gumtow, 1880)	BP (in Tressmann's spelling elicited through German)	BP (in IPA, elicited through Portuguese)
32. Hew ji ni a Stück wit Seep up mim Disch funne.	Häwa jij kai klai stück wirt ³⁶ seip for mij up mijn disch fuuna?	hevəji nɪ:ç ai fɪyk wit zeip funə fon mi: ʔin mi'n hu:s ³⁷
33. Sie Braure wü sich twe nig Hüse in jugem Gaare buge.	Sijna braure ³⁸ wü ³⁹ sich twai schöina nijga hüüsa ijn juuchem gāra buuge.	sinəbraurə vɥə twai hypfə hy:zə buxə ʔin ʔerəm ⁴⁰ gɔ'rə
34. Dat woat kamm em vam Hertz.	Dat word kaim em fā herza.	dat woud kaim ʔem fən hɪetsən dat woud kaim fan sin hets
35. Dat was recht va e.	Dat wäir recht fā ei. (i.e. <i>eles</i>)	fən ʔiəm ʔu't veia dat seiə gaut
36. Wat sitte doahe va Veugel boaven uppe Müe?	Wat sita dā fon klaina foigel booven up dai klain muur?	vafomfoijəl zin dɔ: up dai klain mu:
37. Dei Bure harre 5 Ossen, 9 Köhg u 12 Schoap vat Döp brocht. Dei wulles vaköpe.	Dai kolonista haara fijw ossen u neijen köich u twelf klaina schāp nā dai stad bröcht, dai wula's forköipa.	dai kolonistə hevə fɪ:f bulən ʔun neiʔə koiç ʔu twelf ʃɔp brœçt tam fak'ɔipənina ʃtat
38. Dei Lür sün hüt alle um Fel ⁴¹ u mehge.	Dai lüür sin hüüt ala buten um Land u fousen.	dai ly: hyt sin ʔalə ʔupə ruos p'utsən
39. Goah ma, dei brue ⁴² Hund det die nist	Kast ⁴³ gāa, dai bruna hund dāit dij nischt.	gɔ'dəhin daibrunəhunʔ deit ⁷ di niç

(continued)

36. This inserted /r/ coloring is a realization of complex breaking of the short vowel. Already present in EP, cf. Natelfitz/Natolewice dialect in the “Vertriebenen” audio files WE964AW1, 1965.

37. The informant assumes *casa* instead of *mesa*.

38. This is an accusative form. The informant explicitly adds the comment that other people say: *sij braure*, which is the more common nominative form.

39. This is a past tense in optative use.

40. The Portuguese text has *deles* ‘of them’.

41. EP has subtractive morphology in plural and sg dative case: *Feld* – *Feler* – *im Fel*. The dative form derives from a catalectic dative *-e* morpheme: *im feld(e)*_o + intervocalic cluster reduction.

42. Notice that this dialect had *n*-drop in *bruun*. This is rare. It points to the phonological nature of *n*-drop rather than morphological *n*-drop as is assumed in this grammar.

43. Instead of *duu kast gāa*. Notice the empty 2sg subject pronoun. Hortative contexts form an exception to the enclitic nature of empty pronouns (Section 3.1.1), as is the case in Frisian. It might be an empty operator, rather than an empty pronoun.

EP (Gumtow, 1880)	BP (in Tressmann's spelling elicited through German)	BP (in IPA, elicited through Portuguese)
40. Ik bü mit dee Lüre doahe hinen euwet Wisch it Kohn feuet	Ik bün ⁴⁴ mit dai lüür da hina oiwa dai weir ina planta fuird.	ík bin mĩt̃da ly: ʔĩnə mĩ.ʎə ɡɔ: dɔhĩ'nə ʔupə land̃

8.5 Wisconsin Pomeranian

Pomeranian emigrants did not only settle in South America, but also, and even earlier so, in North America, for instance in Texas, together with German speaking settlers from Pfalz and other parts of Europe (Boas 2009), and especially from 1839–1845 in the states of New York and Wisconsin (Everest 1892; Jacob 2008; Louden 2009). In the previous section, I have given a transcript of a Pomeranian version of the Wenker sentences taken from the Sound Archive of the Max Kade Institute, now available at the Databank für Gesprochenes Wort in Mannheim,⁴⁵ recorded by Jürgen Eichhoff, and published in Louden (2009: 175). As one can easily verify oneself, the speech is Pomeranian with few foreign influences (apart from the retroflex *r*, to be observed in the sound files, under influence of American English). The few loanwords (from Low or High German) are marked in bold. Louden 2009 only reports a subset.

- (17) Pomeranian from Wisconsin
1. Im Winter fleige dei dröoge Blär inne Luft ümher.

2. Dat hört glik an to schniegen, dann watt dat Wäter wedder bäter.

3. Dau Kähle in dei Åwe, dat de Melk ball an te kâken fängt.

4. Dei gaur âl Mann is mit dem Peerd dörch't Iis brâke un in dat kâl Wäter falle.

5. Hei is ver veier o söss **Wochn** terög schterwe.

6. Dat Füür weer to heit, dei Kuchen sin unne gans schwat brennt.

7. Hei et dei Eger immer on Salt o Pepper.

8. Dei Foit daue mi wei, ik denk, ik heff se dörchloope.

9. –

10. Ik will dat ook nich weder daue.

11. –

12. Wo gehst du her? Schoile wi mit di gâe?

13. Dat sin schlechte Tiere.

44. This -n is usually debuccalized.

45. MV-corpus: MV--_E_00134_SE_01_A_01_DF_01

14. –
15. –
16. Du bist noh nit groot **genaug**, um et Glas Wien utdrinken, u musst eiste noch e bits wasse un ook gröter ware.
17. –
18. –
19. Wer het mi mine Korf mit Fleisch stähle?
20. –
21. Were het hei dei nieg **Geschicht** verteilt?
22. Wi moite lurer schriege, söster versteht hei os nich.
23. Wi sin mooier o hewwe Dörst.
24. –
25. –
26. Hinne osem Huus stääe drei klein Eppelbööm mit rore Eppel an.
27. –
28. –
29. –
30. –
31. Ik verstâ je nich, je moite lurer räre.
32. –
33. –
34. –
35. –
36. –
37. Dei Buure harre fief Osse vor dat **Dorf** bröcht, sei wolle se verkööpe, ook negen Köög
38. Dei Lüür sin hütt alle op em Feld un mege.
39. –
40. –

Notice that the double infinitive in *-e* (*daue*, *gâe*, *wasse*, *ware*, etc.) and in *-en* (*schniegen*, *utdrinken*) is present in this variety. This seems even to occur so in loan translations from English ‘make a living’ and ‘hard to say’ such as in (18), taken from Jacob (2008: 638).

- (18) a. Jeder daler hett holpe to a leven maken.
 every dollar has helped to a life make.INF2
 ‘Every dollar helped to make a living.’

- b. Dat is hard to'm seggen.
 that is hard for.to say.INF2
 'That is hard to say.'

Unfortunately, Jacob's data do not include any *-e* infinitive (infinitive 1).

8.6 Wenker sentences in other languages

For reference, we list the original standard German, Portuguese, and Dutch Wenker sentences. The Dutch translation by P. J. Meertens was the basis of the Dutch questionnaire in the 20th century in the Netherlands and Belgium. It is given here because of the Dutch proximity to Pomeranian.

	German (original)	Portuguese translation (by GJP and GK)	Dutch translation (by P. J. Meertens)
1.	Im Winter fliegen die trocknen Blätter durch die Luft herum.	No inverno as folhas secas voam pelo ar.	In den winter vliegen de droge bladeren door de lucht.
2.	Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser.	Já vai parar de nevar, então o tempo vai melhorar.	Het houdt dadelijk op met sneeuwen, dan wordt het weer wel weer beter.
3.	Thu Kohlen in den Ofen, daß die Milch bald an zu kochen fängt.	Põe carvão no forno, que o leite logo vai começar a ferver.	Doe (wat) kolen op de kachel, dat de melk gauw gaat koken.
4.	Der gute alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durch's Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen.	O bom velhinho afundou no gelo com o cavalo e caiu na água fria.	De goede oude man is met zijn paard door het ijs gezakt en in het koude water gevallen.
5.	Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.	Ele faleceu quatro ou seis semanas atrás.	Hij is voor vier of zes weken gestorven.
6.	Das Feuer war zu stark/ heiß, die Kuchen sind ja unten ganz schwarz gebrannt.	O fogo estava forte/quente, os biscoitos ficaram todos queimados em baixo.	Het vuur was te heet, de koeken zijn van onderen immers heelemaal zwart gebrand.
7.	Er ißt die Eier immer ohne Salz und Pfeffer.	Ele sempre come os ovos sem sal nem pimenta.	Hij eet de eieren altijd zonder peper en zout.
8.	Die Füße thun mir sehr weh, ich glaube, ich habe sie durchgelaufen.	Os pés dóem muito, acho que eu andei demais.	Mijn voeten doen mij erg zeer, ik geloof, dat ik ze doorgelopen heb.

	German (original)	Portuguese translation (by GJP and GK)	Dutch translation (by P. J. Meertens)
9.	Ich bin bei der Frau gewesen und habe es ihr gesagt, und sie sagte, sie wollte es auch ihrer Tochter sagen.	Eu estive com a mulher e falei isso a ela, e ela disse que iria dizer à filha dela também.	Ik ben bij de vrouw geweest en heb het tegen haar gezegd; zij zeide, dat ze het ook aan haar dochter zou zeggen.
10.	Ich will es auch nicht mehr wieder thun!	Eu não quero nunca mais fazer isso de novo.	Ik zal het nooit meer doen.
11.	Ich schlage Dich gleich mit dem Kochlöffel um die Ohren, Du Affe!	Eu já te bato já com esta colher de pau na orelha, seu macaco!	Ik sla je dadelijk met den potlepel om je ooren, jou aap,
12.	Wo gehst Du hin? Sollen wir mit Dir gehn?	Para onde você está indo? Quer que nós vamos com você?	Waar ga je heen? Zullen we met je meegaan?
13.	Es sind schlechte Zeiten.	São tempos ruins.	Het zijn slechte tijden!
14.	Mein liebes Kind, bleib hier unten stehn, die bösen Gänse beißen Dich todt.	Meu querido filho, fica aqui em baixo, os gansos bravos podem te morder até morrer.	Mijn lieve kind, blijf hier beneden staan, de booze ganzen bijten je dood.
15.	Du hast heute am meisten gelernt und bist artig gewesen, Du darfst früher nach Hause gehn als die Andern.	Você estudou bastante e foi bonzinho, você pode ir para casa mais cedo do que os outros.	Jij hebt vandaag het meest(e) geleerd en bent zoet geweest, je moogt eerder naar huis gaan als (dan) de anderen.
16.	Du bist noch nicht groß genug, um eine Flasche Wein auszutrinken, Du mußst erst noch ein Ende/etwas wachsen und größer werden.	Você ainda não tem idade para beber uma garrafa inteira de vinho, precisa crescer e ficar mais velho.	Je bent nog niet groot genoeg om een flesch wijn leeg te drinken, je moet eerst nog wat groeien en grooter worden.
17.	Geh, sei so gut und sag Deiner Schwester, sie sollte die Kleider für eure Mutter fertig nähen und mit der Bürste rein machen.	Vai, seja boazinha e fale para a sua irmã remendar e limpar com escova as roupas para a sua mãe.	(Ga,) wees zoo goed, en zeg aan je zuster, dat ze de kleeren (het kleeid) voor jullie moeder moet afnaaien en met den borstel schoonmaken.
18.	Hättest Du ihn gekannt! dann wäre es anders gekommen, und es thäte besser um ihn stehen.	Se você o tivesse conhecido! Tudo seria diferente e estaria melhor com ele.	Had je hem gekend, dan was het anders geloopen en hij zou er beter aan toe zijn.
19.	Wer hat mir meinen Korb mit Fleisch gestohlen?	Quem roubou a minha cesta com carne?	Wie heeft mijn mand met vleesch gestolen?

(continued)

	German (original)	Portuguese translation (by GJP and GK)	Dutch translation (by P. J. Meertens)
20.	Er that so, als hätten sie ihn zum dreschen bestellt; sie haben es aber selbst gethan.	Ele fingiu que eles o tinham mandado debulhar. Mas eles debulharam sozinhos.	Hij deed alsof ze hem besteld hadden om te komen dorschen, maar ze hebben het zelf gedaan.
21.	Wem hat er die neue Geschichte erzählt?	Para quem ele contou essa nova história?	Aan wien heeft hij dat nieuwe verhaal verteld?
22.	Man muß laut schreien, sonst versteht er uns nicht.	É preciso gritar, senão ele não nos ouve.	Je (men) moet hard schreeuwen, anders verstaat hij ons niet.
23.	Wir sind müde und haben Durst.	Nós estamos cansados e com sede.	Wij zijn moe en hebben dorst.
24.	Als wir gestern Abend zurück kamen, da lagen die Andern schon zu Bett und waren fest am schlafen.	Quando nós voltamos ontem à noite, os outros já estavam na cama, e num sono profundo.	Toen wij gisteravond terugkwamen, (toen) lagen de anderen al in bed en waren vast in slaap.
25.	Der Schnee ist diese Nacht bei uns liegen geblieben, aber heute Morgen ist er geschmolzen.	A neve ficou no chão esta noite no nosso bairro, mas hoje de manhã ela derreteu.	De sneeuw is vannacht bij ons blijven liggen, maar vanmorgen is ze gesmolten.
26.	Hinter unserm Hause stehen drei schöne Apfelbäumchen mit rothen Aepfeln.	Atrás da nossa casa tem três belas macieirinhas carregadas de maçãzinhas vermelhas.	Achter ons huis staan drie mooie appelboompjes met roode appeltjes.
27.	Könnt ihr nicht noch ein Augenblickchen auf uns warten, dann gehn wir mit euch.	Vocês não podem nos esperar mais um instantezinho? Aí, vamos com vocês.	Kunnen jullie nog niet een oogenblikje op ons wachten? dan gaan wij met je mee.
28.	Ihr dürft nicht solche Kindereien treiben!	Vocês não devem ser tão infantis!	Jullie moeten niet zoo kinderachtig doen.
29.	Unsere Berge sind nicht sehr hoch, die euren sind viel höher.	Nossas montanhas não são tão altas, as suas são muito mais (altas).	Onze bergen zijn niet erg hoog, die van jullie zijn veel hooger.
30.	Wieviel Pfund Wurst und wieviel Brot ⁴⁵ wollt ihr haben?	Quantas libras de salsicha e quanto pão você quer (ter)?	Hoeveel pond worst en hoeveel brood willen jullie hebben?
31.	Ich verstehe euch nicht, ihr müsst ein bißchen lauter sprechen.	Eu não estou ouvindo vocês, vocês têm que falar um pouco mais alto.	Ik versta jullie niet, jullie moeten een beetje harder spreken.

46. The original Wenker sentence has *Brod* here.

German (original)	Portuguese translation (by GJP and GK)	Dutch translation (by P. J. Meertens)
32. Habt ihr kein Stückchen weiße Seife für mich auf meinem Tische gefunden?	Vocês não acharam um pedaço de sabão branco para mim na minha mesa?	Hebben jullie op mijn tafel geen stukje witte zeep (voor mij) gevonden?
33. Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen.	O irmão dele quer construir duas casas bonitas no jardim deles.	Zijn broer wil in jullie tuin twee mooie nieuwe huizen bouwen.
34. Das Wort kam ihm von Herzen!	A palavra veio do seu coração/A palavra lhe veio do coração.	Dat woord kwam uit zijn hart (kwam hem uit het hart).
35. Das war recht von ihnen!	Foi muito bom da parte dele!	Dat was heel goed van hen!
36. Was sitzen da für Vögelchen oben auf dem Mäuerchen?	Que passarinhos estão lá em cima do murinho?	Wat zitten daar voor vogeltjes boven op het muurtje?
37. Die Bauern hatten fünf Ochsen und neun Kühe und zwölf Schäfchen vor das Dorf gebracht, die wollten sie verkaufen.	Os fazendeiros trouxeram cinco bois e nove vacas e doze ovelhinhas para o vilarejo para vender.	De boeren hadden vijf ossen en negen koeien en twaalf schaapjes naar het dorp gebracht, die wilden ze verkopen.
38. Die Leute sind heute alle draußen auf dem Felde und mähen/hauen.	As pessoas hoje estão todas na roça, carpindo.	De lui zijn vandaag allemaal buiten op het land aan het maaien.
39. Geh nur, der braune Hund thut Dir nichts.	Vai aí, o cachorro marrom não te faz nada.	Ga maar door, de bruine hond doet je niets.
40. Ich bin mit den Leuten da hinten über die Wiese ins Korn gefahren.	Eu fui com as pessoas para o milharal detrás do campo.	Ik ben met de mensen (daar achter) over de weide naar den akker gereden.

European Pomeranian

9.1 Introduction

It is doubtful if Farther Pomeranian has ever been used in Europe as a written language. In the middle Ages, the literate Pomeranians expressed their thoughts in Latin, and if they wrote in the vernacular, it was the language of the Near-Pomerania's cultural centers of Greifswald, Stralsund, and Stettin. Later, the Lübeck standard of Low German was dominant, next to Latin. At the beginning of the Reformation, the vernacular had a brief revival in Bugenhagen's Church Rules and Bible translation, but these texts were either in the Wollin dialect or in the regional Greifswald standard (Middle and Near-Pomeranian respectively). There was brief surge in the use of a local language, but it was quickly replaced by High German. We are left without any documentation in the following centuries, apart from an anonymous 1731 poem in formal language on the occasion of the visit of the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm to Kerstin (present-day Kar?cino) in the municipality of Kolberg-Körln, published in Strecker (1909: 125-127), 26 lemmas of Müller's *Probe* ('exercise') of a Pomeranian dictionary from 1756 (published in Dähnert 1756, apud Haas 1994: 168-171). There has been a manuscript by Christian Wilhelm Haken (1723-1791) containing an alleged description of the Jamund dialect near Köslin, but this was lost.¹ Only Romanticism brought renewed interest in the local vernacular, but once again only Near-Pomeranian was documented. What we have on Farther Pomeranian is exclusively the result of explicit linguistic interest: 1. Böhmer's dialect questionnaire in Pomerania, published in 1833, which contains a few specimens of Farther Pomeranian; 2. a late 19th century trickster story as a language specimen, published by Jahn in 1886; 3. the Wenker sentences of 1874; and 4. finally, four 20th century dialect grammars: Mahnke (1931), Kühl (1932), Stritzel (1974), Laabs (1980).

1. For a short historical overview, cf. Knoop (1889). It is uncertain what dialect C.W. Haken describes. The *Hinweisung*, published by Haken's son Johann Christian in 1806, does not have the typical Pomeranian characteristics. The son was born in Jamund near Köslin, i.e. in the Pomeranian area. Homann's *Farther Pomeranian Idiotikon* of 1854 (cf. Vollmar 2014) concerns Pomerelian, a Low Prussian dialect, spoken east of the Stolp river, with quite different properties.

But the main reason why Pomeranian has never been used in writing, is the fact that it was a farmer language, not even used in the Farther Pomeranian towns. The circumstances of Pomeranian are strikingly similar to the conditions in Frisia, where Frisian (“Rural Frisian”) was only used in the countryside, while the Frisian cities expressed themselves in so-called “Town Frisian”. Only in the nineteenth century, scholars realized that this Town Frisian is a contact language of Dutch and Frisian (Van Bree & Versloot 2004), while rural Frisian is the “grey daughter of Germanic antiquity” (Halbertsma 1828: vii, apud Feitsma 1997: 125). According to Böhmer (1833), there were two languages in Pomerania: (in his terms) “round” Pomeranian and “broad” Pomeranian, of which the former is a language with close ties to the Low German (of Lübeck). “Round” Pomeranian is used in Near Pomerania and the cities of Farther Pomerania. According to Böhmer, even a countryman switches to the “round” variant “to the degree of his education” (Böhmer 1833: 151ff).² Böhmer characterizes his “round-broad” oppositions by a couple of phonological differences, such as breaking (cf. Section 2.7), schwa-apocope, and intervocalic cluster reduction, but one may guess the differences are deeper, and are in the realm of morphology (GE-prefix) and syntax (double infinitive) as well. Our grammar is an attempt to describe this “broad” rural dialect, perhaps English’ closest Saxon relative, and bring this variant to the linguistic fore. Only traces of it accidentally show up in the European sources, but we have full access to it in Brazil.

The traces of European Pomeranian that we present here, is how far we can get in our quest for the Pomeranian vernacular: (1) an early charter of the duke of Pomerania, (2) a text from the Aldermen’s Registers of Freienwalde i Pom, 1329–1503, (3) Bugenhagen’s Church Rules of Pomerania from 1535, (4) the 26 lemmas of Müller’s *Probe*, (5) an early 19th century fairy tale reported by Böhmer, and (6) a trickster story from the late 19th century.

2. Böhmer: “The main point that we are making, is this: in Pomerania there are living side by side two deeply distinct Low German dialects. One is round, light, smooth, without diphthongs, simple in roots and grammatical complexity; the other is broad, heavy, (...), full of diphthongs (au, ei, ai) or vowels with post-articulation, inclined to slowly vanishing final sounds. (...) However, what is stranger, even where the population speaks the broad dialect, the educated people in these areas use the round dialect, and, by way of the educated men, the towns are (linguistically) in opposition to the surrounding countrymen. Closer and across the Oder River, there is no trace of the finer Low German vernacular, which, being a linguistic roof, might have bound these dialects together. However, the local dialects reduce themselves in broadness and heaviness to the extent and degree of the personal education of individuals” [Translation GJP].

9.2 Charter of 1388 by Warslaff and Bogislaff, dukes of Pomerania

This charter, of which we only give the first part, concerns the Farther Pomeranian towns of Stolp, Rügenwalde, and Schlawe. The language is the Lübeck standard; especially in its spelling, it is quite western. I only include it for comparison.

Wy Warslaff de Jüngere unde Bogislaff, brodere van Gades gnaden tho Stettin, der Wende, der Kassuben, der Pamern Hertogen unde fürsten tho Rügen vor allen chrystenen löwygen lüden, de dessen breff sehen edder hören, bekennen wij unde botügen apenbaren, dat wij unse lewen truwen borgemeystere, unde rathmann unser stadt Stolp, Rügenwalde unde Slawe dorch merkolecker sacke wyllen, de uns anlygende syn, van de stichtes wegen, tho Cammyn hebben vesettet tho dem meystere unde dem Orden van Prützen, vor two dusent prüzensche Marck, de wij dem süluigen Meystere unde Orden bynnen vyff yaren, negest thokamende un mitsaften ouer eyn yar, tho heuende, betoden unde betalen schöllen yn alzo danner wys unde vnderschedynge, als de breue dat vth wysen de wy Hertoge Warslaff myt vnsen erbenömeden Steden, vor breuet vunde vorsegelt hebben vor datsölue löuede, dat vnse stedere ergenömet uns gedan hebben, hebben wy, vor uns unde unse eruen, densöluen vnsen borgermystere, radthmannen unde steden Stolp, Rügenwalde unde Slawe, myt egner samender Handt unde allen gelide, myt korn mohlen tho Stolp alsze sze bynnen den Muren tho Stolpe luggen unde myt dem mohlen haue darsülwes bowarynge ... dat se des Löuedes schadelos schölen blyuen, aldusd dane wysz, dat Henningh Gropelingh van unser wegene de vorge-schreueene borgermeystere unde radtmann unser obschreuenen steden se, van Stadt an, in den Molen tho Stolp wysen schal, yn alsodannen underscheydinge, als hier nhageschreuen ys: ...

9.3 Aldermen's registers of Freienwalde in Pom, 1329–1503, Wenker location 01268

Even these local Aldermen's registers are, from 1418 onward, written in a supra-regional standard, though some local features are present, most notably the rendering of the town name itself. To distinguish it from the older "Freienwalde in Brandenburg" near the Oder river, it was called either "Freienwalde in Pomerania" or "New Freienwalde". Accidentally, the two roots 'new' and 'free' are subject to glide velarisation, which gives rise to *niig* for 'new' and *vriig* for 'free'. *Vriig* starts out in 1418, *niig* shows up from 1494 onwards. It does not mean that *niig* is later than *vriig*, since before 1494 'new' was rendered in Latin, as can be seen from our text (*noue*). It must be noted that in modern Brazilian Pomeranian 'free' is not *frijg*, but *frai* < HG *frei*. Modern Brazilian Pomeranian 'new' is *nijg*.

Linguistic characteristics of the text:

- passive participle (sometimes) has GE-prefix: *ghemaket* ‘made’.
- perfect participle (sometimes) lacks GE-prefix: *daan* ‘done’.
- no intervocalic rhotacism: *middewekens* ‘mid + week’ ~ BP *mirweek*; *broder* ‘brother’ ~ BP *braura*.
- no schwa apocope: *zone* ‘contract’.
- no n-drop before spirants: *vnses* ‘our’ ~ BP *ous*.
- glide velarisation: *Vrigenwald*.

1418, nr 45, p26

Notum est prefecto et scabinis et consulatui noue ciuitatis **Vrigenwald**, dat dar is **ghemaket** vnd ghedeghedinghet eyne ewyghe zone, de de hebben ghedeghedinghet de hern van Vrigenwald vnd de rat dersuluen stat; dese zone hebben **daen** Kune Telzekow, Kune Ertmer, Peter Tribus vnd Mychahel Verwer, Thomas Albrechte, her Nicolaus Horneharde, her Jacobus Glambeke vnd Jacob Albrechte vor eren bruder Symon Albrechte, dem god gnade, vnd de zone is geschen vnd deghedinghet vor boren vnd vneheboren vnd is gheschen des middewekens vor sunte Katherinen in dem jare *vnses* hern M^oCCCC^oXVIII^o.³

The absence of the early Ingvaeonic feature of n-drop in *vnses* ‘us’ shows it is not Pomeranian, but a supraregional standard.

9.4 Church rules of Pomerania, 1535

This Church Rule was written by Johannes Bugenhagen, the Pomeranian’s protestant reformer, born in Wollin on the border of Farther Pomerania (Wenker location 50727). He studied in Wittenberg with Martin Luther and worked at the school at Treptow upon Rega. The language seems to be Near Pomeranian. There are no traces of typical Farther Pomeranian language. It might be that the typical phonological rules (n-apocope, intervocalic cluster reduction, schwa-apocope) that give rise to Pomeranian as we know it, are a later development. However, n-drop before spirants is certainly an old feature, present in Brazilian Pomeranian and absent in this text. It is therefore probable that the rural Pomeranian did not make it to the written language.

3. “It is recorded to the burgomaster and aldermen and new council of the city of Freienwalde, that one has made and agreed an eternal contract that the lords of Freienwalde and the same city’s council agreed upon. This contract was made by KT, KE, PT and MV, TA, lord NH, lord JG and JA for their late brother SA, and the contract has passed and agreed upon for born and unborn and is passed at Wednesday before St. Catherine in the year of our Lord 1418.” [Translation GJP].

Characteristics:

- infinitive in *-en* after modals: *singen* ‘sing’
- infinitive 2 in *-ende* after *to*: *to singende* ‘to sing’
- participle with GE-prefix
- no *n*-drop before spirants (*uns* ‘us’, not deducible from this fragment, but elsewhere in the text)

Des sonnavendes tor vesper, denne scholen de scholere to chore gaen, twee iungen heven an eine antiphona, darup wert ein eder twee psalmen gesungen, na dem tono der antiphen; na den psalm singet men de antiphen gar ut. De psalmen scholen gesungen werden nicht to hastich, oek nicht to langsam, mit einer guden pronounciation unde medio, vorstendichlick; item alle sang schal io sin ut der hiligen schrift, wo gesecht. Na der antiphen schall men singen to tiden, wenn me will, ein gut responsorium de tempore, den hymnum dar up de tempore, unde nicht einen alletidt, sundern mennigerleie hymnos, als denne veel guder hymni de tempore, unde van den festen Christi sind gemaket, solcke hymnos schal de scholemeister to tiden interpreteren in der schole, dat de kindere deste groter lust hebben to singende.⁴

9.5 Children’s song taken from Müller’s Probe (~1756)

Müller’s *Probe eines Pommerschen Wörterbuchs* (Exercise for a Pomeranian dictionary) contains 26 lemmas from *Abelsch* to *Aust*. It was a first step towards a Pomeranian dictionary with some illustrations of expressions or proverbs. Johann Engelbert Müller was garrison chaplain at Kolberg (present-day Kołobrzeg). The language comes extremely close to the Pomeranian spoken in Brazil. If we assume that the final *-h* indicates latent /n/ (catalexis), it must have had *n*-drop in participles, (*Dat koorn is afschlageh* ‘the wheat has gone down in prise’) and in infinitives (*liggeh* ‘to lie down’, *afdaueh* lit. ‘off-do’, i.e. ‘to discard’), the verbal participle lacks the GE-prefix (*afschlageh*), while GE shows up in adjectival use (*dä hochgelawteh Adel* ‘the beloved nobility’). The infinitive in the complement of *tau* has the *n*-ending (*dat is tau segen* ‘that is to say’). Very interesting are the (understood)

4. “On Saturdays at Vesper, the schoolchildren shall go to the choir, two boys start an antiphon, then one or two psalms are sung, corresponding with the tone of the antiphon. After the psalm, people sing the antiphon to the end. The psalms should be sung not too quickly, nor too slowly, and with a good pronounciation and emphasis, (clearly) understandable. Likewise, all songs shall always be from the Holy Script, as said. After the antiphon, one shall sing, on the moment that one wishes, a good chant of the lithurgic year, the hymn thereafter according to the Hours (breviary), not always the same ones, but a variety of hymns, as there have been made many hymns of the lithurgic year and of the feasts of Christ, which hymns the schoolmaster shall explain in the school, so that the children will have more pleasure in singing.” [Translation GJP].

n-drop in *ein* and *klain* (in neuter and masculine nominative), indicated by adding *-h*: *ein**h* ‘a(n)’, *klain**h* ‘little’. I here only give the children’s song, given under the lemma *Adebahr* ‘stork’.

Adebahr, Adebahr, lange Luhcks	Stork, stork, long Lucas
Laht dei fuleh Pageh liggeh	let the dirty frogs lay.INF1
Wenn dei Roggeh riep is	when the rye is ripe
Wenn dei Vogel pieck is	when the bird is fat
Brinck mi einh klainh Breider=	bring me a little brother/sister.DIM
Schwester=ke ⁵	

The word /adeba:r/ ‘stork’ corresponds to Frisian *earrebarre* (with intervocalic rhotacism of /d/) and Dutch *ooievaar* (with intervocalic lenition of -d- to /j/). Notice the final devoicing in *brinck* ‘bring’, which is not heard in Brazilian Pomeranian verbs, though it occurs in nouns and adjectives. Deviant from BP is the use of the diminutive in *-ke*, which morpheme is absent in Brazil, as well as its unrounded umlauted form without [U]-element, /ei/, in *Breiderke* ‘little brother’ which is typical for European Pomeranian east of Büssow (Kreis Schlawe, modern Boryszewo). Only west from Büssow does the umlauted form correspond to the Brazilian umlaut form /ui/ (*bruir-*).

9.6 A wedding in the underworld (Budow, south of Stolp, 52488, ~1833)

This tale is the oldest prose text in true Pomeranian that I have found thus far. It was submitted in response to Böhmer’s 1833 questionnaire of Pomeranian dialects. Only a few submissions were from Farther Pomerania. The dialect of this tale is from the border of Pomerania, the so-called Pomerelia,⁶ that stood in contact with Slavic (Kashubian), but it has various characteristics of the Pomeranian ‘broad’ dialect (e.g. *kaim* ‘came’, *dauk* ‘cloth’, *gaud* ‘good’).

9.6.1 The story

This story contains an initiation rite by a shepherd who plays his flute on a mystical wedding in the underworld. The source is not clear. It appears to be a story that goes back to various traditions. The basis pattern of a shepherd who goes down

5. The layout with = and the option between *Breiderke* and *Swesterke* is in the original.
6. For an early linguistic description of a Pomerelian dialect, cf. Schweminski (1853).

to the underworld points to the Orpheus myth, which attained high popularity in post-medieval Europe. A connection to the Slavic god Veles-Triglav, the shepherd of the dead, is also possible. The payment part seems to be a later addition, while the interpretation and application in the last paragraph is typically Pomeranian: regret for responding secondarily, in addition to resignation to the final outcome.

[Hochtied in de Unnerwelt]

Eine ull Geschicht de vör ulla Tieda gescheine is! Da was hamahl ein Schäper, dei häd na Dudelsack, up dem hai sick bi de Schaape im Fild wad vördudelt. As hai nu emahl sick wat spähld un blaus, da fund sick vör em ne Pogge, dei sprung so as wenn sei nah Noda danzt. Dit sach dei Schäper e Wielka tau; un as dies Pogg sick doch to narsch hädd, wuhl hei se mit dem Faut weg-stöte un dunn verloos sei sick.

Üm ne klein Wielka fund sick nu ein Unner-eerdshka tau em, un frau em: Mi leiw Schäper! wuhl hei dei Pogg dodt maake? Dei Schäper säd; Ne, dat hädd ik nich im Wille, ma ik wunderd mi dat dat Ding sick so putzig hädd.

Dat Männka säd nu tau em: Mi leiw Schäper! wenn hei de Pogg dodt maakt hädd, da hädd hai mi troffe, den de Pogg was ick. – Nu bat dat Männka de Schäper, of hai nich mit em kaame wuhl un nah siener Aart Lüde, ein Bitzke up sienem Dudelsack pipa; denn sien Tochter mäuk hüt Hochtied. Dei Schäper säd: Dat geiht nich, denn wo wera mien Schaap bliebe? Dat Männka versprack em, sei sulle gaud tauseihne ware. Dei Schäper leit sick berede, un ging mit em. Asz sei noch ein klein Ingka ginga, da mauk sick de Erd vör er up, un sei stege ne Trepp herun-ger, un keime in ain schmuck Stuhw.

Da wäre all Gäst toop, dat kribbelt vullup. Man draug em vehl Eten un Drinken upne Disch, un batt em, davan to geneiten. Na dem Eten dudelt hei de ganz Nacht dörch, un alle klein Lüde danzde un sprunge, dat er de Keddels so wippda.

A Wedding in the Underworld

[Translation, GJP]

An old story that has happened before old times! There was once a shepherd, who had a bagpipe, on which he played somewhat near the sheep in the field. When he was once playing and blowing, he suddenly saw a frog in front of him, who jumped as if he was dancing on (the) notes. The shepherd watched it this for a while. And when the frog behaved too crazily, he wanted to push the frog away with his foot, and then it disappeared.

After a short while, an underworld creature stood in front of him and asked to him: my dear shepherd, did you want to kill the frog? The shepherd said, no, I did not have that in mind, but I wondered why that thing behaved so sensually.

Now, the little man said to him: my dear shepherd, if you had killed the frog, you would have hit me, because the frog was I. – Now the little man asked the shepherd if he could come with him and to his kind of people, to play a bit on his bagpipe, because his daughter made her wedding today. The shepherd said: no way, because where would my sheep stay? The little man promised they would be looked after well. The shepherd was convinced and went with him. When they had gone a little stretch, the earth opened itself for them and they went down a staircase, and came into an ornamented room.

There were all guests together, it swarmed fully. One brought him lots of food and drinks on a table, and bade him to enjoy it. After the meal, he played the entire night on his bagpipe and all the little beings danced and jumped, until to them the kettles were jumping.

As dat Dach wurd, batt dei Schäper, sei sulle em nu wedder bi sien Schaap henbringa. Nu kaima vehl tau em, dei steike em in all sien Foobe Karwspöhn, wovan hai nischt wüzt, denn hai hadd im Krönka van allem Drinken. Sei brägede em up de Wech, un dat silwtig Männka wedder up dat Flach, van wo er em haale hädd; diesz säd em Adje, un dankt em noch vehlmaal.

– Nu kamm em dat in de Tasche so schwohr vör, un asz hei besach, wuare de Tasche vull Karwspöhn. Dat verdroot em, in der Meinung, dei Unnereerdshka häwwen em tum Narre hätt, un schmeet nu uth dem Fauberhemd de Spöhne alle wech, aber vam Brustdauk vergatt hei. As hei nu bi Awendtied tum Schlapen gahne sich uthruck, markt hei dat dat in der Brustdaukstasch klingert; hei greep herin un – o Wunger! in beide Tasche währe vehl hard Dahler!

Hei markd nu, dat de Karwspön för sien Spehlen de Bethalung sinne suhl. Dei Nacht wurd em sehr lang; un asz hei tiedig am Daagling up dat Flach kamm, wo hei Karwspöhn hadd wegschmete, fund hei nischt wedder. Hei argerd sich sehruschka; un säd tau sick: Wenn em dat Glück noch einmal passire wuurd, dan würd hei sick woll beter vorseihne. Hei was awer doch tofrede, denn sien Hochtiedspehlen hädd hei doch gaud betahld kreg.

When the day came, the shepherd asked, they shall now bring him back to his sheep. Now, many came to him and put wood splinters in all his pockets, of which he was not aware, because he had an hangover from all the drinking. They brought him on the road, and the same little man again on the field from which he was taken, said to him goodbye and thanked him many times.

– Now, what he had in his pockets, seemed so heavy to him, and when he looked, his pockets were full of wood splinters. It saddened him, thinking that the underworld beings had fooled him, and he threw all the splinters away from the bundle but he forgot (to do so) from his vest. In the evening, when he undressed upon going to sleep, he perceived a tinkling in his vest pocket. He grasped in it and – oh, miracle! in both pockets there were many hard dollars.

He now perceived that the splinters had to be the payment for his playing. That night lasted very long to him, and when, early by dawn, he came on the field where he had thrown away the wood splinters, he found nothing anymore. He was very much annoyed, and said to himself: when such luck would ever befall him again, he would be better prepared. Yet, he was rather content for his wedding play had been paid well.

9.6.2 Characteristics

Here we list the main characteristics of “The Wedding in the underworld”.

1. Etymology

- *n* drop in *eia* < *ain*, e.g. *hamahl* ~ HG *einmal*, *mij* < *mijn*.

2. Phonology

- no final devoicing and backward assimilation of past tense -d morpheme (regular past tense is still productive): *danzde* ‘danced.PL’, *markd* ‘perceived.SG’, and further *brägede* ‘brought.PL’.
- breaking: *kaim* ‘came.SG’, *dauk* ‘cloth’, *tau* ‘to’.
- intervocalic cluster reduction: *ulla* ‘old’, *unner* ‘under’, but also velarization: *wunger* ‘wonder’, *herunger* ‘under (dir.)’.

- schwa apocope: *ull* ‘old’, *hādd* ‘had’.
 - no intervocalic rhotacism: *lüde* ‘people’ (BP *lüür*), *tiedig* ‘early’ (BP *tijrig*), *hādd* ‘had’ (BP *haar*), *sād* ‘said’ (BP *säir*).
3. Morphology
- diminutives (*wielka* ‘a while’, *männka* ‘little man’, *bitzke* ‘a little’, *ingka* ‘a short stretch’)
 - participle without GE-prefix (though inherent GE-verbs do exist): *troffe* ‘hit’
 - infinitive 1 without -n: *wegstöte* ‘to push away’, *maake* ‘to make’
 - infinitive 2 construction with -n: *to geneiten* ‘to enjoy’
 - n-drop in possessive in structural cases: *mi laiw schäper* ‘my dear shepherd’.
4. Syntax
- No cases of *daua*-support
5. Lexis
- Derivation with Slavic suffixes: *sehruschka* < *sehr* + *uschka* ‘very much’, *Unnereerdschka* < *unner* ‘under’ + *eerd* ‘earth’ + *-schka*.

9.7 Trickster story (~1886)

The following trickster story is the second “rather early” narrative text available in European Pomeranian. It is taken from Jahn (1886). It is written in the dialect of Cratzig bei Cöslin (modern *Krasnik Koszalinski*), Wenker location 00578. The High German parts are between square brackets. The story roughly follows the line of Grimm’s 1812 *Meisterdieb* fairy tale, nr. 192, but there are ingredients from *Eulenspiegel in Pommern* from 1840 (Temme 1840, nr. 79), as well as from the *Gescheite Hans* tale sequence. I did not find an exact source. The language is clearly Farther Pomeranian.

9.7.1 The story

I give the story here together with a synoptic translation. The main linguistic characteristics will be discussed in the next section.

Dâ was eia Mann, dei härr drei Jungens; dei jinga all drei in dea wilt, un jeera wull eia Hantwark leera. Dei jüngst dâvoa, dei dumm Haas, wull Schpitzbuuw waara. Dei Vâta wull dat nonnich lira, âwa hei leit em doch trecka.

Nu jing hei imma tau. Tooletzt kaam hei a eia huus, dâ keer hei a un wull dâ bliwa. Dâ frauch em dei wirt, wo hei heer kaim un wat hei wull? Un hei schtellt sik recht dumm un sâcht, hei wüsst nich, wo hei heea kaim. – Nu frauch hei em werra, woo hei t’Huus hart un wo sir Vâta heita dâa – Hei sâcht, dat wüsst hei nich.

– Nu frauch hei, wo hei denn int Schaul gâa wâa? – Hei sâcht, hei wâa nich int Schaul gâa. – Of hei denn nich leesa künn? – Nee, leesa künn hei nich. – Of hei denn nich eia Hantwark leera wull? – Jâ, hei härr Lust, hei wull eia Schpitzbuuw waara; hei wüsst bloos nonnich, weea em dat leera dâa. – “Na,” sâcht dei Mann, “wenn du ândlich bist un dî ândlich fâuest, denn kaast du bî mî bliwa, denn kann ik dî dat wol leera”.

Dat was nuu gaud, hei bleew bî em, Dei Wirt jing uut up sir Schpitzbuuweschtreich (denn hei was jâ dei Schpitzbuuw), un dei Jung, dumm Haas, müsst imma thuus bliwa. Dei Wirt härr âwa veel Bâuka t’Huus in sine Schtuuw; un wil dei dumm Haas sâcht härr, dat hei nich leesa künn, müsst hei imma dei Bâuka reeje mâka, dei Schpenn un dea Schtoof dâruute feega. Dâbi laas hei sik dat imma uut dea Bâuka ruute, alles, wat dâ in’n schtunn; denn dâ schtunne all dei Schpitzbauweschtreich in.

Dat dürt gâa nicht lang, dâ wüsst hei voa allem Bescheit. As nuu soon ganz Tiid üm was, dâ sâa hei eis tau sîm Meista, of hei nich eis mitkâuma schull, dat hei dat doch ook leeat. “Jâ” sâcht dei Wirt, “mitneema kann ik dî nich; du müsst glik dîr proow mâuka. Ik warr dî sâgga: Hia kümmt eia Schlächta mit eim Kalf. Wenn du dem dat Kalf wech krichst, denn schasst du mîa best Schpitzbuuw weesa.”

[The trickster, translation GJP]

There was a man, who had three sons; all three of them went into the world, and each wanted to learn a handicraft. The youngest of them, Dull Hans, wanted to become a trickster. The father did not allow it, but yet he let him travel.

Now he walked on and on. At last, he came at a house, where he came in, and wanted to stay there. Then the host asked him, where he came from and what he wanted. And he pretends to be rather dull and says, he does not know where he came from. Now he asked him again, where he had his home and how his father was called. He says he did not know.

Now he asked where he went to school. He says he had not been to school. – If he then could not read? – No, he could not read – If he then did not want to learn a handicraft. – Yes, he had the aim to become a trickster. He only did not know yet who could teach him so. “Well”, the man said, “when you are good and you comply well, then you can stay with me, I can teach you that.

That was now good, he stayed with him. The host went out for his tricksters’ job (because he was a trickster), and the boy, Dull Hans, must always stay at home. The host, however, had many books at home in his room; and since Dull Hans had said he could not read, he always had to clean the books, the pantry and the room. And then he read himself all the stuff from the books, anything, whatever was in them, because in it were written all the tricksters’ secrets.

It did not last long before he knew all details. When now a rather long time had passed, he asked once to his master if he should not come with him, (so) that he learned that too. “Yes”, said the host, “taking you with me is not possible, you must first make your test. I shall say to you: (Soon), a butcher will come here with a calf. If you take that calf away from him, then you will be my best trickster”.

Dei Leeabursch müsst nu allein tauseia, woo hei dem Schlächta dat Kalf wech kricht. Hei treckt sik fin Kleera an, bünnsik na Säbel üm, jing hen anne Wech, hängsik anna Boom uu dää so, as wenn hei sik uphangt harr. As dei Schlächta dā voabi kaam, sach hei em hängen un dacht: “Kik, dei hat sik uphangt, dei hat noch na schōna Säbel üm.”

As hei nu a en wira kaam, sach hei noch eia hänga, denn dīs Schpitsbuuw härrsik voa disem Boom looslata un was dea Schlächta vāabi loopa un härrsik dā uok werra anna Boom hängt. Dei Schlächta härr dat āwa nich seia; denn dat was dicht am Hult, un dā waera noch Räubes in. As hei disa nu hänga sach, dacht hei, dei Räubes wāra dā west un härra dīs uphängt, un dat dei Räubes nu doch wechgāa weera un em nu nischt daua künna.

Nu dacht hei: “Dā hinna hängt ook all eia, un dei härr na schoina Säbel üm. Du schasst hen gāa un dī dea Säbel neema; denn hast du na schōna Säbel”. As hei āwa hen jing, leet dā dei Schpitzbuuw voa disem Boom loos un naam dem Schlächta dat Kalf wech. Dea Schwanz schneed hei dem Kalf af un shtāk em in dei Murr, denn dā was so a Wātaloch am Wech

As nu dei Schlächta dā hen kaam, was, dei sik dā uphängt härr, mit sīm Säbel wech. Nu müsst hei werra tröch gāa, na sīm Kalf hen. As hei dā kaam, was sīa Kalf ook wech. Nu keek hei ümheea, wo dat Kalf bleewa wāa, un dā sach hei dea Schwanz in dea Murr schtecka un dacht, dat Kalf wea dā rinna loopa un härrsik vorsöpt.

Nu müsst hei dat doch werra ruute hoola. Dat was āwa deip, un dārüm müsst hei sik uuttrecka. Sīn Kleera leea hei dā anne Wech. Dei Schpitzbuuw passt āwa up un naam ook dem Schlächta sīne Kleera nā Huus. Hei härr sīn Proow gaud beschtaa.

The schoolboy had to see to it how he could take away the calf from the butcher. He dresses himself in nice clothes, binds himself a sabre, went forth on the road, hung himself from a tree and did as if he had hung himself. When the butcher passed, he saw him hanging and thought: “Look he has hung himself, (and) he has a nice sabre on him”.

When he now came a little further, he saw yet another one, because the trickster has loosened himself from the tree and had run past the butcher and had hung himself from the tree again. The butcher, however, had not seen it, because the shrubbery was thick and there were still robbers in it. When he now saw this person hang, he thought the robbers had been there and had hung this one, and that the robbers had now gone away and could not do anything.

He now thought: “Over there, there is hanging one more, and he had a nice sabre on. You shall go back and take the nice sabre for yourself”. When he went away, the trickster let himself from this tree and took the calf away from the butcher. He cut the tail from the calf and stuck it into the wall, because there was a water well near the road.

When the butcher arrived there, the one with the sabre who had hung himself, had gone. Now he had to go back to his calf. As he got there, his calf was gone too. Now he looked around, (to see) where the calf was, and he saw the tail sticking from the wall and thought the calf had run into it and had drowned itself.

Now he had to take it out. However, it was deep, and so he had to undress. He laid his clothes next to the road. The trickster, however, was aware and took the butcher's clothes home as well. He had passed his test well.

Dei Schlächta wull nu dat Kalf uut dem Murr ruute hoola. Hei fäut an dea Schtaat un treckt – dā reet dei Schwanz uut. Nu dacht hei, hei härr dem Kalf dea Schwanz uutreeta. Dat Kalf künn hei nich aruute krija, un hei wull sik nu antrecka un nā Huus gāa. Dā waira sīn Kleera ook wech. Dat hulp em alles nischta, hei müsst näukt int Dorp gāa, dat hei werra Kleera kricht taum antrecka. Dei Schpitzbuuw härr also nu uutleat un kreech sīna Schīn, dat hei a ächt Schpitzbuuw waea. –

Nu jing hei nā Huus to sīm Vāta un sāa em, dat hei dat Schpitzbuuwehantwark ändlich leat härr. Dā kreeja dei Luer alla Angst. Dei Herr āwa sāa, hei wull em uut-probira, of hei ook eia ändlich Schpitzbuuw wāa. Hei müsst nā dem Herra henkauma, un dā frauch em dei Herr, of hei dat Schpitzbuuwehantwark ändlich leeat härr. Hei sächta: “Jā, seea gaud.” – Dā sāa dei Herr, hei wull mit em werra. Wenn hei sīm Kutscha un all sīna Dachlōnes sīna Hingst wechkrija dāa, denn schull dat sīa weesa un schull hei ook no huunet Dāula hāwwa. Wenn hei dat āwa nicht t’recht krija dāa, denn schull hei dem Herra huunet Dāula geewa.

As dat nu Auwend was, müssta all dei Dachlōnes bī dem Kutscha im Peeadschtall wāuka, dat dei Schpitzbuuw dea Hingst nich wechkrija schull. Dei Kutscha müsst sik up dea Hingst aruppa setta.

As dat nu duستا was, härr sik dei Schpitzbuuw Frauweskleera antreckt un kaam dā ant’gāa as so a ull Wif. Nu kaam hei ook an dea Peeadschtall un sach, dat dei Luer alla dā wāra. Hei frauch nu eiste, of hei dā nich woaa Nacht blīwa künn; em wull keia Meeasch Nacht behulla. Nu wāa dat all schpār, un dei Luer schleipa alla, un sei wüsst nich, wo sei blīwa schull – Jā, sāara dei Dachloenes, sei känn dā blīwa im Schtall; annetweeje künna sei eea nich henbringa un Bescheit sägga.

The butcher wanted to take the calf from the wall. He took the tail and pulled – there he took the tail out. Now he thought he had pulled out the calf’s tail. He could not get the calf out anymore, and he wanted to dress and go home. His clothes were gone too. It did not help him anything, he must go into the village naked, so that he could again get clothes to dress. The trickster was now fully educated and got a certificate that he was a respected trickster.

Now he went home to his father and said to him that he had finally learned the tricksters’ handicraft. Then the people all got scared. The landowner, however, said, he wanted to test him, if he was also a *decent* trickster. He had to come to the landowner and the landowner asked him if he had learned the tricksters’ profession with decency. He said: “Yes, very well.” – Then the landowner said he wanted to bet with him. If he could take away his coach and the day labourers’ horse, then these (things) would be his and he would have a hundred dollars. If he did not succeed, however, then he should give the landowner a hundred dollars.

When it was evening, all the day labourers had to watch over the couch in the horse stable, (so) that the trickster would not take away the horse. The couch had to be stacked on the horse.

When it was dark, the trickster had dressed in women’s clothes and came there dressed up as an old woman. Now he also came at the horse stable and saw that the men were all there. He first asked if he could stay there for the night; no one wanted to lodge him. – Now it was already late, and people were sleeping already, and she did not know where she could stay. – Yes, the day labourers said, she could stay in the stable, they could not let her go anyway and say goodbye.

Mit dea Tid frauch sei denn ook, wårum sei alla dā wāra im Peeadschtall; wat dat up sik hārr? – Jā seera dei Dachhenes, “hīa is eia Schpitzbuiw int Dorp kāuma; nu hāwwa dei Luer alla Angst kreeja. Oos Herr āwa hārr eia Werr mit em māukt: Wenn hei dise Hingst oos wech kricht, denn schall hei huunet Dāula hāwwa; wenn hei dat nich t’recht kricht, denn schall bei dem Herra huunet Dāula geewa.”

“Jā”, sāa sei, “dat is doch recht schlimm, dat dei Luer so ungerecht sint un jōnna sik eia dem annre nischt. – Dit is kult! Hīa meut jī doch ook recht bī freisa! Mī früst ook all! Hāww jī keina Schluck bī juw?”

“Nee”, sāra sei, “wī hāwwa keina, un wechgāa dōrr wī ook nich. Denn künn grāur dei ull Schpitzbuiw ankāuma un neema oos dea Hingst wech; denn kreej wī alla wat voa dem Herra.”

“Jā”, sācht sei. “ik hāww noch eia Bummka bī mī; ik wull juw dat woll anbeira, dat loont sik man nich vooa juw alla.” Sei gaf eer dat āwa, un sei drūnka alla dāa af. Dit was āwa da Schläupdrunk. Nu duurt dat nich lang, dā wāra sei alla inschlāupa. Nu naam hei dea Kutscha voa dem Hingst arunna un sett em up dea Ruumboom. Hei müsst em āwa anbīna, dat hei nich arunna fōl. Dunn tooch hei mit sīm Hingst af.

Dat Mooejens nu reet hei mit sīm Hingst nā dem Herra hen un sāa em, dat hei sīne Luer dea Hingst wechkreeja hārr. Dei Herr was seea ārgalik un jing hen nā dem Peeadschtall. Dā sach hei dea Kutscha up dom Ruumboom anbunna sitta, un dai an-nre schleipa ook noo alla. Dā, naam hei sīm Kurbatsch un schacht sei alla dorch.

Nuu müst dei Herr dem Schpitzbuiwa dei huunet Dāula geewa, un dea Hingst behūll hei ook. Da sāa dei Herr, eia Werr wull hei noch mit em māuka. Wenn hei sīna Fruu dat Berrlāuka un dea Fingaring wechkrija dāa, denn schull hei ook huunet Dāula hāwwa; wenn hei dat nich trecht krīa dāa, denn müest hei em huunet Dāula geewa.

After some time she also said: why were they all in the horse stable; what was the reason? “Yes”, said the day labourers, “a trickster has come to the village, and people got afraid. Our boss, however, made a bet with him: If he gets this horse away from us, then he will have a hundred dollars. If he does not succeed, then he shall give the boss a hundred dollars.”

“Yes”, she said, “it is really bad that people do not grant anything to each other. – It is cold here. You guys must be freezing here. I feel cold already. Don’t you have a sip (of brandy) with you?”

“No”, they said, “we have none and we don’t dare to go away either. For the old trickster could come and take the horse away from us. Then we get all something for the boss”.

“Yes”, she says, “I still have a brandy with me. I want to offer it to you guys, (but) it doesn’t suffice for all of you”. She gave it them nevertheless, and they all drunk from it. But it was a hypnotic. Now, it wasn’t long before they all fell asleep. He took the coach from the horse down and put it on the collar beam. He must fix it, lest it would fall down. Then he rode away with his horse.

The next morning he rode with his horse to the boss and said to him that he succeeded in getting away the horse from his men. The boss was very annoyed and went to the horse stable. There he saw the coach sitting, tied to the collar beam, and the others were all still sleeping. Then he took his whip and chased them away.

The boss must give a hundred dollars to the trickster and then he could keep the horse too. Then the boss said, he still wanted to make one bet with him. If he succeeds in taking away his wife’s bed sheet and ring, then he will have a hundred dollars too. If he does not succeed, then he must give a hundred dollars to him.

Dâ jing dei Schpitzbuuw hen nâ dea Kirch in dat Gewôlft un naam dâ eina Doora ruute un jing daamit hen unna dem Herra sîa Feestra, schtellt dâ eia Lerra ant Feester un schtellt dâ deera Doora aruppa. As dei Herr dat too sein krîch, dacht hei, dat waa dei Schpitzbuuw, un hei keek dûrcht Fenster, dat hei seia wull, wat in dea Schtuuw passiert. Dâ sâcht dei Herr tau sîa Fruua: [“Mutter, sieh mal, da sieht er durch’s Fenster. Weisst du, ich schiess’ ihn tot; dann sind wir vor ihm sichert.”]

“Jâ”, sâa sei.

Dâ naam dei Herr sîn Pistol un schoot dea Doora voa dea Lerra ruuna un dacht: dit waa dei Schpitzbuuw. Dunn sâcht hei tau sîa Fruua: [“So, Mutter, nun hab’ ich ihm tot geschossen. Nun brauchen wir uns vor ihm nicht mehr zu fürchten. Aber weisst du, ich darf ihn da nicht liegen lassen, die Nacht über. Wenn morgen früh die Arbeitsleute kommen und sehen das, so wäre es schlimm.”]

“Jâ”, sâa sei.

Nu jing hei rute un wull dea Doora âwa Sîr bringa. Uunades jing dei Schpitzbuuw rasch arinna (denn hei hârr imma uppasst) un vorschte sik so, as wenn hei dei Herr wâa, un sâa tau dem Herra sîa Fruua: [“Mutter, ich hab’ ihn nun tot geschlagen, und hierauf haben wir gewettet. Wir wollen ihm das Laken und den Ring noch mitgeben; dann sieht es so aus, als habe er uns das genommen und ich hätte ihn dabei tot geschossen. Sonst könnte ich, wenn ich ihn ohne Grund erschossen hätte, noch Strafe bekommen.”]

“Ja”, sâa sei, “das wollen wir thun.”

Nu naam hei dat Berrlâuka un dea Fingaring un jing rasch dâmit wech. – Dat duurt nich lang, dunn kaam dei Herr ook rinna. “So, Mutter,” sâa hei, [“nun hab’ ich ihn weggebracht; nun wird er nicht mehr wieder kommen.”]

“Ja”, sâa sei.

Then the trickster went to the church (and) into the vault and took a dead (body) out and went with it to the boss’s window, placed a ladder at the window and placed the dead body on it. When the boss got to see it, he thought it was the trickster who looked through the window, wanting to see what was going on in the room. Then the boss said to his wife: “Mother, look, there he is looking through the window. You know, I shoot him dead, then we are safe from him”.

“Yes”, she said.

The boss took his gun and shot the dead from the ladder down and thought: this was the trickster. Then he says to his wife: “So, mother, now I have shot him dead. We don’t need to fear from him anymore. But, you know, I cannot let him lie there, overnight. If the workmen arrive tomorrow morning and see it, that would be bad”.

“Yes”, she said.

He went out and wanted to bring the dead body down. Meanwhile, the trickster went in quickly (for he was aware) and acted as if he were the boss, and said to the boss’s wife: “Mother, I have killed him now, and we have bet on this: we should give him the sheet and the ring, for then it looks as if he had taken it from us and I have shot him dead in the act. Otherwise I could get punishment, when I have shot without a reason.

“Yes”, she said, “let’s do that”.

Now he took the bed sheet and the ring and went away with these quickly. It was not long, before the boss came in. “Well, mother”, he said “now I have brought him away. He will not come back anymore”.

“Yes”, she said.

[“Aber”], sächt hei, [“wo hast du denn das Laken und den Ring?” – “Das hast du doch soeben geholt,”] säa sei. – [“Ach was”], sächt hei, [“ich habe das nicht gethan.” – “Ja”, säa sei, “du sagtest doch, du wolltest dem Toten das noch mitgeben.” – “Dann ist der alte Spitzbube wieder hier gewesen und hat uns angeführt”], sächt dei Herr.

As dat nu Dach was, naam dumm Haas sia Berrläuka un dea Fingaring un jing däamit na dem Herr hen un säa em, dat hei em dat doch wechkreeja härr. Dä müsst hei Herr em werra huunet Däula geewa.

Nu sächt dei Herr äwa “eia Wark wulla sei no mäuka”. – “Na jä,” sächt dai Schpitzbuuw. – Wenn hei dem Preista all sia Jeld wechkreeja däa, denn schull hei werra huunet Däula häwwa un dem Preista sia Jeld schull hei denn ook behulla.

Dä jing dei Schpitzbuuw hen un köft sik Kreefta un beschtreekt dei mit Wass. As’t nu Auwend was, dunn jing hei däamit uppa Kirchhof un schtickt all dei Kreefta an un leit sei dä ümheea kruupa. Dunn jeet hei hen un lütt mit dea Klocka.

Nu kâuma all dei Luer an, as sei dat Luerent höra, un seia nu, dat uppem Kirchhof so veel Lichta sint un dat dei nich up eim Flach schtill schtää un imma wira gää. Inne Kirch is äwa ook Licht. Dä gää sei ook int Kirch un willa seia, wat dä loos is. Ook dei Preista jeet hen un will seia, wat dat up sik hät.

As nu dei Preista in’t Kirch kümmt, scheet dei Schpitzbuuw up dea Kanzel, fin antreckt, un preericht nu: [“Ich bin der Engel Gabriel, von Gott gesandt. Ich soll dem Prediger sagen: Wenn er mir all sein Geld giebt, was er in seinem Hause hat, dann soll er lebendig in den Himmel kommen.”]

In dea Himmel wull dei Preista doch gean. Hei jing also hen un häuelt all sia Jeld, wat in sîm Huus was, un bröcht dat hen näura Kirch. Dä frauch dei Schpitzbuuw, of dat sia Jeld alles waa?

“But”, he says, “where do you have the sheet and the ring?” – “You just came for it”, she said. – “No way”, he says, “I did not do it”. – “Yes”, she said, “for you said you wanted it put it on the corpse”. – “So the trickster has come again here and has misled us”, the boss says.

When the day came, Dull Hans took his bed sheet and the ring and went to the boss with it and said to him that he succeeded to take it away from him. Then the boss had to give him a hundred dollars again.

Now the boss says, however, you should do one more job.” – “OK”, says the trickster. – If he succeeds in taking away all the priest’s money, he would get a hundred dollars again and he could keep the priest’s money as well.

Then the trickster went away and bought himself lobsters and covered them with wax. When it was evening, he went to the churchyard with them and lightened all the lobsters and let them creep around. Then he goes away and rings the bells.

Now all the people come, when they hear the ringing, and (they) now see that there are so many lights on the churchyard and that they don’t stand still on one place and go again all the time. In the church, there is light too. They go into the church too, and want to see what is going on there. The priest goes there too and want to see, what is going on.

When now the priest comes into the church, the trickster is standing on the pulpit, well-dressed, and is now preaching: “I am the angel Gabriel, sent by God. I shall say to the preacher: if he gives me all the money he has in his house, he will go to heaven alive.”

The priest did want to go to heaven. Therefore he went away and collected all his money that was in his house and brought it to the church. Then the trickster asked if it was all his money.

– “Ja,” sächt dei Preista, “bloss einen Dreier habe ich zu Hause gelassen. Dafür soll meine Frau dem kleinen Kinde noch ein Milchbrot kaufen.” – [„Nein,”] säa Gabriel, [“das geht nicht; dann ist das ja nicht all dein Geld. auch der eine Dreier muss dabei sein.”] Un dei Preista jing nã Huus un häult dea eine Dreeja ook noch un bröcht dea dā hen un gaf em dea.

Nu frauch dei Preista, wenn dei Kösta ook sĩa Jeld alles bringa dāa, of hei denn ook läwentsch inna Himmel käume dāa. – “Jā” sächt dei Schpitzbuuw, [“gewiss doch! Wenn der Küster auch sein Gold zu mir bringt, dann kann er gleich mitkommen.”] Dā geit dei Kösta ook hen un häuelt all sĩa Jeld.

Dat was nu duesta in dea Nacht, denn dei Lichta up dem Kirchhof wāra uutbreent. Nu schull dei Preista un dei Küsta inna Himmel. Dā häuelt sik dei Schpitzbuuw na Sack, dā müssta dei beira rinna kruupa, un dunn schleept hei mit eea loos un treckt mit eea umheea.

As hei nu so a Een wech is, dā treckt hei mit eea dāur a Oodelpaul. [“Ach,”] sächt dei Preista tau dem Kösta, [“nun sind wir auch schon in den Wolken.”] “Ja,” säa dei Kösta.

As nu werra soon Tīd lang hen is, treckt hei mit eea up dem Preista sĩa Gäusschtall. As sei da dei Gäus hörä schnaut- tra, sacht dei Preista tau dem Kosta: [“Ach, Küstchen, jetzt sind wir auch schon bei den lieben Engeln im Himmel. Wir können sie schon hören.”]

“Ja,” säa dei Kösta.

Dā leit hei sei nu dei Nacht āwa ligga. Sei wāra natt woora, un dat froos eea ook āandlich. Moorejens nu in alle Tīd kümmt dem Preista sĩa Maika un will dei Gäus faudre un röpt: “Pila! Pila!”. As dei Preista dat hört, röpt hei: [“Marie, bist du denn auch schon bei uns, bei den lieben Engeln im Himmel?”]

“Yes,” the priest says, “I left just one penny at home, for which my wife should buy one milk bread for the little child”. – “No”, Gabriel said, “that does not work, then it is not all your money. Even that single penny must be there”. And the priest went home and fetched the single penny, brought it there, and gave it to him.

Now, the priest asked, if also the parish clerk brought his money, would he go to heaven alive as well? – “Yes”, the trickster says, “certainly! If the clerk also brings his gold to me, he can come with us”. Now the clerk goes away and collects all his money.

It was now dark at night, as the lights at the churchyard had burned out. Now the priest and the church clerk should (go) to heaven. The trickster brings himself a bag, in which the priest and the clerk must go, and then he dragged it and pulled it around.

When he has gone a stretch, he pulls it through a mud pond. “Oh,” says the priest to the clerk, “now we are already in the clouds”. – “Yes”, the clerk said.

When some time has passed again, (the trickster) pulls them to the priest’s goose stable. When they hear the geese gaggle, the priest says to the clerk: “Oh, little clerk, now we are already with the lovely angels in heaven. We can hear them already.”

– “Yes”, the clerk said.

There he let them lie during the night. They had become wet and it was freezing terribly too. In the morning, in all time (?), the priest’s daughter comes to feed the geese, and calls: pila! pila!. When the priest hears it, he screams: Mary, are you with us too, with the lovely angels in heaven?

Dat Maika wüsst nich, wo dei Preista was.
 Nâuheea sach sei âwa, dat dei Preista mit dem
 Kôsta, im Sack taubunna, up dem Gänsschtall
 leia. Dâ jing sei hen un bunn dea Sack up.
 Dann sach dei Preista un dei Kôsta, dat sei
 beir up sîm Gänsschtall leia; un sei wära
 aandlich anfäuet.

Dat Moorejens âwa jing dei Schpitzbuuw
 hen nâ dem Herra un sâa em, dat hei dem
 Preista all sîa Jeld wechkreeja harr un dem
 Kôsta sîa Jeld ook. Dei Herr frauch dem
 Preista un dem Kôsta, of dat ook wirklich wâa
 wâa? – Jâ, sâra sei, dat wâa so. Dâ müsst dei
 Herr em werra huunet Dâula geewa.

Nu was dei Schpitzbuuw eia rîk Mann
 woora. Hei hârr dreihuunet Dâula voa dem
 Herra un dem Herra sîna Hingst un dat
 Berrlâuka un dea Fingaring, dâtau dem
 Preista un dem Kûsta all sîa Jeld. So hârr em
 sîa Schpitzbuuwehantwark veel inbröcht in
 kôrte Tîd. Hei hat dat also gâud verschtâa.

The girl did not know where the priest was.
 Later, however, she saw that the priest with
 the clerk, bound in a bag, were lying on the
 geese stable. Then she went and untied the
 bag. Then she saw the priest and the clerk both
 laying on his geese stable. And finally they
 were released(?).

That morning, however, the trickster went
 to the boss and said to him that he had suc-
 ceeded in taking all the priest's money away
 and the clerk's money as well. The boss asked
 the priest and the clerk if it was really true. Yes,
 they said, it was true. Then the landowner had
 to give a hundred dollars to him again.

Now, the trickster had become a rich man.
 He had three hundred dollars from the boss,
 and the boss' horse, and the bed sheet and the
 ring, (in addition) to it all the priest's and the
 clerk's money. This way, tricksters' handicraft
 had brought him a lot in a short time. He had
 understood it well.

9.7.2 Characteristics

1. Etymology

- Intervocalic rhotacism + schwa deletion (*hârr* < *hadde* 'had', *Lüür* < *Lüde* 'people', *Werr* < *wedde* 'bet')
- n-drop before spirants (*Haas* ~ HG *Hans*, *oos* ~ Du *ons*, *Gäus* ~ HG *Gänse*, *Feestra* < HG *Fenster*)
- No velarisation of glides: *juw*, *Fruu*
- Past tense derived from imperfect (*naam* 'took', *gaaf* 'gave', 8x *kaam*) and from "Konjunktiv II" (2x *kaim* 'came')
- Intervocalic cluster reduction: *behulla* < *behulda* 'to keep'

2. Phonology

- (Productive?) palatalization (*gâa* – *jeet* – *jing* 'to go – goes – went')
- No evidence for synchronic schwa deletion, i.e. schwa catalexis, but this might be due to the briefness of the text, apart from *Kirch* < High German *Kirche* 'church'.

3. Morphosyntax

- Infinitive 1 in *-e* (*wull eia Hantwark leera*, litt. 'want a profession learn', *sei (...)* *willa seia* 'they will see')
- Infinitive 2 in *-e* or *-n* (*sach hei em hângen* 'saw him hang', *too sein kriich* 'got to see' but: *sach.. leia* 'saw lie').

- Complete absence of *üm*-... *tau*-infinitival clauses. Possibly one *taum*-infinitival (*taum antrecka* ‘to put on’, with infinitive 1!).
- n-drop in determiners and pronouns (*ai/kai, mij/sij*, etc., e.g. *keia Meeasch*)
- GE-less participle (*gää wää* ‘gone was’, *sächt härr* ‘said had’)
- (Some) do-support in embedded clauses (*heita dää* ‘be.called did’)
- Many strong past tenses, and some weak past tenses: *dat duurt ni lang* ‘it last (past) not long’.
- (Productive?) diminutives (*Bummka* ‘measure for brandy’).⁷

4. Lexis

- Germanisms (*Kirch* < Kirche ‘church’, *Gänsschtall* ‘goose stable’, *Frauweskleera* < Frauenkleider ‘woman’s cloths’, *Säbel* ‘sabre’).

7. Taken from a Prussian dictionary (Frischbier 1882: 118). Absent in Laude’s Pomeranian dictionary.

Historical charters

The Premonstratensian order, established by Norbert of Xanten, whose first settlement was in Prémontré in France, is noted for its orientation to rural areas for land development and conversion of pagans. There were four Premonstratensian monasteries in Farther Pomerania: from West to East: (1) the men's monastery Grobe at Pudagla founded in 1155 at the frontier of Near and Farther Pomerania at the Oder outlet in the Baltic, (2) the women's monastery Marienbusch (*rubus sancte marie*, 1224, in Treptow upon Rega), (3) the men's monastery Belbuk, 1208, near Treptow upon Rega, (4) the women's monastery Stolp (1281, Stolp).¹ These monasteries have been fundamental for the cultivation of Pomeranian wasteland and for the Christianization of the rural population. The last three were populated by monks and nuns from Frisia: monastery Bethlehem at Oudkerk in Eastergo, monastery Mariengarde (*hortus sancte marie*) at Hallum in Westergo, and monastery Bloemhof (*floridus hortus*) at Wittewierum in Fivelgo, respectively. Here we render the charters of Belbuk and Marienbusch.

10.1 Settlement of Frisian Premonstratensian monks in Pomerania at the Rega River, at the monastery Belbuk (1208). (Pomeranian Charter Book Nr. 41)

In nomine sancte & indiuidue Trinitatis. Natum fieri volumus tam presentibus quam futuris. Quod ego Buguzlaus & frater noster Kazimarus Dei gracia Pomeranorum Principes cum venerabili matre nostra Anastasia fratribus de **orto sancte maria** in terram nostram venientibus dedimus locum iuxta Trepetow situm quondam Belbuk nunc sancti Petri castrum dictum & totam insulam in qua manent. Contulimus eciam eidem loco duodecim villas non procul a Rega constitutas cum pratis & omnibus vtilitatibus & appendiciis suis libere & quiete sine omni

1. The Frisian (re)occupation of these monasteries are described in cf. Hoogeweg 1924: II-260ff, I-13ff, II-758ff and II-630ff, respectively. See also Winter (1865: 216ff) and Prieue & Teuchert (1928: 253ff).

exactione soli claustro ibidem constituto perpetualiter seruituras. nomina vero villarum sunt hec Gummin que sola culta est. Wistroweze, Mirosławece, Wiscau, Karzene, Darsuue, Brosamuste, Drosdoue, Jarchowe, Kynowe. Latin. Strigutine. Medietatem eciam porcionis clausure piscium in fluuio qui Rega dicitur fratrum refectiōi dedimus cum medietate stagni nomine Nifloze & villam piscatorum adjacentem. Contulimus eciam eidem ecclesie ecclesiam in Tribetowe cum omni jure suo & viginti marcas nummorum in Colberge de taberna annuatim soluendas. & locum ad sex sartagines ad vsum salis ab omni exactione perpetualiter liberas. Ista ad inceptionem cenobi predicti contulimus ita libere vt quicunque eos de terra sua sequi voluerit & fatribus jam dicti loci adherere ab omni exactione liber sit tantum Deo & ecclesie seruiat. vt autem hec omnia in perpetuum firmiter & inuiolabiliter ob seruentur sigilli nostri impressione munire curauimus. Hujus rei testes sunt Siguinus Episcopus Abbas Rodegerus. Thidmarus custos. Conradus prepositus. & Bartholomeus & Kazimarus fratres. Henricus Castellanus in Vznam. Nacmarus Castellanus de Demmin. Vnima Castellanus in Camin. Rotzmarus Castellanus in Stetin. Acta sunt hec anno incarnationis domini M°. CC°. VIII°.

[Translation, GJP]

In name of the holy and undividable Trinity. We, Bugislaus and our brother Casimir, princes of Pomerania by God's grace, together with our venerable mother Anastasia, decided for now and in the future, that the brothers of **Mariēngaarde**² could come to our land in the place near Treptow, near the site of the castle formerly called Belbuc³ now called the borough of Saint Peter, and all the islands that are included. We grant to them that location with twelve villages not far from the Rega River, including the fields and all its utilities and belongings, free and peacefully, without tributes, to their perpetual serving. The true names of these villages are: Gummin, which is just meadows, Wustrow, Mirosław, Wischow, Karnice, Darsow, Brosamuste, Drosedow, Jarchow, Kienow, Lensin,⁴ Streckenthin. We grant half the share of the fish of the river, that is called Rega, for the livelihood of the brothers, as well as half of the wetlands with name Nifloze⁵ and the adjacent fishermen's villages. To the Church, we grant the church in Treptow with all its rights and twenty

2. Premonstratensian monastery in Hallum in Friesland. (Known because of their white robe, "white monks").

3. West Slavic *Bialbug* is 'white god'. The fact that Premonstratensian monks are renowned as white monks is probably a mere coincidence.

4. Łędzin.

5. Livia Łuża/Liebelose, oder Niechorze/Ostseebad Horst.

mark⁶ from the tavern in Kolberg, paid annually, as well as the continuous free use of the six salt evaporation ponds at that place. To the before-settled monks,⁷ we grant the free use of the lands, according to their discretion and to the brothers the before-mentioned places as much as to God's and the church's need. And in order for this all to be firm and unbreakable, we have taken care to secure this by attaching our seals to it. Witnesses of this transaction are Bishop Sigwin, abbot Rodger, curator Ditmar, provost Conrad, and the brethren Bartholomew and Cazimir, Henry castellan of Usedom, Nakmar castellan of Demmin, Wargine(?) castellan of Cammin, Rotzmar castellan of Stettin. Enacted in the year of our Lord 1208.

Publ.: Dreger, Friderich (1748). *Codex Diplomaticus*. Charter Nr 41, p. 75; Hasselbach & Kosegarten (1843) *Codex Pomeraniae Diplomaticus*, p. 205; Klempin, Robert (1868). *Pommersches Urkundenbuch* Bd. 1. Abt. 1:: 786–1253. *Regesten, Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Hasselbach & Kosegarten's Codex Pomeraniae diplomaticus*. In Commission bei Th. von der Rahmer, Stettin 1868. p. 112.

10.2 Settlement of Frisian Premonstratensian sisters at the new convent Marienbusch (*rubus sancte marie*) and duchess Anastasia's decision to settle in that convent. (1224). (Pomeranian Charter Book, nr. 148)

Anastasia, Dei miseratione Ducissa Pomeranorum, omnibus hanc paginam inspecturis, tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem et obsequii exhibitionem.

Quoniam, teste Apostolo, Nudi sumus ingressi hunc mundum, nichil inde preter operum merita reportantes, Necesse est vt, si quis spe tendit ad patriam supercoelestem, agros cordis sui, duritie peccatorum infertiles, Eleemosinis et bonis operibus insudando, non nodigat sic sulcare, vt in die extremi examinis ad aream Domini manipulos deferat iusticie ibi cum ceteris sanctis perhenniter regnaturus. Sane quia ad illam summi patris familiam summo studio desidero, quantum sua clementia permiserit, peruenire, sed, meis sceleribus uiam michi precludentibus, graue illo esse perueniendum conscientia accusante, decreui placare consuete misericordie benignitatem, qui, mentium non spernens affectum, uiam paradisi et in sentina peccatorum iacentibus non precludit. De sua igitur misericordia, non meis exigentibus meritis, sed, exemplo publicani et petri, lachrimis plurimum confidens, decreui eum, qui humana laude non indiget, de meis facultatibus hon-

6. i.e. the coins.

7. Strictly speaking it concerns cenobites.

orare, cupiens cum ipso, si sua prestiterit clementia, partem perpetue recipere hereditatis.

Verum quia, quanto sumus fragiliores, tanto magis bonorum auxiliis indigimus, ego, qui magis iis indigeo, dignum duxi de auxilio et consilio domini abbatis in Belbog et fratrum ibidem fideliter domini seruientium domum ancillarum Christi in dote mea, quam a marito meo felicitis recordationis recepi, quam et post mortem ipsius, filiis meis michi concedentibus, tenui inconuulsam, pro salute ipsorum et meu de mis perhennem percipiat hereditatem. Supradictam ergo domum in castro Trebetow inter alias meas possessiones potius considerans edificandam, ipsum castrum cum suis attinentiis et villas ad ipsum pertinentes, de consensu dominarum, relictæ uidelicet filii mei Bugzlai et alterius filii Kazemari relictæ, et nobilium ipsarum approbatione, ad sustentationem ancillarum Christi ibi domino fideliter seruientium, de ordinatione predicti abbatis in Belbog ecclesie beati Petri ibidem duxi pleno jure totaliter conferendum, ipsi loco me et meas conferens facultates. Nomina villarum sunt hec: Tribus⁸ com piscatura et omnibus attinentiis suis, Topacle,⁹ Szwetie, Bialcur, Jorewino, Drosdouwe, Jarcouwe, Scrilowe, Darsowe, Suowe, Mastrowe, Belicowe, Clotycowe, Wifilowo, Burrentin, Guritz, Otoc, S[c]iaplin, Commotouwe, Sedlin, Bitowe. Predictum igitur locum et villas ad supradictam ecclesiam decreui debere cum siluis, pratis, piscationibus et Telonio et villas in territorio Cholbergensi, Ztoykow, Jannow nobis pertinentibus, et aliis villis in Piritz: Ztrosewo et Oboy, et vill[a] in territorio de Ztaregard, Rinskow nomine, cum ipsarum attinentijs, adjicientes duo Tuguria in monte salis, octo loca continentia ipsarum vsibus et commodis profutura. Vt autem hec nostra collation et ordinatio maioris habeat roboris firmitatem et alicui non possit in dubium venire, ipsam literis nostris et sigilli muniuimus impressione. Hujos uero nostre ordinationis testes sunt: Conradus, quintus Episcopus Caminensis, Pallo, Abbas in Kolbaz; Pripzlaus, prepositus, et Florentinus decanus caminensis Ecclesie; Rochillus, Castellanus in Dimin; Rozwarus, Castellanus in Stettin, Wargina, pincerna; et Jacobus, Dapifer Domini Camynensis; Barnota, filius Domini Jaromari de Ruia; Henricus de Chmez. Acta sunt hec Anno dominice Incarnationis M°.CC°.XXIII. Nonas Julij.

[Translation, GJP]

Anastasia, by God's mercy duchess of Pomerania, to all who may read these pages, now and in the future, greeting and sign of respect.

8. T+ribus = preposition + rubus 'bush'. The monastery is to be called *rubus sancte marie* or Marienbusch.

9. =To + patle = 'up' + Patelica (now Gützlafshagen), see also: Tanklim for Anclam.

As, witness the apostle,¹⁰ we arrive in this world naked and cannot take anything out than¹¹ our virtuous works, it is needed that, when one aims at the celestial homeland, one does not fail to plough the infertile fields of one's heart with alms and good works, so that on doomsday, one can contribute shaves of justice on the threshing floor of the Lord, to eternally reign with all other saints. I do try eagerly and, as far God's mercy permits, join the family of our celestial Father. My sins, however, have closed the road and my conscience punishes me and it tells me that it is hard to get in. Therefore I decided to gain God's mercy by a gift, who does not decline the longing wish of the heart nor closes the road to paradise, even not for those who lay in the pool of perdition. After the example of the publican and the example of St. Peter's tears, putting my trust in his mercy and not in my merits, I decided to donate a gift of honour from my possessions, and hope, if His mercy permits, it may provide a share in the eternal legacy.

To the extent we are weak, to that extent we also need good help, and so, I, who need help now more than ever, have — with help and advice of the master-abbot of Belbuk and its monks, in the faith of the Lord, — granted my dowry to the servitude of a [new] housing of Sisters of Christ; [the dowry] that I happily received from my husband and which after his and my sons' death was granted to me, and which I retained to their and my benefit as an eternal heritage. I thus grant to above-mentioned [sisters] full legal residence in the Treptow castle, and [also grant them], among my other possessions yet to be acquired, the very castle with its yields, as well as the villages that belong to it, with permission of its owners,¹² being the parts of, viz. my son Boguslaw and the part of my other son Cazimir, and with permission of these nobles, as an eternal sustenance of the Sisters of Christ [who will live] there, happily serving the Lord, under leadership of the above-mentioned abbot of Belbuk. To the church of St. Peter, I grant the full legal right for [the benefit of] all those gathered, me and those who may join me. The names of the villages are these: Tribuis with its fish ponds and belongings, Upatel, Schwedt, Baldekow, Gerwin, Drosedow, Jarchow, Scrilowe (?), Darsow, Suckow, Molstrow, Belkow, Klötikow, Wefelow, Borntin, Görke, Woedke, Zapplin, Gumtow, Zedlin, Bitow (?). I have decided to owe to above-mentioned church the place and villages with woods, meadows, fish ponds, the custom house and villag-

10. In fact, it is Ecclesiastes.

11. Curious rephrasing of Vulgata, Eccl 5:14: Naked, he (Man) comes out of his mother's womb and when he goes back, he cannot take anything with him **of his works** ("Sicut egressus est nudus de utero matris suae, sic revertetur, et nihil auferet secum de labore suo").

12. These are Anastasia's two daughters in law, who are the legal owners, while Anastasia is the ruler of the land with the right to levy taxes.

es in the Kolberg area, Stoikow, Jannow, and the other villages in Piritz: Strohsdorf and Wobin, and the village in the Stargard area, with the name Rinskow, with its belongings, the contiguous two cottages on the salt hill that belong to us, these eight places are for use and future maintenance. And for greater certainty and that nobody may come in doubt of these our words, we hang our stamped seal to it. These are our requested witnesses: Conrad, the fifth bishop of Cammin, Pallo, the abbot of Kolbats; Pripslaus, provost; and Floris, dean of the church at Cammin; Roger, lord of Demmin; Roswarus, lord of Stettin; Wargina, butler; and Jacob, lord of Cammin; Barnota, lord Jaromar of Rügen's son; Henry of Chmez. Enacted in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1224.

Anastasia's donation is confirmed by the next *vita* (saint's story) from the Low Countries.

VITA SIBRANDI

Quod domna Anastasia duo cenobia, unum canonicis fratribus, aliud sororibus, construxerit nobiliterque dotaverit, abbate Sibrando sorores de Bethlehem eidem assignante. Cap. X. (After a 15th century copy (Brussels KB 6717–6721) of a 13th century original, cf. Mon. Germ. Hist. XXIII, ...)

In diebas eciam istius abbatis reverendissima domna Anastasia, Pomeranorum ducissa, [com] bone memorie domno Ottone, abbate de Belboech, quod alio nomine Castrura Sancti Petri appellatur, cuius ipsa fundatrix extiterat, tractatum habere cepit de cenobio sororum construendo; silvas lignorum, villas cum decimis, terras ad colendum cum possessionibus et piscacionibus, necessariis ad usus sororum — dummodo prior ydoneus et provisor utilis eisdem sororibus per abbatem assignaretur — liberaliter assignans. Quod audiena abbas gavisus est valde: erat enim multo tempore cupiens audire que tune audiebat. Et ut domne ipsius voluntas haberet effectum, omnem se operam adhibiturum efficaciter pollicetur. In brevi igitur sororum mansionibus constructis, cum litteris petitoriis ducisse se preparans ad iter, transiens vias invias, aquosas scilicet et inaquosas, quarum quilibet laborem itinerantibus generant et gravamen, venit in Fresiam de negocio et voluntate ducisse cum abbate Sibrando ad quem ecclesia Belbocensis immediate spectabat, tractaturus.

A quo honorifice susceptus, cognitoque pro quo venerat, et ipse gaudio repletus est, exultans spiritu ultra quam credi potest, et gratias agens eo quod cultum nominis divini per structuram novi cenobii suis in diebus sic contiugeret ampliari. Habito igitur cum senioribus domus sue consilio, qui omnes congaudebant in hoc quod audiebant, sorores in Bethlehem, quas predictum negotium magis tangebatur, alloquendas decrevit. Iniunctis autem orationibus in conventu fratrura, in presencia coabbatis sui abbas Sibrandus prehabito sermone hiis exhortacionibus

usus est.: “Licet, dilectissime Deo mihi que sorores, relictis seculi vanitatibus illecebrisque spretis et contemptis, Deo soli in hac sacra religione sub obediencia militare decreverimus, ut pro terrenis que reliquimus celestia, pro transitoriis que contempsimus eterna premia nobis promissa percipiamus : vera tamen et perfecta non erit hoc virtus, si non ex tota anima, ex omni meute, ex omni viribus, ex toto denique corde, quod Deo est placitum et nostre saluti proficuum affectuosissime faciamus, quatinus Eins voluntas fiat sicut in celo et in terra.” —

Voluntati aiquidem certissime probatur concordare divine, si, sicut Pater clarificavit Filium suum secundum formam servi, resuscitans eum a mortuis et collocans in celestibus, ut ait beatus pater Augustinus, sic quoque per Filium clarificetur Pater, si per eum sanctum nomen eius, quod est benedictum in secula, de die in diem, de gente in gentem et de regno ad populum alterum a suis fidelibus fideliter annuncietur.” Annunciatum est, dicitis, in universa terra; predicatum est verbum salutis a solis ortu et occasu, ab aquilone et mari. Quid deinceps opus est laborare?” Necesse est, o filie, necesse est non solam audientibus, sed etiam verbum Dei dicentibus. Quare necesse ? Quia laborantem agricolam oportet primum de fructibus percipere; oportet etiam per personas religiosas ac Deum timentes verbum auditum, ut in bono statu perseveret et fructum faciat tricesimum, sexagesimum sive centesimum, confirmari. Sicut autem predicacio fit verbo et opere, ita etiam confirmacio predicacionis non solum spirituali verbo, sed etiam boni operis exemplo. Predicacio itaque verbi sicut solis viris litteratis, ne error generetur, cum necesse est, committitur, ita etiam predicacio boni exempli et sancti operis non solam viris, sed et religiosis feminis commendatur.”

Puto intencionem iam advertitis et defluencia ex ore meo verba vestri intencionibus prevenitis. Et quid plura? Domna Anastasia, Pomeranorum ducissa, tam verbis quam exemplis abbati ac fratrum de Belboch inducta, sicut a predecessore nostro, beate memorie domno Sigehardo abbate, conventum exegit canonicorum, ita etiam a nobis (sicut ex suis patet litteris) sollicite requirit sibi exhiberi conventum sororum, quarum monitis et exemplis edocta et inducta, relictis pompis seculi et vanitatibus illecebris, cum sacris Christi virginibus uno viro Christo adherens, sine macula et ruga Christo sponso valeat exhiberi.

Oportet igitur in hac vestra sancta congregacione huius modi personas et inveniri et esse, que, vestigia fratrum ad eundem locum transmissorum sequentes, et normam, quam sunt edocte, secum assa meutes, nec cum uxore Loth retro respicientes, sed in anteriora se cum apostolo extendentes, eorum, cum quibus conversabuntur, doctrine studeant et saluti pro viribus deservire. Ut autem discrimini et periculo in via habendi in animo vestro locus non sit, licet, onustum corpus onerare me videatur, vie tamen et laboris per mare et terras me habebitis socium ac ministrum.”

Hec et huiusmodi fatus, religiose sorores se suis monitis optemperaturas dicebant: eligeret et assumeret ad negocium hoc ydoneas, quas vellet, de conventu. Nec mora, eliguntur; electe denominantur; denominate in infirmitorium pro recreatione assumuntur. Licentia quoque visitandi claustra et salutandi amicos, sub bona tamen custodia, conceditur. Abbas ad iter preparatur, ventus prosperatur, navis aditur, anchora tollitur, vela panduntur, prospero cursu citius in Hamborch et sic ulterius versus Belboch in Sclaviam pervenitur. Audito autem abbatum adventu ac sororum, conventus letatur, ducissa pre ceteris gaudet et ad recipiendas diu desideratas personas totam se affectuose preparate immensas gratias referens Deo, qui iter prosperaverat, abbati Ottoni, quod suis laboribus et expensis sorores adduxerat, abbati Sibrando, quod petitionem suam admiserat et cum sororibus suis se visitaverat. Omnibus autem et liis et istis pro laboribus et expensis liberaliter et copiose respondebat. Suis temporibus non fait talis mulier visa in uni versa terra. De qua, o lector vel auditor, quia me quod audiui et didici non piguit scribere, te quoque non pigeat legere vel audire. Factum siquidem quod dignum est referri, dignum est audiri; et quod dignum est audiri, dignum est conscribi; quod dignum est conscribi, dignum est memorie commendari; quod dignum est memorie commendari, dignum est et imitari. Ex veridica autem relatione sic percepi.

(...)

Cap. XIII. *De sororibus que sese pro Dei amore ad exterarum nationes tradiderunt perpetuo moraturas.*

Bethlehemiticarum autem sororum, que, patriam parentesque propter ordinis honestatem ac religionis dilatacionem relinquentes ad petitionem domnorum abbatum gravamen exilii animo constanti subierunt, nomina sunt hee: Soror Ava de Mercelum, amita Sibrandi Benekenga germana soror Renici iunioris, de quo aliqua urbanitatis forte possent gesta conscribi quoad seculi dignitatem si materie preiacentis excellencia hoc prohibere non videretur. Huius Renici avus extitit Renicus ille nobilis et potens, de quo in Vita legitur patris et abbatis Frederici. Soror Siburbis, germana ipsius abbatis Ottonis. Horum quoque germanus frater extitit pie memorie frater Thomas, canonicus Orti Sancte Marie, quondam eiusdem ecclesie prior, postmodum sororum in Bethlehem prior et confessor, qui etiam in eodem existens officio appositus est ad patres suos. Soror Eltetus de Groningen, et altera eiusdem nominis de Liuwert. Soror Tetta, Translaicana, et altera eiusdem nominis de Westergine. Soror Margareta de civitate nobili et cesarea Groniugensi, et altera nominis eiusdem de civitate eadem. Soror Vernua de Twislum; et soror Intetus, que fuit germana soror fratris Geldardi supprioris ecclesie in Dockum qui et secutus eam in Belboch, diu prioratus officio functus ibidem. Iste numero sorores decem vocatione, qua vocate fuerant forte digne invente sunt et ideo in sua vocatione fideliter feliciterque perstitere; aliis quibusdam que denominate fuerant, retro respicientibus nec iam cum Ihesu in obedientie via perfecte ambulantibus.

Ab his eciam decem primitus in Sclavarum terminis disseminatus est ordo sororum Premonstratensis ordinis. Et hec de his incidenter dicta sufficient.

[Vita Sibrandi, Iarici et Ethelgeri]

13th century. Low Countries. Monastic chronicle of ca 22 double-columned manuscript pages in Latin prose, describing the lives and deeds of three abbots of Ortus Sancte Marie (or Mariëngaarde) at Hallum, the first Premonstratensian monastery in the Frisian lands, which had been founded in 1163 and incorporated in the order as a daughter of Steinfeld shortly before 1175. As such it covers the period 1230–59. The text has come down to us in a 15th century transcript (Brussels, KBR, 6717–6721, fol. 101r–122r) together with the Vita Fretherici and the Vita Siardi. (Weiland SS XXIII, 576–608).

[Translation GJP]

Chapter 10. *How lady Anastasia built two monasteries, one for the regular brothers, the other for the regular sisters, and generously donated to it, while abbot Sibrand assigned sisters from (monastery) Bethlehem to it.*

“In the days of this abbot [Sibrand], the honorable Lady Anastasia, duchess of Pomerania, consulted with sir Otto, abbot of Belbuk, also called borough of Saint Peter, of which she is the founder, about the construction of a sisters’ monastery. Generously, she assigned woods for forestry, lucrative villages, lands with their belongings for agriculture, and fish waters; this all for the sisters’ maintenance, under the only condition that a solid prior and a practical provisor could be assigned to them. Upon hearing this, the abbot rejoiced greatly. For he was, for a long time, eager to hear what he then heard. And he promised to make every effort to realize the will of this lady. In sum, while the sisters’ residences were being constructed, he [i.e. abbot Otto, GJP] — the letter of request of the duchess with him — got ready for a trip, went over unpassable roads with either mud or dust, that caused the travelers ample problems and grieve, and came to Frisia to negotiate on the affair and will of the duchess with abbot Sibrand to whom the church of Belbuk directly reported. [Otto] was received with all honors and, when [Sibrand] heard why he had come, he was full of joy, and his spirit cheered up, and was so grateful that the cult of God’s name was strengthened so unexpectedly by the building of a new monastery. After consultation of the seniors of the house, who were equally pleased by what they heard, he decided to speak to the sisters of Bethlehem, as it affected them directly. (...) “Just as Lady Anastasia, the duchess of Pomerania, has asked our predecessor, abbot Siard, to establish a convent of brothers regular [i.e. Belbuk, GJP], she (now) requests, with every insistence as her letter shows, to create a convent of sisters for her (salvation), so that, by the sisters’ warnings and

examples, and after her renouncing from the worldly pomp and vanity, together with these Christ-devoted virgins who adhere to Christ as their only husband, she can be presented without spot or wrinkle before Christ, her bridegroom. (...)”

Thus spoken, the religious sisters told him [i.e. Sibrand] that they would follow his admonitions: he could select and appoint who he wanted from the convent. Without delay, he selected them, appointed the selected ones, and had the appointed ones strengthen in the infirmary. He gave permission that friends visited the cloister to say goodbye, albeit under strict guardianship. The abbot prepared for the travel, and when the wind was favourable, they embarked, lifted the anchor, unfolded the seals, and had a prosperous voyage to the city of Hamburg, and from there, they reached Belbuk in Slavia. There, when one heard of the arrival of the abbot and the nuns, they rejoiced; especially the duchess was happy more than anybody else. (...) The names of the sisters from Bethlehem who left fatherland and family for the honour and the spreading of the religion and who underwent the burden of exile with a firm and steady mood, are the following:

- Sister Eva of Merkelum, aunt of Sibrand Renkenga, kin of Rintse junior, about who, worldly speaking, could be written important hero stories; (...); Rintse’s grandfather was the noble and powerful Rintse, of whom one can read in abbot Frederik’s Vita;
- Sister Siburb, a kin of abbot Otto; Her brother was brother Thomas, regular monk of Mariengarde, ex-prior of this monastery [i.e. Bethlehem], later prior and confessor, who died while still in function;
- Sister Eltet from Groningen, and another with the same name from Leeuwarden.
- Sister Tetta, from beyond the river Lauwers, and another with the same name from Westergo.
- Sister Margreta from the noble and imperial city of Groningen, and another one from the same city.
- Sister Vernua from Twijzel; and
- Sister Intetis, who was full sister of brother Geldard, sub-prior of the church at Dokkum, who followed her (and went) to Belbuk and who served as its prior for a long time.

These sisters, ten in number, have turned out to be fully worthy of the vocation and also have persisted in their vocation faithfully and happily; By these first ten, the Premonstratensian sisters’ order has spread to the frontiers of Slavia. Their cursory mentioning may suffice.

Specimen of an early immigration record

Below, we give two immigration records, made up in Hamburg at the time of shipping to Brazil. One is from Pomerania, the other from Prussia, i.e. the Pomeranian speaking Brandenburg province of the Neumark.

Carl Gröner

Nº 111

A Associação Central de Colonização no Rio de Janeiro, por intermédio do seu Agente Geral o Dr. F. Schmidt em Hamburgo, contrata com o Colono abaixo nomeado debaixo das condições seguintes:

Art. 1.º A Associação Central de Colonização no Rio de Janeiro, devidamente autorizada pelo **Governo de Sua Magestade O Imperador do Brazil**, e debaixo da sua responsabilidade, obriga-se:

§. 1. A adiantar ao Colono

Carl Gröner
de Schlunwig na Prússia
e sua família, composta de 9 pessoas, as passagens de Hamburgo até o Rio de Janeiro, pagando pelos maiores de 10 annos para cima 61 e pelos menores de 3 até 10 annos 40 thalers da Prússia; e nada pagará os menores até 3 annos.

§. 2. A deduzir da importância das passagens a subvenção do Governo Imperial de 37 \$ 500 Reis por Colono adulto de 10^{as} até 45 annos, e de 22 \$ 500 Reis por menor de 5 até 10 annos.

§. 3. A pagar as despesas que os Colonos fizerem na hospedaria da Associação em quanto não partirem para o seu destino, não sendo estas despesas carregadas em divida.

§. 4. A dar-lhes passagem gratuita até a colonia de

F. Leopoldina de S. Isabel na Provincia de

Esperito Santo, e ahi fornecer-lhes, tambem gratuitamente, alojamento, provisório.

§. 5. A pôr a disposição de cada chefe de familia um lote de terras contendo 120,000 braças quadradas ou metade dessa area á escolha do colono conforme as suas forças. Esse lote de terras será entregue medido e demarcado e com uma derrubada e queimada em extensão de 1000 braças quadradas pouco mais ou menos.

§. 6. A fazer o suprimimento de viveres por adiantamento até seis mezes, de instrumentos de lavoura, sementes de milho, feijão, arroz e algumas outras, bem como batatas e mandioca para as primeiras plantações, se o colono d'isto carecer no começo de seus trabalhos.

§. 7. A proporcionar ao Colono os serviços que houver na Colonia, se quizer trabalhar á jornal, o qual será arbitrado entre 1000 e 1200 réis a secca, segundo os costumes no lugar. Neste caso cessará o adiantamento de sustento.

§. 8. As terras serão vendidas a prazo e na razão de 1½ real a braça quadrada, entrando neste preço as derrubadas e mais trabalhos preparatorios acima declarados.

§. 9. O titulo da venda das terras será passado gratuitamente pelo Delegado da Repartição Geral das Terras publicas na Provincia de

Esperito Santo.

Art. 2.º O Colono se obriga:

§. 1. A reembolsar o preço das terras com todos os outros adiantamentos recebidos (passagens, mantimentos, instrumentos &c.) dentro de cinco annos e em trez prestações iguaes, a contar do fim do segundo anno do estabelecimento na colonia. Durante o dito prazo não se contará juros, e findo elle correrá o juro de 6 por cento.

Nº 111

Der Central-Verein für Colonisation in Rio de Janeiro hat durch Vermittlung seines General-Agenten, Dr. F. Schmidt in Hamburg, mit dem unten genannten Colonisten einen Vertrag unter folgenden Bedingungen abgeschlossen:

Art. 1. Der Central-Verein für Colonisation in Rio de Janeiro, unter Verantwortlichkeit der Regierung **Er. M. des Kaisers von Brasilien** dazu ermächtigt, verpflichtet sich:

§. 1. Dem Colonisten

Carl Gröner
von Schlunwig in Preussen
und seiner Familie, welche aus 9

Personen besteht, die Uebersahrt von Hamburg nach Rio de Janeiro vorzuschicken, und für Personen über 10 Jahre, und von 3 bis 10 Jahren 30 Thir. Preussisch Courant zu bezahlen. Kinder unter 3 Jahren werden unentgeltlich befördert.

§. 2. Von dem Betrage der Uebersahrt die Subvention der Kaiserlichen Regierung abzuziehen, welche 37 \$ 500 Meis für jeden erwachsenen Colonisten von 10 bis 45 Jahren, und 22 \$ 500 Meis für jeden unerwachsenen von 5 bis 10 Jahren beträgt.

§. 3. Die Kosten zu bezahlen, welche die Colonisten in der Ueberfahrt des Vereines machen, so lange sie nicht nach ihrer Bestimmung abgehen, da diese Kosten nicht als Schuld belastet werden.

§. 4. Ihnen freie Uebersahrt nach der Colonie

F. Leopoldina de S. Isabel in der Provinz

Esperito Santo zu geben, und ihnen dort auch freis, provisorische Wohnung anzuweisen.

§. 5. Jedem Familienwater ein Grundstück von 120,000 □st^{ien} oder die Hälfte dieses Flächenraums nach Wahl des Colonisten und in Uebereinstimmung mit seinen Arbeitskräften zur Verfügung zu stellen. Dieses Grundstück wird ihm vermessen und abgemessen, und mit einem verbrannten Holzschlag von etwa 1000 □st^{ien} versehen.

§. 6. Den Colonisten als Vorschuss während sechs Monaten die erforderlichen Lebensmittel, Ackergeräte, Samen von Mais, Bohnen, Reis, wie auch Kartoffeln und Mandioca zu den ersten Pflanzungen beim Anfang ihrer Arbeiten zu liefern, wenn sie es nöthig haben.

§. 7. Ihnen die Arbeiten nach Verhältnis zugetheilen, welche auf der Colonie vorkommen, wenn sie im Tagelohn arbeiten wollen, welcher auf 1000 bis 1200 Meis ohne Kopf je nach örtlichem Gebrauche geschätzt wird, in welchem Falle jedoch der Vorschuss zum Unterhalte ausbört.

§. 8. Die Grundstücke werden auf Credit zu 1½ Meis für die □st^{ien} veräußert, in welchem Preise der Holzschlag und die übrigen oben genannten Vorarbeiten begriffen sind.

§. 9. Der Verkaufstittel des Bodens wird durch den Commissar des General-Landamtes in der Provinz

Esperito Santo unentgeltlich ausgefertigt.

Art. 2. Der Colonist verpflichtet sich:

§. 1. Den Kaufpreis des Landes sowohl, als alle andern empfangenen Vorschüsse, nämlich Uebersahrt, Lebensmittel, Geräte u. s. w., innerhalb fünf Jahren und in drei Terminen, vom abgelaufenen zweiten Jahre der Niederlassung an gerechnet, zurückzahlen. Während der befristeten Zeit werden keine Zinsen berechnet; ist sie aber verfrühen, so werden 6 % verlangt.

§. 2. As terras e quaesquer hemeitorias que n'ellas se fizerem, ficio hypothecadas ao Governo Imperial até real emboiso da divida contrahida, e não poderão ser alienadas sem consentimento do mesmo Governo, salvo os casos de herança ou legado, e sempre com sujeição ao onus da hypotheca até ao dito reembolso.

§. 3. O Colono e sua familia declarão dever ao Governo Imperial do Brazil por adiantamento para a viagem de Hamburgo até o Rio de Janeiro as seguintes quantias:

	Idade.	Thl. d Pr.
<i>Grüner, Carl</i>	44	60
" <i>Ernestine</i>	45	60
" <i>Wilhelm</i>	20	60
" <i>Auguste</i>	29	60
" <i>Carl</i>	18	60
" <i>Caroline</i>	17½	60
" <i>Ernestine</i>	9	40
" <i>Auguste</i>	7½	—
<i>Möde, Friedrich</i>	31	60
	<i>R/460.</i>	
<i>pago</i>	<i>140.</i>	
<i>a familia deve</i>	<i>R/320</i>	

os quaes elles se obrigão á reembolsar segundo as estipulações do presente contracto.

Feito triplice.

Hamburgo aos 10 de Outubro de 1859.

Dor. J. Schmidt.

§. 2. Die Grundstücke und irgend welche darauf gemachten Verbesserungen, bleiben der Kaiserlichen Regierung bis zur wirklichen Erstattung der gemachten Schuld verpfändet, und können ohne Zustimmung derselben Regierung nicht veräußert werden, ausgenommen in Fällen von Erbschaft oder Vermächtniß, jedoch immer mit der Bürde der Hypothek bis zur Tilgung der besagten Schuld.

§. 3. Der Colonist und seine Familie erklären, der Kaiserlichen Regierung von Brasilien für die Reise von Hamburg nach Rio de Janeiro folgende Summen zu schulden:

	Alter.	Thl. P. Gr.
<i>Grüner, Carl</i>	44	60
" <i>Ernestine</i>	45	60
" <i>Wilhelm</i>	20	60
" <i>Auguste</i>	29	60
" <i>Carl</i>	18	60
" <i>Caroline</i>	17½	60
" <i>Ernestine</i>	9	40
" <i>Auguste</i>	7½	—
<i>Möde, Friedrich</i>	31	60
	<i>R/460</i>	
<i>Summe bez. u. fl.</i>	<i>140.</i>	
<i>Summe zu zahlen</i>	<i>R/320</i>	

welche sie nach Vorschrift des vorliegenden Contractes wieder zu erstatten sich verpflichten.

So geschehen und dreifach ausgefertigt.

Hamburg, den 10 October 1859.

Louise Grünwald
Wilhelmine Grünwald
Friedrich Möde

Visto para legalisação das assignaturas acima.

Consulado Geral do Imperio do Brazil em Hamburgo,

aos 14 de Outubro de 1859.



Id O Consul Geral

a Cham.

Para deliberação

Carl Liepmann

Nº 1

A Associação Central de Colonização no Rio de Janeiro, por intermedio do seu Agente Geral o Dr F. Schmidt em Hamburgo, contrata com o Colono abaixo nomeado debaixo das condições seguintes:

Art. 1.º A Associação Central de Colonização no Rio de Janeiro, devidamente autorizada pelo **Governo de Sua Magestade O Imperador do Brazil**, e debaixo da sua responsabilidade, obriga-se:

§. 1. A adiantar ao Colono

Carl Liepmann
de *Brasão em Pommern*
e sua familia, composta de 4 pessoas, as passagens de Hamburgo até o Rio de Janeiro, pagando pelos maiores de 10 annos para cima 60 e pelos menores de 3 até 10 annos 40. thalers da Prussia; e nada pagará os menores até 3 annos.

§. 2. A deduzir da importancia das passagens a subvenção do Governo Imperial de 37 \$ 500 Reis por Colono adulto de 10 até 45 annos, e de 22 \$ 500 Reis por menor de 3 até 10 annos.

§. 3. A pagar as despesas que os Colonos fizerem na expedição da Associação em quanto não partirem para o seu estimo, não sendo estas despesas carregadas em divida.

§. 4. A dar-lhes passagem gratuita até a colonia de

Leopoldina na Provincia de
Espirito Santo

, e ahi fornecer-lhes tambem gratuitamente alojamento provisório.

§. 5. A pôr á disposição de cada chefe de familia um lote de terras contendo 120,000 braças quadradas ou metade d'essa area á escolha do colono conforme as suas forças. Esse lote de terras será entregue medido e demarcado e com uma derrubada e queimada em extenso de 10,000 braças quadradas pouco mais ou menos.

§. 6. A fazer o suprimimento de viveres por adiantamento até seis mezes, de ferramentas de lavoura, sementes de milho, feijão, arroz e algumas outras, bem como batatas e mandioca para as primeiras plantações, se o colono d'isto carecer no começo de seus trabalhos.

§. 7. A proporcionar ao Colono os serviços que houver na Colonia, se quizer trabalhar á jornal, o qual será arbitrado entre 1000 e 1200 reis a secco, segundo os costumes no lugar. Neste caso cessará o adiantamento de sustento.

§. 8. As terras serão vendidas a prazo e na razão de 1½ real a braça quadrada, entrando neste preço as derrubadas e mais trabalhos preparatorios acima declarados.

§. 9. O titulo da venda das terras será passado gratuitamente pelo Delegado da Repartição Geral das Terras publicas, na Provincia de

Espirito Santo

Art. 2.º O Colono se obriga:

§. 1. A reembolsar o preço das terras como todos os outros adiantamentos recebidos (passagem, mantimentos, instrumentos &c.) dentro de cinco annos e em trez prestações iguaes, a contar do fim do segundo anno do estabelecimento na colonia. Durante o dito prazo não se contará juros, e indo elle correrá o juro de 6 por cento.

Nº 1

Der Central-Verein für Colonisation in Rio de Janeiro hat durch Vermittlung seines General-Agenten, Dr F. Schmidt in Hamburg, mit dem unten genannten Colonisten einen Vertrag unter folgenden Bedingungen abgeschlossen:

Art. 1. Der Central-Verein für Colonisation in Rio de Janeiro, unter Verantwortlichkeit der **Regierung Sr. M. des Kaisers von Brasilien** dazu ermächtigt, verpflichtet sich:

§. 1. Dem Colonisten

Carl Liepmann
von *Brasão in Pommern*
und seiner Familie, welche aus 4 Personen besteht, die Ueberfahrt von Hamburg nach Rio de Janeiro vorzuschaffen, und für Personen über 10 Jahre 60, und von 3 bis 10 Jahren 40 Thlr. Preussisch Courant zu bezahlen. Kinder unter 3 Jahren werden unentgeltlich befördert.

§. 2. Von dem Betrage der Ueberfahrt die Subvention der Kaiserlichen Regierung abzudecken; - welche 37 \$ 500 Reis für jeden erwachsenen Colonisten von 10 bis 45 Jahren, und 22 \$ 500 Reis für jeden unermachsenen von 5 bis 10 Jahren beträgt.

§. 3. Die Kosten zu bezahlen, welche die Colonisten in der Fortberge des Vereines machen, so lange sie nicht nach ihrer Bestimmung abgeben, da diese Kosten nicht als Schuld belastet werden.

§. 4. Ihnen freie Ueberfahrt nach der Colonie

Leopoldina in der Provinz
Espirito Santo

zu geben, und ihnen dort auch freie, provisorische Wohnung anzuweisen.

§. 5. Jedem Familienvater ein Grundstück von 120,000 □ Braßen oder die Hälfte dieses Flächenraumes nach Wahl des Colonisten und in Uebereinstimmung mit seinen Arbeitskräften zur Verfügung zu stellen. Dieses Grundstück wird ihm vermessen und abgesteckt, und mit einem verbrannten Holzschlag von etwa 10,000 □ Braßen übergeben.

§. 6. Den Colonisten als Vorschuss während sechs Monaten die erforderlichen Lebensmittel, Uebergeräthe, Samen von Mais, Bohnen, Reis, wie auch Kartoffeln und Mandioca zu den ersten Pflanzungen beim Anfang ihrer Arbeiten zu liefern, wenn sie es nöthig haben.

§. 7. Ihnen die Arbeiten nach Verhältnis zugetheilen, welche auf der Colonie vorkommen, wenn sie im Tagelohn arbeiten wollen, welcher auf 1000 bis 1200 Reis ohne Kost je nach demselben Gebrauche geschätzt wird, in welchem Falle jedoch der Vorschuss zum Unterhalte aufhört.

§. 8. Die Grundstücke werden auf Credit zu 1½ Reis für die □ Braße verkauft, in welchem Preise der Holzschlag und die übrigen oben genannten Vorarbeiten begriffen sind.

§. 9. Der Verkaufstittel des Bodens wird durch den Commissar des General-Kamantes in der Provinz

Espirito Santo

unentgeltlich ausgefertigt.

Art. 2. Der Colonist verpflichtet sich:

§. 1. Den Kaufpreis des Landes sowohl, als alle andern empfangenen Vorschüsse, nämlich Ueberfahrt, Lebensmittel, Geräthe u. s. w., innerhalb fünf Jahren und in drei Terminen, vom abgelaufenen zweiten Jahre der Ueberlassung an gerechnet, zurückzugeben. Während der besagten Zeit werden keine Zinsen berechnet; ist sie aber verstrichen, so werden 6 % verlangt.

Contratos de Colonos Alemaes e Austriacos (1859-1860) - L93-G

§. 2. As terras e quaesquer bemfeitorias que n'ellas se fizerem, não hypothecadas ao Governo Imperial até real reembolso da divida contrahida, e não poderão ser alienadas sem consentimento do mesmo Governo, salvo os casos de herança ou legado, e sempre com sujeição ao onus da hypotheca até ao dito reembolso.

§. 3. O Colono e sua familia declarão dever ao Governo Imperial do Brazil por adiantamento para a viagem de Hamburgo até o Rio de Janeiro as seguintes quantias:

	Idade.	Thl. d. Pr.
<i>Liemann, Carl</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>" Frederico</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>" Emilie</i>	<i>1 1/2</i>	<i>—</i>
<i>Bräich, Wilhelm, autarca</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>40</i>
	<i>Rp 160</i>	
<i>Pago:</i>	<i>50</i>	
<i>a familia descendente</i>	<i>Rp 110</i>	

§. 2. Die Grundstücke und irgend welche darauf gemachten Verbesserungen, bleiben der Kaiserlichen Regierung bis zur wirklichen Erfüllung der gemachten Schuld verpfändet, und können ohne Zustimmung derselben Regierung nicht veräußert werden, ausgenommen in Fällen von Erbschaft oder Vermächtniß, jedoch immer mit der Bürde der Hypothek bis zur Tilgung der besagten Schuld.

§. 4. Der Colonist und seine Familie erklären, der Kaiserlichen Regierung vor Brasilien für die Reise von Hamburg nach Rio de Janeiro folgende Summen zu schulden:

	Alter.	Thl. P. G.
<i>Liemann, Carl</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>" Frederico</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>" Emilie</i>	<i>1 1/2</i>	<i>—</i>
<i>Bräich, Wilhelm, Wittv.</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>40</i>
	<i>Rp 160</i>	
<i>Darvon bezufl.</i>	<i>50</i>	
<i>Sei familia pfecta</i>	<i>Rp 110</i>	

os quaes elles se obrigão á reembolsar segundo as estipulações do presente contracto.

Feito triplice.

Hamburgo aos *25* de *Abiril* de 1859.

welche sie nach Vorschrift des vorliegenden Contractes wieder erhalten sich verpflichten.

So geschehen und dreifach ausgefertigt.

Hamburg, den *25* *April* 1859.

W. J. Schmidt

Carl F. Lamm

Visto para legalisação das assignaturas acima.

Consulado Geral do Imperio do Brazil em Hamburgo,

gratis aos *27* de *Abiril* de 1859.



pel O Consul Geral

Chamer

Para o Consulado

*Apresentam documentos satisfactorios
que não visados.*

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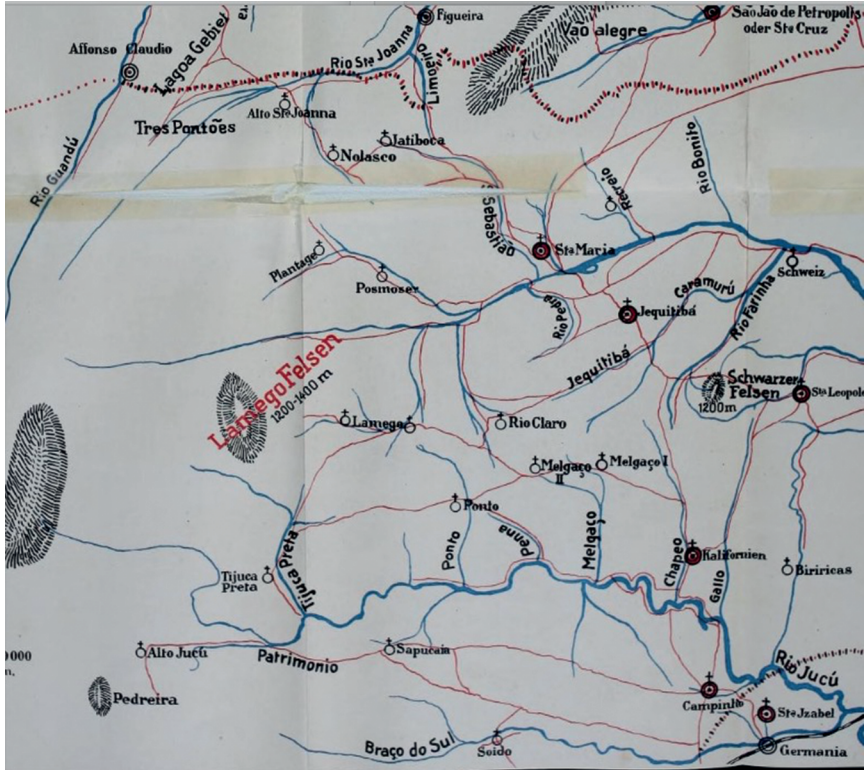
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Maps



Some important settlements in the Pomeanian area in 1914 (taken from Wagemann 1915)
The railway station Germania is now called Vale da Estação.

Word list

Results of the elicitation of a word list in three informants from Domingo Martins and Santa Maria de Jetibá. The lemmas are taken from Barth Schaeffer (2010), who elicited three (contact) speakers in Santa Leopoldina. The words were elicited using the Portuguese lemmas, sometimes with additional bracketed explanation (which is sometimes translated by the informant). The English translation was added during the editing stage of this book.

ES: 24y old female, grown up at the exclusively Pomeranian countryside, married with a Hunsrückisch Catholic, speaking Portuguese with husband and son. Descendence: mixed Dutch-Pomeranian descendence on both sides. Portuguese is dominant. (L1 = Pom, L2 = Portuguese). Alphabetized in Portuguese only.

HB: 70y old female, grown up at the countryside, married with a protestant Hunsrückisch, used to speak Hunsrückisch with husband and children. First school teacher, later restaurant owner/keeper. Widow. Speaks mostly Pomeranian in a mixed Pomeranian-Portuguese town. Pomeranian is dominant. Speaks High German. (L1=Pomeranian, L2=Hunsrückisch, L3=Portuguese, L4=High German). Alphabetized in Portuguese and High German.

LB: 40y old female, grown up at the Pomeranian countryside. Offull Pomeranian descendence, spoke exclusively Portuguese in her parents house. Pomeranian in the streets. Teacher of Pomeranian. 2L1=Portuguese + Pomeranian or L1=Portuguese + L2=Pomeranian. Alphabetized in both Portuguese and Pomeranian.

Transcription conventions: Intial glottal stop is omitted. Main stress is indicated by underlining the vowel. Main stress is omitted in monosyllabic words and bisyllabic words with a schwa (ə or ɐ). Overlong vowels are indicated with :: (400 ms). Short diphthongs are indicated with a little bow over the two vowels. They are typically 200 ms, i.e. the length of tense vowels. Short vowels are typically 150 ms. Glides are indicated as superscript, but not in short diphthongs since it is not clear what the glide and the main vowels is (cf. Section 2.3.7). A transcription is between square brackets [...] when it was uttered upon a suggestion by the field worker. Comments by the author are in round brackets, e.g. (sic), (PL) when an unexpected plural form shows up, etc. Rhotacized vowels e.g. [vr t] ‘white’, are not retroflex, but close to an apical realization: [virt].

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Abacate (avocado)	abak ^h at ^h	abak ^h at	abak ^h at ^h
Abacaxi (ananas)	bakaf ^h i	abakaf ^h i	ananas
Abelha (bee)	i ^h am	im	i ^h im
Abóbora (pumpkin)	k ^h ø ^h ns	kø ^h ns	kø ^h ns
Abraçar (to embrace)	γ ^h amf ^h øt ^h e	γ ^h mf ^h øt ^h e	γ ^h mf ^h øt ^h e
A cabeça é redonda (the head is round)	da ⁱ k ^h ot (sic) ist runk / runt	da ⁱ k ^h op ist runt	da ⁱ k ^h op is runt
A terra é seca (The soil is dry)	da ɾ:ə is drø ⁱ ç	dai e:r ist drø ⁱ ç	dai e:r is drø ⁱ ç
Acordar (to wake up)	upv ^h øæke	upvekə	upvaka
Açúcar (sugar)	s:ukə	sukə	suka
Aipim (casave)	ɛ:pi	ɛ ⁱ pi	ɛ ⁱ pi
Agora (now)	nu ^h	nu:	nu
Água (water)	vɔ ^h tə	vɔ:tə	vɔ ^h ta
Ajudar (to help)	hi ^h əlbə	həlpə	hi ^h əlpə
Alho (garlic)	knuf ^h luk	kno ^h flux	knuf ^h luk
Ali (over there)	dɔ:	hi ^h jə (sic)	dɔ:
Alimentar (to nourish)	ɛ ^h ta	erne:rə	–
Alimento (food)	ɛ ^h tn ¹	ɛtn	ɛtn
Alma (soul)	–	ze:l	ze:l
Alto (high)	ho ^h x	ho ^h x	ho ^h x
Altura (height)	–	hø ⁱ çt	hø ⁱ çt
Amanhã (tomorrow)	mo ⁱ jə	mo ⁱ jə	mo ⁱ jənt
Amarelo (yellow)	jɛ::l	jɛ:l	jɛ:l
Amarrar (to tie)	ambi ^h nə	t ^h ø ^h upbina	ambina
Andar (to walk)	gɔ:	gɔ:	gɔ:
Animal (animal)	ti:ə	tiə	tiər
Anjo (angel)	ɛŋəl ^h n	ɛŋəl	ɛŋəl
Ano (year)	jɔ::	jɔ:	jɔ:
Anta (tapir, kind of animal)	–	ant	ant
Antena (antenna)	anti ^h n	antene	ant ^h ena
Anteontem (day before yesterday)	fø ⁱ jistn	fø ⁱ jistən	aj ⁱ jistn

1. The two were given in reversed order.

2. This is a calque of Hunsrückisch. The informant explicitly adds that as children they were not allowed to use the Pomeranian word muul.

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Antúrio (kind of flower)	bla::me	antúrio-bla ^u m	antúrio
Anzol (fish hook)	aŋəl	aŋəl	aŋəl
Apertar (tighten)	fəsthulə	drykə	–
Aquele (that one)	da ⁱ dɔ::	da ⁱ	–
Aqui (here)	hi::	hiə	hi:
Areia (sand)	zandɔ	zant	zant
Arroz (rice)	ri:s	ri's	ri's
Árvore (tree)	bo ^u m	bo ^u m	boum
Asa (wing)	fla ⁱ jə ('to fly')	flyxt	flyçt
Assado (frango) (baked (chicken))	jɪbakt	jɪbrɔt	jɪbrɔ:t
Assar (to bake)	bakə	brɔrə	brɔ:rə
Assobiar (to wizzle)	flø ⁱ tə	flø ⁱ tə	flø ⁱ ta
Aula (class)	fa:l	fa ^u l	fa ^u l
Avó (grandmother)	grɔ ^u smutə	grɔ ^u smutə	grɔ ^u tmute
Avô (grandfather)	grɔ ^u sfɔ ^u tə	grɔ ^u sfɔtə	grɔ ^u tfɔ ^u tə
Azedo (sour)	zu::	zuə	zu:
Azul (blue)	blɔ:x	blɔ:x	blɔx
Baixo (low/short)	kla ⁱ n	nɪdriç	zi:dɔ
Banco (de sentar) (bench)	bɛŋk	bɛ ⁱ ŋk	bɛ ⁱ ŋk
Balde (bucket)	ɪmə	ime	īəme
Baralho (pack of cards)	–	kɔ:tə	kɔ'tə
Barba (beard)	bɔ:t	bɔ:t	bɔ:dɔ
Barranco (ravine)	ba::x	u ⁱ və	u ⁱ və
Barriga (belly)	buk	bu ^k	buk
Barrigudo (with a big belly)	grɔ ^u dbuk	dɪkbukiç	dikbukt
Batata doce (sweet potato)	bata:da	su ⁱ tə pat ^h atə	pat ^h atə
Batata inglesa (potato)	pat ^h ɣflə	patɣfəl	pat ^h ɣflə
Bater (to beat)	ho ^u xə	klopə	ho ^u ɣə
Bêbado (drunk)	bisɔ.pa	bisɔ:pən	bisɔ:pən
Beber (to drink)	drɪŋgə	drɪŋkə	drɪŋgə
Bebo (I drink)	drɪŋkt (sic)	drink	drink
Beijo (kiss)	pus	pus	p ^h us

(continued)

3. This is a calque of Hunsrückisch. The informant explicitly adds that as children they were not allowed to use the Pomeranian word *muul*.

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Bíblia (bible)	bi:bəl	bi:bəl	bi:bəl
Biscoito (cookie)	bisku ⁱ tə	bisko ^t / ʏibəksəl	bisku ⁱ t
Blusa (shirt)	jak	jak	jak
Boca (mouth)	mu::l	munt ²	mu::l
Bode (goat)	–	buk	sɛ ⁱ çəbuk
Boi (ox)	bule	bule	bule
Bolo (cake)	kuxən	kuxən	kuxən
Bolsa (bag)	taf	taf	t ^h af
Bom (good)	ga ^u t	ga ^u d	ga ^u d
Boné (cap)	myəts	myəts	myts
Braço (arm)	a:m	a:m	a:m
Branco (white)	viət ^h	viət	viət
Bruxo/feiticeiro (witch)	hiɛks	hiɛks / hɛksəmeistə	hiɛks
Bule (teapot)	k ^h an	k ^h an	k ^h an
Buraco (hole)	lʊɔx	lʊɔx	lʊɔx
Burro (donkey)	ɛ:zəl	ɛ:zəl	ɛ:zəl
Cá (here (directional))	hi::	hi:ə	hi:
Cabeça (head)	kʊɔp	kʊɔp	–
Cabelo (hair)	hɔ.rɐ	hɔ:	hɔ:ra
Cabelo branco (white hair)	viɛ hɔ.rɐ (PL)	vita hɔ:	vit fiɔ:
Cabide/gancho (hook)	–	hɔkə	fiɔka
Cabrita (goat)	sɛ: ⁱ ç	sɛ ⁱ ç	sɛ:ç
Caçar/procurar (to seek)	jaxta	jaxta / zøikə	jaxte
Cachaça (liquor)	ʃnaps	ʃnaps	ʃnaps
Cacho (de banana) (bunch)	bananakaɸ	kaɸ	kaɸ
Cachorro (dog)	hundɔ	hunt	hundɔ
Cadeira (chair)	ʃta:l	ʃta ^u l	ʃta ^u l
Caderno (note book)	hiɛft	hiɛft	heft
Café (coffee)	k ^h afɐ	kafɐ	k ^h afɐ
Cair (to fall)	fale	fale	fale
Calça (trousers)	ho ^u s	ho ^u s	ho ^u s
Calcanhar (heel)	undəfu ^{ith}	hak	ʔɛlbɔ:gvɐ
Calor (heat)	wa:m ora ha ⁱ t	hiəts	hiəts
Cama (bed)	bɪ:ə	bɛ:r	bɪər

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Caminho (road/way)	ve:ç	ve:ç	ve:ç
Camisola (nightdress)	unərʊ̌k	ʃlɔ̌pkleʲd	ʃlɔ̌pkleʲd
Cana (sugar cane)	s:ʊ̌kerou	suker:ou	sʊ̌kərou
Cantar (to sing)	ziŋʲə	ziŋə	ziŋən
Capacete (helmet)	kapaseʲtʰ	kapaseʲt	kapaseʲtʰ
Capim (grass)	gras	gras	gras
Capinar (to weed)	putse	putse	putse
Careca (bald)	kariɛk	kɔ̌:lkɔp	kɔ̌:lkɔp
Carne (meat, flesh)	flaʲf	flaʲf	flaʲf
Carne de boi (beef)	bʊ̌leflaʲf	bʊ̌leflaʲf	bʊ̌laflaʲf
Carne de porco (pork)	ʃwi:nflaʲf	ʃwi:nflaʲf	ʃwi:nflaʲf
Carro (car)	vɔ̌::yɐ	vɔ̌:yɐ	vɔ̌:yɐ
Carvão (charcoal)	–	kɔ̌:l	kɔ̌:l
Casa (house)	hu:s [u:] = 260 ms	hu:s [u:] = 360 ms	ɦu:s [u:] = 230 ms
Casar (to marry, wed)	fri:çə	fri.çə	fri.çə
Casamento (wedding)	ɦʊ̌ɔ̌xti:t	ɦʊ̌ɔ̌xti:t	ɦʊ̌ɔ̌xtit
Casca (peal)	ʃɛl	ʃɛl / ʃɔ̌:l	ʃɛlp
Cavalo (horse)	və̌lax	və̌lax	və̌lax
Cavar (to dig)	ʎʊ̌xməkə	hake	ɦake
Caverna (cave)	–	kawɛrna	–
Cebola (onion)	pʊ̌ɔ̌le (PL)	pol	pʊ̌ɔ̌l
Cego (blind)	blinɔ̌	blintʰ	blinɔ̌
Cerca (fence)	tʰu:n	tʰu::n	tʰu::n
Cerveja (beer)	bi:ə	bi:ər	bi:ər
Cesta (basket)	kʊ̌ɔ̌f	kʊ̌ɔ̌f	kʊ̌ɔ̌f
Céu (sky)	himəl	himəl	himəl
Chá (tea)	tʰe:	tʰe:	tʰe:i
Chão (soil)	i:	i:r	e:r
Chapéu (hat)	ɦaʊ̌ɔ̌	ɦaʊ̌ɔ̌	ɦaʊ̌ɔ̌
Chave (key)	ʃloʲdl	ʃloʲdl	ʃloʲdl
Chegar (to arrive)	kʰomə	kʰomə	kʰomə
Cheio (full)	fu:l	fu:l	ful
Cheirar (to smell)	ryka	ryka	ryka
Chicote (whip)	pitʃ	pitʃ	pitʃ

(continued)

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Chifre (horn)	hø:ⁿ (PL)	ho:ən (SG)	ho:n (SG)
Choca (galinha choca) (clucker)	kluək	kluk	kluk
Chupar (to suck)	zu:γə	zuyə	zu:γə
Chuva (rain)	rɛ:ɟə	rɛ:ɟən	rɛ:ɟən
Cidade (city)	ʃtat	ʃtat	ʃtat
Cinco (five)	fi:f	fi:f	fi:f
Cinza (gray, ash)	gris	af	afiç
Claro (luminoso) (clear)	klɔ:ə	hiəl	hiəl
Cobertor (blanket)	diək	dɛk	dɛk
Cobra (snake)	ʃlan	ʃlan	ʃlan
Coçar (to itch)	jo'ɟɐ	rakɐ	jo'ɟən
Cócegas (tickling)	kiədle	kidle	kiədle
Colchão (mattress)	stroʷzak	ʃtroʷzak	stroʷzak
Com (with)	miət	miət	miət
Comer (to eat)	ɛːtɐ	ɛːtɐ	ɛtɐ
Comprido (long)	lanɰk	lanɰk	lanɰk
Comprimido (pill)	ɟidrykt / pʰil	pʰil	pil
Como? como assim? (how?)	wɔʷsoʷ?	wou / wousɔʷ	wou / wɔʷsoʷ
Concha (ladle)	kiəl	kiəl	kiəl
Contar (to tell)	tʰele	tʰele	fotʰiele
Coração (heart)	hiəts	hɛəts	hiɛəts
Corda (rope)	ʃtriək	ʃtriək	ʃtrik
Coroa de flores	bla:mastruts	blaʷmɛkrants	blaʷmɛkrants
Correr (run)	loʷpɐ	loʷpə	loʷpɐ
Cortar (to cut off)	fafni:rɐ	sni:rɐ	sni:rɐ
Coruja (owl)	u::l	u::l	u::l
Costas (back)	r:ø'çə	rø'ɟə	rø'çə
Costurar (to sew/nit)	ne:'çə	ne'ɟə	ne'çə
Cotovelo (elbow)	elbɔ:γɐ	elbɔγɐ	iɛlbɔ:γɐ
Coxa (de galinha) (thigh)	hiŋɛky::l	ky::l / hiŋɛky::l	ky::l
Cozinha (kitchen)	ko'kən	ko'kən	ko'kən
Cozinhar (to cook)	kʰɔkɐ	kɔ.kɐ	kʰɔ.ka
Crescer (to grow)	groʷdva:rɐ / vast (3SGPRES)	vase	vasa
Criança (child)	kʰindɔ	kʰint	kʰindɔ

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Curto (short)	kʊɔ̃t	kʊɔ̃t	kʊɔ̃t
Dançar (to dance)	danza	dansa	danza
Dar (to give)	je:və	je:fə	je:və
De dia (at daytime)	bidax	bidax	bidax
De manhã (in the morning)	mo'ns	mo'ns	mo'jəns
De noite (at night)	ɔ:ms	ɔ:vənts	ɔ:vənts
De pé (standing up)	bim fʈɔ:n	im fʈɔ:n	bim fʈɔ:n
De tarde (in the afternoon)	nɔmiədaxs	nɔmiədaxs	nɔmiədaxs
Dedo (finger)	fɪŋə	fɪŋə	fɪŋ'ə
Dedo grande (big finger)	groʊda fɪŋə	groʊta fɪŋə	groʊta fɪŋ'ə
Deitado (laying)	le'ɕt	le'ɕənt	le'ɕənd
Deitar (to lay)	le'ɕə	hɪnleɣə	le'ɕə
Dente (tooth)	tʰɛ::n	tʰɛ::n	tʰɛ::n
Depois de amanhã (day after tomorrow)	ɔ'vəmo'əjə	ɔvəmojə	ɔ'vəmo'i
Deslizar (to slide)	rutsfə / vɛxrutfə	rutsfə	rutsfə
Deus (god)	gʊɔ̃d	gʊɔ̃t	gʊɔ̃d
Dia (day)	dax	dax	dax
Diabo (devil)	dɪ'fəl	dɪ:vəl	dɪ:vəl
Dinheiro (money)	jɪld	jɪld	jɪld
Direito (right-hand)	rɪɛxs	rexts	riɕtiɕ
Dizer (to say)	zɛɣə	zɛɣə	zɛɣə
Doce (sweet)	zu't	zu't	zu't
Dor (pain)	və'dɔx	və'dɔx	və'dɔx
Dois (two)	twə'i	twə'i	twə'i
Dormir (to sleep)	ʃɒpə	ʃɒpə	ʃɒpə
Êgua (mare)	ɛ:zəl	ʃtaut	pʰe:t
Ela (she)	za'i	za'i	za'i
Ele (he)	ha'i	ha'i	ha'i
Ele é bom (he is good)	ha'i zis gaʊd	ha'i zis gaʊt	ha'i zis gaʊd
Ele está coçando a perna (he is scratching his leg)	ha'i de: daba:i jo'igə	ha'i de: daibai rake	ha'i de: da'ba'i jo'igə
Ela furou a orelha (she pierced her ear)	za'i het da o:ra (PL) dœrcʃtɛkə lətə	za'i het datʔo:r do'rʃtɔ'kə	za'i het der o:ra do'rʃtɛ'kə

(continued)

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Elas (they.FEM)	za ⁱ	sa ⁱ	za ⁱ
Eles (they.MASC)	za ⁱ	sa ⁱ	ha ⁱ (sic!)
Em casa (at home)	im hu:s [u:] = 300 ms	tu:s [u:] = 260 ms	tu:s [u:] = 300 ms
Em cima (above)	bɔ:və	up	bɔ:vənʔup
Embaixo (downstairs)	u:nə	u:nə	u:nədəm
Empurrar (to push)	ʃu:psə	ʃu:və	ʃu:və
Entender (to understand)	forʃtɔ:	forʃtɔ:	forʃtɔ:
Enxada (hoe)	hak	hak	ʃak
Errado (wrong)	fake:t	foke:t	forke:t
Erva (herb)	–	krut	kruɔ
Escola (school)	ʃa:l	ʃa ^u l	ʃa ^u l
Escuro (dark)	dy:stəl	dy:stə	dy:stə
Escutar (to listen)	hø:rə	hø:rə	horgə
Esmagar (to bruise)	–	fokwetʃə	fokwetʃə
Esposa (wife)	frux	frux	frux
Esquerdo (left)	liŋks	liŋks	liŋks
Está chovendo (it is raining)	dat rɛ:ʝənt	de ⁱ t rɛ:ɣnə	de ⁱ t rɛ:ɣnə
Esta/esta pasta/essa menina (this/ this bag/this girl)	de ⁱ s / de ⁱ s kiŋə / dit mekə	de ⁱ ç taf / dit me ⁱ ke	de ⁱ s / deis past / dit meke
Este/este armário (this/this cupboard)	dat ʃpint	dit ʃpint	deis / dit ʃpint (ʃpink?)
Estômago (stomach)	mɔ:x	mɔ:x	mɔ:x
Estragar/apoderecer (to foul up)	fu::lə	fofu:le / fo ⁱ zoijə	fodurvə / fu:l
Estreito (narrow)	eŋk	ʃmal	ʃma ⁱ l
Estrela (star)	ʃte:nə	ʃte:n	ʃte:n (or ʃtɛ:n?)
Estudar (to study)	li:re	ʃtudi:rə	le:ren
Eu (I)	iək	iək	iək
Eu digo (I say)	iəksex	ik sɛx	iəksex
Faca (knife)	mɛətsə	mɛətsə	mɛətsə
Facão (machete)	fakā ^u	gro ^u tmɛətsə	fakā ^u
Falar (to tell/speak)	fatiɛlə	zɛɣə	zɛɣə
Farinha de mandioca (cassava flour)	fari::n	fari::n fɔn mand- jok	fari::n
Farmácia (pharmacy)	farma ^a s	farma ^a s	farma ^a s

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Fazer (to make)	mɔːkɐ	mɔːkɐ	mɔːkɐ
Fazer comida (make food)	ɛ̃nmɔːkɐ	ɛ̃nmɔːkɐ	ɛ̃nmɔːkɐ
Fechado (closed)	tʰa ^u	ta ^u	ta ^u
Feijão (beans)	bo ^u nɐ	bo ^u nɐ	bo ^u nɐ
Ferrugem (rust)	rust / far <u>u</u> st	ru ^ə st	ru ^ə st
Festa (feast)	fīest	fīest	fīest
Fígado (liver)	lɛ:f	lɛ:f	lɛ:f
Filha (daughter)	mɛːkɐ	mɛːkɐ	mɛkɐ
Filho (son)	ja ^u ŋə	ja ^u ŋ	ja ^u ŋ
Fino (fine)	fmal / fi::n	fi::n	dy ^ə n
Firme (strong, firm)	ha:t / <u>h</u> andfast	hantfast	–
Flauta (flute)	–	flø ⁱ t	flø ⁱ t
Flor (flower)	bla:m	bla ^u m	bla ^u m
Fogo (fire, bonfire)	fy:	fyçə	fy:r
Folha (leaf)	blat	blat	blat
Fome (hunger)	hunə	hunə	hunə
Formiga (ant)	<u>a</u> maːs	<u>a</u> maːs	<u>a</u> maːs
Forno (oven)	bakʔɔːvɐ	bakʔɔːvɐ	bakʔɔːvɐ
Fraco (weak)	fwak	fwak	fwak
Freio de burro (break)	–	kandar	brīɛms
Frigideira (frying pan)	p ^h an	brɔːrp ^h an	p ^h an
Frio (cold)	kult	kult ^h	kulɖ
Fruta (fruits)	fruxt	fruxt	apəl / fruxt
Fubá (corn meal)	mɛ:l	mīçeme:l	mɛ:l
Fumaça (smoke)	ro ^u k	ro ^u k	ro ^u k
Fumando (smoking)	ro ^u kɐ / is bim ro ^u kən	ro ^u kɐ	ro ^u kən
Fumo (tabacco)	–	tɔ ^u bak	t ^h ɔ ^u bak
Furadeira (drilling machine)	bɔːrɐ	bɔːrmafi:n	bɔː-mafi:n
Furar (to drill)	dɔ̃rçbɔːrɐ	bɔːrɐ	bɔːrɐ
Furo (hole)	lɔ̃ɔx	–	lɔ̃ɔx
Gaiola (cage)	gajɔl	fɔ̃yɛlsgajola	burge
Galho (branch)	–	tɛrçf (sic)	tīɛlç
Galinha d'angola (guinea fowl)	p ^h ɛdlɸin	pɛdlɸin	pɛdlhin
Galo (cock)	hɔːnə	hɔːnə	hɔːn

(continued)

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Garagem (garage)	gara:zja	gara:zjə	gara:ʒ
Garfo (fork)	gɔ'bəl	gɔ'bəl	gɔ'bəl
Garganta (throat)	hals	ʃluk	ɦals
Garrote (young bull)	kla'na bule	bule / kla'na bule	kla' bule
Gato (cat)	kʰa'p (sic)	kʰa't	kʰa't / kɔtə
Gavião (hawk)	hɔfkə	hɔ.fkə	hɔ.fk
Gelo (ice)	is	i's	i's
Gengibre (ginger)	ʒɪnʒə	dʒɪnʒɪbrɪ	tʃɪnʒəbi:r
Gente/pessoa (people)	ly:r / me'ʃ	ly:r	ly:r
Goiaba (guava)	kuja:p	koja:p	kɔja:p
Gordo (fat.adj)	fi'et	fi'et	fi'et
Gordura (fat.noun)	fi'et	fi'et	–
Grande (big)	groʊd	groʊt	groʊt
Grosso (thick)	dɪək	dɪək	dɪək
Hoje (today)	hyd	hy:t	hy'd
Homem (man)	me'ʃ	ke::l	ke::l
Homem velho (old man)	ul me'ʃ	ule ke::l	ul ke:l
Horta (garden)	gɔ're	gɔ're	gɔ're
Idosos muito idosos (old people)	ulə ly:	ult / sejə ult	ul ly:r / se: u'l
Igreja (church)	kirç	kirç	kirç
Ilha (island)	–	inzəl	inzəl
Inchar (swell up)	upʃwele	dɪkva:rə/ upʃwele	upjɪəze
Inferno (hell)	hœl	hœl	ɦœl
Inhame (yam/kind of edible root)	jaməs	james	jaməs
Inteligente (smart)	klaʊk	klaʊk	klaʊk
Irmã (sister)	ʃweste	ʃweste	ʃweste
Irmã maior (oldest sister)	groetst/ylst ʃweste	grout ʃweste	ylst / groetst ʃweste
Irmã menor (youngest sister)	klɛnst/jɪnst ʃweste	klain ʃweste	klɛnst ʃweste
Irmão (brother)	braʊre	braʊre	braʊre
Irmão maior (oldest brother)	ylst braʊre	groʊte braʊre	groetst braʊre
Irmão menor (youngest brother)	jɪnst braʊre	kla'ne braʊre	klɛnst braʊre
Jaca (jaca/kind of fruit)	zaka	ʃaka	zaka
Jacaré (alligator)	–	zakare	zakare
Jambo (jambos/kind of fruit)	zamba	zambu	zambɔ

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Janeiro (January)	janəʔa:	januʔar	janəʔar
Janela de madeira (wooden shutter)	huldruk	huldruk	huldruk
Jasmim (jasmin)	–	jasmi:n	zasmi:n
Jesus (Jesus)	jezus	jezus	jezus
Joelho (knee)	kna:	gna ⁱ	kna ⁱ
Jogar/atirar (to throw)	ʃmite	ʃmitə	ʃmite
Junho (June)	ju:ni	ju:ni	ju:ni
Julho (July)	ju:li	ju:li	ju:li
Lá (there)	dɔ:	dɔ:	dɔ:
Lábio (lip)	lip	lipə (PL)	lip
Laço/lacinho (knot)	–	ʃlɔʔf	ʃlɔʔf / klaʔn ʃlɔʔf
Lago (pond)	–	wɔterku:l	diʔk
Lagoa (pond)	–	wɔterku:l	–
Lâmpada (lamp)	lamp	lamp	lamp
Laranja (orange)	randʒa	larantʃ	rantʃ
Largo (broad)	braid	braid	braid
Lavagem / comida de animais (slop, animal food)	thoʊpvaʃən	afvaʃvɔdə	trank
Lavar (to wash)	vafə	vafə	vafən
Leite (milk)	miɛlk	miɛlk	miɛlk
Limpo (clean)	reʃjən	reʃjən	reʃjən
Língua (tongue)	tu:ŋ	tun	tʰu:n
Linha de costura (sewing thread)	–	tweʔn tam neʃjən	tweʔ(n)
Liso (smooth)	glad	glat	glad
Livro (book)	baʊk	baʊk	baʊk
Longe (far)	vidʒaf	vit	vid
Lua (moon)	mɔ:n	mɔ:n	mɔ:n
Lua cheia (full moon)	fuʔl mɔ:n	ful mɔ:n	ful mɔ:n
Lua nova (new moon)	niʔ mɔ:n	niʔ mɔ:n	niʔ mɔ:n
Macaco (monkey)	ɔp	ɔp	ɔp
Macaco grande (big monkey/ape)	groʊdʒɔp	groʊdʒɔp	groʊtʒɔp
Macarrão (pasta)	nuʔdlə	nu:dl	nu:dl
Machado (axe)	iɛks	eks	eks
Madeira (wood)	huld	huld	huld

(continued)

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Maduro (ripe)	rip	rip	rip
Mãe (mother)	mama / mute	mute	mute
Magro (meagre)	mɔːye	mɔːye	mɔːyɐ
Mais (more)	meː	meˈjə	miː
Mais curto (more short/shorter)	kʰærdə	bits kʰærdə	bits kʰærdɛ
Mais velho (more old/older)	ylə / ylst	meje ʔuld	ʔylə
Mandioca (cassave)	manjuk	manjuk	manjuk
Manga (mango resp. sleeve)	maŋga ('mango')	maŋka ('mango')	moˈx ('sleeve')
Manteiga (butter)	bʊ̃tɛ	bʊ̃tə	bʊ̃tə
Mão (hand)	handɔ	hand	handɔ
Mar (sea)	zeː	mɛː	zeː
Marido (husband)	keːl	keˈl	keːl
Mata/floresta (wood/forest)	valt	valt	valt
Matar (kill)	dɔːdmɔkɛ	dɔːdmɔˈkɛ	dɔːdmɔkə
Mau (bad)	ʃliɛxt	ʃliɛxt	ʃliɛxt
Meio (half)	half	half	half
Melancia (watermelon)	wɔ̃tɛmiloˈn	milɔˈn	wɔ̃tɛmiloˈn
Menina (girl)	mɛkə	mɛˈkə	mɛkə
Menino (boy)	jaˈŋ	jaˈŋ	jaˈŋ
Mentir (to lie)	laijɛ	laijɛ	laijən
Mês (month)	moːnat	moːnat	moːnat
Mesa (table)	dif	dif	dif
Meu nariz (my nose)	miːn nɛːs	miːn nɛːs	miːn nɛːs
Meu pai (my father)	mi pʰapa	mina fʊ̃tɛ	mi fʊ̃tɛ
Miado (meow)	–	kat deˈt blaːrɐ	blaːrən
Milho (corn)	miˈçə	miljə	miljə
Milho verde (green corn)	gruˈna miçə	gruˈnɛ mijə	gruˈnɛ miljə
Minha boca (my mouth)	miː muːl	miːn munt	miː muːl
Moça (girl)	mɛka	mɛˈka	mɛka
Moça velha (old spinster)	ʊlmɛka	ʊlmɛˈka	ʊlmɛka
Moço (boy)	jaˈŋ	njaˈŋə	jaˈŋ
Mole (soft)	waˈk	waˈk	waˈk
Molhado (wet)	natʰ	natʰ	natʰ
Morango (strawberry)	moɾaŋgu	moɾaŋgu	ɛːrber

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Morar (to live somewhere)	wɔ:nɐ	wɔ:nɐ	wɔ:nən
Morder (to bite)	bɪtɐ	bɪtɐ	bitən
Morrer (to die)	dɔ ^u ðpli:vɐ	dɔ ^u ðpli:fɐ	dɔ ^u tpli:vən
Morto (dead, a dead)	do ^u rɐ ('a dead')	do ^u d ('dead')	–
Mostrar (point/show)	vi:sɐ	vi:sɐ	vi:sən
Muitas crianças (many children)	fɛ:l kinə	fɛ:l kinə	fɛ:l kinə
Muito (a lot)	fɛ:l	fɛ:l	fɛ:l
Mulher (woman)	frux	fruːx	frux
Mulher idosa (old woman)	ʊlfrux	ʊlfruːx	ʊlfrux
Nadar (swim)	fʷemɐ	fʷiɛma	fʷiɛmɐ
Não (no)	ne:	ne: / ni	ne:
Nariz (nose)	nɛ:s	nɛ:s	nɛ:s
Nascente (de água) (water source)	vɔ̃təkʷɛl	vɔ̃tekʷɛl	kwɛl
Nascer (to be born)	jɪbɔ̃:rɐ	jɪbɔ̃:rɐ	jɪbɔ̃:rɐ wa:rɐ
Neta (granddaughter)	ɛŋəlkind̥	nɪɛta	ɛŋəlskint
Neto (grandson)	ɛŋəlkind̥	nɛtik...	ɛŋəlsja ^u ŋ
Noite (night)	naxt ^h	naxt ^h	ɔvənt
Noite clara (clear night)	klɔ:naxt	hɛlnaxt	hɛlnaxt
Noite sem luar (night without moon)	dʏstənaxt	dʏsternaxt	naxt onə mɔ̃:nəʃin
Nome (name)	nɔ:mɐ	nɔ:me	nɔ:mɐ
Nós (we)	vi:	viː	viː
Nosso (our)	o ^u zə	o ^u sɐ	o ^u s
Nossos narizes (our noses)	o ^u s nɛ:zɐ	o ^u s nɛ:zə	o ^u s nɛ:zə
Novo (new)	niːç	niç	niːç
Nuca (neck)	ɡnɪək	ɡɪnɪək	ɡɪnɪək
Número (number)	numɐ	numɐ	numər
Nuvem (cloud)	vɔ̃ɔlk	volk	vo:lk
O cabelo é preto (the hair is black)	da ⁱ hɔ̃:rɐ sin swa:t	dai hɔ̃: ʔis swa:t	dai hɔ̃:χ ʔis swa:ɖ
O pescoço é comprido (the neck is long)	da ⁱ fials ʔis lanɰ	dai fials ʔis lank	da fials ʔis lank
O sol está quente (the sun is hot)	daː syn ʔis haːt	dai zyn ʔis haːt	dai zyn ʔis haːt
Oco/vazio (empty)	liɛiç (2 syll)	liɛrç	hɔl
Oito (eight)	axt	axt	axt

(continued)

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Óleo (oil)	ø:l	ø:l	ø:l
Olho (eye)	o ^u k	o ^u x	o ^u x
Onça (jaguar)	ti:çə	ti:çə	ti:çə
Onde (where)	wo ^u	wo ^u	wo ^u
Ônibus (bus)	onibus	unəbus	upə
Ontem (yesterday)	j ⁱ əstən	j ⁱ əsten	ji'stən
Orelha (ear)	o ^u rə (pL)	o ^u r	o ^u r
Orquídea (orchid)	bla:m	parasit	orki:t
Osso (bone)	knɔ'kə	kno:kə	kno.ka
Ouro (gold)	gult	gult	gult
Outro (other)	dere andər	andrə	anət
Ouvir (to hear)	hø:rə	hø:ra	hø:ra
Ovo (egg)	e:ç	e ⁱ ç	e:ç
Ovo de Páscoa (Eastern egg)	o ^u stəʔe:ç	o ^u steʔe ⁱ ç	o ^u steʔe:ç
Paca (kind of animal)	pak	pak	p ^h ak
Padaria (bakery)	padari _i	bəkəriç	bəkəriç
Pai (father)	f ^u ɔtə	f ^u ɔta	fɔ'ta
Palavra (word)	wo ^u ɖ	wo ^u ɖ	wo ^u d
Palhaço (clown)	–	pajəs	paljəs
Panela (pan)	ketl	kədəl	kedəl
Pão (bread)	bro ^u ɖ	bro ^u ɖ	bro ^u t ^h
Papagaio (parrot)	papaga ⁱ	papaga ⁱ	papaga ⁱ
Para lá (direção) (to there)	dɔ:hɪn/ dɔ:h ⁱ ən tau	dɔ:hɪn	dɔ:hɪn
Parafuso (screw)	–	fɾu:f	fɾu:f
Parede (wall)	want	want ^h	want ^h
Pássaro/ave (bird)	fɔ'ɣəl	fɔ'ɣəl	fɔ'ɣəl
Pasto (pasture)	we:	wɛ:r	wɛ:r
Pato (duck)	ɛnt ^h	ɛnɖ	abel
Pau (wood, stick)	fɪyk huld	stɔɔk	(hult)
Pé (foot)	fa ^u t	fa ^u t	fa ^u t
Pecado (sin)	zy'n	zy'n	zyn
Pedra (stone)	fɪa:	fɪa ⁱ	fɪa ⁱ
Pedra amarela (yellow stone)	–	jɛ:lɛ fɪa ⁱ	jɛ:l fɪa ⁱ
Pedra branca (white stone)	–	wɪətə fɪa ⁱ	wi't fɪa ⁱ

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Pedra furada (stone with holes)	lœçifʃta:	doirjɪbʊɔrtənəʃta ⁱ	doirjɪʃtekənəʃta ⁱ
Pedra preta (black stone)	swarda fīelzn / swartʃta:	swartəʃta ⁱ	swardəʃta ⁱ
Peito (breast)	bʊɔst	bʊɔst	bʊɔst
Peixe (fish)	fɪʃ	fɪʃ	fɪʃ
Pelado (nu) (naked)	nəkənɔ	nakənt	nakəntʰ / nakəniç
Pelado (sem pelos) (without hair)	ɔnə hɔ:rə	kɔ:l	kɔl
Pele (skin)	fīel	fel	fel
Pelo (hair)	hɔ:rə	hɔ:	hɔ:rə
Peludo (hairy)	hɔ:riç	hɔ:riç	hɔ:rig
Pena (feather)	fɛˈdre	fɛ:dr	fɛ:dr
Penca (de banana) (bunch)	p ^h ɛŋk (informant. is not sure)	druˈf	druʃ
Peneira (sieve)	zɛ:f	zɛ:f	zɛ:f
Pensar (think)	dɛŋga	dɛŋka	dɛŋkə
Pente (comb)	k ^h amp	k ^h am	k ^h am
Pentear (to comb)	k ^h ɛmə	kɛˈmə	kɛ:mə
Pepino (cucumber)	jurɡə / jurk	gurk	gurk
Pequena lagoa (small pond)	kla ⁱ nɛ dik	kla ⁱ n wɔtɛku:l	kla ⁱ nɛ dik
Pequeno (small)	kla ⁱ nɛ	kla ⁱ n	kla ⁱ n
Pera (pear)	p ^h ɛra	p ^h ɛ:ra	p ^h ɛ:r
Perguntar (to ask)	frɔːxə	frɔ:ʏɐ	frɔ:ʏən
Perna (leg)	ba ⁱ n	bajə	ba ⁱ
Perna fina (fine leg)	fina bain (PL) / f:in ba: (SG)	fina bai	fina bai
Perto (close by)	nɛ ⁱ ç	dɪəçt	dɪçt
Pesado (heavy)	ʃwɔ:	ʃwɔ:	ʃwɔ:
Pescar (to fish)	fɪʃɐ	fɪʃɐ	fɪʃən
Pescoço (neck)	haˈls	ha:ls	ɡɪnɪk
Pessoa (person)	mɛ:ʃ	mɛ:ʃ	mɛ:ʃ
Pessoa ruim (bad person)	ʃlɛxt mɛ:ʃ	ʃlɛxta mɛ:ʃ	ʃlɛxt mɛ:ʃ
Pessoa suja (dirty person)	driɛkiç mɛ:ʃ	driɛkiçə mɛ:ʃ	mɛəsiç mɛ:ʃ
Pimenta (pepper)	pɛpə	pɛ:pər	pɛˈpə
Pimentão (bell pepper)	–	pimentã ^u	ɡrɔˈtɐ pɛˈpə
Pintinho (chick)	–	k ^h ɪkə	k ^h ɪkə

(continued)

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Piolho (louse)	ly:s	ly:s	ly:s
Pisar (to step)	p ^h e:re	pe:ra	pe:ra
Podre (rotten)	fu:l	fu:l	fu:l
Poeira (dust)	ʃtuɔf	stuɔf	ʃtuɔf
Polenta (corn meal)	polɛ̃nt	polɛ̃nta	polɛ̃nta
Pomba (pigeon/dove)	–	du:f	du:f
Porca (female pig)	zo ⁱ ç	so ⁱ ç	zo ⁱ ç
Porco (male pig)	be:rə	svijə	be:
Porco capado (castrated pig)	boax	bʊɔx	bʊɔx
Porta (door)	do: ⁱ	dojə	doi
Portão (gate)	portā ^u / [kansɛl] (‘barrier’)	gro ^u d:ojə / kansɛl	portão / hɛk
Poucos (few)	vɛ ⁱ niç	vɛ ⁱ niç	vɛ ⁱ niç
Poucos piolhos (few lice)	pɔ:: ly::s	vɛ ⁱ niç ly:s	vɛ ⁱ niç ly:s
Prego (spike/nail)	nɔiçəl (PL) / nɔɣəl (SG)	nɔɣəl	nɔɣəl
Preocupar (to worry)	ɛɲstɛ / jɪdangɛ mɔkə	sojə mɔka	sich ursaxə mɔkən
Preta (black. FEM)	ʃwa:t	ʃwa:t	ʃva:t
Preto (black.MASC)	ʃwa:t	ʃwa:t	ʃva:t
Prima (cousin)	–	pri:mə	pri:m
Primeiro (the first)	da ʔa ⁱ st	a ⁱ sta	a ⁱ st
Primo (cousin)	[min pri:m]	pri:mə	pri:m
Problema (problem)	–	ʃvi:riçke ^t	proble:m
Pronto/terminado (ready)	triɛçt	triɛçt	triɛxt
Pulga (flea)	flø ⁱ çə (PL)	flø ⁱ ç	flø ⁱ ç
Puxar (to pull)	triɛkə	triɛkə	triɛkə
Quando (when)	vɛn	vɛnə ⁱ	vɔnə ⁱ
Quarto (cômodo da casa) (room)	k ^h ɔmɛ	kɔmɛ	kɔmɛ
Quatro (four)	–	fa ⁱ jə	fa ⁱ
Que (what)	vat ^h	vat	vat
Queijo (cheese)	ke:s	ke:s	ke:s
Queimar (to burn)	fɛbriɛnə	briɛne	fɔbriɛne
Quem (who)	vɛ:	vɛm	vɛ̃m
Quente (hot)	ha ⁱ t	ha ⁱ t	ha ⁱ t

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Quieto (quiet)	ʃtil	ruiç	ʃtil
Rabo (tail)	ʃwants	ʃwants	ʃvants
Raiz (root)	–	vøerdəl	vørdl
Ralar (to grind)	ri:və	ri:ve	ri:we
Rapaz (boy)	ja ^u ŋ	jo ^u ŋ	ja ^u ŋ
Raposa (fox)	–	valthunt	fūɔs
Raspar (grate)	afri:və	ʃrobe	–
Rastelo (rake)	ha:k	ha:rk	ha:k
Rede (net)	–	nīets	–
Rédea (horse tack, rein)	–	–	toiçl
Redondo (round)	runk	rund	rund
Relógio (clock)	u:	klōɔk	klo'k
Remédio (medicine)	meləsi:n	miləsi:n	mīləsi:n
Repolho (cabbage)	ko:l	ko:l	ko:l
Reto (straight)	grɔ:	grɔr	grɔ:
Rezar (to pray)	bɛ:rɐ	bɛ:rɐ	bɛ:re
Rio (river)	fluæss	fluæs	flus
Rio cheio (full river)	fula fluæss	o'vəʃwīemunk	ful
Rir (laugh)	laxɐ	laxɐ	laxən
Roçar (brush)	fo ^u zɐ	fo ^u zɐ	fo ^u sa
Roda (wheel)	rad	rat	ra:t
Rodo (rake)	–	kryk	kryk
Sabão (soap)	zip	se'p	ze'p
Saber (to know)	va'ɾɐ	va'ɾɐ	va'tn
Saia (skirt)	rōɔk	rōɔk	rōɔk
Sal (salt)	zulɔ	zult	zult
Saliva (spit)	wɔɾɐ ina mu:l / [spi'ç]	ʃpiç	ʃpiç
Salvar (rescue)	–	rɛra	rɛra
Sangue (blood)	bla ^u t	bla ^u t	bla ^u ɔ
Sapato (shoe)	ʃa ^u	ʃa ^u	ʃa ^u
Sapo (toad)	pōɔx	pōɔx	pōɔx
Se (if)	vɛn	vīɛn	vɛn
Seco (dry)	drøiç	drøiç	drøiç
Seio (breast)	ful ('cheio?')	bōɔst	tīətə

(continued)

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Segundo (second)	swa ⁱ ɖ	sva ⁱ t	twa ⁱ ɖ
Segurar pegar (grasp)	f ^a sthulə	f ^a sthula	f ^a sthula
Semente (seed)	zɔt	zɔ:t	zɔt
Senhor/dono/patrão (mister)	em / mɪt e ^h m (you.honorific)	patrā ^u	ɦɪ:r
Sentado (seated)	zi ^h t	si ^h t / zitənt	zitənt ('sitting')
Sentar (to sit)	ɦ ^h ɛnz ^h ɛtə	ɦ ^h ɪnzɛtə	zitə
Sepultura (grave)	graf	graf	graf
Serra (mountain)	ba:x	ba:x	ba:x
Seu nariz (de você) (your nose)	din nɛ:s	din nɛ:s	min nɛ:s ('my nose')
Seu nariz (dele) (his nose)	i ^h em sin nɛ:s	em sin nɛ:s	din nɛ:s ('your nose')
Sobrancelhas (eyebrows)	ɔ ^u ɣəbrɔ:nə	ɔ ^u ɣəbrɔ:n / firm	ɔ ^u ɣəbrɔ:n
Sobrinha (niece)	–	sobri ^h ɲu	so ^u brɪn
Sobrinho (nephew)	–	–	–
Sofrer (suffer)	u ^h thulə	u ^h thulə	u ^h thulə
Sol (sun)	zy ^h ən	zyn	zyn
Solo (soil)	e:	e:r	e:r
Sopa (soup)	zup	zu:p	zu ^h p
Soprar (to blow)	p ^h ustə	p ^h ustə	p ^h u'sta
Sorvete (ice cream)	– [is] 'ice'	i:s	i'sklu:t
Sujo (dirty)	dr ^h ɛkiç	dr ^h ɛkiç	m ^h ɛsiç
Taioba (kind of vegetable)	ti ^h ɔ ^u ba	ti ^h ɔ ^u ba	ti ^h ɔ ^u p
Tapete (carpet)	tape ⁱ t ^h	tape ⁱ t	tape ⁱ t
Televisão (TV)	televizā ^u	televizā ^u	televizā ^u
Telhado (roof)	dak	da:k	da:k
Terceiro (third)	da dryrd	dryrə	dry:r
Terra (land)	lanɖ / e:	e:r	e:r
Terreiro/pátio (yard/square)	plats	plats	plats
Tia (aunt)	tandə	t ^h andə	tandə
Tigela (bowl)	k ^h um	k ^h um	k ^h um
Tio (uncle)	u ^h ŋgəl	u ^h ŋkəl	u ^h ŋgəl
Tirar leite (to milk)	m ^h ɛlga	mɛlka	m ^h ɛlka
Todos (all)	alə	alə	alə

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Tomate (tomato)	tumada	tamate	t ^h umat
Touro (bull)	bule	bula	bule
Trabalhar (work)	a:be:rə	a:be:rə	a:be:rə
Trança (tress)	di flɛçt	flieçt	flieçt
Tratar (to treat)	–	futre	uppasən
Trazer (to bring)	brinjə	brinjə	mitbrinjə
Travesseiro (cushion)	kyəsə	kyəsə	kyəsə
Tremer (tremble)	sitre	sitre	sitre
Três (three)	dra: ⁱ	dra: ⁱ	dra: ⁱ
Trigo (wheat)	mɛ:l	vɛ:tme:l	mɛ:l
Tripas (guts)	[d̪a:ma]	da:mɛ	d̪a:ma
Tu/você (you.sg)	du	du:	du ^r
Tucano (toucan)	tuka:n	tuka:n	tuka:n
Túmulo (tomb)	graf	graf	graf
Último / fui o último a chegar (the last)	da lietst	da ⁱ lietst vat kome de:	lietst / wyn da letst west tam komən
Um (one)	ain	ainə	ain
Umbigo (navel)	buknɔ:ɣəl	buknɔ:ɣəl	buknɔ:ɣəl
Unha (nail)	fiŋəɔ:ɣəl	fiŋəɔ:ɣəl	nɔ:ɣəl
Urubu (vulture)	urubu	urubu	ɔsfɔ:ɣəlt
Vaca (cow)	ka ^u	ka ^u	k ^h a ^u
Vamos para casa (let's go home)	vim ɛs nɔ hu's gɔ: [u ^r] = 170 ms [s:] = 350 ms	vym nɔ hu's gɔ: [u ^r] = 180 ms	vilavi nɔ hu's gɔ:ʔ [u ^r] = 180 ms
Vassoura (broom)	biesəm	biezəm	biesəm
Vazio (empty)	lie: ⁱ ç (2 syll)	lierç (1 syll)	lie: ⁱ ç (2 syll)
Veado (dear)	–	re:	re: ⁱ
Velho (old)	ul/ult	ult	uld̪
Vem cá (come here)	kom he	kom he	kom he
Veneno (poison)	jift	jift	jift
Vento (wind)	vinđ	vinđ	vinđ
Ver (to see)	za:	sa: ⁱ	kikə
Verde (green)	gru: ⁱ n	gru: ⁱ n	gru: ⁱ
Verme/larva (earthworm)	wœəm (pL)	wœəm	wœəm
Vermelho (red)	ro ^u đ	ro ^u đ	ro ^u đ

(continued)

Lemma	ES	HB	LB
Viagem (trip)	re:s	re ¹ s:	re ¹ s
Viajar (to travel)	re:zə	re:zən	re: ¹ zə
Vir (come)	kome	kome	k ^h ome
Visitar (to visit)	biz <u>u</u> ⁱ gə	bizø ⁱ kə	bizu ⁱ ga
Viver (to live)	le:və	le:fa	le:və
Vivo / ele está vivo (he is alive)	ha ⁱ le:ft	le:vent / ha ⁱ de:t le:və	le:ft
Voar (to fly)	fla ⁱ jə	fla ⁱ jə	fla ⁱ jə
Vocês são bons (you are good)	ji· zin ga ^u t	ji· zin ga ^u t	ji: zin ga ^u t
Vomitar (to vomit)	k <u>o</u> ʊtse	k <u>o</u> ʊtse	k <u>o</u> ʊtse
Vós/vocês (you.PL)	ji:	ji·	ji·
Xícara (cup)	kanɪ ^h ek	t ^h as	t ^h as
Xixi (piss)	ze ⁱ ç	p ^h ɪəs	p ^h is
Caldeirão (cauldron)	i:s-ketl /swi-ketl	gro ^u tə kɛdl	gro ^u tə kɛdl

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Pomeranian is the West Germanic language spoken by European emigrants who went from Farther Pomerania (present-day Poland) to Brazil in the period 1857–1887. This language is no longer spoken in cohesive societies in Europe, but the language has survived and is in remarkably good shape on this language island in the tropical state of Espírito Santo. This monograph offers the first synchronic grammar of this language. After a historical introduction, the book offers a systematic description of its phonology, morphology and syntax. The language is contrasted with its European sisters, more particularly High German, Dutch, and Frisian. It highlights various phenomena that will presumably contribute to the ongoing theoretical debate on the Germanic verbal system. It provides new data on cluster V2, do-support, and the two infinitives. As to the infinitival syntax, the language shows remarkable parallels to the system of Frisian. As to the rich Pomeranian system of subtractive morphology, the phonological account that is offered, will be important for the ongoing discussion of the abstractness of phonological representations. Finally, Pomeranian is a welcome addition to the set of languages on which our etymological understanding of West Germanic is based.

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