

A Contrastive Grammar

of

Brazilian Pomeranian

by

Gertjan Postma

Meertens Institute Amsterdam
2018

© Gertjan Postma

Tabel of Content

| | |
|---|------|
| Preface..... | i |
| i. List of abbreviations | vi |
| ii. Technical terms..... | ix |
| iii. Phonological rules in Pomeranian | xii |
| iv. List of catalectic morphemes in Brazilian and European Pomeranian | xiii |
| 1 Historical introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Dialectology of Pomeranian in Europe | 1 |
| 1.1.1 The n/ø-isogloss in pronouns and the Infinitive 1–Infinitive 2 contrast | 3 |
| 1.1.2 Strong infelectional morphemes: <i>mijn laiwet/laiwes Kind</i> vs. <i>mij laiw-ø Kind</i> | 6 |
| 1.2 Brazilian Pomeranian | 7 |
| 1.2.1 Migration from Europe to Brazil | 8 |
| 1.2.1.1 Background..... | 8 |
| 1.2.1.2 Situation in Europe..... | 10 |
| 1.2.1.3 Emigration to the New World | 14 |
| 1.2.1.4 Summary | 24 |
| 1.2.2 'Düüts' and Pomeranian..... | 26 |
| 2 Phonology | 28 |
| 2.1 Tressmann's spelling | 28 |
| 2.2 Synchronic aspects: consonant inventory..... | 28 |
| 2.2.1 Obstruents [bpdtgk], and [f] vs [?] | 29 |
| 2.2.2 Fricatives [fwszʃʒxy] | 31 |
| 2.2.3 Nasals [n/m/ŋ/ŋk] | 32 |
| 2.2.4 Liquids [r/l] | 32 |
| 2.2.5 Vowels..... | 32 |
| 2.2.5.1 Length..... | 32 |
| 2.2.5.2 Overlength | 34 |
| 2.2.6 Umlaut or vowel mutation | 35 |
| 2.3 Historical phonology..... | 37 |
| 2.3.1 Vowels..... | 37 |
| 2.3.1.1 Heavy roots | 37 |
| 2.3.1.2 Schwa and -(ə)n. | 37 |
| 2.3.1.3 Breaking of long complex vowels..... | 39 |
| 2.3.2 Consonants..... | 39 |
| 2.3.2.1 Coda /r/ and onset /r/ | 39 |
| 2.3.2.2 Intervocalic rhotacism /d/ → /r/ | 40 |
| 2.3.2.3 Intervocalic /d/-clusters | 43 |
| 2.3.2.4 Other consonants..... | 45 |
| 2.3.2.5 Velarisation of root final /f/ > /g/ | 49 |
| 2.3.2.6 Nasal Spirant Law..... | 49 |
| 2.3.3 Palatalization | 50 |
| 2.3.4 Affrication..... | 51 |
| 2.3.5 Unrounding..... | 51 |
| 2.3.6 Debuccalization (deletion of [place]) | 51 |
| 2.3.7 Complex breaking of short vowels | 52 |
| 2.3.8 Intervocalic voicing | 54 |
| 2.3.9 Final devoicing | 55 |
| 2.3.10 Degemination | 56 |
| 2.4 Monophthongization..... | 56 |
| 2.5 Assimilation | 56 |
| 2.6 Catalexis of final suffixal (ə) and (n) | 57 |

| | | |
|---------|--|-----|
| 2.7 | Breaking | 59 |
| 2.8 | Epenthetic schwa..... | 61 |
| 2.9 | On the alternation /ui/ ~ /öi/..... | 62 |
| 2.10 | Contact speech and community mixing..... | 64 |
| 3 | Morphology | 66 |
| 3.1 | D-domain..... | 66 |
| 3.1.1 | Personal pronouns | 66 |
| 3.1.2 | Reflexive pronouns..... | 68 |
| 3.1.3 | Possessive pronouns | 69 |
| 3.1.4 | The "Saxon" genitive with family names | 69 |
| 3.1.5 | Nominalized possessive pronouns | 70 |
| 3.1.6 | Definite determiners..... | 71 |
| 3.1.7 | Indefinite articles | 72 |
| 3.1.8 | The (pronominal) forms <i>kainer</i> and <i>ainer</i> and the loss of nom-acc opposition | 74 |
| 3.1.9 | Quantifiers..... | 75 |
| 3.1.10 | Interrogative pronouns and the existential reading | 75 |
| 3.2 | The NP domain | 77 |
| 3.2.1 | Number..... | 77 |
| 3.2.2 | Noun classes | 78 |
| 3.2.3 | Diminutives..... | 80 |
| 3.3 | The AP domain..... | 81 |
| 3.3.1 | Predicative and Attributive inflection | 81 |
| 3.3.2 | Definite contexts..... | 83 |
| 3.3.3 | Indefinite and possessive contexts | 84 |
| 3.3.4 | The case of <i>klain</i> 'small' | 86 |
| 3.3.5 | Grades of comparison | 88 |
| 3.3.6 | Adjective incorporation..... | 90 |
| 3.3.7 | Material adjectives..... | 90 |
| 3.3.8 | Adjective + Bodypart + ED | 90 |
| 3.3.9 | The GE-prefix | 91 |
| 3.3.10 | The participial <i>-en</i> suffix..... | 91 |
| 3.4 | Adverbs..... | 91 |
| 3.5 | Numerals..... | 92 |
| 3.5.1 | Cardinals | 92 |
| 3.5.2 | Ordinals | 94 |
| 3.6 | Verbal Morphology | 94 |
| 3.6.1 | Two infinitives..... | 95 |
| 3.6.2 | Personal endings | 96 |
| 3.6.3 | Regular suffixal verbs (weak verbs) | 96 |
| 3.6.4 | Strong verbs | 97 |
| 3.6.5 | On the etymology of the apophonic past marker | 100 |
| 3.6.6 | Some notes on HAVE and BE and other irregular verbs | 100 |
| 3.6.7 | Apophonic sequences..... | 106 |
| 3.6.8 | Table of tenses..... | 109 |
| 3.6.9 | The imperative | 112 |
| 3.7 | Prepositional morphology | 114 |
| 3.7.1 | P + D contraction | 114 |
| 3.7.2 | Prepositions, postpositions, and verbal particles | 114 |
| 4 | Syntax..... | 117 |
| 4.1 | Verbal syntax..... | 117 |
| 4.1.1 | Verbal complementation and Verb second (cluster V2) | 117 |
| 4.1.2 | Verb raising | 120 |
| 4.1.3 | Infinitive 1 and infinitive 2 (use)..... | 121 |
| 4.1.3.1 | Overview | 121 |

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

| | | |
|----------|--|-----|
| 4.1.3.2 | Use of Infinitive 1..... | 121 |
| 4.1.3.3 | Use of Infinitive 2..... | 122 |
| 4.1.3.4 | <i>Taum</i> constructions with stacked verbs..... | 124 |
| 4.1.3.5 | Contexts with infinitive 1 or infinitive 2: Complement clauses | 124 |
| 4.1.3.6 | Four verb stacking | 127 |
| 4.1.3.7 | BE + <i>taum</i> | 127 |
| 4.1.3.8 | VP coordinations under <i>taum</i> | 127 |
| 4.1.4 | Participle complementation | 128 |
| 4.1.5 | Pseudo-coordination (parataxis) | 128 |
| 4.1.6 | Present Participle..... | 130 |
| 4.1.7 | Modal verbs | 132 |
| 4.1.7.1 | Morphology | 132 |
| 4.1.7.2 | Verb Projection Raising under modals | 133 |
| 4.1.7.3 | Non verbal complementation to modal verbs | 133 |
| 4.1.8 | Infinitive 2 | 134 |
| 4.1.9 | Passive/Perfect Participles | 135 |
| 4.1.10 | Auxiliary selection | 136 |
| 4.1.11 | The verb <i>daua</i> (lexical and auxiliary verb)..... | 137 |
| 4.1.11.1 | Lexical verb <i>daua</i> | 138 |
| 4.1.11.2 | Auxiliary <i>daua</i> | 138 |
| 4.1.11.3 | Progressive <i>daua</i> | 138 |
| 4.1.11.4 | Future/obligation (with negation) | 139 |
| 4.1.11.5 | Optative <i>daua</i> | 139 |
| 4.1.11.6 | Periphrastic <i>daua</i> ("do-support") in embedded clauses | 140 |
| 4.1.11.7 | Syntactic restrictions of auxiliary <i>daua</i> | 141 |
| 4.1.12 | <i>Bijm</i> + nominalized verb construction | 142 |
| 4.1.13 | NP raising constructions..... | 143 |
| 4.1.14 | Passive constructions..... | 144 |
| 4.1.14.1 | The periphrastic passive | 144 |
| 4.1.14.2 | Medio-passive | 144 |
| 4.1.14.3 | The "Active pro passive participle" effect (APP) | 145 |
| 4.2 | Negation | 146 |
| 4.2.1 | Adverbial negation | 146 |
| 4.2.2 | Negation in NPs..... | 147 |
| 4.2.3 | Negative Polarity | 147 |
| 4.3 | Nominal syntax..... | 148 |
| 4.3.1 | Possessive constructions | 148 |
| 4.3.2 | Empty NPs | 149 |
| 4.3.3 | DP domain | 149 |
| 4.3.3.1 | Coreference | 149 |
| 4.3.3.2 | SE-constructions | 150 |
| 4.3.4 | Adjectival syntax | 151 |
| 4.4 | The CP domain..... | 151 |
| 4.4.1 | Main clause interrogation | 151 |
| 4.4.2 | Interrogative tags..... | 151 |
| 4.4.3 | Imperative clauses..... | 152 |
| 4.4.4 | Exclamative clauses | 152 |
| 4.4.5 | Existential quantification..... | 153 |
| 4.4.6 | Complementizers | 153 |
| 4.4.7 | Double filled Comp | 154 |
| 4.4.8 | Complementizer clitics - enclitic pronouns | 155 |
| 4.4.9 | Complementizer agreement..... | 156 |
| 4.5 | The structural subject position | 157 |
| 4.5.1 | Null subjects | 157 |

| | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| 4.5.2 | Impersonal constructions..... | 159 |
| 4.5.3 | Existential constructions | 159 |
| 4.6 | Prepositional syntax..... | 160 |
| 4.6.1 | Case selection by prepositions | 161 |
| 4.6.2 | <i>Up 'on'</i> | 161 |
| 4.6.3 | <i>Fo(n) 'of'</i> | 162 |
| 4.6.4 | <i>Ana</i> - Postposition and verbal particle..... | 162 |
| 4.6.5 | Preposition stranding..... | 163 |
| 4.6.6 | <i>Tau 'to'</i> | 164 |
| 4.6.7 | <i>Bet 'until'</i> | 165 |
| 4.6.8 | <i>Tüschen 'between'</i> | 166 |
| 4.7 | Sentence integration..... | 166 |
| 4.7.1 | Parataxis..... | 166 |
| 4.7.1.1 | Connectors..... | 166 |
| 4.7.1.2 | Paratactic Quantifier Restriction | 166 |
| 4.7.2 | Hypotaxis (clausal complementation) | 168 |
| 4.7.2.1 | Subject clauses..... | 168 |
| 4.7.2.2 | Complement clauses | 168 |
| 4.7.2.3 | Relative clauses | 169 |
| 4.7.2.4 | Free relative clauses..... | 169 |
| 4.7.2.5 | Complement clauses to NPs, APs, etc..... | 171 |
| 4.7.2.6 | Complementizer drop and embedded V2 | 171 |
| 4.7.2.7 | Cleft sentences | 171 |
| 5 | Derivational morphology | 173 |
| 5.1 | Suffixes..... | 173 |
| 5.1.1 | Nominalizers | 173 |
| 5.1.1.1 | Deadjectival suffix <i>-t/-d</i> as underlying <i>-d(e)_ø</i> | 174 |
| 5.1.1.2 | <i>-sch</i> | 175 |
| 5.1.1.3 | <i>-in</i> | 176 |
| 5.1.2 | Adjectivizers..... | 176 |
| 5.1.3 | Other suffixes | 177 |
| 5.1.3.1 | Other suffixes | 177 |
| 5.2 | Prefixes | 178 |
| 5.2.1 | Verbal prefixes | 178 |
| 5.2.2 | Separable and inseparable verbal prefixes..... | 178 |
| 5.3 | Conversion..... | 179 |
| 5.4 | Compounding..... | 179 |
| 6 | Lexis..... | 179 |
| 6.1 | Pomeranian lexical basis..... | 179 |
| 6.2 | Locations | 180 |
| 6.3 | Surnames | 181 |
| 6.4 | Borrowings..... | 181 |
| 6.5 | Interjections..... | 184 |
| 6.6 | Germanisms | 184 |
| 6.6.1 | Double forms (Low and High German)..... | 185 |
| 6.6.2 | Kinship terms..... | 185 |
| 6.7 | Other sequences..... | 186 |
| 6.8 | Tongue twisters | 186 |
| 7 | Texts..... | 188 |
| 7.1 | Prose | 188 |
| 7.1.1 | "Up Pomersch språk/Up Platt Dutsch" | 188 |
| 7.1.2 | "Dai porch un dai twai guisa"..... | 189 |
| 7.2 | Songs and Rhymes | 190 |
| 7.2.1 | <i>Ik un mijn uldsch</i> | 190 |

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 7.2.2 | <i>Marij marak</i> | 190 |
| 7.2.3 | Wedding song | 190 |
| 7.2.4 | Lover's Song | 191 |
| 7.3 | Dai Muter eira hochtjd | 191 |
| 8 | Comparative Linguistics | 194 |
| 8.1 | Pomeranian vowels | 194 |
| 8.1.1 | Diphthongs..... | 194 |
| 8.1.2 | Long vowels..... | 195 |
| 8.1.3 | Short Vowels | 196 |
| 8.2 | List of West-Germanic glides -w and -j > Pomm -g | 197 |
| 8.3 | Pomeranian long /üü/, [y:] (in closed syllables) | 199 |
| 8.4 | Wenker sentences in European and Brazilian Pomeranian. | 202 |
| 8.5 | Wisconsin Pomeranian | 206 |
| 8.6 | Wenker sentences in other languages..... | 207 |
| 9 | European Pomeranian | 211 |
| 9.1 | Introduction..... | 211 |
| 9.2 | Charter of 1388 by Warslaff and Bogislaff, dukes of Pomerania | 212 |
| 9.3 | Aldermen's Registers of Freienwalde i Pom, 1329-1503 | 213 |
| 9.4 | Church Rules of Pomerania, 1535 | 214 |
| 9.5 | Children's song taken from Müller's Probe, 1756)..... | 215 |
| 9.6 | A Wedding in the Underworld (Budow, ~1833) | 215 |
| 9.6.1 | The story | 216 |
| 9.6.2 | Charateristics..... | 218 |
| 9.7 | Trickster story (~1886) | 218 |
| 9.7.1 | The story | 219 |
| 9.7.2 | Charactistics | 224 |
| 10 | Historical Charters | 226 |
| 10.1 | Settlement of Frisian premonstratensian monks in Pomerania (1208). | 226 |
| 10.2 | Settlement of Frisian premonstratensian sisters in Pomeranian (1224)..... | 227 |
| 11 | Specimen of an early immigration record | 233 |
| 12 | References | 236 |
| 13 | Maps | 246 |
| 14 | Wordlist..... | 248 |

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. Kantzov'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 studied², it has been 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

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

² Radlof (1812) 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 (1875) 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 (1838), cf. 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 (1875), Priebe & Teuchert (1927), and Wiesinger (1983) take account of the Farther Pomeranian dialects. Vollmer (2008) makes laudable efforts to reconstruct some lost Farther Pomeranian documents.

these Pomeranian dialects, in the way it has been done for, among others 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 have been 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 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 and his Pomeranian-Portuguese dictionary.⁴ Furthermore, we could take material from various interviews in the socio-linguistic studies by

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.

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

Hartwig, 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 for critically proofreading the manuscript. Finally, I thank all my informants, especially Hilda Braun, Lília Stein, and 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 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 | führen |
| | 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. *fünwt* 'fifth', *großfater* 'grandfather', *tauwa* '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 (1908b) area between the line Międzyzdroje-Noteć-Oder confluence and the 17°36' longitude).⁵ There is, of course, variation, and wherever we encounter variation, this variation is acknowledged.

⁵ Wrede 1908:295) erroneously writes "36° längengrad" (...von der Linie Misdroy-Netzemündung ostwärts (...) bis zum 36° längengrad).

i. List of abbreviations

| | |
|-------|--|
| A | adjective or adverb |
| AcI | Accusativus cum Infinitivo, e.g. <i>I saw him walk.</i> |
| ACC | accusative |
| art | article |
| attr | attributive |
| Asp | aspectual projection |
| AUX | auxiliary verb |
| BP | Brazilian Pomeranian (defined in the next paragraph) |
| CL | (Pronominal) clitic |
| COMP | complementizer |
| def. | definite |
| D | determiner (article or pronoun) |
| DAT | dative |
| DIR | directional |
| DP | Dicionario do Pomerano, cf. Tressmann (2006b) |
| Du | Dutch |
| Eng | English |
| EP | European Pomeranian (defined in the next paragraph) |
| ES | Espírito Santo, tropical state of Brazil with Pomeranian immigration (> 1859). |
| EXPL | Expletive (dummy morpheme that saturates a syntactic position) |
| erg | unaccusative/ergative |
| FEM | feminine |
| fut | future |
| Fri | Frisian, as spoken in the province of Frisia in the Netherlands |
| GE | ge-prefix, attached to participles in some West Germanic variants |
| Ger | German |
| ger | gerund, see inf2 |
| GLFP | Gemeindelexikon für den Freistaat Preußen. Provinz Pommern. |
| GTRP | Goeman-Taeldeman-Van Reenen Project, digital version of the Morphological Atlas of the Dutch Dialects. |
| HG | High German |
| imp | imperative |
| indef | indefinite |
| inf1 | infinitive in -a ([ə] or [ɛ]) |
| inf2 | infinitive in -en, usually under <i>taum.</i> |
| infl | inflection |
| intr | intransitive/unergative |
| LG | Low German |
| MASC | masculine |
| MD | Middle Dutch |
| ME | Middle English |
| N | noun |
| NMN | nominalizing suffix, in particular -n. |
| NEUT | neuter |
| NOM | nominative |
| obs | obsolete |
| OCP | Obligatory Contour Principle |
| opt | optative or Konjunktiv II |

| | |
|-------|---|
| P | preposition |
| pass | passive |
| PAST | past tense |
| perf | perfect |
| pfp | perfect participle |
| PGmc | Proto-Germanic |
| PL | plural |
| Pom | Pomeranian |
| Port | Portuguese |
| POSS | possessive |
| pp | passive participle |
| pred | predicative |
| pres | present tense |
| pret | preterite |
| prog | progressive |
| prp | present participle |
| PR | Paraná, subtropical state in the south of Brazil |
| PRT | (verbal) particle |
| ptc | participle |
| REFL | reflexive |
| RJ | Rio de Janeiro, tropical state in Brazil |
| RS | Rio Grande do Sul, subtropical state in the south of Brazil |
| SC | Santa Catarina, subtropical state in the south of Brazil |
| SE | weak reflexive |
| SP | São Paulo, (sub)tropical state in Brazil |
| SU | Subject |
| UmL | <i>Upm Land</i> short stories collected by Tressmann and Kuhn, cf. Tressmann (2006a). |
| UNS | abstract notation for the 1st person plural pronoun (after German <i>uns</i> 'us') |
| sg | singular |
| T/TP | tense projection |
| TOP | topic (pronoun) |
| V2 | "Verb second", i.e. positioning the finite verb on the second position in the clause. |
| V/VP | verbal projection |
| WGmc | West Germanic |
| WH | Interrogative constituents and pronouns |
| Wxx | Wenker sentence nr xx. The digital indicates the number of the Wenker sentence for "Die 40 Sätze Nord- und Mitteldeutschlands". |
| Wxxxx | Wenker location |

-
- 1 1st person (of pronouns and verbal forms)
 2 2nd person (of pronouns and verbal forms)
 3 3rd person pronoun (of pronouns and verbal forms)
 12pl 1st person plural and 2nd person plural
 23sg 2nd person singular and 3rd person singular
 ✕ subtractive morphology, e.g. in the paradigm of the indef. art. *ain*, ✕ produces *ai*.
 - absence of inflection, e.g. in the paradigm of the indef. art
 * ungrammatical or reconstructed form
 (...)o catalectic morpheme. Catalexis will be defined in the next paragraph.

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

- [ec] empty category / trace
- separates forms that are in a paradigmatic relation, e.g. huus - hüusa 'house(s)'.
- / 1. separates alternates with equal morphological specification, e.g.: huus / *hus 'house'.
2. separates morphemes in an enumeration, e.g.: the liquids r/r/l/l.
- 3. in a phonological rule together with __: "in the context of", e.g.: x / __ yyy
- <x> orthographic representation
- [x] phonetic representation
- /x/ phonemic representation
- 'x' semantic representation
- "towards", indicates a regular synchronic rule; also ← "from".
- > "towards", indicates a regular diachronic development (sound law); also < "from".
- ~ etymologically related to
- *x 1. x is ungrammatical, e.g. before example sentences and in the context of /
2. x is reconstructed, e.g. in the context of <

ii. 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 (...)_o. In contrast to the zero morphemes in Myers (1984) and Pesestky (1995), these zero-morphemes have (underlying) segmental content, but no prosodic space to realize. A famous case of phonological latency is French [pəti] - [pətit] 'small.m/f' and [gri] - [griz] 'gray.m/f', which are taken as underlying *peti(t)o* - *petit(e)o*. and *gri(z)o* and *griz(e)o*. A case of morphological catalexis is the Arabic "ta? marbuta"⁶, 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)_o and (n)_o. Many so-called "subtractive" paradigms (cf. Golston & Wiese 1995, Holsinger & Houseman 1998, Birkenes 2014) become regular under the assumption of catalexis of final (e)_o and (n)_o. 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 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 saxonification is not well

⁶ Lit. 'closed t', because of the way of writing it in Arabic script.

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.

Inguaeonic

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' [t̪ełç], as an alternative pronunciation of the simple short vowel [t̪ełç]. The ligature notation is ambiguous between the pre-articulated and post-articulated version: [ɛ̄] and [ɪ̄].

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.

iii. Phonological rules in Pomeranian

| <u>Diachronic</u> | <u>Proto-WGmc.</u> | <u>Pomeranian</u> | |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 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 | " |
| | ää: | → ai | " |
| <u>Synchronic</u> | <u>Pomeranian</u> | <u>Pomeranian</u> | |
| R5. | -ən | → -ə | catalexis: ə(n)ø |
| R6. | -ə | → - | catalexis: (ə)ø |
| R7. | -n | → ø / VV | catalexis (n)ø |
| R8. | -d- | → -r- | intervocalic rhotacism |
| R9. | -ld- | → -l- | intervocalic cluster reduction |
| | -nd- | → -n- | " |
| | -rd- | → -r- | " |
| R11. | [ɛ] | → [iɛ e᷑] | pre-/post-articulation |
| | [ɔ] | → [vɔ ɔ᷑] | |
| | [i] | → [jɪ r᷑] | |
| | [œ] | → [yœ œ᷑] | |
| | [y] | → [jy] | |
| | [u] | → [wu] | |
| R12. | -d, -ŋ, -w, -z | → -t, -ŋk, -f, -s | final devoicing |
| R13. | [-voice] | → [+voice] / Vn ____ V | intervocalic lenition in n-clusters |

**iv. List of catalectic morphemes in Brazilian and European Pomeranian
(for back reference only)**

| <i>BP and EP</i> | <i>morpheme</i> | <i>example</i> | <i>evidence</i> |
|-------------------|---------------------|--|---|
| adj inflection | (e) _ø | gaud(e) _ø | intervocalic rhotacism: <i>gaur</i> |
| adj inflection | (n) _ø | gaud(e)(n) _ø | lack of schwa apocope: <i>gaura</i> |
| subtractive morph | (n) _ø | mij(n) _ø , ai(n) _ø | paradigm <i>mij/mijn/mijna</i> |
| dim morpheme | (n) _ø | klai(n) _ø | paradigm <i>klai/klain/klaina</i> |
| verbal infl pl | e(n) _ø | wij reere(n) _ø | nasalisation of enclitic <i>wij</i> : <i>wi'm</i> |
| infl morpheme | e(n) _ø | reere(n) _ø koina | lack of schwa apocope: <i>reera</i> |
| inf2 morpheme | end(e) _ø | rerend(e) _ø | intervocalic cluster reduction: <i>reeren</i> |
| nominalizer | d(e) _ø | fröid(e) | intervocalic rhotacism: <i>fröir</i> |
| nominal class | e(n) _ø | oowe(n) _ø | plural <i>oowens</i> 'ovens' |
| nominal class | (e) _ø | fruug(e) _ø | plural <i>fruuges</i> 'women' |
| plural morpheme | (e) _ø | hund(e) _ø | intervocalic cluster reduction + compensatory lengthening: <i>huun</i> |
| nominal ending | e(r) _ø | wåte(r) _ø | <i>wåtra</i> 'pour', <i>wåtrig</i> 'watery' |
| <hr/> | | | |
| <i>EP</i> | | | |
| past -ed morpheme | d(e) _ø | ik setd(e) _ø | intervocalic rotacism + compensatory lenthingen: <i>seer</i> |

1 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)⁷, 2. -s plurals in nouns, and 3. a unified plural ending in verbs (*Einheitsplural*). Pomeranian shares the latter with neighbouring coastal dialects. Although, the Ingvaenic n-drop is only partially carried through in Pomeranian, it happened to the point that Pomeranian is even closer to English than Frisian.

⁷ The so-called Nasal Spirant Law (Bremmer 2009, Schönfeld 1970:26).

| (1) | Ingvaemonic <i>n</i> -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 ⁸ | goose | - | goes | gans | Ganse |
| fiiw | 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 during the so-called *Ostsiedlung*, the "going east" of settlers, land developers, and merchants coming from Flanders, Holland and Frisia, and the core Saxon areas in the 11th century and later.⁹

Virtually all Pomeranians converted to Lutheranism in the 16th century¹⁰ and there were very few non-Lutherans (less than 5%, mainly Catholics and Jews) in the days of the emigration (Krak 1864).¹¹ 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 use', *grousmuta* 'grandmother', etc. as well as semi-germanisms, such as *hochtijd* 'wedding' of which only the first part is German (*Hochzeit*)).

⁸ Pl. *guisa*. Alternative forms are *gääs* [jɛ:s]- *gääsa*. Originally, it must have been *gaus - *gääs cf. Fri *goes* [uə] – *gies* [iə] ('goose - geese'). *Guis-* is the umlauted form of *gaus-.

⁹ "Die Periode der Kolonisation Hinterpommerns kommt aber erst durch die Gründung (of the monastery) Belbucks in Gang. (...) Die Wahl friesischer Mönche trug dem Sumpfbezirk zwischen Treptow und Meer den Zuzug friesische Bauern" (Priewe & Teuchert 1927/1928:254).

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ More precise data for 1932 can be obtained from GLFP.

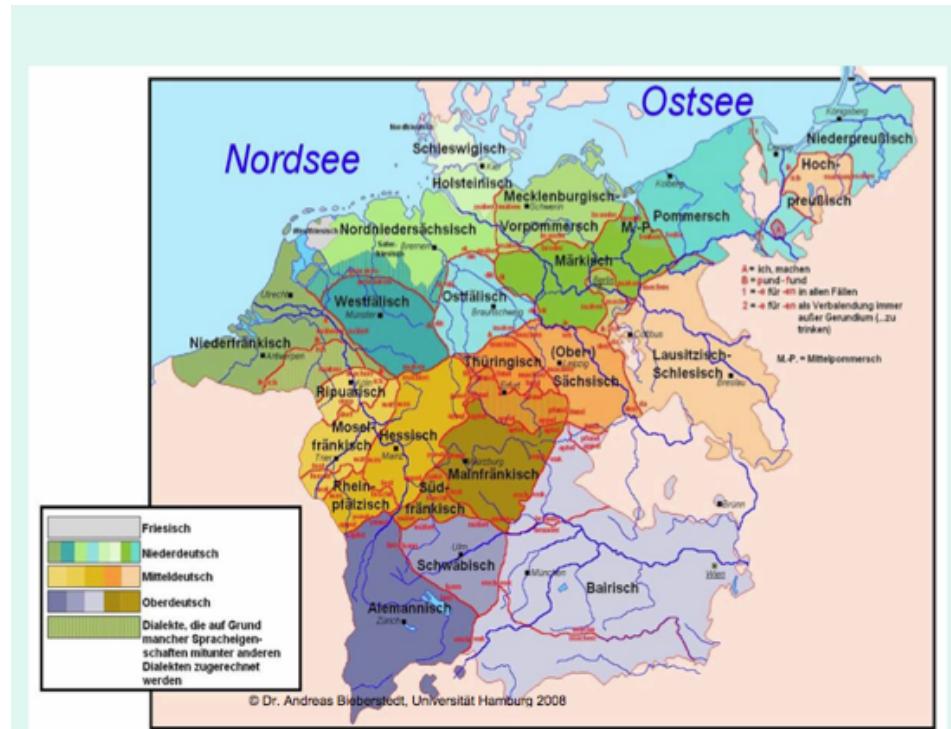
1.1.1 The n/ø-isogloss in pronouns and the Infinitive 1–Infinitive 2 contrast

While the previous Ingvaemonic 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 Ingvaemonism, 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) ¹² | 'you(r)' |
| d. | loupe(n) | ~ loupa loupen | (infinitive 1) (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 1908c:295, Laabs 1980:52 note 7)¹³, as becomes visible by comparing Bieberstedt's map of the *-n* isogloss in (4ab) and Wenker's map of 'us' reproduced below in (5a).

(3) a.

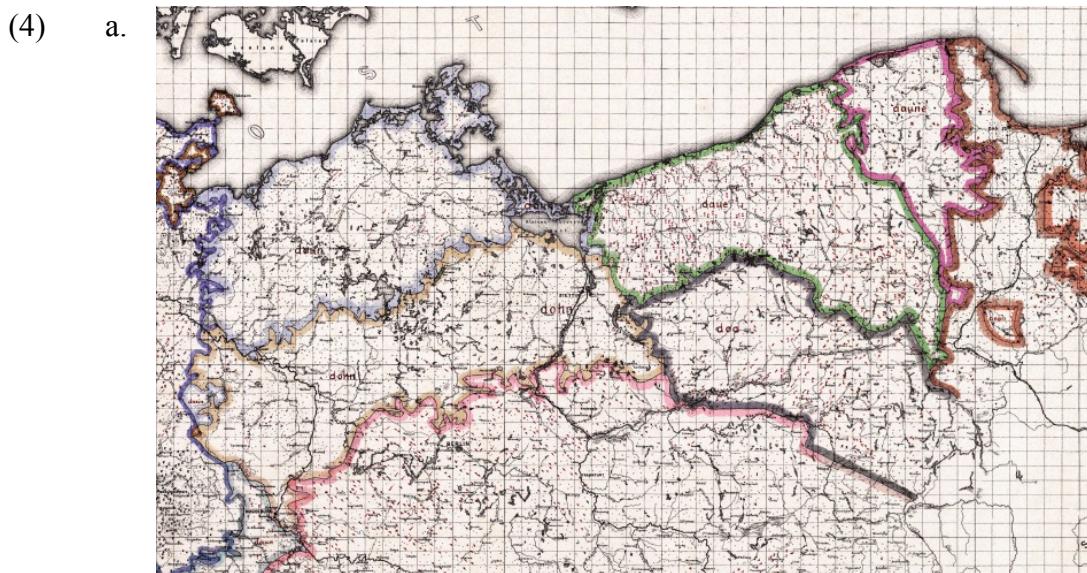


¹² Glide velarisation will be discussed in section 2.3.2.4.2 and 8.2.

¹³ For the Western border, cf. also Priebe & Teuchert (1927/1928: 153), Holsten (1952:110). Neither author notices the double infinitive system.



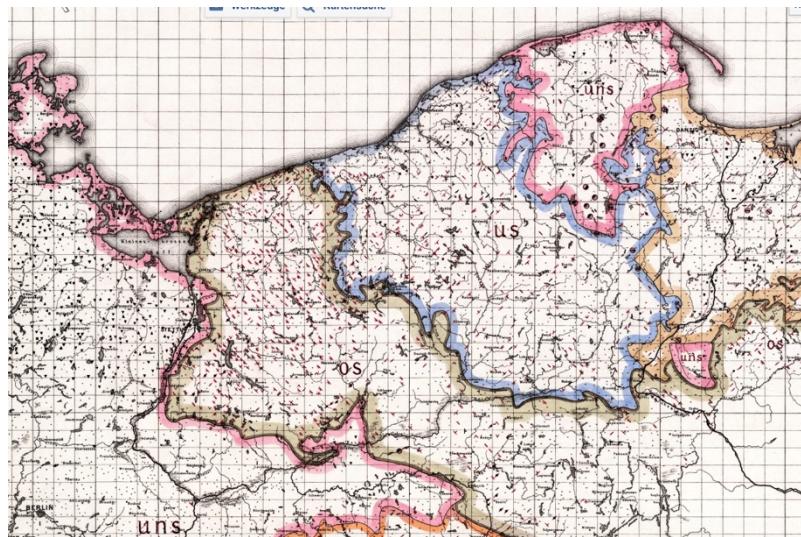
The map below, taken from Wenker's Atlas, shows a green area with a drop of *-n* in monosyllabic infinitives, like *daua* 'do', *gåa* 'go', *saia*, 'see', where Pomeranian patterns with modern English (*do* < ME *doon*).



¹⁴The area of infinitival n -drop coincides with n -drop in the pronominal system.

¹⁴ 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.

(4) b.



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) |
|-------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| gerund | -en | -en | -e(n) |
| infinitive1 | -en | -e-ø | -e(n) |
| 1pl | Vns (uns) | V-ø-s (us) | Vns (ons) |
| | Groningen (East) | Frisia (Middle) | Holland (West) |
| gerund | -en | -en | -e(n) |
| infinitive1 | -en | -e-ø | -e(n) |
| 1pl | Vns (ons) | V-ø-s (ús) | 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 nominalizer¹⁵, 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}.

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

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

1.1.2 Strong infelectional 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 Saxon¹⁶, 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, neuter nom&acc).

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

¹⁵ In Minimalist terms, it is analyzed as little *v* in Postma (2014).

¹⁶ Lasch (1914:204). Its absence in the Heliand is probably due to its relatively western origin (Werden), i.e. west to the Diepholzer Linie.

the West; Low Prussian in the East, which both have these (floating) *-er/-et* morphemes, at least optionally.

| | | |
|-----|-------------------|------------|
| (8) | mij-ø laiw-ø Kind | 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 up¹⁷, as is the case East from the eastern isogloss in Prussia (*-et*). This morpheme **never** shows up in the Pomeranian dialects. I have found only 6 isolated cases¹⁸ in Farther Pomerania that participate in this German feature, but the dialects do not have two infinitives (*-e/-en*) in all these cases either.¹⁹ This corroborates the fundamental status of the western and eastern two-infinitive isoglosses in the demarcation of the Pomeranian dialects in Europe.

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

¹⁷ 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 elicitations, 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 - Versmold - Rilchenbach - Blankenheim - Saarbrücken - Boustroff (near Metz). As this isogloss crosses the town of Diepholz, we coined it the *Diepholzer-Linie*.

¹⁸ Zeblin (Cybulino, W00453), Groß Leistikow (Lestkowo, W50506), Barfussdorf (Zolwia Bloc, W51121), Köpik (Kopice, W50482), Drammin (Dramino, W50731), Liepnitz (Lipnica, W00374).

¹⁹ To my knowledge, this anticorrelation between the double infinitive system and strong inflection has never been reported in the literature.

states of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul).²⁰ 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 state of Espírito Santo in Brazil begins, at least as far it has been documented in the immigration records, in 1859 and continues for three decades until 1887.²¹ 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 persuasion, that did not emigrate. 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 Bremenkamp 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

²⁰ 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.

²¹ 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.

the dominant group among a broad group of immigrants from Holland (colônia "Holanda"), Switzerland (colônia "Suiça"), Hunsrück (colônia "Luxemburgo") and Austria (colônia "Tirol"), the Pomeranians imposed their language on other immigrants (Lutherische Kirche 1955:137)²², 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 (Wernicke 1910, Schaffel *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 provide "Pommern/Pomerania" as their land of origin, in addition to the village of their provenance, not their formal Prussian nationality.²³ The Pomeranians's 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 2015). 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 2010), 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 has 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.²⁴

²² "Es waren auch einige Rheinländer, Hessen, Luxemburger, Holländer und sogar Polen darunter. Aber da die Pommern weitaus in der Mehrheit waren, haben alle andern sich kirchlich und völkisch den Pommern assimiliert".

²³ 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.

²⁴ "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 Bei-

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 11th century and later.²⁵ 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 powers Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the Holy Roman Empire. Virtually all Pomeranians converted to Lutheranism in the 16th century²⁶ 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 (Krak 1864)²⁷ 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 Gottfriend 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,

behaltung ländlicher Werte und den Gebrauch ihres ursprünglichen Dialektes als identitätsstiftende Merkmale charakterisiert sind." (Seyferth 2010:745).

²⁵ Die Periode der Kolonisation Hinterpommerns kommt aber erst durch die Gründung [of the monastery, GJP] Belbucks in Gang. (...) Die Wahl frischer Mönche trug dem Sumpfbezirk zwischen Treptow und Meer den Zuzug frische Bauern (Priewe & Teuchert 1927/1928:254).

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ More precise data for 1932 can be obtained from GLFP.

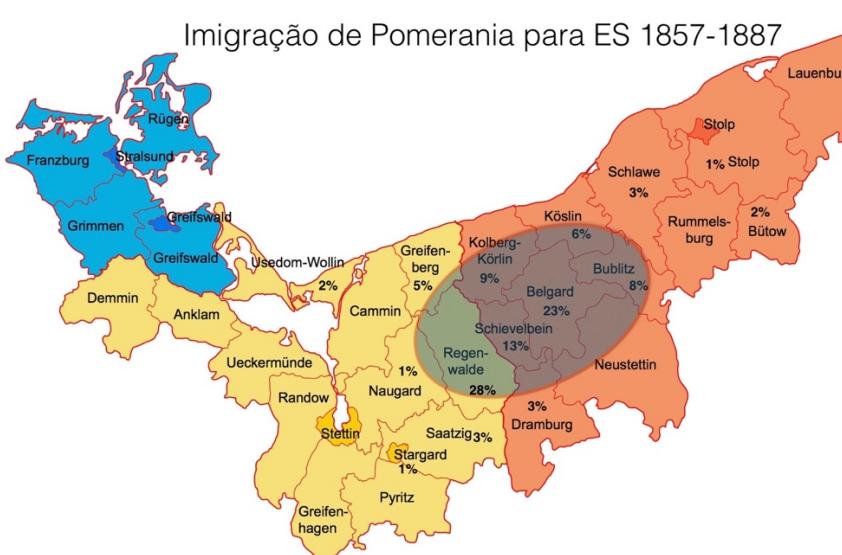
especially to Wisconsin and upstate New York. To what extent religious reasons underlay emigration to Brazil is unknown, but the fact that virtually all immigrants are Old Lutheran (i.e. the denomination that refused merger with Reformed Church) makes it probable that it played at least some role. On 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 and stopped in 1845, 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 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.

| <i>Immigrants and place of origin</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 |
| Pyritz | - | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Total Localized | 175 | 240 | 279 | 4 | 698 |
| Not localized | 11 | 177 | 1329 | 45 | 1562 |

Immigration from Pomerania.

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, Rümmelsburg) 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).



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 laiwas/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 all 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 Pomeranian. 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 to 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, Louden 2009). Only as a second option did Brazil function as a destiny (Tschudi 1860, Marques 1879, Wagemann 1915, Hartwig 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, transcontinentally, to Brazil. The idea was that settlers to these areas would preserve their *Deutschstum* ("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 *Deutschstum* 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 an 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" [my translation].

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 orginal character (*Volkstum*) exceptionally well." Here, we see that isolation, not contact with the German motherland, made *Deutschtum* more resistent.²⁸

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

²⁸ 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.

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.²⁹ 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 German 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

²⁹ Cf. Relatorio of 1856 by Luiz Pedreira do Couto Ferraz, page 23-27.

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 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).³⁰ 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)³¹ and it made the south of Brazil the main target of immigration.

³⁰ 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.

³¹ Cf. *Immigração – orgão da sociedade central de emigração* 18 (1886) p.2: "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, 1886).

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 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: to 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 colony 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 Isabel³² 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).³³ Because of internal religious tensions in the community of Santa Isabel, the Protestants established their own sister colony in Domingo Martins³⁴ 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 Leopoldina³⁵ 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 built a

³² We follow the modern spelling. Older documents also give the name Santa Izabel.

³³ 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.

³⁴ The name was *Campinho*, which is still in use among the colonists. We will use the official name.

³⁵ The older name is Porto de Cachoeiro. In Pomeranian it is called *Boat*: *im Boat*= 'in Santa Leopoldina'.

new life in the colonies in *California*, *Biriricas*, slightly later *Jequitibá*³⁶ (1879) and *Melgaço* (1883).³⁷ The Pomeranian immigrants were all Lutherans (Droogers 2008).³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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).⁴⁰ 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.

³⁶ The modern name is mostly Caramuru, though *Jequitibá* is used as well.

³⁷ Lutherische Kirche (1955:222).

³⁸ In the Pomeranian immigration records from 1859-1889, only two Catholics show up and 14 without listed religion.

³⁹ 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".

⁴⁰ "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).

| Germanic settlements 1818-1860 in Brazil; Southern settlements are grayed out. Source: Schappelle (1917) a.o. | | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|----|--|---|
| 1818 | Colonia Leopoldina | BH | Swiss | - |
| 1819 | Novo Friburgo/ Cantagallo | RJ | Swiss, later German | - |
| 1824 | São Leopoldo | RS | Hunsrück | + |
| 1827 | Santo Amaro | SP | Germany | - |
| 1828 | Quilombo | SP | South Germany | - |
| 1828 | São Pedro de Alcântara | SC | Rhineland | ? |
| 1829 | Rio Negro | PR | Germany | |
| 1845 | Petropolis | RJ | Hunsrück, Westphalia, Pfalz, 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?) Pomerania and Mecklenburg | - |
| 1850 | Mundo Novo | RS | Hunsrück (and Pomerania?) | + |
| 1851 | Theophilo Ottoni | MG | Germany | ? |
| 1851 | Dona Francisca | SC | Hamburg area (High German, no dialect) | - |
| 1857 | Domingo Martins | ES | Protestant Hunsrück from Santa Isabel, Pomerania | ± |
| 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, Westphalia | ? |

ES = Espírito Santo, BH = 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 (BH, 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)⁴¹, in sharp contrast to for instance the

⁴¹ 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.

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.⁴² 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, Willem 1946, 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.

⁴² There were settlers from Hesse and Darmstadt as well. These were outnumbered and outstripped by the Hunsrück and merged with these (Willem 1947).

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

(9)

Some typical borrowings from Portuguese in the various immigrant languages

| Portuguese | English gloss | Lacmann 1906:61/159 "Kolonisten sprache" in SC/RS | Wagemann 1915:127 "Kolonisten sprache" ES | Schappelle 1917:26 "Kolonisten sprache" RS | Willem 1946:274 RS | Tressmann 2006/ Schaeffer 2012 Pomeranian ES |
|---------------|---------------|--|--|---|-----------------------|---|
| doce | dessert | doss | doss | dos | dos/dose | suit(es) |
| capinar/roçar | to mow | rossieren/butza | - | capinen | kapinen | putsa |
| onça | tiger | - | onze | - | - | tijger/tijr |
| feijão | beans | - | Bohnen | feschong | fexóng | bouna |
| pasto | meadow | past | - | past | past/bast | weir |
| macaco | monkey | - | - | makak | makák | åp |
| cana | sugar cane | - | - | canne | kane | (suka)rour |
| portão | gate | portong | - | - | - | hek, portang |
| foice | scythe | fuchs | Fose | - | fose/feuse/feuste | fous |
| manga | mango | - | mange | - | manga | mang |
| venda | shop | vende | vende | vende | vende | vend |
| arroba | measure | - | Arrobe | - | arobe | rouba |
| milho | corn | - | Miljo | - | milgen/melgen /milye | mijlcha |
| fumo | tobacco | - | Fuhm | - | fum | fum, tåbak |
| 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 traveler like Wagemann had sufficient awareness of distinct dialects within the "Kolonistensprache". A nice example of dialect confusion is found in Schappelle, an American 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 deitsche 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 [dy:tʃ], 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 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".⁴³ 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 1946:93 [translation GJP]).

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.⁴⁴ 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).

⁴³ "Os colonos que alli prosperão com maior segurança e rapidez são os Pomeranos (sic), que eram agricultores no seu paiz".

⁴⁴ A complicating factor is the recently developed and developing "Pomeranian pride" that re-vitalize and even re-invent Pomeranian words and customs.

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 arquives 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.⁴⁵ 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 Europea did not exist anymore after World War II. Third, the intra-immigrant dynamics in Espírito Santo was special as the 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.

⁴⁵ 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 *et al.* 2017).

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 *Deutschum* 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).⁴⁶

What Seyferth here criticizes, is the socio-linguistic denial of the Teuto-Brazilian culture as a *system in itself*⁴⁷, 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

⁴⁶ "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.

⁴⁷ Willems (1947:159) writes: "It is, therefore, not the Pomeranian culture that we actually find in Espírito Santo, but just features of that culture".

dominant culture. In some cases this focus on decline is indeed justified when desintegration is a major characterization of the linguistic manifestation of the immigrant group (e.g. Schaffel *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 'Düüts' 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.⁴⁸ The Pomeranians' identification with Prussia was remote. In the later records, the immigrants provide "Deutschland/Alemanha" as their origin. As to the language, they spoke *platt* or *plattdüütsch* and the distance with *Hochdeutsch* (High German) was considerable: many Pomeranians could not understand the religious service (Hartwig 2011, Siller 2011, Schaffel 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 magazin 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

⁴⁸ 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.

parallel Portuguese translation, and published as part of Seibel's (2011) dissertation, and furthermore with the interviews in Siller (2011), and Schaffel (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. 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.

2 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, just 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 | | ? | |
| Nasal | m | | n | | n̪ | ŋ | | |
| Trill | | | r | | | | | |
| Fricative | | f v | s z | ʃ ʒ | ç/j | x/y | (χ) | h/h̪ |
| Approximant | β | | | | 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 [h̪] vs [?]

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' [h^{and}] and *kant* [k^{ant}] '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]. 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* [l^{and}], not [l^{ant}^h] 'country'. This coda [t/d], written as <d>, in *hand* is a devoiced stop, i.e. [d̪], that drops in the plural: [heine]. Frisian has gone here the full way by dropping /d/ in both singular and plural: *hān-hannen* 'hand(s)'. Dental drop in clusters only happens with clusters that have underlying /d/, i.e. not with underlying /t/, i.e. [t]: *land-läner* 'land(s)', *band-bäin* 'band(s)' versus *plant-planda* 'plant(s)', *kant-käinda* '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-: *åwer* ~ 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'.

Intervocally, 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^ha], nor /helpa/ as *[he^{lph}a].

Intervocalic [g] has developed into [ɣ] and [χ], 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* [bre:kə] not *[bre:gə] 'to break'.⁴⁹ This shifting to the voiced domain does occur with underlying /ŋk/, e.g. one can hear *denka* 'to think' as [deŋgə] besides [deŋkə]. This shift to the voiced domain has just a phonetic status, not a phonological one.⁵⁰

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 mixed⁵¹, area of Santa Leopoldina (ES), Schaeffer (2012) reports an older bilingual female speaker who realizes *bijta* 'to bite' as [bi:də], and two younger speakers of either sex that realize it as [pi:tə]. 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 intervocally.

The /h/ is mostly realized as voiced, i.e. [ɦ] as in Dutch⁵² and Frisian⁵³, not voiceless as in German⁵⁴ and English. 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.

⁴⁹ 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 intervocally voiced /k/.

⁵⁰ But it is heard by the Portuguese ear. This causes individual bilingual speakers to often make a systematic choice that is lexically dependent.

⁵¹ 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.

⁵² Collins & Mees (2003:192), but Booij (1995) assumes underspecification for voice.

⁵³ Implicitly, Willem Visser on the Taalportaal assumes [-voice], erroneously as it seems.

⁵⁴ Hall (2000:132).

If no onset is present, Pomeranian realizes a glottal stop: *åp* [ʔɔp] 'ape'. This may create a hiatus in sandhi contexts that is not deleted: *duu åp!* [du:ʔɔp] 'you monkey!', *wijd af* [vi:t?af] 'far away'. This glottal stop is retained in compounds: *bakåwa* [bak?ɔwə] 'oven' and after a prefix: *ge-ernt* [jɪ?ɛrnt̩] 'harvested'. Only a few function words lack this glottal stop and may cliticize, e.g. *is* 'is': *hai is* [fai:i̯s] 'he is'.

2.2.2 Fricatives [fwszʃʒxy]

There is voice opposition in onsets between f and w, between ſ (written /sch/) and ʒ (in some loan words), and between [z] and [s].

fai [fai] 'cattle', *wai* [vai] 'pain',

schin [ʃin] 'dandruff', *gingebijr* [ʒɪnʒebiə] 'ginger beer'.

saia [zaɪə] 'to see', *seip* [zeɪp] 'soap', *suker* [suke] 'sugar', *seegebuk* [se:ɪçəbuk] '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* [fakwetʃə] 'crush', *twai* [twai] 'two'. Pomeranian here deviates from Dutch and German, which have [v] both in single and complex onsets: German [vo] 'where' and [kveʁ], 'across'. Pomeranian might have taken this from Portuguese [verdadʒi] 'thruth' and [guarda] '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 the coronal fricative is, hence, not indicated in the spelling. In onset clusters, <s> is always ſ, 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/vase] 'grow.sg/pl' versus *blås/blåsa* [blɔ:s/blɔ:ze] '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', *gråwa* [grɔ:və] 'dig', but it correlates with the length of the preceding vowel. The intervocalic contrast between [χ] 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 [χ] or [j], written <g>, but they can also be heard intervocally as alternants of [γ/j]. The choice between [x] or [ç] depends on the preceding vowel: /i, ei, ü, ö / trigger [ç] e.g. *eig* [eic] '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* [se: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:yøs], though [fru:xes] 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, intervocally, 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* [iksɪŋ]/*[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 [ɔ̆] (*tijr* 'animal' [t̪i:ɔ̆]), while /l/ may undergo lenition to [ɫ] in some speakers. 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)o/ 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 (~400ms) before simplex sonorants (/nlr/) and as semi-long (~200ms) elsewhere, approaching the length of short vowels (~150ms). 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 (~200ms). Upon complex breaking, the length opposition is 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 <å> and <oo> neutralize as [ɔ:]. The [i:] (written <ij>), [y:] (written <üü>), and [u:] (written <uu>) are semi-long monophthongs, as are <å> and <oo>. There is a slight diphthong coloring in the other long vowels, compared to their short counterpart, either by rounding (<a-å>) 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 *siüss* 'sweet', Pom. *koina* ~ HG *können* 'can.pl', and Pom. *kaim* 'came' ~ HG *käm* 'came.optative', 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).⁵⁵

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

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

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

Examples:

Short/lax vowels

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

Long/tense vowels

[i:] *ijš* 'ice'; [e:] *weit* 'wheat', *häin* 'hands'; [ɛ:] *feel* 'many', [ɛ:] *määka* 'girl', [a:] *waara* 'become', *warm* [wa:m] 'warm'; [y:] *hiüt* 'today'; [ø:] *köipa* 'to buy'; [ɔ:] *dåg* 'days'; [u:] *fruug* 'woman'; [o:] *roud* 'red'.

Diphthongs

[a:] *kau* 'cow', [a:] *laiga* 'to tell lies', [u:] *suika* 'to seek', [o:] *boiwerst* 'upper'.

⁵⁵ For the status of the thus emerging glide /i/ as an emerging past tense marker in verbs, cf. section 3.8.5).

Minimal pairs with length or tense/lax opposition:

- | | | |
|-----|--------|--|
| (3) | [i(:)] | <i>wit</i> 'white' - <i>wijd[t]</i> 'wide'; |
| | [ɛ(:)] | <i>fel</i> 'skin' - <i>feel</i> 'many', <i>kwela</i> 'to flush/to spring' - <i>kwääla</i> 'to torture'; <i>bestela</i> 'order' - <i>besteela</i> 'steal' |
| | [y(:)] | <i>insprütsen</i> 'injection' - <i>düüts</i> 'German'; <i>sün</i> 'sun' - <i>siüün</i> 'sin' |
| | [œ/ø:] | <i>köp</i> 'heads' - <i>köip</i> '(I) buy'; |
| | [aɔ:] | <i>dag</i> 'day'- <i>dåg</i> 'days'; <i>wal(fisch)</i> 'whale'; <i>wål</i> 'choice' |
| | [a:a:] | <i>graw</i> 'grave' ; <i>graaw</i> 'earl/count' |
| | [ɔɔ:] | <i>rok</i> 'skirt', <i>rooka</i> 'smoked' |
| | [u:u:] | <i>ula</i> 'old.infl' - <i>uula</i> 'owls'; <i>kum</i> 'cup' - <i>kuum</i> 'hardly', <i>ful</i> 'full' – <i>fuul</i> 'dirty' |
| | [o(u)] | <i>lopa</i> 'pile' - <i>loupa</i> '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 rhotism 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. | <i>Air meesch hät ni twai kina</i> 'a person has not two chins' | <i>kina</i> / <i>kiənə</i> | "short/lax" |
| | b. | <i>Deich fruug hät twai kijner</i> 'this woman has two children' | <i>ki:nə</i> | "long/tense" |
| | c. | <i>Dai milcha muit kijna</i> 'the corn must germinate' | <i>ki:nə</i> | "overlong" |

In (4)a, we have a short or lax vowel that can optionally undergo complex breaking. In (4)b we have a semilong vowel, which is derived from an underlying form **kinder*. In (4)c we have a true long vowel before /nmlrs/, typically realized as a vowel of 400ms 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)üll* I cry' – the tense (*dai k)üll* 'the cold' - the overlong (*dai k)üüll* '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 Orthography encodes | Short/lax | Long/tense | Overlong |
|-----|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | lax - tense | <i>sün</i> 'sun' | <i>stüün</i> 'sin' | - |
| | long - overlong | - | <i>kül</i> 'cold' | <i>küüil</i> 'thigh' |
| | | - | <i>gijla</i> 'yield' | <i>gijla</i> 'be excited' |
| | short - overlong | <i>ful</i> 'full' | - | <i>fuul</i> 'dirty' |
| | short – (over)long | <i>kina</i> 'chins' | <i>kijna</i> 'children' | <i>kijna</i> 'to 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> | 'old(er)' |
| | | | | <i>huud</i> – <i>hüüd</i> | 'peel(s)' |
| ii. | | a [ɑ] | ä [ɛ] | <i>swak</i> – <i>swäker</i> | 'weak(er)' |
| | | | | <i>hand</i> – <i>häin</i> | 'hand(s)' |
| iii. | | å [ɔ] | ö [œ] | <i>måka</i> – <i>mökt</i> | 'to make/(he) makes' |
| | | | | <i>swår</i> – <i>swöner</i> | 'heavy/heavier' |
| | | oo [ɔ:] | oi | <i>boowa</i> – <i>boiwerst</i> | 'above – upper' |
| | | | | <i>fågel</i> – <i>foigel</i> | 'bird(s)' |
| | | | | <i>någel</i> – <i>noigel</i> | 'nail(s)' |
| iv. | | ou [o ^u] | öi [ø ⁱ] | <i>boum</i> – <i>böim</i> | 'tree(s)' |
| | | | | <i>wourd</i> – <i>wöir</i> | 'word(s)' |
| v. | | au [a ^u] | ui [u ^j] | <i>faut</i> – <i>fuit</i> | 'foot/feet' |
| | | | | <i>haud</i> – <i>huir</i> | '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] / [u^j], where the ancient mutation relation between [u:] and [y:] has been obscured by later phonological developments (diphthongization and breaking, respectively). Synchronously, the process can be described as competition of elements:

| | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (7) | $f \bullet \bullet t + \rightarrow f \bullet \bullet t$ $\begin{array}{c c c} & & \\ A & U & I \end{array} \qquad \qquad \begin{array}{c c c} & \\ A & U & I \end{array}$ | [fa ^u t – fu ⁱ t] |
|-----|--|---|

where the floating |I| of the ending anchors to the root, while the A is delinked from its root node.⁵⁶ |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]. Synchronously the process can be described as:

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

where |I| spreads to the preceding root node. No tendency to simplex sounds is active in this case, as the preceeding 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.⁵⁷ Notice that the u-glide in /au/, cf. (6), nr.5 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 [i], 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* [milāu]. The prefix *for-* is written with a full vowel, although it can be pronounced as [fə], but usually as [fa/fɔ/fʊ] (e.g. Gaede 1983: *vastoh* for *forståa*). The rareness of the centralized [ə]-realization

⁵⁶ Alternatively, it is Edge-In melodic linking to a template.

⁵⁷ One could also say that these are already umlauted forms.

of the underspecified vowel in favor of [ə] and high vowels ([jɪ], [bɪ], [fɪ]), 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 consonants. 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 [iø]⁵⁸ retained as diphthongs, albeit somewhat lowered, cf. R1 and R2 in (9). This is a feature that Pomeranian shares with the Groningen dialect in 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 ^ɔ]d | g[u]d | g[u:]t | g[u]d |
| R2. iø | → ai | br[a ⁱ]w | br[a ⁱ]w | br[i ^ɔ]f | br[i]f | br[i:]f | - |
| R3. u: | → u: | h[u:]s | h[u:]s | h[u:]s | h[ø ^v]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:], *såd* 'seed', *låta* 'let', *slåpa* 'sleep', and Pomeranian here contrasts with Ingvaeanic, like English *sleep*, Frisian *slepe*, 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 → - |

⁵⁸ From PGmc ō and WGmc ē₂, respectively.

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

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

| (11) | <u>Standard German</u> | <u>Pomeranian</u> |
|------|------------------------|-------------------|
| | 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* (error!). If β were ordered before α, then β would feed α: this is incorrect because we would predict *eine* → *ai* (error!). So we only can generalize over α and γ, if we assume that the generalized rule α+γ 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' [svi:(ə)] < *swijn*; *swijn* 'pigs' < *swijne*.

| (12) | R7. -n → ø/VV_# | | |
|------|-----------------|---|--|
| | | <i>swijr</i> [svi:(ə)] - <i>swijn</i> 'pig(s)' < * <i>swijn</i> - <i>swijne</i> | |
| | | <i>ei-deeld</i> [eɪdəlt] ~ HG <i>eingeteilt</i> 'shared' | |
| | | <i>stair</i> [staɪ(ə)] - <i>stain</i> 'stone(s)' < * <i>stain</i> - <i>staine</i> | |
| | | <i>bair</i> [baɪ(ə)] - <i>bain</i> 'leg' < * <i>bain</i> - <i>baine</i> | |
| | | <i>klair</i> [klai(ə)] - <i>klain</i> - <i>klaina</i> < * <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*)_n. There is evidence from EP that this was the case in the Saatzig-Dramburger dialect

[ʃviən] or [ʃviə̯n] (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: *winnaar* 'winner', *minnaar* 'lover', *dienaar* '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.⁵⁹

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 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 | *käm | > | <i>kaim</i> 'came' | |
| | ü → ui | *müde | > | <i>muir</i> 'tired' | (+ intervocalic rhotacism and apocope) |
| | ö → oi | *dör | > | <i>doir</i> '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: *fåter* [fɔ:tə] 'father', *meir* [me:i¹] 'more', *hier* [hi:] 'here', *suur* [zu:] 'sour' without leaving a trace, not even in the form of a (rhoticized) schwa. In coda

⁵⁹ Notice that schwa and VV may occur in open syllables, while single full V may not.

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* [k^hʊɔ̄d] 'short' (cf. section 2.3.7 and 2.7).

All this does not mean, however, that final -r does not exist, e.g. in *lüür* [ly:r] 'people', *ber* [ber] 'bed', *luur* [lu:r] 'loud' with final apical [r or ɻ]. In all these cases, /r/ has developed from intervocalic -d- under schwa apocope: < **lüüde*, **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 [œ̄] in younger speakers, or even, incidentally, to [x] in Portuguese spelling pronunciation.

| | | |
|------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| (14) | <i>lüür</i> | ~ mDu <i>lude</i> 'people' |
| | <i>weir</i> | ~ mDu <i>weide</i> 'meadow' |
| | <i>ber</i> | ~ mDu <i>bedde</i> 'bed' |
| | <i>luur</i> | ~ mDu <i>luud</i> 'loud' |
| | <i>eir</i> | ~ mDu <i>eerde</i> '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. *lüür* should be analyzed as (lüü)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>båra</i> 'to bath' MD <i>hadde</i> ~ Pom. <i>haar</i> 'had' HG <i>schade</i> ~ Pom. <i>schår</i> 'a pity' |
| | e:/e | HG <i>reden</i> ~ Pom. <i>reera</i> 'to talk', Du <i>vrede</i> ~ Pom. <i>freera</i> 'peace' MD <i>bedde</i> ~ Pom. <i>beer</i> 'bed' |
| | i:/i | Fri <i>riide</i> ~ Pom. <i>rijra</i> 'ride' Du <i>midden</i> ~ Pom. <i>mir</i> 'mid/middle', |
| | o: | HG <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>driüür</i> 'third'. MD <i>lude</i> ~ Pom. <i>lüür</i> 'people' |
| | y: | |
| | diphthongs | |
| | ui | HG <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.infl' |
| | 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* [ste:re] 'city/cities', *bred* [bret] - *breer* [bre:r] 'shelve(s)'. Inflected forms imposed this new [r] to seemingly uninflected forms⁶⁰ within the adjectival and nominal paradigm, e.g. *air rour* [rour] *bauk* ~ *roura buiker* 'red books'. In the case of 'red', the underlying [d] is only retained in predicative use (as [t] under final devoicing), *dat bauk is roud* [rout] 'the book is red'.

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

Synchronously, 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 [rout]. The generality of 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. *gedáñk* 'thought' → **geránk*. If this -r is final, as in *lüür* 'people', there was historically a schwa, which is silent in the modern language: *lüür(e)*.'people', cf. Middle Dutch *luude*, German *Leute*. Notice that intervocalic rhotacism must be ordered before schwa-apocope or in tandem⁶¹ 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. | $d \rightarrow r / (V)V_1 __ V_2\{\#\}$ | 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)'.

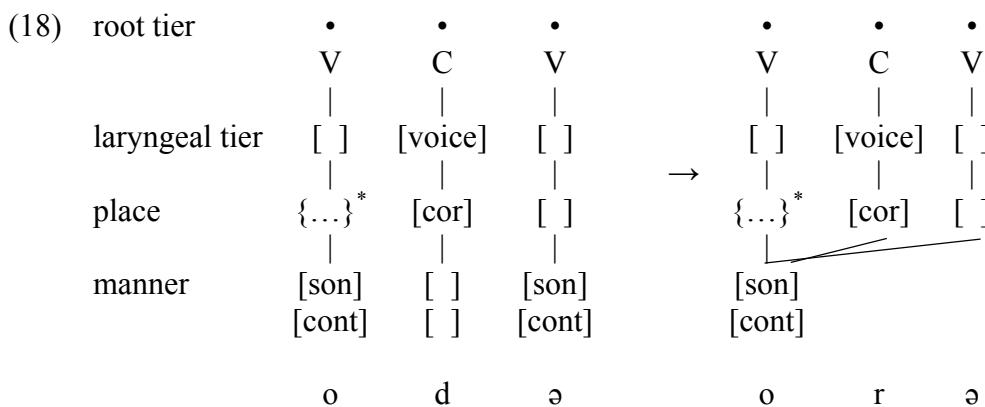
Intervocalic rhotacism was already active in European Pomeranian, and gave rise to (seemingly) irregular paradigms, such as in the Slawe dialect: *sätte* - *säär* - *sät* 'to set-set-set', where *säär* is /sät+de/, with backwards assimilation /-t+d/ → /-dd-/ realized as -r-. To create the intervocalic context, one must assume underlying /də/ of the past suffix, which is the form

⁶⁰ But see section 2.6.

⁶¹ We come back to this, cf. in section 3.1. and 3.11.

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' → *briüüra* 'to be a bride/to play as a bride', *blaud* [t] 'blood' - *bluira* 'to bleed' (section 5.3).

Synchronously, 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/.⁶² 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.



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 [zuⁱt/zuⁱtə] or [zuⁱt-zuⁱdə]), sometimes as <d>, *groud* – *grouda* usually [gro^ut/gro^udə] but also [gro^ut/gro^utə] 'great, big' or [gro^ud/gro^udə]. The spelling *grouda* is

⁶² For a phonetic and phonological description in Frisian, cf. Veenstra (1989).

probably erroneous in view of the comparative *gröter*, 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-) has 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:łt] < **schuld* 'debt', *waara* < **warda* 'become' and *kwaart* < **kwart* '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. | $ld \rightarrow l / V_1 C \underline{V}_2$ | with $V_2=[ə/ə]$ |
| | | $nd \rightarrow n / V_1 C \underline{V}_2$ | with $V_2=[ə/a]$ |
| | | $rd \rightarrow r / V_1 C \underline{V}_2$ | with $V_2=[ə/a]$ |

This can be generalized to:

$$d \rightarrow \emptyset / V_1 C \underline{V}_2 \quad \text{with } C=[\text{cor}] \text{ and } V_2=[ə/ə]$$

These phonological developments, be they diachronic or synchronic, have created a system of (seemingly) subtractive morphology ((20)abc).⁶³ Underived forms retain the cluster with /d/; derived forms show reduction. In ((20)d) we give a case of noun-verb conversion and nominalization. It is not clear if the process occurs after an unstressed syllable ((20)e).

| | | | | |
|------|----|---|---|--|
| (20) | a. | <i>bijld</i> [bilt] <i>wourd</i> [vo ^u t] <i>kuld</i> [kult] <i>uld</i> [ult] <i>wijld</i> [vilt] | - <i>bijler</i> [bi:lə] - <i>wöir</i> [vœ:r] - <i>kul</i> - <i>kula</i> - <i>ul</i> - <i>ula</i> - <i>wijl</i> - <i>wijla</i> | 'photo(s)' 'word(s)' 'cold' 'old' 'wild' |
| | b. | <i>gesund</i> [jizunt] <i>andra</i> <i>behandla</i> 'treat' <i>hand</i> [hant] <i>hund</i> [hunt] <i>spind</i> [spint] | - <i>gesuner</i> - <i>aner</i> - <i>behanelt</i> - <i>häin</i> - <i>huun</i> [hu:n] - <i>spijner</i> [spi:nə] | 'healthy/heathier' 'other' '(he) treats' 'hand(s)' 'dog(s)' 'cupboard(s)' |
| | c. | <i>peird</i> [pe:t] <i>hard</i> [ha:t] | - <i>peira</i> - - <i>haarer</i> | 'horse(s)' 'hard(er)' |

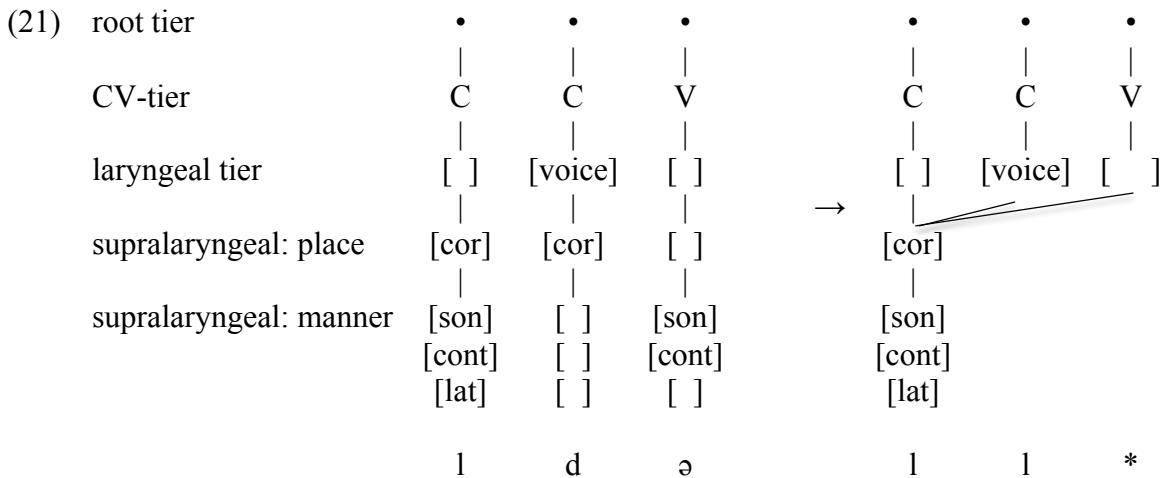
⁶³ See Birkenes (2014) for an overview of subtractive effects in various German dialects. See Bye & Svenonius (2012) for a formal account.

| | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| d. | <i>gild</i> [gilt] 'money' | - <i>gila</i> | 'to yield, to suffice' ⁶⁴ |
| | <i>uld</i> | - <i>uligkeit</i> | 'property of being old' |
| e. | <i>duweld</i> ['duvəlt] | - * <i>duwela/duwelta</i> 'double' | |

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]/[ule] synchronically, if we assume the underlying form /uld/ for [ult], /ulde/ for [ul] and /ulden/ for [ule], under application of intervocalic cluster reduction (R9) together with the rules R5,6,7. Similar relations hold between *rout/rour/roura* 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.

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 {lnr} 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/ becomes /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).

⁶⁴ The word *duweld* [duvəlt] 'double' does not participate in intervocalic cluster reduction: *duwelta weeg* 'double road'. It apparently changed from underlying -ld- to underlying -lt-.



Notice that intervocalic cluster reduction and schwa apocope are one and the same process in this analysis.⁶⁵ 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.

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.

⁶⁵ 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).

2.3.2.4.1 ks → ss and sk → ſ

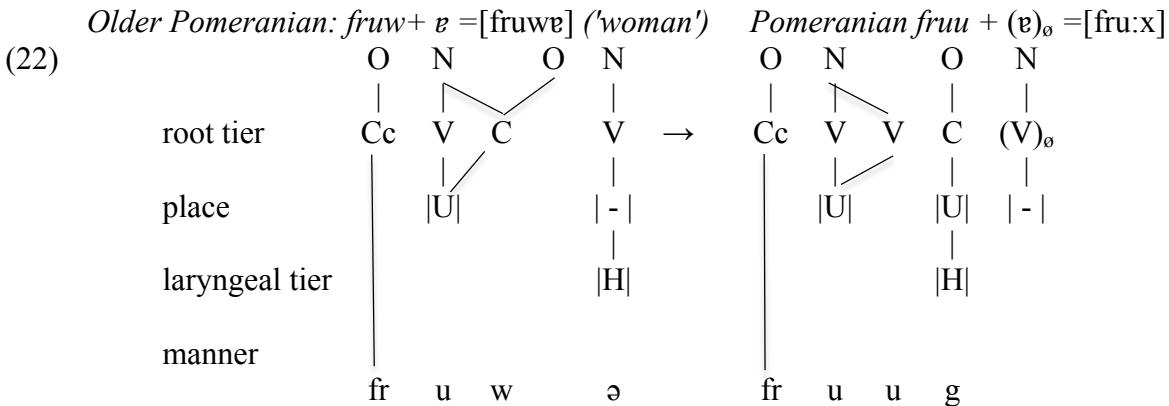
The first change **waksen* > *wassen* > *wassa* 'grow', **fokse* > *fosse* > *foss* 'fox', **oksen* > *osse* 'ox', **weksel* > *wessel* 'change', **deksel* > *deistel* 'adze, cutting tool' is a typical Low German development, shared by Groningen, Dutch and Flemish, but not by Frisian or the High German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

The second change, *sk* → ſ, e.g. **skap* > *schåp* '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.⁶⁶

2.3.2.4.2 Pomeranian glide velarization -w/-j → -g

The velarisation of the open syllable glides [w] and [j] to [x|y] and [ç|j], respectively, is a characteristic that separates European and Brazilian Pomeranian from its neighboring (Mecklenburgian and Low Prusian) dialects: HG *frau* ~ Pom. *fruug* [fru:x] 'woman', Fri *nij* ~ Pom. *niig* [ni:ç] 'new', HG *bauen* ~ Pom. *buuga*, HG *schreien* ~ Pom. *sriiga* [ʃri:ja] 'cry', Du *blauw* ~ Pom. *blåg* [bløx] 'blue', Du. *naaien* ~ Pom. *nöiga* [nøijə] 'knit', HG *bleistift* ~ Pom. *bliggstift* [bli:çift], Du *taai* 'tough' ~ Pom. *teeg* [te: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 (fruu)(we), the glide must undergo strengthening, as an output constraint/requirement. 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:

⁶⁶ On the basis of the Wenker database (Tisch 'table'), we could identify the following locations with *dis(k)*. /s/: Gütlaffshagen (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'.



In this scenario, *fruug* emerged because of schwa apocope and extended to related forms.⁶⁷ 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 are excluded: *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 *swålk* 'swallow' (-luw > -lug > -lk, cf. Du. *zwaluw*). In one case, the process applies to a stress-bearing suffix *-erig* [-ə'rīç]: *bäkerig* [bekə'rīç] '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* [keⁱ] '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 *friig* 'free' in the toponym *Frigenwald* from 1418 onward, cf. section 9.3. (Modern Pomeranian *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/

⁶⁷ It is possible that *fruug* is still underlyingly *fruug(e)ø* with a catalectic schwa. Evidence for this is the plural *fruuges*.

was retained: Common Gmc. **hauwana*, OHG *houwan*, OS *hauwan*, Dutch *houwen* (Van Loon 1989:47). Significantly, Pomeranian has *houga* [ho^uɣa] 'hit/beat' i.e. it has an underlying long /ð/, rather than [ha^ua] with a heterorganic diphthong.⁶⁸ This situates the rise of the velarization in the earliest periods 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(ljk)* - *vreugde* 'happi(ness)', *schuw* - *schichtig* 'shy', etc.⁶⁹ The /w/-velarisation has also affected the pronominal system in Pomeranian, where the [u] glide in *jow* 'you' changed it into *juuch* [ju:x]. 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* [miʎu], popular [miju] 'corn' → Pom. *mijlcha* [mi:çə]. This is parallel to a perhaps much older borrowing *famijlch* [fami:lç] 'family', and the suffix *-erig* < French *-erie*: *bäkerig* [bekəriç] 'bakery'. So, it seems that the velarisation of /w/ is pre-15/16 century, while the velarisation of /j/ is modern, i.e. still active. Conversely, many /g/ onsets, reduces to a glide *geeva* [jɛ:və] '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 *forjåwa* < *forjåga* 'to chase'.

2.3.2.4.3 Intervocalic voicing /t/ → /d/

Perhaps in a drag chain relation with the change /d/ → /r/, 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* [swa:t] - *swarda* 'black', Dutch *zwart* - *zwarte*; *groud* [gro^ut] - *grouda* 'big' Dutch *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 [plante].

⁶⁸ Other cases in the table in section 8.1.

⁶⁹ 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.

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* [se: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 [douf] is interpreted as a glide, and participates in glide velarization. This gives us the following developmental path: /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..

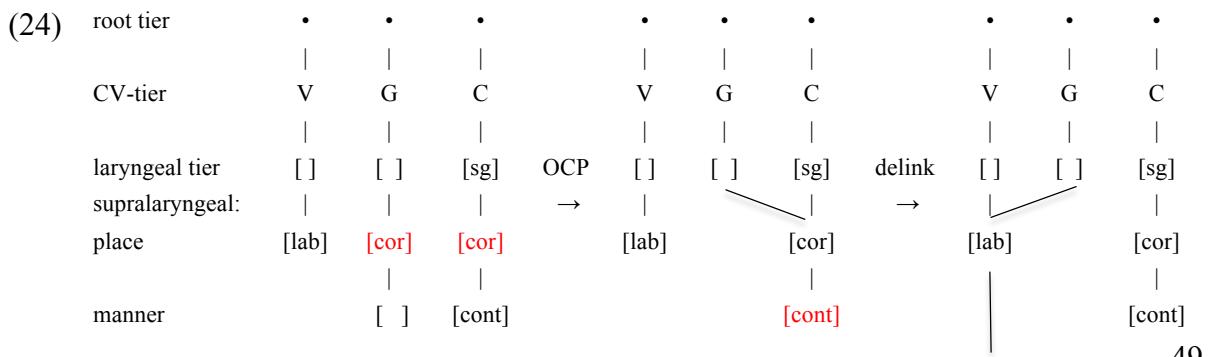
In an isolated case, only the velar form survives, e.g. *buknågel* litt. 'belly + navel' with *någel* < *nåwel. The form (*buk*)*någel* 'navel' now coincides with (*finger*)*någel* 'nail'. The lexemes *buknågel* and *fingernågel* now require the disambiguating compounding.

2.3.2.6 Nasal Spirant Law

In section 1.1, we listed some Invaenisms 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 Inguaeonic change as a phonological assimilation process of a nasal to a subsequent fricative, which we schematized in (23).

$$(23) \quad R0: \quad \{n, m\} \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \{s, \int, \theta, f\} \\ [\alpha \text{ place}, -\text{cont}, +\text{nasal}] \rightarrow \emptyset / _ [\alpha \text{ place}, +\text{cont}, +\text{sg}]$$

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 nasality 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).⁷⁰ This approach still leaves open two questions: why does place assimilation only happen in the Ingvaeanic variants of West Germanic, and not e.g. in HG? And furthermore: why does an additional |A| element show up, e.g. Pom *ous* [ous] /o:s/ < **uns*, Fri *meenske* [mē:skə] < **miniske*, or in synchronic phonology: Fri *w[ɪ]nne* – *w[ɛ:]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* [nø:jçt] '(he) sews'; *ik fråg* [x] - *duu frögst* [ç] 'I/you ask'. The palatal [ç] realizes after <üü/öi/œ/i/ij/ei>: *ik mach* [max] 'may' – *ik müücht* [my:çt] 'I might'.

2. -ng- as [ŋ] or [ŋ̟] in function of the preceding vowel: *angel* [ŋ] 'angling rod'; *ängel* [ŋ] 'angel'. This also occurs within paradigms: *lang* [ŋ(k)] - *länger* [ŋ]. This palatalisation to [ŋ] is optional. It might very well be a recent phenomenon under Portuguese influence. It seems that Pomeranian [ŋ] is associated with Portuguese nasalization which exhibits palatalization in function of the vowel, e.g. compare *um* 'one' [ũ] or [ũŋ] and the diminutive morpheme *-im/inho* in *mocim/mocinho* 'small boy': *-inh(o)* [i] or [iŋ̟]. The [ŋ/ŋ̟] alternation in paradigms gets extended to nonvelar nasal 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 [blinŋ] and [blinŋ̟] as back formations. The

⁷⁰ 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.

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 gå* [gɔ] 'I go' – *hai geit* [jeɪt] 'he goes' and *gåbel* 'fork' [gɔbəl], *geel* [jɛ:l] 'yellow'. The first opposition is also regularized to [jɔə]/[jeɪt] '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* [jɛ:və] is always pronounced [jaif] not [gaif].

2.3.4 Affrication

Affrication (sometimes labeled "palatalization") of -k- to a coronal fricative [t(s)j] 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, Louden 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* [jɛ: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 *iüm* [ym] → [im] 'around', *sün* [zyn] → [zin] 'sun', *mücht* [my(:)çt] → [miçt] '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] < [høʰn], *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'.

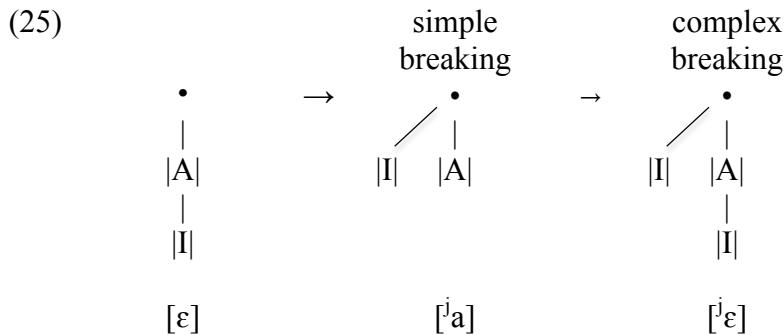
debuccalization of -l: *ik wi(l)* 'I want', *ik scha(l)* 'I shall'

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, auxiliarhood 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 [wɪl] > [wih] 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/-ʔ/-x/-ç] or null, but must be underlyingly present.⁷¹ 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* [jeirəda?] 'every day' in one speaker.

2.3.7 Complex breaking of short vowels

The short stressed vowels [ɛ], [ɔ] [ɪ], [œ], [ø], [y] are sometimes realized with a slight pre- or post-articulation, while remaining short. Such short diphthongs are: [jɛ|e᷑], [vɔ|ɔ᷑], [jɪ|i᷑], [vœ|œ᷑], [jy], and [wø]. Examples: *telg* [t̪ɛlç|te᷑lç] 'branch', *melk* [m̪ɛlk|mɛ᷑lk] 'milk', *ik kots* [k᷑ɔts] 'I vomit', *weg* [v̪jɛx|vɛ᷑x] 'away', *foss* [f᷑ɔs] 'fox', *ik* [jɪk] 'I', *lot* [l᷑œt|lœ᷑t] '(he) lets', *sün* [s᷑yn|sy᷑n] '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]: [w̪ołt|o᷑łt]. Complex breaking versus simple breaking can be represented as in (25):

⁷¹ 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.



It happens in some speakers, and some words (Tressmann 2006b:vi)⁷², especially when the word has emphasis. It is often difficult to judge if the glide is before or after the stress-bearing vowel⁷³; 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.⁷⁴ 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 etymological⁷⁵ (*foss*, HG *Fuchs* 'fox'), is the most common trigger, but also paradigmatically contracted contexts (*weeg* 'road' [ve:ç] ~ *w'eg* 'away' [v̥iex|ve^ɛx], *klain - kl'enner* 'small(er)', *låta* 'let' ~ (*hai*) *l'öt* 'he lets', *flaiga* 'fly' ~ (*hai*) *fl'öcht* may realize it. Pre-

⁷² 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.

⁷³ I found one case in Schaeffer (2012), where the prearticulated vowel is not under the main stress but under a secundary stress: [m^jedl^ø'seⁱŋ], standard *melisijn* 'medicine/drug'.

⁷⁴ Here Pomeranian differs from Frisian which shows a length opposition in the pre- and postarticulated vowels (pre-articulated ones are short, post-articulated ones are long (Booij 1989, Postma 1990).

⁷⁵ The underlying reality of the written double consonant in *foss* 'fox' may be derived from its resistance to intervocalic voicing to [z].

/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 [bo:k] or under prearticulation as [b^vɔk|bɔ^vk].

Perhaps we should add a third trigger: schwa apocope. This might explain *ek* [jɛk] 'corner', or *sün* [s^jyn] 'sun', to be compared with HG *Ecke* and *Sonne*. Interesting is the case of written *porch* [p^vɔ|ɔ^vx], '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).⁷⁶ 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]~[ylør] (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 /d/ in *üler*. Prearticulation can combine with aspiration, as in *korw* 'basket' [k^{hʊ}ɔf] < [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 intervocally and in intervocalic clusters. However, individual speakers show systematic voicing in some specific words and absence of it in others. It seems

⁷⁶ Pomerelian had *pog* 'toad' (Schweminski 1853:138). See also the plural *pageh* 'frogs' in section 9.4.
54

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* [jaⁱv], '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* [jaⁱf]. 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: *hai räir[t]* 'he talks' – *hai räir[d]* 'he talked' in EP 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 weak past tense in weak verbs (Postma 2014) and its replacement by composed tenses (cf. section 3.6.3).

The fortis-lenis oppositions in obstruents k/g, 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 [yjxç] 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)⁷⁷ neutralize acoustically but remain distinct in articulation: while /t/ is realized as a dental obstruent, final devoiced /d/ is realized as a coronal retroflex. We write this as [d].

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.

⁷⁷ 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 a 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 heiβest* '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 *hüütsendågs* < **hüüt-tam-dågs*, ~ 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 does 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: | <i>blaum</i> | → <i>blaam</i> 'flower' |
| | ai → a: | <i>stai</i> | → <i>staa</i> 'stone', <i>bai</i> → <i>baa</i> 'bone', <i>sai</i> → <i>saa</i> 'to see' |
| | | <i>kai</i> | → <i>kaa</i> 'no one' |
| | | <i>ai</i> | → <i>aa</i> 'a(n)' |
| | | <i>knai</i> | → <i>knaa</i> '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: *doudbljwa* 'die' is realized with [tp] or [db] (which are not in opposition, both perceived as /db/) but not [$t^h p^h$]. Similarly,

thoupbjna '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: *doudmåka* 'kill' is realized with [dm].

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

Many irregular paradigms⁷⁸ becomes regular if we assume final -e or -n without exponente. In the scheme below, this so-called catalectic realization is written as (...)_ø, e.g. (ə)_ø and (n)_ø, 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: irregularity | | Analysis with catalexis + intervocalic reduction: regularity |
|----------------|---|---------|---|
| <i>wijl[t]</i> | - <i>wijl</i> - <i>wijla</i> | 'wild' | <i>wijld</i> - <i>wijld(ə)ø</i> - <i>wijld(ə)(n)ø</i> |
| <i>gau[t]</i> | - <i>gaur</i> - <i>gaura</i> | 'good' | <i>gaud</i> - <i>gaud(ə)ø</i> - <i>gaud(ə)(n)ø</i> |
| <i>bil[t]</i> | - <i>bila</i> | 'image' | <i>bild</i> - <i>bild(ə)ø</i> |
| <i>hau[t]</i> | - <i>huir</i> | 'hat' | <i>haud</i> - <i>huid(ə)ø</i> |
| <i>kruu[t]</i> | - <i>kriütür</i> | 'herb' | <i>kruud</i> - <i>krüüd(ə)ø</i> |
| <i>ai</i> | - <i>ain</i> - <i>aina</i> | 'a(n)' | <i>ai(n)ø</i> - <i>ai(n)(ə)ø</i> - <i>ai(n)(ə)(n)ø</i> |

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 appendix⁷⁹, i.e. they do not need prosodic licensing.

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).

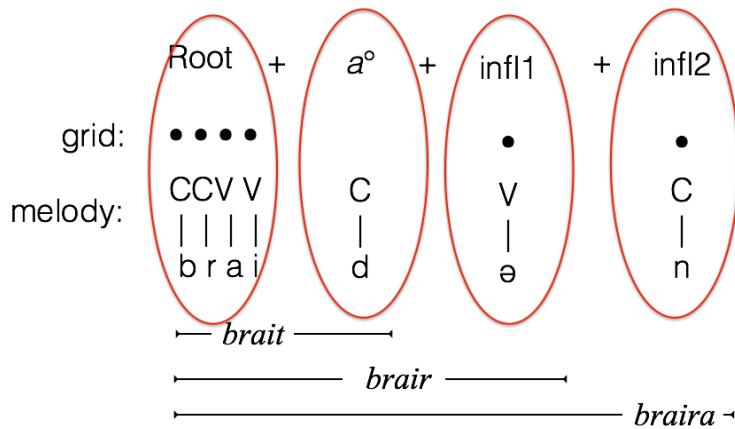
- (30) Pomeranian categorial suffixes n° , a° are degenerate

⁷⁸ The suppletive account of subtractive morphology in Bye & Svenonius (2012, section 10) clearly misses a generalization.

⁷⁹ Cf. Booij (1983), Steriade (1991).

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/braira* (cf. section 3.3.1). As it stands, the three forms seems to form an irregular paradigm as Pomeranian as 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:

(31)



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.⁸⁰ 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 UG⁸¹, and 2. general patterns of morpheme identification exist in the language. In this case, the root *brai-*

⁸⁰ There is no reduced form of schwa available, other than zero.

⁸¹ 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.

'broad', the verbal stem *braid-*, the causative stem *brair-*, the infinitive¹ *braira*=/braide(n)_ø/, and the infinitive² *taum brairen* = braiden(e)_ø '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 all prosodic space.

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 (*arbeid[t]* 'work.noun', *arbeira* 'to work', cf. 5.3), the short diphthong in *ula* < uld(a)_ø (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. *sobrijn*, etc. (section 6.4). Independent evidence for synchronic n-apocope: Port. *aipim* 'casave' > *eipi* ['eipi], Port. *cupim* 'termite' > *kupij* [kupi]. An extra piece of evidence that the plural morpheme in verbs -a [ə/ə] is -e(n)_ø is the fact that the enclitic form '*m*' of the 1plural morpheme *wij*, e.g. in *wi'm gåa!* < /wiə(n)_ø wij
gåa/, 'let us go'. The nasal feature in the enclitic pronoun is not provided by the pronoun, and hence must be an exponence of underlying (n)_ø, 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 infinitive 1 (ending in -e) in Pomeranian, the latter must be Root-ə-(n)_ø as well. Notice that infinitive 2, which ends in -en, can be analyzed as either V-ən-(ə)_ø, or V-ənd-(ə)_ø with intervocalic cluster reduction.⁸²

2.7 Breaking

Pomeranian participates in the so-called Westphalian breaking, though European Pomeranian is not geographically connected to the Westphalian area. This enclave feature might be a consequence of migration (*Ostsiedlung*), but not necessarily so, as breaking is a cross-linguistic

⁸² The latter is the historical form. "Tom vofften schulen sie ock nene beruchtigede und unehrliche, schendliche und untüchtige mans- oder vrouen- 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 vlide entslaen, nicht alleine vele verdechtichheit, 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).

structural process. 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 segmental way in Pomeranian:

| (32) | <u>Older Pomeranian</u> | <u>EP and BP</u> |
|------|-------------------------|------------------|
| [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 (cf. (33)b). Let us call this the *Boots-on-the-Ground* tendency in Pomeranian.

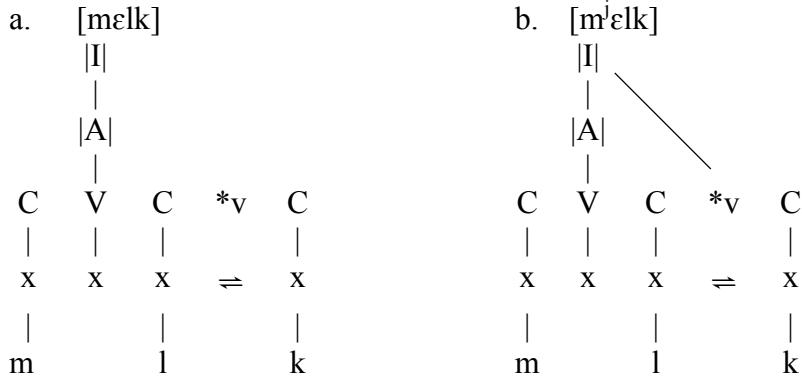
This type of breaking only occurs in long vowels, i.e. if sufficient prosodic space is available. English also underwent this process, but did not de-link the original A-I link (33)c.

| (33) a. German <i>käm</i> | Pomeranian <i>kaim</i> | c. English <i>came</i> |
|---|---|---|
| C V V C x x x x k A m | C V V C x x x x k A I m | C V V C x x x x k A I m |

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 ((33)c).

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 = on the root node tier, deactivates the prosodic space (root node) of this intermediate vowel. The floating vowel is indicated by *v.

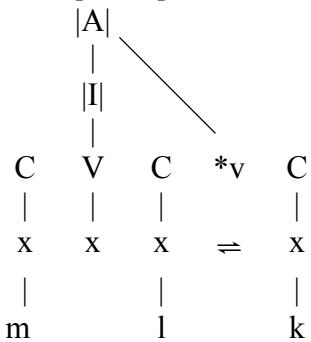
- (34) Pomeranian /melk/ 'milk' and coarticulated /m^jelk/.



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

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

- (34) c. [mε^vlk]



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')⁸³ 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)ə*, 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/Pomenanian, 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/⁸⁴, 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' |

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.

⁸³ This might also be analyzed as *fruug(ə)ə* - *fruug(ə)s*, with silent ə in the singular, which shows up, on further inflection.

⁸⁴ For a similar opposition in EP, described by Böhmer, cf. section 9.1.

The competitive tier model in Postma (2018) 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) | $dr \bullet \bullet g + \rightarrow dr \bullet \bullet g$ | $/dra^u g + i/ \rightarrow /dru^i g/$ |
| Tier 2 | $ A U \quad I \qquad A \quad U I $ | |

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) | $dr \bullet \bullet g + \rightarrow dr \bullet \bullet g$ | $/dro:g + i/ \rightarrow /drœ^i g/$ |
| Tier 1 | $ A / I \qquad A \backslash I $ $ U \qquad U $ | |

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*.⁸⁵ 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* + $d(e)_o \rightarrow forsuir(e)_o$. Now a contradiction looms between catalexis, which proceeds under left-to-right alignment (cf.

⁸⁵ A similar opposition is probable for *bluira* - *blöir* 'bleed.pres-past' and *buiga* - *böig* 'bow.pres-past'.

(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 nominalizer *-t* is in fact underlying *-d(e)ə*, 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], [ø], [œ]). Portuguese L1 speakers replace these sounds upon borrowing by their unrounded counterparts, [i], [e], [ɛ]), and this might extend to 2L1 speakers.
2. Portuguese in ES may realize coda -r by [ɹ/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 the so-called *Caipira* accent) in coda position
4. Portuguese does not have phonological length opposition in vowels.

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^vx]. They may pronounce *blind* as [blink] instead of target form [blint], perhaps as an avoidance strategy for the Brazilian final-t palatalization [bl̩ntʃ̩]. 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:

| | <u>tense</u> | <u>lax</u> |
|-------------|--------------|------------|
| 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.

3 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 | 2 | 3MASC | 3FEM | 3NEUT | 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 Ingvaemonic feature was already present in Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon for 12sg and 12pl, but not for 3sg/pl. EP represents this old Ingvaemonic 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 däit **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 däit, ... (UmL:102)
 when one them annoy does, ...
 'when one annoys them'
 c. Wen sai brüla dawa, höirt man **eer** fijw kilomeiter af. (UmL:102)
 when they scream.inf1 do.pl, hears one them five km off
 'when they scream, one can hear them from a distance if 5 km.
 d. dat kair hawk 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. (4)h), 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.⁸⁶ 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 (\emptyset). The weak enclitic counterpart of accusative *eer* 'them' is 's. Examples of weak pronouns are given under (3).

- | | | |
|-----|--|---------------|
| (3) | a. <i>Wen's dröig sin, ...</i> when-they dry are 'when they are dry, ...' | NOM (UmL:71) |
| | b. <i>Dun sää'r'a blous: ...</i> then said-he simply ... 'then he said simply ...' | NOM |
| | c. <i>Must o wekmåls froiga so "mama, wat is dat?"</i> must you sometimes ask such "mum, what is that?" 'Do you sometimes need to say: Mum, what is it?" | NOM |
| | d. <i>un (wij) häwa's ranerhängt ana kangan</i> and we have them onto-hung to-the yoke 'and we hung them onto the yoke' | ACC (UmL:57) |

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.*⁸⁷

| | Dutch | | Klaai-Frisian | | Wâld-Frisian | | Groningen | | Pomeranian | | |
|----|--------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------|------|------------|-----|------------------|
| | full | red | full | red | full | red | full | red | full | red | |
| a. | 'me' | mɛi | mə | mɛi | mi | mi | - | mi | - | mi | - |
| b. | 'thee' | - ⁸⁸ | - | dei | di | di | - | di | - | di | - |
| c. | 'ye' | jɛi | jə | jo ^u | jə | jo ^u | - | (j)i | - | ji | - |
| d. | 'we' | wɛi | wə | wɛi | wə | wi | -wə | wi | -wə | wi | -m ⁸⁹ |
| e. | 'she' | zɛi | zə | seɪ | sə | hja/si | -sə | zai | -zə | sai | 's |
| f. | 'he' | hei | -i | hei | -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 |

⁸⁶ For instance WS 8: dei fuit daue mi seer weih, ik gloow, ik hew **sei** dorchloope (Kolberg, 52272) versus ..., ik **hefs** mie durchloope (Necknин, 00553)

⁸⁷ Data extracted from Peters' Atlas 1949, SAND 2006, Reker (2006:40-47).

⁸⁸ Dutch has lost its 2sg pronoun *du* 'thou' and replaced it with originally plural *jij* 'you' around 1500 Aalberse (2009).

⁸⁹ There is only one case of positional reduction of 1pl in Pomeranian hortative *wi'm gåa* 'let us go'.

Weak pronouns with positional reduction are listed below the drawn line. While Dutch and Klaai-Frisian developed a *phonological* reduction strategy [ɛi]→[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 Wâld opposition. Notice that Dutch and Klaai-Frisian also shows 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.⁹⁰ 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.

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 schääamt **sich**/*em/*eer
 1PL wij schääma ous
 2PL jij schääma juuch
 3PL sai schääma **sich**/*eer

The heavy reflexive 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

⁹⁰ For a syntactic analysis of this process, cf. Postma (2013).

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.

| | MASC ('brother') | FEM ('cow') | NEUT ('swine') | PLURAL('plants') |
|-----|-----------------------|-------------|------------------------|------------------|
| NOM | mij- ø braurer | mijn kau | mij- ø fetswijr | mijn planta |
| DAT | mijnem braurer | mijner kau | mijnem fetswijr | mijna planta |
| ACC | mijna braurer | mijn kau | mij- ø fetswijr | sijn planta |

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

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

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. | <i>Grulke's Laura</i> [grulkəs] | <i>Müntge's Frida</i> [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.⁹¹ 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 all forms exist for the plural pronouns in Pomeranian: the 3rd plural 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...*]] → [_{DP} *sijn* de [*sijn...*]]

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

- (13) a. *Dai hät sjind 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 håwk 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 [beɪd] '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 dansa 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 (*anerda*) and a pronoun,

⁹¹ Alain Corbeau draws my attention to similar alternations between *'s* and *-e* genitives in the Hoeksewaard dialect, as in (i).

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (i) <i>Janne weuning</i> | (ii) 't Is t'r êén van Klaorties |
| Jan.infl house | it is QR one of Klaortie.infl |
| 'John's house' | 'It is one of Clara's family' |

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

goes with the article most of the time, as in *dai anerd/andrer* 'the other(s)'.^{92,93} In some contexts, no article is needed: *Anerd mål måka 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(v)] 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 WS 22 for Gützlaffshagen 00398: *Eie muit lur schrigje* 'one must shout out loud'.

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.

| | <i>def. art.</i> | <u>MASC</u> | <u>FEM</u> | <u>NEUTER</u> | <u>PL</u> |
|-----|------------------|--------------------------|------------|---------------|-----------|
| NOM | | dai (> de) ⁹⁴ | 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 där* 'that girl'.

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

⁹² Notice that the underlying form must be *ander-* with intervocalic cluster reduction.

⁹³ The Invaeonic form without -n- (Frisian *oar*, English *other*) is absent in Pomeranian in this case.

⁹⁴ 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).

The form *den* means 'then'. The proximate deictic determiner is *dis* 'this one', with variants *deis/deich*.⁹⁵

| (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'.

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: *dårup*, *dårin* instead of the expected **up dat* 'on it/that', **in dat* 'in it/that'. *Dår* and the preposition can be separated by scrambling and topicalization, both with static and directional readings, e.g. *dår ... in* and *dår ... 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:].[⁹⁶] 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.⁹⁷

| (18) | <i>(k)ain</i> | <u>MASC</u> | <u>FEM</u> | <u>NEUT</u> | <u>PL</u> |
|------|---------------|---------------------------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| NOM | air [ai(ə)] | ain | | air | kain |
| DAT | ainem | ainer [a ⁱ nə] | | ainem | - |
| ACC | aina | ain | | air | kain |

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

⁹⁵ It is unclear where the velar comes from. Perhaps a generalized plural form < PGmc *bai* with velarisation of the glide. See section 8.2.

⁹⁶ Cf. Gaede (1983).

⁹⁷ 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.

| | <i>ain</i> | <u>MASC</u> | <u>FEM</u> | <u>NEUT</u> | <u>PL</u> |
|-----|--------------------------|-------------|------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| NOM | 1. air walach | | ain im | air fat/air blad | kain stråta |
| DAT | 3. ainem seebabuk | | ainer kau | ainem/aim huus | - |
| ACC | 4. aina dag/ kamaraad | | ain schål/kain stel | air rad/strik/ kair drek ⁹⁸ | kain swijn/ hüuser |

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 |
|------|------------------------|---|------------------------|
| | <u>(k)ain</u> m f n pl | | <u>(k)ein</u> m f n pl |
| NOM | ꝝ - ꝝ - | | NOM - e - e |
| DAT | em er em X | | DAT em er em en |
| ACC | a - ꝝ - | | ACC en e - e |

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

| (21) | <u>Standard German</u> | → | <u>Pomeranian</u> |
|------------------|------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| α . einen | | → | aina [ainə] |
| 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 → -ø |
| | -ø → - |
| | - → ꝝ (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 (...)_ø. This so-called catalectic system is represented in (23).

⁹⁸ *Drek* 'dirt' is neuter in Pomeranian in contrast to High German *Dreck*, which is masculin.
(i) Dårweegen schåla wij kair drek ina fluss smijta.

| Systematic Catalexis in Pomeranian | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ain</i> | MASC | FEM | NEUT | PL |
| NOM | ai(n) _ø | ain(e) _ø | ai(n) _ø | kain(e) _ø |
| DAT | ainem | ainer | ainem | ⁹⁹ |
| ACC | aine(n) _ø | ain(e) _ø | ai(n) _ø | kain(e) _ø |

This implies that Pomeranian and Standard German are underlyingly equal apart from catalexis of /n/ and /e/.¹⁰⁰

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 *keiner/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 Flemisch, 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 [kainə], 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.¹⁰¹

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

⁹⁹ This form is absent as negative plural NPs are not possible within PP, cross-linguistically.

¹⁰⁰ The absence of strong inflection morphemes (-er/-et/-es) in Pomeranian is a fundamental difference, though.

¹⁰¹ 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).

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.

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 ås dai anerd
 'one is not more than the other'

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

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

Attributive forms is *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 (26)b.

- (26) a. Dår sin nog ain pår fischa
 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*', *watfon* *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 srouda is alwoura.
 then have I which of.them shoted and my lead had run.out.
 'Then I shot some of them and finished all my bullets'

Wek means 'some' when it is uninflected: *wek* 'some', *wek lüür* 'some people', *wekmåls* 'sometimes', *up wek stela* 'in some places'. It means 'which' whenever it is inflected: *wekenfruug* '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 bün ik hen gåa | wou, interrogative/*existential |
| | where have I PRT gone? | |
| | "where have I gone?" | |
| d. | Ik bün wou hen gåa 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 wair wee ana doir | who, *existential |
| | there was somebody 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 an 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** gåa, weegen hai hät sündågstüüg 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 prounoun 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.¹⁰² 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)'

¹⁰² 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 *lüür* and *feld* in section 8.3.

5. no difference:

schau - schau 'shoe(s)', *schåp - schåp* 'sheep', *knai - knai* 'knee(s)'
and words in *-el*: *tåfel - tåfel/tåfels* '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-/ intervocally (+ subsequent schwa deletion), as *andra - aner* 'other' and *gesund - gesuuner* 'health(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 fijn/*fijnd[t] - wij fijna*,¹⁰³ it does cause alternations in nouns and adjectives: *bijld[t] - bijla* 'photo(s)', *wijld - wijla* 'wild'. The plural *fruuges* from *fruug* might be taken as evidence for -e catalexis: *fruug(e)ø*. The plural *oowens* from *oowa* might be taken as an argument for -n catalexis: /*oowe(n)ø/*, 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. - <i>a</i> [ə/ə] | Predominantly feminine nouns |
| FEM | <i>plant - planta</i> 'plant', <i>swalk - swalka</i> 'swallow', <i>tijd - tijra</i> 'time'. |
| NEUT | <i>dail - daila</i> 'thing', <i>tijr - tijra</i> 'animal', <i>slang - slanga</i> 'snake'. |
| MASC | <i>håfk - håfka</i> 'hawk', <i>soldat - soldata</i> 'soldier' |
| 2. only umlaut: Predominantly masculine nouns | |
| MASC | <i>boum - böim</i> 'tree', <i>but - büt</i> 'bundle, packet', <i>buk - bük</i> 'belly', <i>slag - slääg</i> 'hit'. |
| FEM | <i>muus - müüs</i> 'mouse/mice', <i>fuust - füüst</i> (EP) 'fist'. |
| NEUT | <i>glas - glääs</i> 'glass', <i>fat - fät</i> 'ton'. |

¹⁰³ Imperative *fijn!/*fijnd!*

3. *-er* (+ umlaut): Predominantly neuter nouns.

| | |
|------|--|
| NEUT | <i>huus - hüuser, huun - huiner, kind - kiner</i> 'child', <i>eig - eiger</i> 'egg', <i>nest - nester</i> 'nest' <i>folk - folker</i> 'people', <i>lijd - lijrer</i> 'song', <i>bauk - buiker</i> 'book', <i>land - läner</i> 'land' |
| FEM | <i>stad - stäärer</i> 'city' |
| MASC | <i>Pomer - Pomrer</i> 'Pomeranian' |

4. lengthening: masculine.

| | |
|------|------------------------|
| MASC | <i>dag - dåg</i> 'day' |
|------|------------------------|

5. *-en*: mostly masculine and neuter nouns in *-a*; and a few feminine nouns.

| | |
|------|--|
| MASC | <i>ossa -ossen</i> 'ox', <i>bula - bulen</i> 'ox', <i>kasta - kasten</i> 'box(es)', <i>hird - hirden</i> 'shepherd'. |
| NEUT | <i>farka - farken</i> 'sucking pig', <i>felsa - felsen</i> 'rock', <i>swijr - swijn</i> 'pig', |
| FEM | <i>tun - tunen</i> 'ton', <i>tung - tungen</i> 'tongue', <i>aik - aiken</i> 'oak'. |

6. *-s*

1. Nouns in *-er/-el/-em*.
 2. Some masculine and feminine words with overlength. This s-plural is a Ingvaeanic feature.
 3. The few lexically frozen diminutives have this marker
 4. This plural marker of loan words from Portuguese and Tupi
- | | |
|------|---|
| MASC | <i>keerl - keerls</i> 'man', <i>braiw - braiws</i> 'letter', <i>dak - daks</i> 'roof', <i>hån - håns</i> 'cock', <i>steel - steels</i> 'handle', <i>kijl - kijls</i> 'cone', <i>knufluk - knufluks</i> 'garlic', (<i>fiüür</i>) <i>heird - heirds</i> 'stove' |
| FEM | <i>bruud - bruuds</i> , 'bride', <i>bån - båns</i> 'road', <i>fabrik - fabriks</i> 'usine' |
| NEUT | <i>määka - määkes</i> 'girl', <i>haimka - haimkes</i> 'cricket' |
7. *-es* Rare ending. Only three cases found.
- | | |
|------|---|
| MASC | <i>jong [ŋ] - jonges</i> 'son' |
| FEM | <i>fruug - fruuges</i> 'woman', <i>bank - bankes</i> 'bank' |
8. Subtractive morphology - mostly masculine.
- | | |
|------|--|
| MASC | <i>fründ - frütün</i> 'friend', <i>band - bän</i> 'band', <i>hund - huun</i> 'dog' |
| FEM | <i>hand - häin</i> 'hand' |
| NEUT | - |

One noun has a separate oblique sg. form, which is identical to the plural. *dag* (sg) - *dåg* (plural and oblique): *aina halwa dag* 'a half day', *teigen dåg* 'ten days' but also: *bij dåg* 'at daytime', *hüütsendågs* 'at present', *sündågs* 'on sunday', etc. but: *namirdags* 'in the afternoon'.

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

- (32)
- a. *kau* - *köich* [køɪç] 'cow(s)'
 - b. *guis[ju's]* - *gees* [jɛ:s] but also regular *guis-guisa* 'goose/geese'
 - c. *faut* - *fuit* 'foot/feet'
 - d. *haud* - *huir* 'hat(s)'

The nouns *lüür* 'people', *jonges* 'boys' are pluralia tanta.¹⁰⁴ It takes a verb in the plural. *Jonges* is also the plural of *jong(a)* 'son': *mij jong(a)* 'my son'. The noun *waidog* 'pain(s)'¹⁰⁵ behaves like a feminine singular: *Dai waidog is forgåa* 'the pain has gone'. *Hai hät groud waidog ina bain* 'he has great pain in his legs', but plural cases do occur as well: *dai waidog häwa nålåta* '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.dative', *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: *slipstair* [sli:pstaɪə] once realizes as *upm slipstain* '(on the) whetstone'. This seems to be an error (*upa slipstain* 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* (~300ms) and the accusative context *nå huus* (~180ms). There are uncertainties though.¹⁰⁶ 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': [filər] / [file]. 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. Sleswick-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 Pommeranian, however, lacks this morphological category altogether, apart from some lexicalized cases, such as *määke* (n). 'girl', *kinka* 'small child, baby',¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Grimm's dictionary takes High German *Wehtagen* and its Low German source *waidåg* as < *wai* + *dåg* 'pain+days'. However, it is more likely to see in *waidåg* a deverbal noun to *waidaua* 'do pain', with glide velarization. If so, the (rare) High German calque *Wehtagen* is a result of laic etymology.

¹⁰⁵ Tressmann's orthography has *waidåg*. However, its vowel is short [ɔ], being not related to *dag* 'day' but to *daua* 'do'.

¹⁰⁶ 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.

¹⁰⁷ For instance in the lullaby *Slåp, kinka, slåp* 'sleep, my child, sleep' (Tressmann 2006b). However, this song is not traditional in Brazilian Pomeranian but a recent re-introduction.

biss/bits/beets/bitske (f) 'little bit', *knöipka* 'bachelor button (a plant: *gomphrena globosa*)', and *lifke/lüfk* 'bra', and perhaps *buurka* 'bird cage'¹⁰⁸ 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 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 has 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 [d/t] under final devoicing), e.g. predicative *uld* [ult] versus attributive *ul(a)* [ul(v)] 'old'.

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

Similarly *wijld* [vi:lt] versus attributive *wijl(a)* [vi:l(v)] 'wild', *roud* [ro^ut] - *rour(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.

¹⁰⁸ Possibly from Slavic origin, cf. Lower Sorbian *budka* from *buda* 'kennel, dog house' + *-ka* (diminutive).

| (35) | attributive forms | predicative form | gloss | comparative |
|------|----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>rour</i> | <i>roura</i> | <i>roud[t]</i> | 'red' |
| b. | <i>gaur</i> | <i>gaura</i> | <i>gaud[t]</i> | 'good' |
| c. | <i>blour</i> | <i>bloura</i> | <i>bloud[t]</i> | 'naked' |
| d. | <i>brair</i> | <i>braira</i> | <i>braid[t]</i> | 'broad' |
| e. | <i>sijr</i> | <i>sijra</i> | <i>sijd[t]</i> | 'low' |
| f. | <i>wijl</i> | <i>wijla</i> | <i>wijld[t]</i> | 'wild' |
| g. | <i>ul</i> | <i>ula</i> | <i>uld[t]</i> | 'old' |
| h. | <i>kul</i> | <i>kula</i> | <i>kuld[t]</i> | 'cold' |
| i. | <i>haar</i> | <i>haara</i> | <i>hard[t]</i> | 'hard' |
| j. | <i>jung [ŋ]</i> | <i>junga</i> | <i>jung[ŋk]</i> | 'young' |
| k. | <i>früüsich</i> | <i>früüscha</i> | <i>früü</i> | 'early' |
| l. | <i>(dourig)</i> | <i>(douriga)</i> | <i>doud[t]</i> | 'dead' |
| m. | <i>gesuun</i> | <i>gesuuna</i> | <i>gesund[t]</i> | 'healthy' |
| n. | <i>afgesoogen</i> | <i>afgesoogena</i> | <i>afgesoogend[t]</i> | 'weaned' |
| o. | <i>bloud¹¹⁰</i> | <i>bloura</i> | <i>bloud [t]</i> | 'bare/naked' |

The comparative grade (*rourer* '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).

The adjective *doud* 'dead' is defective (**dour*/**doura*) in the attributive forms as well as the comparative. In attributive position, it is supplanted 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. *früüsich* 'early, ancient': *dai früüscha liiür* '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.

¹⁰⁹ The related adjective *kuil* [kuɪl] (German *kühl*) 'cool' is regular: *kuil/kuiler/kuilst*.

¹¹⁰ For the underlying /d/ < WGmc. **blod* cf., Philippa *et al.* (2003) s.v. *bloot*.

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 (116).

| Pomeranian | | | | | | ← | Standard German | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|----|--|-----|-----------------|----|----|----|--|
| A | M | F | N | PL | | A | M | F | N | PL | |
| 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> 'the seventh floor' | | MASC | - | | | | | |
| | | 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> 'the old church' | | FEM | - | | | | | |
| | | 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 düürist hold</i> 'the big wheel' the 'most expensive wood' | | NEUT | - | | | | | |
| | | 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> 'the small ducks' | | PL | a | | | | | |
| | | DAT | <i>mita bloura ougen</i> 'with the naked eyes' | | | | | a | | | |
| | | ACC | <i>air alaina däir dai gansa kiner ni twingga</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 ſau̯l] instead of *ina schaul* 'in school'.¹¹¹ 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 | | <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 an 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, a inflection shows up different from what one 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', 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: [juŋ] =

¹¹¹ 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 tso^umər].

/jung(a)o/ while [juŋk] =/jung.pred/. We leave it for further research. Below we give a table with typical examples.

| (40) | <i>Case</i> | <i>Example</i> | <i>Gender</i> | <i>Affix</i> |
|------|-------------|--|---------------|--------------|
| 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 ('a dirty/good wood') | NEUT | - |
| | DAT | ainem groud rad | | - |
| | ACC | air gruin hemd | | - |
| d. | NOM | dat sin uk seir nijgliga tijra | PL | 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/lđ/rd} cluster reduction, and final devoicing of /d/ to [t].¹¹² 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.

- (41) a. Dat is gaud[t]/*gaur taum hüüser 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).

¹¹² This also happens in some Flemish dialects (Taeldeman 1980).

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.

- (42) *Ik wäir där 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 [ə/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).¹¹³

| (43) | <i>klai(n)</i> | MASC | FEM | NEUT | PL |
|------|----------------|------|-----|------|----|
| | NOM | ✕ | - | ✕ | - |
| | DAT | a | a | a | a |
| | ACC | a | - | ✕ | - |

The extra subtractive morphology in the structural cases, i.e. (nom, masc) and (nom/acc, neuter) 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 (44)a, 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 (44)bc. If 'small' is used in focus, i.e. where German would not use the diminutive but *klein*, it inflects like a true adjective, cf. (44)d.¹¹⁴ True diminutive uninflected forms in the plural are

¹¹³ 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: **fijr*/**gruir*/**bruur*.

- (i) Dar kast duu eiger, (...), fisch, **fijn** flaisch, (...) un ales wat dij gaud smekt, mang måka.
 There can you eggs, (...), fish, fine meat.neuter, (...) and all that to-you good tastes, 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

¹¹⁴ We must reckon with the possibility, though, that the coda -n in *klain* is a misinterpretation of the n-onset in *nest*.

given under (44)ef, 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. (44)g.

| (44) | <i>Case</i> | <i>Example</i> | <i>Gender</i> | <i>Affix</i> |
|------|-------------|--|---------------|--------------|
| 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 forruktheid häwe's ainem jeirer air klair huldgeweer sou mäkt 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 dawa sich air klain nest mäka The humming birds do themselves a small nest make.infl 'The humming birds make themselves a small nest' | NEUT | - |
| e. | ACC | un anerd tijra häwa klain hüuser and other animals have small houses | PL | - |
| f. | ACC | Dai doura 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 (45)a. However, it must be noticed that *ain* and *kain* may show subtractive forms in the predicate as well: *klair* (45)a is parallel to *(k)air* in (42). The adjectival form is possible in predicative position as well (45)b-e.

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

The functional nature on *klain* puts the absence of a specific diminutive morpheme in Brazilian Pomeranian in a different perspective.

3.3.5 Grades of comparison

Degrees of comparison is suffixal *-er[v]/-st*, sometimes with vowel mutation (46)d-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> [jizunt] | <i>gesuuner</i> - <i>gesuunst</i> | 'healthy' |
| | c. <i>bruun</i> | <i>bruunner</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> [ɛ/j/j] - <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> ¹¹⁵ - <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>spärer</i> - <i>alerspärst</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. *dai letst fruug*
 'the woman that is last in a row'
 b. *am letste boum*
 '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).

¹¹⁵ This form is an umlauted form of **graud*, which I did not encounter.

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)o*, 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).

- (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 substrandard 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 [əs] of the adjective is found.

- (53) a. wat groudes
 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 [ə/ə] rather than attaching the genitive *-s* directly to the root as Dutch/Frisian (*wat goeds*

[watxuts] / [wɔdgu³ds] 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 transtation 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 1999), 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 häw twai huldna kara* (double stress). *Ik häw air hulduus* (single stress) versus *hai hät twai huldne hüisa* (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, *braidsmuuld*, lit. broad.mouth.ed 'with a big mouth/gossip', *langrård* 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 adjectively: *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: *afsuuga* 'wean', *afsooga* 'weaned', but it is present when it is used adjectively: *air afgesoogen kalw* 'a weaned calf'. In predicative and adjunct position, the participle ending is *-end*: *dai boum wäir ümgefallen* *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)ₜ/ende(n)ₜ* 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. <i>Dat is gaud[t]</i> | predicative adj. |
| | 'That is good' | |
| | b. <i>Wen dai fal nåheer ni gaud[t] reigenwuscha waard, ...</i> | adverb |
| | 'when the trap after not well clean.washed is, ...' | |
| | 'If the trap is not well cleaned after, ...' | |
| | c. <i>Wen air meisch gaura ossen häwa wil, ...</i> | attributive adj. |
| | 'when a person good oxen have want, ...' | |
| | 'if somebody wants to have good cows, ...' | |
| | d. <i>Ik häw ain seir gaur kau</i> | 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 (55)a or perfect tenses with a past reading (55)b. *Dun* contrasts with *den* 'then' (Dutch/Frisian *dan*), which has a successive reading and combines with present and future tenses (55)c.

- (55) a. *Dun kaima dai soldåta därhen*
 then came the soldiers there.DIR
 'Then the soldiers went there'
 b. *Dun sin twai ima ankooma un häwa 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 daila mit måka.*
 corn is planted and harvested. And then can one ther many 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, *ås* ('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> [aind̥] | 11. <i>älwen</i> | |
| | 2. <i>twai</i> | 12. <i>twelw</i> | 20. <i>twansig</i> or <i>swansig</i> |
| | 3. <i>drai</i> | 13. <i>dratseen</i> | 30. <i>draisig</i> |
| | 4. <i>fair</i> | 14. <i>fiertseen</i> | 40. <i>firtsig</i> |
| | 5. <i>fjw</i> [fi:f] | 15. <i>fuwtseen</i> ¹¹⁶ | 50. <i>fuwsig</i> |
| | 6. <i>söss</i> [søes] | 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> |
| | 9. <i>neegen</i> [nɛ:yən] | 19. <i>nuintseen</i> | 90. <i>nuinsig</i> |
| | 10. <i>teigen</i> [te:jən] | | 100. <i>huunerd</i> |
| | | | 1000. <i>duuzend</i> |

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

¹¹⁶ 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].

- (57) *Mijn swijgermutter däir 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 soiwen(a) slåpa*
 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 aindā 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. *Nå teigena kümt hai nå huus.*
 after ten. OBL comes he to house
 'he comes home after ten o'clock'
 b. *Ik koom sou foir 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 jár* or *drai jára*, *söss stuun* or *söss stuuna* 'six hours', *twai pår* 'two couples'.

- (60) a. *air klair jong (...) fon twelw jár* (Seibel C)
 a small boy of twelf year.sg
 'a small, twelve years old boy'
 b. *twai jár tröichuut* (ES)
 two year.sg ago
 'two years ago'
 c. *hai is twelw jár 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 de Jetibá'

- e. *Dat duurd nuu nog oiwer twai stuun* (DP:99)
 it lasts now still over two hour.sg
 'It still last 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 ¹¹⁷ | Fractions |
|------|--|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | <i>airst</i> | 1. <i>airst</i> | 1. - |
| 2. | <i>twaid</i> [twa ⁱ d], also [svait] ¹¹⁸ | 2. <i>twaid</i> | 2. <i>hälwt</i> |
| 3. | <i>drür</i> | 3. <i>drürd</i> | 3. <i>driitel</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> ¹¹⁹ | |
| 8. | <i>acht</i> | - | |
| 9. | <i>nuind</i> | 9. <i>näägd</i> | |
| 10. | <i>teigend</i> | - | |

They are inflected like adjectives, cf. section 3.3. Many ordinals are drawn from High German, cf. the non-Ingvaeanic -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

¹¹⁷ 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).

¹¹⁸ From High German *zweite* [tsvaitə]. Notice the German [v] instead of the expected Pomeranian bilabial [w]. Notice further that it is [sv], not [ʃv]. This must be due to the underlying cluster onset [(t)sv].

¹¹⁹ This spurious /r/ is probably a postarticulation caused by the short vowel. Cf. section 2.3.7.

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* [ə/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 + *a* [-ə/-ə] *kooma* 'come'
 infinitive 2 or "gerund": stem + *en*¹²⁰ [-ən] *koomen*, e.g: *taum koomen*

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 infinitive 1 and 2. These are disyllabic verbs in Pomeranian: *daua* [daʊə] 'do', *gåa* [gɔ:a] 'go', *saiā* [aɪsə] 'see', *ståa* [a:cʃə] '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*, *gåen*, *saien*, *ståen*, respectively. Only *sin* 'be' has *-n* in the inf1 and inf2: *sin/*sia*.

In a system with synchronic (ə) and (n) catalexis, we may assume these endings to be: V-ə(n)_ø for inf1, and either N-ən(ə)_ø or N-ənd(ə)_ø for inf2¹²¹, 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 inf1 as -ə(n)_ø 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.

¹²⁰ Verbs in *-ijra* and (incidently) 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 forms without -n are considered ill-formed upon second explicit elicitation. Verbal clusters may follow this pattern: *tam sich ni natreegna låta/låten*.

¹²¹ 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.

3.6.2 Personal endings

The personal endings in Pomeranian are selected from three morphemes: *-st*, *-t*, *-a* [ɛ/ə]. Second person singular *-st* sometimes realizes as *-s*, when the verbal root ends in *-t*: *duu aits* 'you ate', *duu löts* '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 and Frisian dialects, and which sets Low Saxon 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)ø*, 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 gåa ← wile(n)ø 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.

| (63) | <u>weak verbs</u> | | <u>strong verbs</u> | |
|-------|-------------------|------|---------------------|--------|
| | present | past | present | past |
| 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.

| <i>Paradigm of the weak verb schika 'send'</i> | | | | |
|--|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--|
| <u>present</u> | <u>past (obsolete)</u> | <u>perfect</u> | <u>imperfect</u> | |
| 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 the present and past in the 3rd person sg, 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.

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 Ślupsk) 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/ → /sedde/ → /serre/ → /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 - roup-a* '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'.

| <i>Paradigm of strong verb raupa 'call/shout'</i> | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| <u>present</u> | <u>past</u> | <u>perfect</u> | <u>imperfect</u> | |
| ik raup [ra ^u p] | ik raip [ra ⁱ p] | ik häw roopa [rɔ:pə] | ik däir raupa | |
| duu röpst [œ] | duu raipst | duu häst roopa | duu däist raupa | |
| hai röpt [œ] | hai raip | hai hät roopa | hai däir raupa | |
| wij/jij/sai raupa | wij/jij/sai raipa | wij/jij/sai häwa roopa | wij/jij/sai däira raupa | |

The broken form [ɑ^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 [ɑⁱ] (=|A|+|I|) in the root of *gaita* 'pour' is palatalized 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 [i:] | ik bleiw [ble ⁱ f] | ik bün bleewa [ble:və] | ik däir blijwa |
| | duu bliwst [ɪ] | duu bleiwst | duu büst bleewa | duu däist blijwa |
| | hai bliwt [ɪ] | hai bleiw | hai is bleewa | hai däir blijwa |
| | wij/jij/sai blijwa | wij/jij/sai bleiwa | wij/jij/sai sin bleewa | wij/jij/sai däira 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] | [^y œ œ ^ø] | loupa | lopst | 'to run' |
| | [ɔ:] | [œ] | [^y œ œ ^ø] | fråga | frögst | 'to ask' |
| | [ai] | [y] | [^j y y ^ø] | forlaira | forlürst | 'to lose' ¹²² |
| | [a] | [y] | [^j y y ^ø] | fala | fülst | 'to fall' |
| | [u] | [y] | [^j y y ^ø] | hula | hülst | 'to keep' |
| | [i:] | [ɪ] | [^j i i ^v] | blijwa | bliwst | 'to saty' |
| | [ai] | [ɪ] | [^j i i ^v] | gaita | gitst | 'to pour' |
| | [ɛ:] | [ɪ] | [^j i i ^v] | geewa | giwst | 'to give' |
| | [ɛ:] | [ɛ] | [^j e e ^v] | steeka | stekst | 'to sting' |

Incidentally, some speakers realize a double past marker in velar roots: *krijga - kreigt* and *saia - saicht*¹²³ '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-söchta* 'to seek'. In the case of *bruuka* 'need', this occurs in all speakers: *bruuka - brüükta* 'to need'.

¹²² This type corresponds to the early NHG /ie - eu/ class (*bieten - beut* 'offer(s)', *gießen - geust* 'pour(s)'), which has been leveled out in later NHG.

¹²³ This is also the regular past tense of *saicha* 'to point/direct' from High German *zeigen*.

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.¹²⁴ 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*.

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 | | |

måka - 'to make'

| | | | |
|------------|------------|--------------|---------------|
| ik måk | ik maik | | |
| duu mörkst | duu maikst | | |
| hai mökt | hai maik | hai hät måkt | hai däir måka |
| wii måka | wij maika | | |

bruuka – 'to need'

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

¹²⁴ Some younger speakers often replace it by periphrastic constructions. This might ultimately lead to a complete *Präteritumschwund* as has happened in High German dialects.

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*.¹²⁵ In most cases, the past subjunctive form, which had umlaut as its regular marking, has been selected as the past tense.¹²⁶ 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', *muita* '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.¹²⁷ Meesow (Mieszewo) in Kreis Regenwalde is such a Pomeranian dialect, having *tjeel* </keerl/ 'man', *tjind* </kind/ 'child', and *tjitere* </klere/ 'cloths', but simply *kole* and *kouken* for 'coal', and 'to cook.inf2'.¹²⁸ 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 a 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).

¹²⁵ 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 *wil* 'to want' with similar specialization of meaning (past and optative, respectively).

¹²⁶ See also Besch (2000: II-1434) and the references cited there. An exception is *haar* 'had', while an optative origin would have given *häir*.

¹²⁷ This also happens in various Low Prussian dialects especially in the Pomerelia (Schweminski 1835, Darski 1973), as well as in all Mennonite dialects around the world. Mennonite Platt should be characterized as Low Prussian from the Pomerelia (the "Polish corridor", southeast to Pomerania).

¹²⁸ Tonaufnahmen der Vertriebenenmundarten, WE952AW1.

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 | |

This auxiliary has an infinitival form *sin* exemplified 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 myst be very hot'
 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 dawa/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 dawa | 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 supplants *schoila* as a future auxiliary verb, as *schoila* is, as a future marker, restricted to negative and interrogative contexts.

- (69) a. *Sai dawa 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 nå huus gåa!*
 let's to house go.infl
 '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 uutdiiürt haar, den wür ik dat forståa 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 *wii* 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 'want', as in (53).

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

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| geewa 'give' [jɛ:wə] | - 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* [jɪft] *böim wat twai urer drai liter melk geewa dawa 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 dawa/schul-e dat dawa? |
| wai schoila/schåla ¹²⁹ | |

¹²⁹ The form *schåla* is used in Tressmann's orthography. I only heard *schoila*.

Debuccalization of /l/ in the singular present and past tense is virtually obligatory. In neutral order, *schoila/schåla* has a deontic reading of obligation (cf. 'you must, 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 måka?*
 And now, what shall we now do?
 b. *wat schåla wij där singa?*
 what shall we there sing.infl
 'what shall we sing there?'

We have asterixed 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 spårer 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 dau | hai hät küüt |
| du kast - kast-ø | du küüst | |
| hai ka - kann-e (inversion) | hai küü(n) dat dava / kü-hai dat dava? | |
| 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.

mach 'may' - (no *taum* form)

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| *ik mach - mag ik dat måka | müücht ik /*ik müücht |
| *duu machst - machstu | |
| *hai mach - mach hai | müücht hai |
| *wij/jij sai måcha - måcha wij | hät müücht hai ... |

The auxiliary *mach* 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 mach¹³⁰ dat an leiga? (UmL:5)
 what may that PRT lay
 'What might be the reason?'
 b. Wat mach⁹² dat där ais sin? (UmL:97)
 what may that there PRT be.inf
 'What might that be over there?'
 c. Wat mach⁹² 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. Mach⁹² 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) *Hät mücht hai dat trecht måkt häwa?*
 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 direct 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 müicht* (UmL:55)
 (I don't know) if the human-being that PRT eat might
 'whether man should eat that'

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

- (79) a. *Jeirer mag¹³¹ de wijnachtsman geirn* (UmL:14)
 Everyone likes the Santa Claus very.much
 b. *Ik mag seir geirn im wald gåa* (UmL:82)
 I like very much in.the wood go.inf
 c. *Dai ima maga seir geirn dai maluulabüsч eer blauma* (UmL:115)
 the bees like very much the maluula-tree their flowers
 'The bees like the maluula tree's flowers very much'

• **muita**¹³² 'must' - müst - müst

| | | |
|-------------|------|-------------|
| ik mut/muit | müst | ik haw müst |
| du must | | |

¹³⁰ The text has an erroneous *macht*.

¹³¹ The text has an erroneous *magt*.

¹³² Tressmann (2006b) writes *muida*.

| | |
|-----------|-------|
| 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' - wür - woura (< * <i>warden</i> ~ HG <i>werden</i>) | | |
| ik waar | ik wür ¹³³ | ik bün V _{prt} woura |
| duu waarst | | |
| hai waard | | |
| wij waara | wij würa | |

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

1. aux + infinitive1 as a future marker

- (81) a. Dai wäira ina wald gåa. (UmL:107)
 they would in-the wood go.inf1
 'they had the plan to go into the woods'
 b. Ik waarr ma's sega. (Hartwig:113)
 I will but PRT say.inf1
 'I would like to say'
 c. Ik waarr dij de weeg wijsa. (DP:520)
 I will you the way point.out
 'I will point out the road to you'

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 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 nåna rouk smeken. (UmL:53)
 otherwise will.she very after.the smoke taste.inf2
 'otherwise it (i.e. the sausage) will taste to much of smoke'

I leave this for further research.

¹³³ 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 Elísabeth 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'

2. aux + participle as a passive construction

Like 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 **wür** dera tijra eera kopgestel mit blauma bewikelt
 At.the wedding AUX.pass the animals their head collar with flowers adorned
 'At weddings, the animals's collars were adorned with flowers'

• **daua** 'to do' -

| | | |
|----------|----------------|-----|
| ik dau | ik däi(r) lere | dåa |
| du däist | | |
| hai däit | hai däi(r) | |
| wij daua | wij däira | |

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

• **eeta** 'to eat' – **ait** – **geeta**

| | | |
|----------|----------|----------------|
| ik eet | ik ait | ik häw geeta |
| duu etst | | |
| hai et | | |
| wij eeta | wij aita | wij häwa 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 haven *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. Scheer 1997) 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 extention of the (consonantal)¹³⁴ **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

¹³⁴ 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 (|?|-|T|-|?|). In collocations, the two apophonic systems are realized as *pif-paf-puf* and *hand en tand*, respectively.

(oi/ui/au/ai) or complex vowels (öi/üü/ää) 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 as **i:-ei-ɛ:** e.g. *kijka - keik - keeka* 'look'. Verbs that follow this pattern are: *blijwa* 'stay', *krijga* 'get', *rijra* 'drive/ride', *smita* 'throw', *snijra* '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* '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-ɔ:**, e.g. *laiga - loug - looga* 'not to speak the truth'. Verbs that follow this pattern are *bedraigā* 'cheat', *flaiga* 'to fly', *gaita* 'to pour', *schaita* 'to shoot', *forlaira* 'to lose', *(for)baira* 'to (for)bid', *fraira* '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. 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 (*bedraigē - bedrügt* 'deceive(s)', *fraira - frürt* 'freeze(s)') in contracted form, while it was leveled in NHG *betrügen – betrügt* '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.

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. *drinkā - (drank) - drunka* 'to drink', *stinka - stank - stunka* 'to stink'. Clusters with -d- are standardly reduced, but there are some changes in the consonantism: *fjna - fung - fuuna* 'to find'. This velarization is specific to the past tense of verbs. Verbs that follow this scheme include: *bijna* 'bind' - *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* 'die' was mostly replaced by *doudbljwa* 'stay dead'.¹³⁵

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 **ɛ: - ai - ɔ:**, e.g. *neema - naim - nooma* 'take'. Verbs that follow this sequence include roots with nasals, liquids and velars: *steela* 'steal', *breeka* 'break', *steeka* 'stab', *spreeka* 'speak'. Also *kooma* 'come' and the strong u-stems (*kruupa*, *schuuwa*) follow this pattern. The 23sg present forms can show in contracted form (*kümst*, *nimst*) when the verb has change in root vowel, or in full form (*breekst/*brekst*, *steelst/*stelst*) when the verb is without vowel change. Tressmann's dictionary, however, has *stekt/*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 - ɛ:**, e.g. *leiga - laig - leega* 'lay'. This is a considerable class, that has been extended to other verbs. Verbs that follow this sequence include: *eeta* 'eat', *geewa* 'give', *smeeka* 'taste'. Some of these verbs have developed weak participles, e.g. *gewt* 'given'. One verb has a preterite without diphthong: *forgeeta - *forgait / forgat - forgeeta* '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-VII. 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 **å - ai - å**, e.g. *slåpa - slaip - slåpa* 'sleep'. Verbs that follow this class include: *fala* 'fall', *fåta* 'fetch', *hula* 'hold', *låta* 'let', *måka* 'make'. There is some variation in the preterite, e.g. *fait/foit/fuit/föt* 'fetched' (Du *vatte*, Ger *fassste*). The latter verb displays extreme variation, presumably because it has joined this class rather recently. If the stem ends in -g [ɣ/χ], the high preterite marker -i- may show up as -u- under homorganic articulation: *dråga - draug - drågt* 'carry', *fråga - fraug - frågt* 'ask'. Various verbs in this class are half-strong. The 23sg present tense form show up with /ö/ or /ü/: *slöpst, fulst*.

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

¹³⁵ 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.

/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 tenses¹³⁶

| infinitive | 23sg present | past sg | participle | translation |
|-----------------------------|---|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>anfänga</i> | <i>fängst / fängt an</i> | <i>fong an</i> | <i>anfonga/ anfunga</i> | 'begin' |
| <i>baira (for-)</i> | <i>bairst / bairt¹³⁷</i> | - | <i>boora</i> | 'bid/offer (forbid)' |
| <i>befeela</i> | <i>befeelst / befeelt</i> | - | <i>befeelt/ befoola</i> | 'order' |
| <i>bedraiga</i> | <i>bedriüüst / bedriüügt</i> | * <i>bedruig</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>blíjwa</i> | <i>bliwst / bliwt</i> | <i>bleiw</i> | <i>bleewa</i> | 'stay' |
| <i>bluira (blöira)</i> | <i>bluirst / bluit</i> <i>blörst / blört</i> | - | <i>bluird/ blöird</i> | 'bleed' ¹³⁸ |
| <i>breeka</i> | <i>breekst / breekt</i> | <i>braik</i> | <i>brooka</i> | 'break' |
| <i>bringa [n]</i> | <i>bringst / bringt</i> | <i>bröcht [ç]</i> | <i>bröcht</i> | 'bring' |
| <i>bruuka (modal)</i> | <i>bruukst / bruukt</i> | <i>brüütkt</i> | <i>bruukt</i> | 'need' |
| <i>bruuka</i> | <i>bruukst / bruukt</i> | <i>bruukt</i> | <i>bruukt</i> | 'use' |
| <i>buiga/böiga</i> | <i>böigst / böigt</i> | - | <i>buigd</i> | 'bow' |
| <i>-¹³⁹</i> | <i>dörwst / dörwt</i> | <i>dürst</i> | <i>dürwt</i> | 'dare' |
| <i>daua [da<u>u</u>(e)]</i> | <i>däist / däit</i> | <i>däir</i> | <i>dåa</i> [dɔ:(e)] | 'do' |
| <i>denka</i> | <i>denkst / denkt</i> | <i>dacht</i> | <i>dacht</i> | 'think' |
| <i>dråga</i> | <i>drögst / drögt</i> [ö ³] | <i>druig/draug</i> | <i>drågt</i> | 'carry' |
| <i>drinka [k]</i> | <i>drinkst / drinkt</i> | * <i>drunk</i> | <i>drunka [g]</i> | 'drink' |
| <i>eeta</i> | <i>eets / et</i> (also <i>it</i> [iət]) | <i>ait</i> | <i>geeta</i> | 'eat' |
| <i>fala</i> | <i>fülst / fült</i> | <i>fail/foil</i> | <i>fala</i> | 'fall' |
| <i>fänga</i> | <i>fängst / fängt</i> | <i>fong</i> | <i>fonga / funga</i> | 'catch' |
| <i>fåta</i> | <i>fötst / föts / föt</i> [ø ³] | <i>fait/foit/föit/fuit</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' |

¹³⁶ A dash (-) in a cell means that the form did not occur in the corpus, nor was it elicited yet. It does not mean that the form does not exist. Forms with an asterisk * have been reconstructed on the basis of EP.

¹³⁷ In EP *bitsst/bit*. The expected forms in BP would be *baira - bürst / bürt - boud - boora*.

¹³⁸ The EP forms of Kowalk are: *bloira - bletst / blet - blet - blet*, which are to be compared with Fri *bliere - bletst / blet - blette - blet*.

¹³⁹ Infinitives of modal verbs do not exist. The present tense plural forms are: *döra/dörwa; koina; macha; muita; schoila*.

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

| | | | | |
|----------------------|--|--------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>forbaira</i> | <i>forbürist / 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 / forståit</i> ¹⁴⁰ | <i>forståün</i> | <i>forståa</i> | 'understand' |
| <i>fråga</i> [x] | <i>frögst / frögt</i> [ö ³] | <i>froug / fraig / fruig / froig</i> | <i>frågt</i> | 'know how' |
| <i>fraira</i> | <i>frürt</i> | * <i>fruir / fröir</i> | <i>froora</i> | 'ask' |
| <i>freeta</i> | <i>frets/fret</i> | <i>frait</i> | <i>freeta</i> | 'freeze' |
| <i>gåa</i> [go:] | <i>geist/geit</i> [je ⁱ st] | <i>güng</i> [jyŋ] | <i>gåa</i> [go:] | 'eat' (of animals) |
| also [jɔ:] | | | | 'go' |
| <i>gaita</i> | <i>gitst / git</i> (also <i>jüt</i>) | <i>güüt</i> | <i>goota</i> | 'pour' |
| <i>geewa</i> [jɛ:ve] | <i>giwst</i> [jifst] / <i>giwt</i> | <i>gaiw</i> also <i>gaiwt</i> [jaif] | <i>gewt</i> | 'give' |
| | | | | Imp: <i>giw!</i> |
| <i>gefala</i> | <i>dat gefült</i> | <i>dat gefail</i> | <i>gefala</i> | 'please' |
| <i>gewina</i> | <i>gewinst / gewint</i> | * <i>gewun</i> | <i>gewuna</i> | 'win' |
| <i>grijpa</i> | <i>gripst / gript</i> | <i>graip</i> | <i>greepa</i> | 'catch' |
| <i>hääwa</i> | <i>häst / hät</i> | <i>haar</i> | <i>had</i> | 'have' |
| <i>haita</i> | <i>hitst / hit</i> | * <i>heit</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>hülp</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' |
| ¹³⁹ | <i>kast / ka(n)</i> | <i>küüi(n)</i> | <i>küüt</i> | 'can' |
| <i>köipa</i> | <i>köfst / köft</i> [ö ³] | <i>köft/köfta</i> | <i>köft</i> | 'buy' |
| <i>kooma</i> | <i>kümst / 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' |
| <i>laiga</i> | <i>lügst / lügt</i> | <i>loug/luig</i> | <i>looga</i> | 'lie, not speaking the truth' |
| <i>läta</i> | <i>löt</i> [ö ³] | <i>lait</i> | <i>läta</i> | 'let' |
| <i>leiga</i> | <i>ligst / ligt</i> | <i>laig</i> | <i>leega</i> | 'lie, to be laid' |
| <i>lijga</i> (EP) | <i>ligst / ligt</i> | - | - | 'borrow' |
| (<i>lijwa</i>) | (<i>liwst / liwt</i>) | | | |
| <i>lijra</i> | - | - | - | 'bear' ¹⁴¹ |
| <i>loupa</i> | <i>lopst / löpt</i> | <i>laip</i> | <i>loupa</i> | 'run' |
| - | <i>machst / mach</i> | <i>müücht</i> | <i>müüch(t)</i> | 'may' |
| <i>maga</i> | <i>magst / mag</i> | <i>müücht</i> | <i>müücht</i> | 'like' |
| | | | <i>micht</i> | |
| <i>måka</i> | <i>mökst / mökt</i> | <i>maik</i> | <i>mök(t)</i> | 'make' |
| ¹³⁹ | <i>must / mud</i> | <i>müst</i> | <i>müst</i> | 'must' |
| <i>meeta</i> | <i>metst / met</i> | * <i>mait</i> | * <i>meeta</i> | 'measure' |
| <i>neema</i> | <i>nimst / nimt</i> | <i>naim</i> | <i>nooma</i> | 'take' |

¹⁴⁰ Tressmann spells: *forsteit*.

¹⁴¹ This negative polarity verb seems to be defective. Only the infinitive is found.

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| | | | | imp: <i>nim!</i> |
| <i>rijra</i> | <i>rirst / rirt</i> | <i>reir</i> | <i>reera</i> | 'drive' |
| <i>raupa</i> | <i>röpst / röpt</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>rüüka</i> | <i>rüükst / rüüt</i> | *rouk | <i>rooka</i> | |
| <i>säga</i> | <i>sägst / sägt</i> | <i>sääär</i> | <i>sägt</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>sügst / sügt</i> | - | <i>saiga</i> | 'show' |
| <i>schaita</i> | <i>schütst / schüt</i> | <i>schöit / schüt</i> | <i>schoota</i> | 'shoot' |
| <i>schijna</i> ¹³⁹ | <i>schinst / schint</i> | <i>schein</i> | <i>scheena</i> | 'shine' |
| | <i>schast / scha(l)</i> | <i>schu(l)</i> | - | 'shall' |
| | | <i>schüül</i> (conj) | | |
| <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> ¹⁴² | <i>büst / is</i> | <i>wäir</i> ¹⁴³ | <i>wääst</i> | 'be' |
| | | | <i>imp.</i> | |
| | | | <i>wäs!</i> | |
| <i>sita</i> | <i>sitst/sit</i> | <i>sait</i> (also <i>seet</i>) | <i>seeta</i> | 'sit' |
| <i>slåa</i> | <i>sleist / sleit</i> | <i>sloug/slöig</i> | <i>slåga</i> | 'hit' |
| | <i>also slöit</i> | | | |
| <i>slåpa</i> | <i>slöpst / slöpt</i> | <i>slaip</i> | <i>slåpa</i> | 'sleep' |
| <i>sluka</i> | (weak) | (weak) | <i>slugd/</i> | 'swallow' |
| | | | <i>stooka</i> | |
| <i>shuuta</i> | <i>slütst / slüt</i> | * <i>sloit</i> | <i>sloota</i> | |
| <i>smeka</i> | <i>smekst / smekt</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> ¹⁴⁴ | | 'play' |
| <i>bispreeka</i> | <i>bispreekst / spreekt</i> | <i>bespraak</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 / stekt</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> | <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>soup</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' |

¹⁴² I did not find any trace of the infinitive *wäisa* (cf. Frisian *wēze* 'be') in BP, though some EP dialects in the Treptow area had it (Priewe & Teuchart 1927/1928:226).

¹⁴³ EP had *was*, which is the indicative form. Modern BP systematically uses the past subjunctive form, which had /r/, as a simple pas..

¹⁴⁴ 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.

| | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------|---------|-----------------------|
| *taia | *tūüst / *tūüt | *tuich | *tooga | 'pull' ¹⁴⁵ |
| trefa | trefst / treft | trüf | trufa | 'meet/hit' |
| twinka | twingst/twingt | twung | twunga | 'force' |
| wǟdga | wägst / wägt | - | wooga | 'weigh' |
| waara | waarst / waart | wü(r)/wö(r) | w(o)ura | 'become', 'will' |
| | | wäir ¹⁴⁶ | | 'future, aux' |
| waita | wätst / wät | wüst | wüst | 'know' |
| wascha | waschst / wascht | - | wuscha | 'wash' |
| wassa | wasst / wasst | wuss | wussa | 'grow' |
| wila / wüla | wist/wi(l) | wu(l) | wud | 'want'/ 'will' |
| | | wüü (conj) | | |

3.6.9 The imperative

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

| (84) | imp.sg/pl | inf - 1sg - 2sg | gloss |
|------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|
| a. | <i>dau/daut!</i> | <i>daua - ik dau - duu däist</i> | 'to do' |
| b. | <i>gå/gåt!</i> | <i>gåa - ik gå - duu geist</i> | 'to go' |
| c. | <i>koom/koomt man!</i> | <i>kooma - ik koom - duu kümst</i> | 'to come' |
| d. | <i>säg/sägt!</i> | <i>säga - ik säg - du sägst</i> | 'to say' |
| e. | <i>sriw/srijwt!</i> | <i>srijwa - ik srijw - duu sriwst</i> | 'to write' |
| f. | <i>bliw/blijwt!</i> | <i>blijwa - ik blijw</i> | 'to stay' |
| g. | <i>giw!/geewt!</i> | <i>geewa - ik geew - duu giwst</i> | 'to give' |
| h. | <i>wäs!</i> | <i>sin - ik bü - du 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, kümmt, kooma</i> |
| b. | <i>Gått!</i> go.imp.pl 'Go!' | <i>gå, gäist, gäit, gåa</i> |

¹⁴⁵ Reconstructed forms corresponding to HG *ziehen*, Fr. *tsjen*. The EP dialect of Kowalk (Laude 1995:349) has *taihe - tiehst / tieht - toich - tåge.*, with unrounded forms in 23sg present tense.

¹⁴⁶ This form is identical with the past tense of *sin* 'to be', and perhaps it is a form of *sin*. The verb *sin* is sometimes used in a inchoative sense, cf. note 133.

- c. *Daut mij ni for oiwer¹⁴⁷ neema.* *dau, däist, däit, dawa*
do.imp.pl me not evil take
'Don't blame me'
- d. *Giw/geewt!* *geew, giwst, giwt, geewa*
Giw mij ain ijser tään werer!
give me an iron tooth back
'Give me back an iro teeth'
- e. *Bliw man sitend!* *blijw, bliwst, bliwt, blijwa*
stay PRT sit.inf2
'Remain seated!'

There is no difference in final devoicing in 1sg and imperative, *ik sing* [iksɪŋ], *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)ø*. 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.¹⁴⁸ Evidence for this analysis is the form *wäs!* 'be.imp.sg', without rhotacism, parallel to Dutch *wees!*, Frisian *wēs!* 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.

¹⁴⁷ This is Tressmann's spelling. As the value of the final consonant is not clear, it might be analyzed as *oiwel* ~ Dutch *euvel* 'evil'.

¹⁴⁸ Frisian has the imperative *-je* ending in a separate weak class (the so-called *-je* verbs), such as *helje!* It is plausible that it is the bare stem, in view of the vocalic 23sg forms: *hellest, hellet*.

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.

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 + dem | P + de/ dera/dai | P + dat | 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 festdag* '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 (88)d, 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 rinermäken: ...* dative
 they have not forgotten in.the.DAT suitcase three things 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]; an [ec] ;

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 (89)h-k. One preposition (*fon* 'from') has an allomorphic particle (*af*'off'). The particle to *doir* can also be *rümer*.

| | <u>Stative</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</i> ... <i>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.

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 languages¹⁴⁹ 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** (UmL:39)
at night is he there-to been
'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 rijra. (UmL:42)
Then has could.ptc he his life.time in-the shadow ride.infl
'Then he could drive his whole life in the shadow'

b. Dun [**hät müst**] papa sou seir loupa, ... (UmL:103)
then has must.ptc daddy so much run.infl
'Then, daddy had to run so much'

c. Dun [**hät müst**] mijn fruug drågt waara bet Campinho upm naka (DP:333)
then has must.ptc my wife carried AUX.pass till Campinho on-the neck
'Then my wife must be carried on my neck till Domingo Martins'

This only occurs when the sentence final verbal position is not empty. It 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]

149 Apart from Yiddish.

with fission to [past] + [MOD], where [past] is lexicalized by the HAVE and [MOD] takes the shape of the participle. This would mean that (3)a 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.infl
 'Then he could ride in the shadow his entire life'

However, this would not explain the obligatory V2 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 gåa* (123) / *gåa hät müst*(312) / *gåa müst hät* (321) / *hät gåa 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 uuthula* (DP:461)
Until his hour arrived, has he must.ptc very much suffer.infl
'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*.¹⁵⁰ In interrogatives, cluster V2 is not possible.¹⁵¹

- (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 küüika.* (UmL:112)
 every day fetches REFL he a.neuter chicken
 'Every day he fetches himself a chicken'

¹⁵⁰ See also Van Gelderen (2000) for the relation between the complementizer and absence of V-to-T in Shakespearean English.

¹⁵¹ This construction is also present in Pomeranian in RS (Kaufmann 2018).

- (i) *Gistern hä küüt ik mijä 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 (6)b is ungrammatical.

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 kwääla 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, åwer ik häw em küüt ni saia* (PW, sv schåla)
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'

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

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

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).

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 PRR

'For the hen takes better care for the small chickens'

Verb fronting also occurs in pseudo-coordinative constructions under *anfanga* 'begin' and *hengåa* 'go', cf. section 4.7.1.

- (13) *Wen den air meisch hengeit un [nimb dai eiger mit dai hand nimb], ...*
 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 V₂V₁ 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 explicite elicitation, however, informants accept raised verbal clusters, as given in (14)a.

- (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 dawa* (DP:83)
 where the people have lived and where they today live 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 (14)b 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.¹⁵²

¹⁵² For the sake of completeness, I give the other example of verb raising in the corpus under (i).

- (i) *Sai häť uk forståā, dat sai kütün kooka, bråra 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.

4.1.3 Infinitive 1 and infinitive 2 (use)

4.1.3.1 Overview

Like Frisian, 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.

- (15) infinitive 1 or "infinitive": stem + *a* [-ə/-ə] *kooma* 'come'
 infinitive 2 or "gerund": stem + *en*¹⁵³ [-ən/ən] *koomen*, e.g: *taum koomen*

The infinitive 1 is in *-a* [ə/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 (16)a, under the (periphrastic) auxiliary verb *daua* 'to do' (16)b, the causative verb *låta* 'to let' (16)c, aspectual verbs such as *gåa* 'to go' and 'to come' (16)d-h, in bare infinitive construction with imperative i.e. modal import (16)i, the negative polarity auxiliary *bruuka* 'to need' (16)j, and finally under the hortative particle *wim* or *wif*'let's' (16)k.

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|-------------------|
| (16) | a. | <i>Ik wi aira na huus kooma</i> I want early to house come.inf1 'I want to come home early' | (ESB) |
| | b. | <i>Ik dau morgen mijlcha planta</i> I will tomorrow corn plant.inf1 'I will plant corn tomorrow' | MODAL (ESB) |
| | c. | <i>Ikloat mine jaung ni so spår 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' | FUT (ESB) |
| | d. | <i>Un hai wäir därmit 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)' | CAUSE (UmL:41) |
| | e. | <i>Wen mijlchatijd is, den gåa 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 (UmL:101) |
| | f. | <i>un gåa in aina hola boum slåpa.</i> and (they) go in a hollow tree sleep.inf1 'and they go and sleep in a hollow tree' | ASP (UmL:104) |
| | | | ASP |

¹⁵³ 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 futra/futren*. Verbal clusters may follow this pattern: *tam sich ni natreegna lata*.

- g. *Aina dag bün ik ina wald jagta gåa*
one day am I in.the wood hunt.inf1 gone
'One day, I went into the wood hunting'
ASP
- h. *Hai kümt ous betåla*
he comes us pay.inf1
'he comes to pay us'
ASP
- i. *un den gaud fijnstampa!*
and then good fine.crunch.inf1
'and do crunch it then well'
Imperative
- 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'
(DP:70)
- k. *Wim nå huus gåa*
will.we to house go.inf1
'Let's go home'
Hortative

Wim, *wif* and *wiif*¹⁵⁴ 'let's' are contractions of the modal verb *wila* 'will'¹⁵⁵ 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' (17)ab, in AcI constructions (17)cd, and furthermore in combination with the complementizer *taum* [tam], cf. (18).¹⁵⁶

- (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*
the snow is this night at us lay.inf2 stayed
(HB)
- c. *Ik häw nog kanous uplåren saia*
I have yet canoes up.load.inf2 see.ptc
'I saw the canoes being loaded'
(Seibel:D)

¹⁵⁴ From the tale of the Wolf and the Seven Goats: *vif as úna dáí dóa kika* 'let's look under the door' (from São Lorenzo (RS)). Also Pomeranian in ES has these forms. Neither *wim*, nor *wif* or *wiif* are given in Tressmann's dictionary.

¹⁵⁵ Old Saxon has dummy *wita* 'know' in this function: *uuita kiasan im ôdrana niudsamma 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).

¹⁵⁶ 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 AcI construction in the Wenkersätze, but see also the EP texts in section 9.5.

- d. *Ik kan dij härts slåen höira* (PD:425)
 I can your heart beat.inf2 hear.inf1
 'I can hear your heart beat'
- (18) a. *Ik neem de wåga 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 buugen* (UmL:78)
 The people are poor and have no money for.to REFL a house 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 waaren.* (UmL:94)
 then is.pass the gum in the river put for.to not black become
 'Then the gum is put into the river for it not te 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, Acl 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 (18)b, pronouns (18)c, and negation (18)d. 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 gåa [taum rijsland putsen]* (UmL:103)
 we are once to-the land gone taum rice-land cleaning

Scopal adverbs cause distinct readings before or after to *taum*.

- (20) *Ik benuts dijn seip rasch [tam afwaschen]* (ESB)
 I use you soap quick to PRT-wash
 'I use your soap to quickly wash the dishes'
 (temporal adverb)

- (21) *Ik benuts dij hait wåter [tam rasch afwaschen]* (ESB)
 I use your.n hot.n water to quick
 '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 hierarchically highest verb has the gerund, as expected:

- (22) *...taum [dera hingst drinka] låten* (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 ruunergåa taum sich ni natreegna låta* (UmL:44)
 he is not from the beehive away gone for-to REFL not 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 häw 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', *befela* '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 hulpa.* (Seibel:D)
 they have de "Number one Church" in Luxemburg build.inf1 help.ptc
 'They helped building the Number One Church in Luxemburg.'
 b. *Den plegt sich jeira hân [pår hiner neema] un mökt sich air nest.* (UmL:32)
 then use-to SE every cock [PRO some hens take.inf1] and makes 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 **gåa**].* (DP:41)
 the docter has ordered every day walk
 'The docter ordered to walk every day.'

4.1.3.5.2 Control contexts with Infinite 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 forstääit já 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 rinermäken: ...* (DP:48)
 they have not forgotten in.the suitcases three things PRT.put
 'They did not forget to put three things into their suitcases: ... '
- d. *Sai däit sich anbaira dij helpen, wen duu bruukst.* (DP:17)
 she did SE offer you help.inf2, when you need.2sg
 'She offered herself to help you whenever you need.'

Notice that the negation in *kair* 'no' in (26)a has wide scope (NOT > CAN) just as standard with modal verb constructions, which take infinitive1 complements. Notice that the deontic context of (26)a 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 that fluctuate as to their complementation: inf1 or inf2 without taum

The verbs *forsuika* 'to try' and *uphöira* 'to stop' shows both inf1 and inf 2 complementation.

The complementizer *taum* is excluded though.

- (27) a. *Ik fersuik [ais aira na hus **gåa**].* (ESB)
 I try early PRT to house go.inf1
 'I try to go home early'
- b. *Ik fersuik [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 **gåan**]* (ESB)
 I try it to.DAT early to house go.inf2
 'I try to come home early'

- d. *Dat instituut hät (dårmit) uphöirt [soura måken]* (DP:505)¹⁵⁷
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 (27)a and (27)b, and between (27)d and (27)e, 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).

- (29) a. *Ik forspreek, dat ik stilswijg.* finite
I promiss that I keep.silent
'I promiss to keep silent.'
- b. *Dai dokter hät em forornd dat hai jeira dag gåa 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 (30)a, but cases with an infinitive 2 exist as well, as in (30)b.

- (30) a. *Dai kel is ni gaud [mit nå 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 hät, ous uutlachen un uutspoten.* (UmL:5)
there is also none who the right has, us PRT.laugh and PRT.mock
'No one has the right to ridicule and mock us.'

The distribution needs further study.

¹⁵⁷ (i)

Dat instituut hät uphöirt soura måken

(HB)

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 [hät müst] mijn fruug drågt waara bet Campinho upm naka* (DP:333)
 then has must.ptc my wife carried AUX.pass till Campinho on-the neck
 'Then my wife must be carried on my neck till Domingo Martins'.
 b. *Jeirer mitglijd [hät müst] firtsich bet fiwsich dåg arbeira helpa* (Seibel:D)
 every member has must.ptc fourty till fifty days work.inf1 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 bruukaen*
 that was not to use
 'that could not be used'
 b. *(Dai kastangaboum) is uk licht taum fijnen im urwald fon Guianen*
 '(The Barzil 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* (33)a. This first conjunct can be subject to ellipsis (33)b. It thus appears that the gerund *-n* and the coordinator *un* are in complementary distribution.

- (33) a. *taum mijlchabroud baken, urer polenta måka.* (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 Pomerisch reeren.* (UmL:5)
 ... that much youth REL pomeranians are, REFL shame for-to pomeranian speak

'... that a lot of pomeranian youngsters are ashamed of speaking pomeranian'

This exception might be only apparent. It might be also analyzed as a nominalization with an incorporated noun: /P N+N/ structure.

4.1.4 Participle complementation

Complement clauses of the verb *krijga* 'to succeed' select a perfect/passive participle ((35)a-e), but I found cases with a present participle ((35)fg) as well.

- (35) a. *...dat kair håwk eer greepa krigt.* (UmL:104)
... (so) that no hawk them caught succeeds
'... so that no hawk succeeds in catching them'
- b. *Dai håwk hät dai klain kat nischt greepa kreiga* (UmL:112)
the hawk has the small cat not caught get.inf
The hawk did not succeed in catching the little cat'
- c. *Meir häwa sai ni måkt kreega as dai gansa lüür uutriüüma* (Seibel:A)
more have they not done succeeded then the entire people ...
'They did not succeed in more than ethnic cleansing'
- d. *Ik haw 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 hät dai krümd ni måkt kreega* (PD:274)
he has the curve not made succeeded
'he did not succeed in making the curve.'
- f. *As dai stäärerlüür oiwer dai gefär waitend kreiga, ...* (DP:159)
when the citizens however the danger knowing get.past
'However, when the citizens realized the danger, ...'
- g. *Ik häw dat hemd nij meir saiend 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 *grijpa* 'to get', and *måka* '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 *hengåa* '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 hand]* (DP:136)
 when the one person PRT goes and takes the eggs with the hand
 'If somebody goes and takes the eggs by hand.'
- b. *Un vasoikt ji ouk un [schreift wat am Semeador]* (Hartwig 2011:113)
 and try you.pl too and write something to Semeador
 'and you try to write something to the S. (a magazine)'
- c. *den fänga sai an un [freetaa mijlcha]* (UmL:30)
 then start they off and eat.inf1 corn eat
 'Then they start eating corn'
- d. *den kan man anfänga un [slachta wek]* (UmL:30))
 then can one off.start.inf1 and slaughter.inf1 some
 'Then one can start slaughtering some'

Anfänga 'to start off' ((36)cd) is a special case, as the complementation not only occurs paratactically but also by subordination. The verbal form is the infinitive 2 (*legen* in (37)a), rather than the infinitive 1 in the coordination. This must be due to the preposition/complementizer *ana*.

- (37) a. *Dai hiner fänga 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 hät [ana wassen.inf2] anfonga.* (UmL:42)
 But the cipô has [to grow] off.start.inf2
 'But the lianas has started growing.'
- c. *Wen sai gröter sin, den fänga 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 fäng 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 anfänga [ana upplatsen], den...* (UmL:91)
 when the pods PRT.start PRT open.burst, then...
 'When the pod vegetable start to burst open, ...'
- b. *Dai schouda waara ina sün legit bet dai anfänga dawa [ana upplatsen]*
 the pods were in.the sun layed till they start.inf do PRT open.jump.inf2
 'The pod vegetables were layed in the sun untill they started to open'
- c. *Mit ais häwa dai brülapa boowen ous ina böim anfunga [ana brülen]*
 with once have the howl.monkeys above us in.the tree start PRT scream.inf2
 'Suddenly, the howler monkeys in the tree started to scream'. (UmL:103)

A curious construction is ((39)a) with a suppressed instance of the particle *an*. Apparently there is a block on the haplology in ((39)b).

- (39) a. *Im september fänga dai **ana** upplatsen.* (UmL:93)
 in.the september start they COMP open.burst
 'In September, they start bursting open'.
 b. *Im september fänga dai ø/*an **ana** upplatsen.* (HB)
 c. *Den fönga wij ana sitren fon fröir.* (DP:145)
 then start 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. (16)h). Historically, *-end* is the present participle. It is historically closest to the English *-ing* form, which is the velarized counterpart. The *-d* is often silent¹⁵⁸, as in ((40)d). Also *blijwa* and *saia* selects the *-end* form ((40)efg), as well as infinitive 2 in ((17)abcd) above.

- (40) a. *Den kooma sai an **loupend**.* (Uml:105)
 the come.pl they PRT walking
 'Then they arrive on foot'.
 b. *Dai håwk kaim an **flaigend**.* (Uml:112)
 the hawk came PRT flying
 c. *Dat wåter wat darin pår dåg 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 åpa mit dem kind **andragen**.* (UmL:99)
 Then came the monkeys with the child carrying
 e. *Dait klok is nachts **ståend** 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 stick 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, ...'

¹⁵⁸ 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)*, with intervocalic cluster reduction *-nd-* → *-n* before catalectic schwa.

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)ø*. 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 lay.prp
'Dad had it stored in the cupboard'
- b. *Wen ain soig drågend 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 tauneemenda¹⁵⁹ mån planta* (UmL:16)
It must one at crescent moon plant.inf1
'One should plant it at crescent moon'
- b. *mit kookend wåter* (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 häwa.*
Write.inf what true is, what of a life as the Pomeranians really have.pl
'To write what is true, what kind of life the Pomeranians really have'
- b. *un (sai) häwa feel liiir 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 Saxon¹⁶⁰, 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).

¹⁵⁹ Pronounced as [taunə:mənə], but also [taunə:məntə].

¹⁶⁰ 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.

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 asterix 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.inf
 '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.infl
 'I will just say'.
 d. *Dai wäira ina wald gåa.*
 they would in-the wood go.infl
 'They had the plan to go into the woods'.
 e. *Solang as dat möiglig is, daua wij dat im ståen låte.*
 as long as it possible is, do we that in standing let
 'As long as possible, we should leave it intact'.

The verbs *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.

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 *måga* 'may' only occurs in interrogative contexts in Pomeranian.

- (45) a. *Wouweega maga's dat as måka?*
 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? (DP:193)
may our money be-sufficient to that buy.inf2
'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, e.g. dependent of the interrogative marker *of/if*:

- (46) *Dai lüüra keika ala njiglig of dai meisch dat wol eeta mücht.* (UmL:55)
the peope saw all curiously if that person that PRT eat.inf1 might
'the people all watched with curiosity if that person really could eat it'

As a lexical verb, with the meaning 'to like', *måga* is not subject to this licensing condition. This means that (46) might also be a case of lexical *måcha*.

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 kiiüt/müst/dürwt/...*) will do. (cf. De Vos 2005:176ff).

- (49) a. *Dun [hät kiiüt] hai sijn leewstijd im schata rijra.* (UmL:42)
then has.sbj 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 nåm 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 mål 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 is realized 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* underlingly 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 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]* (ESB)
 we work on the land to.DAT the poor people help.inf2
 'We work on the land to help the poor people.'
 c. *Ik måk dat im computador taum rascher sin* (ESB)
 I make that on.the computer to.DAT quicker be.inf
 'I do it on the computer to be quicker.'
 d. *Ik benuts kaina boter, blous süss-öil 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.

- (49) e. *Dar is uk kainer, wat dat recht hät, ous uutlachen un uutspoten,*
 there is also none, what the right has, φ_C us PRT-φ_T-laugh and PRT-φ_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 besoopenet 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. <i>Den häwa sai mij fragt, ...</i> | (perfect pp, -GE) |
| | then have they me ø-said, ... | |
| | 'Then they said to me...' | |
| | b. <i>Awer ik häw em seir gaud taudekt.</i> | (perfect pp), -GE |
| | but I have him very good PRT-ø-covered | |
| | 'But I covered him very well.' | |
| | c. <i>Wij häwa hütit kair fleisch geeta.</i> | (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).¹⁶¹

- | | | |
|------|---|----------------|
| (54) | a. <i>Kookbanan waard kookt, brård urer ina bakoowa bakt.</i> | (passive, -GE) |
| | cook.banana is cooked, stewed, or in an oven ø-fried | |
| | b. <i>Ik bü tuus blääwa.</i> | (unacc., -GE) |
| | I am in house stayed | |
| | 'I stayed at home.' | |

¹⁶¹In 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*).

- 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)o* with catalexis or *-end(e)o* 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 (55)a and, in the case of strong verbs, the suffix *-end*, illustrated in ((55)b).

- (55) a. *Dai kan man roug eeta, gekookt, gebrård.*
 those can one raw eat.infl, cooked and fried
 'One can eat them raw, cooked and fried'
 b. *Dai boum wäir ümgefalen 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 *häwa* 'to have' or *sin* 'to be'. All transitive and intransitive verbs take the auxiliary *häwa* 'have' just as in English, but unaccusative verbs, such as *falla* 'to fall', *kooma* 'to come', *gåa* 'go', *doudblijwa* 'to die' select the auxiliary *sin* 'to be', as does the stative 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 jársål 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 plandand gåa.*
 'The pigs have gone into the plantation'
 e. *Hai **is** hijr bleewa.*

he is here stayed
 'He has stayed here'

Some verbs of going and coming select *häwa* 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 hät 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 rinernåken.*
 our grandparents have ... not forgotten in closet three things 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 gisteren 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.¹⁶² 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.

¹⁶² I thank Werner Abraham for drawing my attention to this difference between Dutch and German.

4.1.11.1 Lexical verb dawa

Lexical 'to do' is usually rendered by *måka* 'make' both for concrete and eventive objects, cf. (59). Lexical *dawa* is virtually non existing, apart with the complement *dat* 'it': *dau dat*.¹⁶³ Compounding is possible though: *waidawa* 'to ache', *updawa* 'to open', etc., cf. (60).

- (59) a. *Wijnachta is air festdag åwer ni taum sich besuupa un freeta as dat feel måka*
Christmas is a holiday, but not for-to oneself booze and stuff as that many do
 b. ... *un där dat blaud manga måka*
and there the blood through put
'and (we) put the blood through it (the sausage)'
 c. *Sai häwa de wijn ina flascha måkt*
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 tääna dawa mij wai.*
my teeth do me pain
'My teeth ache.'

This reduced use of the lexical verb *dawa* might be related to *dawa*'s abundant use as an auxiliary.

4.1.11.2 Auxiliary dawa

Pomeranian has a do-auxiliary *dawa* that selects infinitive 1. Auxiliary *dawa* has four functions: progressive (61)abc, future/obligation (62)abc, optative (section 4.1.11.5), and as a true dummy verb ("dawa-support", cf. section 4.1.11.6).

4.1.11.3 Progressive dawa

The durative construction *dawa* + infl corresponds to the *estar* + gerund construction in Brazilian Portuguese. *Estar* + gerund is an extremely common construction in Brazilian Portuguese as is *dawa* + infl in Pomeranian.

- (61) a. (why is this book here on the table)
Ik däir dat leesa. (Port. *eu estava lendo*)
I did that read.infl
'I was reading it.'
- b. *Ik dau srijwa.* (Port. *eu estou escrevendo*)
I do write.infl
'I am writing.'

¹⁶³ But see the Wenker sentence nr. 3 in section 8.4.

- c. *Hai däit air huus buuga.* (~Port. *eea está construindo uma casa*)
 He does a house build.infl
 '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.¹⁶⁴

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 dauais nij stela*
 I do PRT not steal
 'I should not steal'
 b. *In Espírito Santo hät dat de besta jakaranda geewt. Un wat dar nog is, daua sai ni meir forköipa.*
 In ES has there the best jacaranda given. And what there yet is, do they not anymore sell.infl
 'The best jacaranda was in ES, and what is left, may not sold anymore'
 c. *Dat ypsilon daua wij ni oft benutsa bijm srijwen.* (Tressmann-course)
 the 'y' do.pl we not often use upon-DAT 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. ((16)e) 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.*).¹⁶⁵ This parallelism was already a property in European Pomeranian (cf. Mahnke 1931:74).

- (63) a. *Wen ik tijd haar, den däir ik nå Düütsland gää.* (HB)
 if I time had, then did I to Germany go
 'If I had time, I would go to Germany.'

¹⁶⁴ 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.

¹⁶⁵ 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.

- b. *Wen ik jild haar, däir ik mij aina njiga wåga köipa.* (HB)
 if I money had, did I me a new car buy
 'If I had money, I would buy myself a new car'

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, köchti mij aina njiga 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 däir mij geern aina njiga 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 uses and 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.¹⁶⁶

- (66) a. *Dai lüür wat upm land woona/Dai lütür wat upm land woona* ***daua***.
 the people that on-the land live.pl/ the people that on-the land live.inf do.pl
 b. *wen ainer wat srijwa* ***däit*** *oiwer dai pomerer, ...*
 when someone something write does about the Pomeranians
 'when people writes 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 håns buuten rümer up.*
 as long as they on-the nest sit do, watch the roosters outside around out
 'As long they sit on the nest, the roosters watch out the environment outside.'
 e. ...*soulang* ***as*** *Butantan soura schika* ***däir***.
 ...as long as Butantā serum send did
 'As long as Butantā was sending serum.'
 f. *Den forlata sai eer staiwmuter* *nij ais airer, as* ***wen*** *sai werer bröiga* ***däit***.
 then leave they their stepmother never earlier as when she again breed does

¹⁶⁶ 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").

'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 däir dat bauk leesa muita.*
 I did that book read.inf must.inf

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 swoop 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.gerund
 'we harvest this in order to give it to the hospital'
 b. *wij arbeida upa laand [taum da arme liiür 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 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 däit hai ni.*
 But perish.infl did he not

Lexical 'do' is usually rendered by *måka*, not by *daua*, as in most German varieties ((70)a). *Daua* can also have the meaning of performing the liturgical service ((70)b).

- (70) a. *Wat mökst duu hijr?*
 what make you here
 'what do you do here?'
 b. *...dat feel praisters uk nischt meir up Pomerisch måka wila.*
 ...that many priests also nothing anymore in Pomeranian make want
 '...that many priests do not recite anything anymore in Pomeranian.'

This use of *måka* 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.¹⁶⁷

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 ((71)b) in Pomeranian. Object incorporation is possible though ((71)cd).

- (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 huisa 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.'
- e. *Sai wäir bijm broud rinerbringen.* (DP:384)
they was at.the bread PRT.bring.NMN
'Ela 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, 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 ((71)de) have a bare (apparently incorporated) object. It is possible that *daua* + infinitive 1 is in direct competition here.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ 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 (Bellingwolde, C165)
John would not have that we Mary phone did.pl

¹⁶⁸ 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*.

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 *plegt* '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 *plegt*. In ((72)b) 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 *låta* 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.'
 b. *Dat löt as wen där reegen kümt.*
 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 ((74)a), 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 bün 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 ((74)a) is confirmed by the selection of BE as a perfect auxiliary. This 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 måkt woura.*
the jar is broken made AUX.ptc
'The jar had been damaged'
- b. *Dai waard fom president söcht.*
he.TOP AUX.pass.past of-the president sought
'he was 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 ((76)a), transitive verbs form their medio-passive by the reflexive auxiliary *sich låta* (Dutch *zich laten*, German *sich lassen*) as in ((76)b), or with SE + do support ((76)c). With intransitives, plain *sich* is possible, but the subject must be realized with *dat* ((76)d). 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') ((76)e), which also realizes as impersonal *dat* ((76)f).

- (76) a. *Dit tüüg wascht sich licht.*
this.sg cloth.sg washes SE easily
'These clothes wash easily.'
- b. *Deisa koukus löt sich gaud upmåka.*
This coconut let SE well open.make
'This coconut opens easily.'
- c. *Wou gaud däit 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. *Dår köft man guld.*
There.expl buys one gold

- f. 'One buys gold.' (we buy gold professionally)
Dat däit ana doir klöpa.
 that does to-the door knock.inf
 'Somebody is knocking at the door.'

The presence of *daua*-support in ((76)f) 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*-prefix¹⁶⁹, 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 ((77)a).

- (77) a. *Dat wat ik doirset häw, is kainem hund günend.* 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 *günend* 'granting', the present participle of *güna* '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 a participial *ge*-participle 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

¹⁶⁹ 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 *gebläwe* 'stay.ptc' by the infinitive *bliewe* 'to stay' but by the *ge*-less participle *bläwe*. Only one location, Pasewalk, 52567, which has *gebroka* and *gefalla* in W4, has the infinitive *legen bliewa* in W25.

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 wäir ümgefalen fuuna* 'the tree was found in fallen state', where we encounter the longer form *ümgefalen* instead of the expected form *ümgefalen*. Notice that this must be an extended form of the passive participle, not the present participle, which would be *ümfalen*.

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 . This expletive negation is not obligatory.

- (79) *Airer dai oowens ni ala haitmåkt 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 patatoes
 'Fritz does not like patatoes'
 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 *nij* [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' ((81)c).

- (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 där ruuter.*
when one the chicken breed let, gives (it) never anything good.GEN 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 all were
'We would not think when once everything is 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
- b. *Ik häär **kaina** meesch saia.*
I have not seen anybody

The noun can be empty. In this case *kair* [kai(v)] 'no one' is a pronoun. It can be debuccalized to *kai* and even *caa*.

- (83) a. *Kair wil mi helpa.* nobody
none wants me help.inf
'nobody wants to help me'
- b. *Ik häir **går ni/nüscht** leest.* nothing
I have 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', *utståa koina* 'can stand', and the emphatic particle *går* '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* + infl 'may, dare' has a strong tendency to cooccur with negation, interrogation, and contrastive polarity, cf. (84)gh.

- (84) a. *Dai brüükta den *(ni) gans hengåa na Franz Lange.*
They need then no entirely PRT.go to Franz Lange
'They needn't go all the way to Franz Lange'
- b. *går nischt*
'nothing at all'
- c. *Maria leest **går *(k)air** bauk.*
Mary reads at all no book

- 'Mary don't reads books at all'
- d. *Dat wat ik doirset häw, is kainem hund günend.*¹⁷⁰
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 uutståa.*
'I cannot stand that man'
- f. *Dai koina sich ni lijra.*
they can REFL not like'
'they cannot go along'
- g. *Duu dörwst dat ni luur säga.*
you dare.2sg that not loud say.infl
'You do not dare to say that loud'
- h. *Bet hijrheer dörwst duu kooma, åwer wijrer ni.*
Till here dare.2sg you get, but further not
'You can go 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.dative his N]. The construction occurs with full DPs ((85)abc), complex DPs ((85)d), as well as with pronouns ((85)e). The construction allows interrogative pronouns, cf. ((85)f).

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|------------|
| (85) | a. | <i>[Dem grouda Oto] sij-ø fäter (is rijk).</i> | nominative |
| | | the.DAT big Oto his father (is rich) | |
| | | 'Otto's father is rich.' | |
| | b. | <i>(Ik saig) Maria eera fäter.</i> | accusative |
| | | (I saw) Mary her.ACC father | |
| | | 'I saw Mary's father' | |
| | c. | <i>in Maria eerem huus</i> | dative |
| | | in Mary her.DAT house | |
| | | 'In Mary's house' | |
| | d. | <i>Karl Schwambach, wat [Rudolf un Florian] eer unkel wäir.</i> | nominative |
| | | KS, what R and F their uncle was | |

¹⁷⁰ 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.

- e. 'KS, who is Rudolf and Florian's uncle'
[Em] sij-ø nest is mit (...) klain feedrer måkt. nominative
 him his nest is with small feathers made
 'Its nest is made with small feathers.'
- f. *Wem sijn hüüser sin dat?* interrogat.
 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 (86)ab and also after bare numerals (86)c. The agreement is the form as if the noun were present.

- (86) a. *Den behülst duu dai wit kau un ik behul dai sward.*
 then keep you the white cow and I keep the black Ø
 '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 häw neegen kaputschoota. Air – häw ik mij nå huus nooma. (UmL:106)
 I have nine Ø dead shot. One.neut have I me to home taken
 'I have shot nine. I took one home.'

There is no quantitative particle, like Dutch *er*, to bind the empty slots, as (86)ac 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 häw ik **air düür bauk** köft weegen ik küü **dat** gaud binutsa
 yesterday have I an.neuter expensive book bought, for I could it.n well use
- b. Gistern häw ik **aina twairad** köft, åwa ik schå **em** amin ni feel binutsa
 Yesterday have I a.masc bicycle bought, but I shall it.m perhaps not much use
- c. Gistern häw ik **ain nijg bank** köft, un ik schå **eer** hijna ina gåra seta
 Yesterday have I a.fem new bench bought, an I shall it.fem in the garden put

In the case of animate nouns, a semantic reference strategy is obligatory.

4.3.3.2 SE-constructions

Apart from inherent reflexives (88)a, the reflexive pronoun is used as a reciprocal (88)b, the medio-passive (88)c, in grooming and bodily actions (88)d, with psych-verbs, as a possessive/benefactive (88)e, and as a general detransivizer (88)f.

- | | | |
|---------|---|-----------------|
| (88) a. | Dat kind rougt sich The child rests SE 'The child is resting.' | (inherent) |
| b. | Däira sich alla kena? do SE all know? 'Do everyone know each other?' | (reciprocal) |
| c. | Wou gaud dät sich dat ais leesa! how well did SE it PRT read 'It reads so easily!' | (middle) |
| d. | Dat kind legt sich an sijn schuuler raner the child put SE to his shoulders to.DIR 'The child positioned itself at his shoulder.' | (bodily action) |
| e. | Dai walach hät sich ängst, därweegen is hai schüüg woura the horse has SE feared, hence is he fearful become 'The horse was frightened, whence it became fearful.' | (psych-verb) |
| f. | Hai lait sich de bård wassa he let SE the beard grow 'He grows a beard.' | (possessive) |
| g. | Dai walach hät sich richt mit den rijrer the horse has SE pranced with the horseman 'The horse pranced with its horseman.' | (detransivizer) |

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 (88)bc. 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. every day fetches REFL he a.neuter chicken 'Every day he fetches himself a chicken.' | (UmL:112) |
|------|---|-----------|

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: *klairwåga* '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 Swedisch (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 echo reading. Interrogative words are: *wee/wem*¹⁷¹ '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? are-you already in Paris been 'have you ever been to Paris?' | ja, ik bü da al west yes, I am there already been |
| | b. | Wem däir där 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 våga? 'How expensive was the car?' | |
| | d. | Dai våga wäir wou düür? the car was how expensive? | (only echo) |

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.

¹⁷¹ The case distinction has been lost in some speakers. These speakers only use *wem*. See section 3.1.8.

- (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 dårhen 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 has some imperative adverbial particles, such as *ais*, *mas*, *man* without clear meaning.

- (92) a. *Kijk ais dår, dår 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 ((92)b) shows that imperatives allow 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

Exclamatives clauses behave like normal V2 contexts with inversion. The first constituent is usually a WH-constituent (93)abc. There are also cases with V1, that functions as insubordinated conditional clause, cf. (93)d.

- (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'. Compementizer introducing finite purpose clasues.
 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 haitmaakt 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 *anfånga* 'begin'.
 Always with infinitive 2. Cf. 4.1.5.
 j. *as wen* 'as if'. Typically selected by the impersonal verb *läta* '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.¹⁷²

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. (96)ab. 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 dawa DP, plural
 the people that no pestle know do
 c. Air walach **wat** ni futert bruukt DP, masc, singular
 a horse that not feed.ptc needs
 'A horse that does not need to be fed.'
 d. Dai ainst schaul **wat** wij had häwa DP, fem, singular
 'The first school that we had.'
 e. Bijm ainst best dail **wat** eer frömd foirkümt DP, neut, singular
 upon-the first best thing that them strange seems
 'upon the first thing that seems strange to them.'

¹⁷² 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 nå de Bibbel, üm sich de spruch ruutersuika.
 'He reached suddenly for the bible to find himself a verse'.

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 *läta* 'to seem', as in (97)a. The variant with embedded V2 in (97)b is an argument for the analysis that *wen* sits in C, while (*sou*)*as* sits in its specifier.

- (97) a. Dat löt [as wen där reegen küm̩t]
 it seems as if there rain comes
 'There seems to come rain.'
 b. Dat lait [as wen dar regen kaim̩]
 Dat lait as *wen kaim̩ reegen
 Dat lait/löt nam reegen
 c. *Dat lait [as kaim̩ där reegen kaim̩] (HB)
 it seemed as came there rain
 'It seemed as if rain was coming.'
 d. Dat löt sou as of dai kiner dai schaulleirer lijra daua (PD, s.v. *lijra*)
 it seems so as if the children the school.teacher like.inf1 do.pl
 'It seems that the children like the school teacher.'
 e. *Dat löt sou as of/wen dai kiner dai schaulleirer lijra (HB)
 it seems so as if the children the school master like.3p
 'It seemed that the children like the school teacher.'

4.4.8 Complementizer clitics - enclitic pronouns

The 3sg masc 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
 *catt̩e = that he

I found two instances of enclitic 3rd sg *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** nåna wolka. (DP:74)
 when the farmer milk.inf1 went, looked-he to.the clouds

This enclitic *-a* was quite common in European Pomeranian. The 3 pl enclitic '*s < sai* 'she, they' has been fully retained, as well as the impersonal subject clitic '*t < dat*'.

- (100) a. Wen's dröig sin, ...
when-they dry are
'When they are dry, ...'
b. Süsta waard's seir nåna rouk smeken.¹⁷³
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.
then went it to-us so as the green.shirts
'Then it would go with us like with the fascists'.

The 2nd person pronoun in inverted context can remain empty as in Frisian, cf. (101)a-d. It may be lexical, though, without any effect of focus or stress (101)f.

- (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. Dår kast **duu** eiger (...) mang mäka
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 descent who realizes complementizer agreement with 2sg subjects. I render the three contexts here because of further reference and analysis.

- (102) a. *Un mit dij wäir dat uk so, wens du dij aina catocha rangijra wust, gaif dat ni, ura haar dij papa un mama då aas nischt...*
And with you were it also so, when.2sg you you a Catholic arrange wanted.sg,
gave that not, or had your father and mother there 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 dai alast meist up Pomerisch so, dai lüür dat fortela?*

¹⁷³ Notice the deviant infinitive 2 in this example.

- And then Then when.2sg you small were.2sg, did.2sg you, did.3sg 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 hijrüma, wats du süs so, leera dai no ala Pomerisch fö dat dai Português leera?*
 think.2sg you the children around here, what you see so, learn 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 ås* 'such as', *wo ås* '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 brasiliánisch 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 1991, 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 (104)a, with weather verbs (104)b, impersonal verbs (104)b, presumptive subject ronoun (104)d, and in existential clauses (104)efg. 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 häwa dawa.* (UmL:83)
 it is good that some people still a piece of forest with them 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 mit em speelen.* (DP:488)
 there is in the entire house no one who has time for.to with him play.inf2
 'There is noone 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 (105)a, and in the tag *wets* 'you know' in the spoken language (105)b, perhaps as a calque of Portuguese *sabe*. 2. with 3sg expletive if the subject is not in sentence initial position (105)cd, and 3. if the subject undergoes topic drop (105)e.

- (105) a. *Must ø wekmåls froiga so: "mama, wat is dat"?* (ESB)
 must you sometimes ask such: "mum, what is that?"
- 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 då wat tau? Is ø gaut? Is ø egich? Ura is 't normal?* (ESB)
 and say-they there something at? Is (it) ok? "Is (it) ugly"? Or is it normal?
- e. *Dat kümt fan de reegen.*
 it comes from the rain
 'It is caused by the rain.'

(105)d 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 mijlchatjd is, den gåa sai ala t'houp steela.* (UmL:101)
 when (it) harvest is, then go they all together steel.inf1
 'during the harvest, they go and steel 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 låt*, to be compared to English 'it seems' (108)a, *dat reigent* 'it rains' (108)bc, existential *dat gewt* 'there are' (108)e, as well as in Pomeranian-specific constructions, such as in medio-passives (108)f, and impersonal subject where *dat* replace *man* 'one' (108)gh.

- | | | |
|-------|--|----------------------------|
| (108) | a. <i>Dat låt (sou) as ...</i> | 'it seems' |
| | it let so as if ... | |
| | 'it seems that ...' | |
| b. | <i>Dat reigent/dat dunert.</i> | weather verbs |
| | 'It rains/it thunders.' | |
| c. | <i>Mij is dat kuld un mij släipert.</i> | bodily experiences |
| | to.me is it cold and to.me sleep.ITER.3s | |
| | 'I am cold and sleepy' | |
| d. | <i>Em däir dat fraira.</i> | bodily experiences |
| | to.him did it freeze | |
| | 'He felt cold.' | |
| e. | <i>Dat giwt feel daila.</i> | existential construction |
| | 'There are many things' | |
| f. | <i>Hijr woont sich dat gaud.</i> | impersonal SE-construction |
| | one lives well here | |
| g. | <i>Dat däit ana doir klöpa.</i> | impersonal passive |
| | that does to-the door knock | |
| | '(Some)one was knocking at the door' | |
| h. | <i>Dat klopt.</i> | 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) | <i>Glijk nåheer däir dat ana doir klopa.</i> | (PD, s.v. <i>doir</i>) |
| | 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 (110)a, the lexical verbs select *då* 'there' as their expletive (110)b. The verb *sin* allows for both (110)cd.

- (110) a. *Dår 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. *Dår kaim ain njig 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. *Dår is sunåwend 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 *dår*.

- (111) a. **Dat häwa twai liiür air huus köft.**
 EXPL have two people a house bought
- b. *Dår däir ain fruug air bauk leesa.* ok
 EXPL did a woman a book read.infl
 'A woman was reading a book.'

Now it has been suggested that VO-languages without V-to-T lack transitive expletive constructions (Bobaljik & Jonas 1998, Rohrbacher 1999, Zwart & Koster 2000).¹⁷⁴ As Pomeranian lacks V-to-T (Postma 2014), we conclude that this empirical generalization extends to Pomeranian on the basis of (111)a. However, if we consider *dår* 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 släpen*
 'before going to sleep'

¹⁷⁴ 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 makt.* 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 houg **fona** 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 stative/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 gaan 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 *riner* 'into', cf. (115).

- (115) *As wij ina fluss rinergunga, ...*
 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-sluka* [e?sluke] 'swallow' and in *ik sluk dat ei* [e?]. We briefly review the other prepositions (*up* 'up', *an* 'at', *fan* 'of', *foir* 'before, for', *tüischen* '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 (116)a or *hen* in (116)b. If, on the other hand, it is stative, it selects for dative case, as in (116)c.

- (116) a. *Den waara dai upa bananablad up ain blek ruperlegt.* (accusative, fem)
 then are they on-the banana-leave on a field PRT lain
- b. *Dai waard gebrard 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 was 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. *watfon* 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 tiüügkasta drai daila rinermåken: ...* dative
 they have not forgotten in.the.DAT suitcase three things 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. (120)ab. Some cases lack the *r*-prefix (120)c, though the prefixed counterpart does exist: *uuner/ruuner*. This might be an animacy effect. Other prepositions lack the prefix systematically (120)d-f. One preposition *fân* 'of' has a suppletive particle *af* 'off' (120)g.

- (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 schüüwer.*
 For-to the bread in-th oven into-bring.inf2 needs one a 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 nåna farw nå.*
 the jacarada became bought after.the color after
 'The jacarandá (tree) was bought because of their paint.'
 f. *Wij gåa 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"), *där* 'there, that', *hijr* 'here/this', *wou* 'where/what', etc. under topicalization, scrambling, or WH-movement.

- (121) a. *Där häw ik nog går 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 [där hijner [ec]] staik.* internal scrambling
 however, he understood not what there after [ec] stuck
 'He did not understand what was behind it.'

- c. *Sai kooma där ni hijner [ec] wat wij fortela dawa.* middle field
they come there not after what we discuss do
'They won't find out what we discuss.'
- d. *Ik wärir där al airfon [ec].* middle field
I was there already one of
'I was already one of these.'
- e. *... air dail wou ik mij seir üm [ec] küimra 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
'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 ((123)a-g), to introduce purpose NPs ((123)h), 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 benificial or target argument, just as in English, e.g. *sääga 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 / där 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. Synchronously, 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 Synday
 b. *Dat löt man ståa fon ainem dag bet andra taum süüren.*
 that let one stand.infl 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 ((126)ab) or a finite clause ((126)cd).

- (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 ((126)cd), 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* [ve:jən] 'for', and *åwer* 'but'. Such coordinators connect clauses and are outside the sentential syntax. The negative coordinator ('neither/nor') is circumscribed in Pomeranian as *un/åwar ... ni* with *ni* having wide scope:

- (128) *Wij koina Portugijsisch lera, åwer därweegen bruuka wij ni ous språk forstöita.*
 we can Portuguese learn, but hence need we not our language 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. *Uuter 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 realize as the so-called "balance construction"¹⁷⁵, 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 disjunctor 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.

- (132) a. *Ik haar dat noch ni sägt, dun haar hai dat antwoud al trecht.* (HB)
 I had that yet not said, then had he the answer already ready
 b. *Ik wäär 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.¹⁷⁶ 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 under 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'.

¹⁷⁵ This construction is coined "balansschikking" by G.F. Bos (1964: 238-257) and has become the generally accepted term.

¹⁷⁶ 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 did 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.

4.7.2 Hypotaxis (clausal complementation)

4.7.2.1 Subject clauses

Subject clauses are extraposed (134)ab or preposed (134)c. 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 dawa.
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.'
- c. **Dat** dai klaina folker eer språk ina ek schoowa waard, **dat** ligt an ous.
that the small peoples their language in the corner shifted gets, that 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 (135)b. Infinitival clauses may remain in situ if they are simplex (135)c. 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-pronominalizaton is not obligatory, in contrast to Dutch and German.

- (136) a. *Hai haar därān dacht [dat dai ijsern kansel em dat (...) afslåa haar]*
he had of it thought, that the iron gate him it cut 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. (137)e, or extraction of *wou* from the PP, as in (137)f. *Wou* can also be used upon extraction from an adjunct position, when it can be analyzed as a complement clause.

- | | | |
|----------|---|---------|
| (137) a. | <i>Dai lüür wat kaina stampklots kena dawa</i> | subject |
| | the people that no pestle know do | |
| b. | <i>Ik häw ain historia wat mij papa ümer fortela däit.</i> | object |
| | I have a story that my father always told | |
| c. | <i>fon dai tijd wat hai ous hulpa hät</i> | adjunct |
| | from the time that he has helped us | |
| d. | <i>Wij muita ous gaud befråga wat ous kandidaat [ec] fona meisch is.</i> subextract | |
| | we must us good ask what our candidate [what for.a person] is | |
| | 'We must realize what kind of man our candidate is.' | |
| e. | <i>Dai schik woumit ik hijr srijwa dau, ...</i> | PP |
| | the joy where.with I here write do, ... | |
| | 'The pleasure with which I write here, ...' | |
| f. | <i>Dat wäir den wat nijges wou dai kiner [ec] up luura däira.</i> | PP |
| | it was then something new.GEN where the children on wait.infl 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. | <i>Huun bleeka an [wat sai ni kena dawa].</i> | whatever |
| | Dogs bark to what they not know do.pl | |
| b. | <i>[Wat dai fruug mökt], waard meistens ni reekend.</i> | whatever |
| | what the woman does, is usually not counted | |
| c. | <i>Sai måka já doch wat sai wila</i> . | 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 kijka wat in dem keetel in wäir,* embedded interrogative
 Ik wanted to look what in the 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 dat giwt taum forstään.*
 that what I here written have, is how ever more crooked, but I think 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 hät*], ...
 ...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 sägst häst].*
 I have that only heard, what you said have.2sg
- b. *Den küüina wij ous kiner [dat] uk wijsa [wat wij früuer leirt häwa].*
 then can we our children that also teach [what we before learned 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 (144)a. Notice that the relative pronoun 'that' is realized as *wou*, illustrated in (144)b.

- (144) a. *Nuu häw ik hofnung, dat ous språk nog ais aina weird krijga däit.*
 now have I hope that our language yet PRT a value get.inf does
 'Now I have good hope that our language will be valued.'
 b. *Nuu, wou dai schaul uut is, koine 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 däira.*
 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 *säga* 'to say' and *denka* 'to think'. The embedded clause then displays clause initial subject + V2.

- (145) a. *Dai meisch säär, sai schul spärer kooma.*
 The man said she shall.past later come
 'The man told (her) that she should come later.'
 b. *Hai säär, dat schiil 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 häwa ous sägt, dai apa bröchta dat kind ina bijn.*
 father-mother have us said, the apes brought the child in.the 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 hat 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 lütür sin, jij kena fel wöir ni meir, wat wij noch kena däira.* (BP)
 what your guys are, you.pl know.pl many words not anymore, that we still know do.pl
 'Your generation does not anymore know many words that we still know.'

- (147) *Wat miin braurədoxdə is, dai wil nuu ook vriiga.*¹⁷⁷ (EP)
 what your brother's daughter is, she wants now also marry
 '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.

¹⁷⁷ The orthography is Mahnke's. Whereas Mahnke represented long vowels with macrons, I have taken the liberty of replacing those by doubling the vowel.

5 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) -d/t + vowel change; -d(e) _o underlyingly -en | Deadjectival. <i>droig</i> - <i>dröigt</i> 'dry - draught'. Cf. section 5.1.1.1. Typically feminine nouns (but also neuter?). |
| -heit or -keit (after -ig) -ung | 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> . |
| -tum / -schaft | Deadjectival. It forms feminine abstract and eventive nouns. Productive. It seems to be a Germanism. |
| -nis | 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. |
| -er | Nominal suffix. Frozen borrowings from High German. |
| -ling | Derivational suffix forming neuter nouns, like in HG: <i>dai forküülnis</i> 'refreshment', <i>gräwnis</i> 'funeral'; <i>beduurnis</i> 'compassion'. Not really productive. In Dutch <i>-nis</i> and Frisian <i>-ens</i> form nonneuters nouns. |
| -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> . |

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| - <i>(e)rig</i> | Stress-bearing suffix, <- <i>rij</i> > from Romance <i>-rie</i> , with glide velarization. A binding schwa, <e>, is inserted between two stressed syllables. |
| | It produces repetitive eventive nominalizations: <i>reererig</i> [rε:re'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>bäkerig</i> 'bakery', <i>slachterig</i> 'butcher', <i>planterig</i> 'plantation'. |
| - <i>sch</i> | 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)o*

The deadjectival nominalizer -*t/-d*, occasionally with vowel change, creates abstract feminine¹⁷⁸ 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)o in Pomeranian (see below).

| (2) | Adj | N | translation |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | <i>hait</i> | <i>hit</i> ¹⁷⁹ | 'hot - heat' |
| b. | <i>dröig</i> | <i>dröigt</i> | 'dry - drought' |
| c. | <i>lang</i> | <i>längt</i> | 'long - length' |
| d. | <i>groud[t]</i> | <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/d] | 'curved - curve' |
| h. | <i>kuld</i> | <i>kül</i> ¹⁸⁰ | '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> ¹⁸¹ | 'bad' – 'badness', 'wound' |
| l. | <i>halw</i> | <i>hälwt</i> | 'half - the half' |
| m. | <i>braid</i> | <i>bräid</i> ¹⁸² | '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

¹⁷⁸ Tressmann's dictionary has *hälwt* as a neuter noun. This must be an error.

¹⁷⁹ Also: *hits* < HG *Hitze*). The *-ts* might also be the realization of a geminate -tt. Cf. section 2.3.10.

¹⁸⁰ Tressmann's dictionary writes *kul*.

¹⁸¹ This noun seems to be neuter.

¹⁸² Tressmann's spelling has <breid>.

should probably be analyzed as *-d(e)* with catalexis of the final schwa, i.e. *-d(e)ø*. 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)ø* with intervocalic cluster reduction and catalexis of the schwa. Evidence for rhotism and catalexis of final schwa is the nominalisation of open root *frou* 'glad' in (2)i, 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 *sette* - *seer* - *set* 'to set', where the past tense *seer* derives from underlying *sedd(e)ø*.¹⁸³ 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 (2)d 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)ø*, with forward assimilation, we correctly predict *dai gröt* 'the size'. A final prediction is the invariant case *gruin* in (2)j. If we add *gruin + d(e)ø*, 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', *tauöhöirer* → *tauöhöirersch* 'attendee/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

¹⁸³ In contrast to BP, which has forward assimilation of *-d(e)ø*, EP *-de* had backward assimilation (Mahnke 1931:...).

feminine professional nouns: *dokter* 'doctor' - *doktersch* 'female doctor), *praister* - *praistersch* 'female priest', *bespreekersch* 'female healer', *heewansch* < *heew-am* + *-sch* 'midwife'.¹⁸⁴ 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 ((3)b). This is only used for women. A curious use is *uldsch* 'wife' with a colloquial connotation, as in (3)c.

- (3) a. *Mijn swäägersch, Berthold Kalksch, hät air bild därfon* (DP:469)
 my sister-in-law, widow of Berthold Kalk.sch, has a photo of it
- b. *muter Kalksch* *dai ul Kalksch*
 mother Kalk.suf the old.fem Kalk.suf
 'the mother in Kalk's house'
- c. *mijn uldsch* *mij ula*
 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 1415.¹⁸⁵ 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 tailer'.

5.1.2 Adjectivizers

The following adjectivizers are used in Pomeranian from verbal roots: *-sam*, *-bar*; from nominal roots: *-lous*, *-rijk*, *-haft*. As these for their own prosodic domain, no special effects need to be mentioned. , apart from intervocalic rothacism in its host in *-d*: . There is final devoicing in the preceding syllable.

¹⁸⁴ Compare HG *hebamme*, Du dial. *hevelmoeder* 'midwife'.

¹⁸⁵ "Heszeke Vrouendorppes de hadde pande van Hans Merszemannes vyves vegen, 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).

| | | |
|-----|---------------------------|--|
| (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>dreikig</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' |
| | <i>-lig</i> (+umlaut) | < HG <i>-lich</i> . To be compared with Du <i>-lik</i> . Old Saxon <i>-lik</i> has been lost. This suffix may cause intervocalic rhotacism: <i>juud</i> → <i>juurisch</i> 'Jew/Jewish'. 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>doinlig</i> 'crazy'. The Old Saxon suffix <i>-lik</i> , Du <i>-lijk</i> , has been lost. |
| | <i>-tschig</i> | Root derivation. Pejorative adjectivizer. <i>luulatschig</i> 'lazy, sloppy', <i>klijtschig</i> 'unsufficiently leavened', <i>matschig</i> 'swompy, wet'. |
| | <i>-isch:</i> | Productive suffix forming adjectives from nouns, especially nationalities. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Holändisch</i> 'Dutch', <i>Poulisch</i> 'Polish', <i>Wendisch</i> 'Sorbian'• <i>reeknerisch</i> 'arithmatic'• <i>teknisch</i> 'technical', <i>melodisch</i> 'melodic' |
| | <i>-sch:</i> | Variant of <i>-isch</i> . 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>früüsч</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

5.1.3.1 Other suffixes

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>-soin</i> / <i>-tochter</i> /... | These two kinship nouns has been lost but survive as the second part of compounds: <i>swijgersoin</i> 'son in law'. |
| <i>-wards</i> / <i>wärds</i> | Directional suffix. |
| <i>-(en)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>stiikenwijs</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>stoutwijs</i> 'accidentally'. |
| <i>-erwijs</i> | This suffix forms discourse adverbs from adjectives: <i>gelükgig</i> 'happy' → <i>gelükigerwijs</i> 'happily' |

5.2 Prefixes

5.2.1 Verbal prefixes

- (5) *un-* Negative and pejorative prefix.
with A: *unsicher*, *ungesund*; with N: *unsin*, *ungleück*, *unkruud*
- be-, for-, ent-* Inseparable verbal prefixes. The particles correspond to their German cognates.
- *zer-* Old-Saxon *te/ti* is absent in Pomeranian. Its function has been taken over by *for-*. Here Pomeranian parallels Dutch, and contrasts with Fri. (*te-*), Groningen (*te-*), and HG (*zer-*).
- ge-* 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 docter examined in vain
- b. *Dai siün 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. *doorsnijden* 'to cross', nor with an inseparable *an* 'on', to be compared with Du. *aanbidden* '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).

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*, Wâld Frisian *saterdy*, versus German *Sonnabend*, Pomeranian patterns with German: *sunåwend*. 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 an 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 | | |
| - sonåwend | saturday - | saterdei sneon | zaterdag - | - 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 waara | shall | sille | zullen | | future auxiliary | |
| boowa | above | boppe | boven | über | stative | |
| fiiw | five | fiif | vijf | fünf | ± n-drop | |
| hiner | after behind | efter | achter | hinter | | |
| treka | pull | tsjen/lûke | 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) <i>(nam/im) Bout</i> | - (to/in) Santa Leopoldina (Porto de Cachoeira) |
| <i>nåna stad</i> | - to Vitoria |
| <i>Buuten</i> | - in Espírito Santo (the state outside the Pomeranian area) |
| <i>nå Santa Marij</i> | - to Santa Maria de Jetibá |
| <i>nåna kirch</i> | - to church |
| <i>nåna vend</i> | - to the stockhouse, esp. on the road to Santa Leopoldina |
| <i>Swarda Felsen</i> | - Pedra Preta (lit. <i>Swarda Stair</i> 'black stone') |
| <i>Ponta</i> | - Rio Ponte |
| <i>Kampijn</i> | - Domingo Martins |
| <i>Melgas</i> | - 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 | = Båtke | Båtke's |
| k. | Hamer | = Håma | Håmar'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 ¹⁸⁶ | = 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.

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. *generação*

¹⁸⁶ This and the next name are not originally Pomeranian, but Austrian and Hessian, respectively.

[ʒenirasāu] 'generation', which is taken with the full nasalisation [ãu] and onset [ʒ], which are absent in traditional Pomeranian. This must be taken as a kind of code switching. Many others 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.¹⁸⁷ We assume the vowel still to be present in Pomeranian, as it causes intervocalic rhotacism (5)q, i.e. we may assume catalexis: (ə)_ø. The feminine cases in (5)a-w may be produced by this catalectic strategy, the few isolate masculine cases, illustrated in (5)x-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.

¹⁸⁷ Wagemann (1915:128ff) for the "Kolonistensprache" in ES, Schappelle (1917:42ff) for the "Brazilian-German dialect" and Willem (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.

(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>tióub</i> | < <i>tiouba</i> | 'tiúba' |
| e. | <i>koiáb</i> | < <i>goiaba</i> | 'guave' |
| f. | <i>kansél</i> | < <i>cansela</i> | 'gate' |
| g. | <i>mandjuk</i> | < <i>mandioca</i> | 'casave' |
| h. | <i>bataad</i> | < <i>batata</i> | 'potato' |
| i. | <i>alkéir</i> | < <i>alquiera</i> | 'surface measure' |
| 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>ant</i> ¹⁸⁸ | < <i>anta</i> | 'tapir' |
| n. | <i>farijn</i> | < <i>farinha de manioca</i> | 'casave 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. (6)a, or pretonic material is deleted (6)b, or even intermediate material, (6)c.

- (6) a. *eipi* < *aipím* 'casava'
 sijpa < *cipó* 'liana'
 b. *rouba* < *arróuba* 'weight of 15 kg'
 ranj < *laránja* 'orange'
 c. *konist* < HG *Kolonist* '(Pomeranian) colonist, small farmer'
 konij < HG *Kolonie* 'piece of land of 25 ha'
 kaweeira < Port *capoeira* 'woods in recuperation'

If the final schwa does not drop, intervocalic voicing applies, e.g. (7)a.

- (7) a. *biskuida* < *biscoito* 'biscuit' (but Tressmann's dictionary has *biskuit*)
 b. *ligra* < *ligar* 'to phone'
 c. *usra* < *usar* 'to use'

¹⁸⁸ Tressmann (2006) has *anta*.

Finally, words are borrowed including the Portuguese inflection, as in (7)bc 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 *tiiüt-tiiüt* to allure chickens, *mij*s 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. ó < <i>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' | * <i>houp</i> | hoop |
| | <i>tauwa</i> | < <i>taufen.</i> | 'baptize' | * <i>doupa</i> | dopen |
| | <i>saicha</i> | < <i>Zeichen.</i> | 'symbol' | * <i>taika</i> | teken |
| | <i>kirch</i> | < <i>Kirche</i> 'church' | | * <i>kark</i> | kerk |
| | <i>hochtijd</i> | < <i>hoch</i> 'high' + Pom. <i>tijd</i> | 'wedding' | * <i>hougtijd</i> | - |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| <i>bedijnder</i> | < <i>Bedienter</i> | 'servant in the wedding ceremony' | * <i>bedainder</i> ¹⁸⁹ | bedienaar |
| <i>benutsa</i> | < <i>benutzen.</i> | 'use' | * <i>benuta</i> | benutten |
| <i>grousmuter</i> | < <i>Grossmutter</i> | 'grandmother' | * <i>groutmuder</i> | grootmoeder |
| <i>fünwd</i> | < <i>fünfte</i> | 'fifth' | * <i>friwd</i> | vijfde |
| <i>tijr</i> | < <i>Tier</i> | 'animal' | * <i>dijr</i> | dier |
| <i>herts</i> | < <i>Hertz</i> ¹⁹⁰ | 'heart' | <i>hert</i> | hart |
| <i>hits</i> | < <i>Hitze</i> | 'heat' | * <i>hit</i> | 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 has been replaced by other nouns, either from High German (*muter* 'mother', *fäter* 'father'), from Portuguese (*prijm* '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 **soun* 'son' by *jong/jaung*, and **dochter* 'daughter' by *määke* 'girl', while these etymons only survived as second part of composita (suffix) in adapted form (-*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>swåger(s)</i> | 'brother(s) in law' |
| <i>swäägersch</i> | 'sister in law' |
| <i>prijm(a)</i> | 'cousin(s)' |
| <i>swijgersoin/tochter</i> | "son/daughter/ |
| <i>swijgermuter/fäter</i> | 'mother/father-in-law' |

¹⁸⁹ Cf. *dainst* 'service' and *fordaina* 'to earn' have the sound-legal /ai/.

¹⁹⁰ But see also note 179.

| | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>staiwkijnd</i> | 'stepchild' |
| <i>staiwdochter</i> | 'stepdaughter' |

For the *-sch* suffix in *swäägersch*, cf. section 5.1.1.2.

The etymological counterpart of Eng. *son*, Dutch *zoon*, is absent in Pomeranian, but survives in the cranberry morpheme *-soin* ~ Low German *söhn*. The etymological counterpart of Eng. *daughter*, Dutch *dochter* is also lost in Pomeranian, but survives as a strawberry morpheme: *-tochter* < High German *Tochter* used as a suffix.

6.7 Other sequences

Days of the week *siündag, måndag, dinsdag, mirwek, dunerdag, vrijdag, sunawend* 'saturday', lit. 'sun(day)-eve'.

Months *januar, februar, märts, april, mai, júni, júli, agúst, setember, oktober, november, deicember*. The month names have the article with them: *im juni* i.e. litt. 'in the June'.

Seasons *blaumatijd* 'spring', *warmtijd* 'summer'; *fruchttijd* 'autumn', *kultijd/winter* 'winter'.

Parts of the day *morgen* 'morning', *mirdag* 'noon', *åwend*, *nacht* 'night'. These are nouns. As adverbs they are inflected with *-s*: *morgens* [mõins], *mirdågs*, *åwends* [ɔ:ms], *nachts*. *Morgens* means both 'this morning' and 'tomorrow'. 'Tomorrow morning' is *morgentijg/morgenfrüü/ morgenvormirdag*.

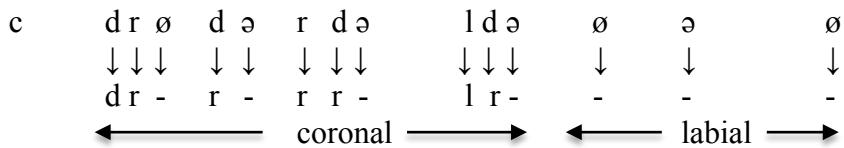
6.8 Tongue twisters

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' bakblääär, 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)ø braid(e)ø bakbläd(e)ø, fijf spits(e)ø 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*, *fiif* and *köp*), while the others have underlying 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)ø/ (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 *fiif* and *pijp* might be involved (Postma 2017).

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 text¹⁹¹ in Brazilian Pomeranian by vic. Rudolpho Gaede, as well as a tale from 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 meia 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 schiawa schall. Owa dat wichtigst is, mein ik, dat wi ous vastóh, wenn't ouk weckmol meia krumm ruta kümmmt. 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 sogôh so'na braif lest, un dat wei gaut tam vastohn. Dat is a Zaichan dat dai Lüh sich dreichan vastóh. So as dat haita deit: we kaina hunt het, jacht mit ein Katt.

Owa, lowa ji mi, wenn ma sich richtig oivalecht, is dat go ni richtig, dat wi ous sprock as "quebra-galho" vastóh! 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 utlachan 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 waiata of ji dit ouk vastóh hewa. Süsta lohnt jo gana wira schriewan. Secht juch am preista of dit tam vastohn west is. Un vasoikt ji ouk un schrieft wat am SEMEADOR.

Rudolpho Gaede, O Semeador (8 de dezembro de 1983)

¹⁹¹ 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.

Transcription in Tressmann's spelling.

Mij häwa 's forteld dat fel fon ous lüür dai saitung ni leesa. Un dat schal där an leiga, dat fel dai Pomersch språk ni eindig forståa. Wek haara al meint, då müüst wat up Pomersch språk sreewa waara. Åwer wat lount uk dat Hochdüütsch? Dat sin já uk ni meir fel wat dat no koina. Ik häw mij oiwerlegt un frågt: wouwegen ni up Pomersch srijwa? Dat já, dat is ous språk, dat forståa wij ala. Wen dat ous språk is, wouweega schoila's wij ni benutsa? Natürlisch, dat srijwen is går ni sou einfach, weegen wij häwa kain gramatik. Wekmål wet man ni wek wöir srijwa schal. Åwer dat wichtigst is, mein ik, dat wij ous forståa, wen 't ouk wekmålmeir krum ruuter kümt. Am forståen, där schal 't ni an leiga. Ik wait dat vel lüür sich up Platdüütsch braiws srijwa, tüscha hijr um Rondonia. Ik häw al sou går souna braiw lest un dat wäir gaud taum forståen. Dat is air saichen dat dai lüür sich dreigen forståa. Sou as dat haita däit: wer kaine hund hät, jacht mit ein kat.

Åwer loowa jij mij: wen man sich richtig oiwerlegt, is dat går ni richtig dat wij ous språk as "quebra-galo" forståa! Ik waar ma's¹⁹² sega wouweegen: ous språk hät grår sou aina weird ås irgends ain anerd språk. Jera folk hät sijn språk. Un wij, pomersch folk häwa dat recht taum ous språk behulen. Där is kair, wat ous dat forbaira kan. Där is ouk kair wat dat recht hät, ous utlachen un utspoten, wen wij ous språk reera un srijwa. Wen ous pråk ni eird waart, dat is grår sou fel as wen dat folk ni eird waart. Där is dai häka. Dat Pomersch folk, sou as ouk fel andra klain folker, is ümer meir ina ek schoowa wuura. Fijna jij dat richtig? Wår mag dat an leiga? Anerd mål måka wij ous där wijrer gedanken oiwer.

Åwer bet anerd mål mücht ik ais geern waita of jij dit uk forståa häwa. Süsta loont já går ni, wijrer srijwen. Segt jugem praister of dit taum forståen west is. Un forsuikt jij ouk ma's un srijft wat am Semeador. (From *Upm Land* p.4)

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:

- Låt man, ik bün klair awer häw aina grouda kop. Jij beid neema aina stok ina snabel. Jij bijta an jeira kant roiwer un ik bijt ina mir roiwer, den koam 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 hät sich dat uutgrüuwelt?

Dun wul sich dai porch já grouddaua un säga dat. Darbij maik sai eer muul up un säär:
- Dat häw ik mij uutgrüuwelt. Darbij fail sai ruuner und wäir doud.

Arciléia Neimog, Melgaço, Domingos Martins/ES,

¹⁹² ma's (=man ais)

(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 *Üligeriin 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 wij dansa beid pulsch. Kaie ka beeter as ik un mijn uldsch. | I and my wife we both dance the polka. no one is more apt than I and my wife. |
|--|--|

| | |
|---|--|
| Unkel sijn fruug Tanta eer keirl. Kaie ka beeter As unkel sijn fruug | Uncle his wife Aunty her husband no one is more apt than uncle his wife |
|---|--|

7.2.2 Marij marak

| | |
|--|--|
| Marij, marak, wat håst im sak? -Apel, beera un snuuwståbak. neegen beera un nog ain bak. | Mary, marack what do you have in the sack apples, berries and snuff tobacco nine berries and another bakery. |
|--|--|

7.2.3 Wedding song

| | |
|--|--|
| Nuu is dat glijk fijw, un dai bal is gliik uut. | Now it is just five o'clock and the party is just over. |
|--|--|

wij beid, wij tuuscha nuu rasch
mit dai bruud.
Wij gåa mit dai määkes.
soulang dat nog geit,
sou måka wij Pomerer dat beid.

we two, we change now quickly
with the bride.
We go with the girls
as long as it still goes,
so, we Pomeranians, do it both.

7.2.4 Lover's Song

Määka, wen duu frijga wist,
den frijg duu mit mij,
den aina doler häw ik nog,
den geew ik den glijk dij
Määka, wen duu frijga wist,
den frijg duu mit mij.
ik bün dai gaura Kristiân,
un häw ain gaur konij.¹⁹³

Girl, when you want to marry,
then marry just me
for I still have one dollar
that I give just to you
Girl, when you want to marry
then marry just with me.
I am the good one, Christian
and have a good colony.

7.3 Dai Muter eera 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.¹⁹⁴ Kuhn argues that this song should be interpreted from the perspective of emigration. The song is unknown in Espírito Santo.

Dai Muter eera hochtijd

1. Set muter eera hochtjd,
2. giwt dat kair swijnflaisch meir. (2x)
3. *Aind, twai, drai fair, fiif, söss, soiwa,*
4. *wou is mijn fruug doch bleewa.*
5. *is ni hijr, is ni där*
6. *is fon Nord-Amerika.*
7. Fidal, fidal fumbalstair¹⁹⁵
8. häst duu doch min bruud ni saia
9. Gistern sait's im braira-stair¹⁹⁶,
10. Hüüt häw (ik 's) ni meir sitten saia.

The Mother's wedding

Since mother's wedding
there is no pork anymore.
One, two three, four, five, six, seven,
where can I find my wife?
(She) is not here, is not there
(she) is from North-Amerika.
Fiddle, fiddle, tinder stone
Did you see my bride?
Yesterday she was sitting on the broad stone,
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

¹⁹³ *ko'ni* < *koloni* 'piece of land of a colonist'. The colonist was also called *konist*.

¹⁹⁴ The text in Kuhn (2014) goes: "Zait muta ena **hochtich** héa/jift dat **kaina** schwinflaisch mēia/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 schtaia/hést duu doch min brut ni zaia?//Jistan zait's im braira schtaia/**hit** hef ni mēia zitan zaia". The highlighted words have a deviant sound setting.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Low German *tumber-sten* 'tinder stone' and *Funkelstain* 'jewel'.

¹⁹⁶ *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'.

in the Meertens song database.¹⁹⁷ The last two lines 9-10 are clearly a later extension with another rhythm.

1. Berend Botje¹⁹⁸ ging uit varen
2. met zijn scheepje naar Zuidlaren¹⁹⁹
3. de weg was recht, de weg was krom
4. Nooit kwam Berend Botje weerom.
5. *Een, twee, drie, vier, vijf, zes, zeven*
6. *waar is Berend Botje gebleeven?*
7. *Hij is niet hier, hij is niet daar*
8. *hij is naar Amerika.*
9. (Amerika, Amerika,
10. driemaal in de rondte van je hopsasa).

Berend Botje went sailing
with his little ship to Zuidlaren
the road was straight, the road was curved
Never did Berend Botje come back
One, two, three, four, five, six, seven
where can we find Berend Botje?
He is not here, he is not there
He went to America
(America, America
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 newest times".²⁰⁰ 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.²⁰¹ 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

¹⁹⁷ <http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoekveld=berend+botje&submit=zoek&enof=EN&zokop=allewoordenlied&sorerteer=jaar&lan=nl&wc=true>

¹⁹⁸ Neither *Berend* nor *Botje* 'little bone' makes any sense. One might amend this to *bootje* 'little boat', but it remains without ground.

¹⁹⁹ Village south of the city of Groningen.

²⁰⁰ "Pater ascende in navim et navigemus contra occidentalem plagam ad insulam quae dicitur terra repromotionis sanctorum quam datus est Deus successoribus nostris in novissimo tempore."

²⁰¹ For a Low German version, cf. Schröder (1871). <http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/sunsite/Van%20dem%20hilgen%20Sunte%20Brandan.pdf>

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,
Waar is Jan met de meid gebleven.
Jan is niet hier, Jan is niet daar.
Jan is met de meid naar Amerika.

One, two, three, four, five, six, seven
Where can we find John with the maid?
John is not here, John is not there.
John went with the maid to Amerika.

It may be clear that the Pomeranian wedding song, the Dutch travel song, and adulterous song stand in the same or a parallel tradition.

8 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 descendance according to the sound laws (cf. Van Loon 1989, 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 verbalization):
houga 'hew', cf. Ger/Du/Fri *hauen*, etc.

Presumably: *hauwana → *haugana → *houga* 'hit'

→ Pom. /öi/ before i:

flöich 'flea' (umlauted form like Frisian *flije*).

- 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', *klain* 'little'.
saia 'to see', *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'
schaита '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:/

lüür 'people', *diüüra* 'to indicate', *üürer* 'udder', *fiüür* 'fire'
schüüög 'shy' (umlauted form of /schai-/)

→ Pom. /y/ (before clusters)

bedrügst 'cheat.2sg', *gütst* 'pour.2sg', *schütst* shoot.2sg, *lüchta* 'shine',
süüst 'see.2sg', *süüt* '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 /eɪ/
→ 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 *dråga*: *draug* (or *druig*, an umlauted optative form)
- Pom. /ui/ (before /i/) (also Pom. /øi/)
suika 'seek' (next to *söika*), *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:]
såd 'seed', *läta* 'to let', *slåpa* 'to sleep', *nådel* 'needle'
→ Pom. /ai/ before /i/ (in the preterites of class 4 and 5 < optative)
kaim(a) 'came', *ait(a)* 'ate'

The Ingvaeanic 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 Ingvaeanic.

- PGmc /ī/ (< PIE /ei/)
→ WGmc /ī/ → Pom. /i:/ *stijga* 'to rise', *wijsa* 'to point', *rijra* 'to drive'
- PGmc /ī/ (< PIE i:)
→ WGmc /i:/ → Pom. /i:/ *swijr* 'swine',
→ Pom. /i/ with shortening
sin 'to be'
- PGmc /ā/ (nasalised?)
→ WGmc /ā/ → Pom. /a/
dacht 'thought', (with analogical change to /ö/ in *bröcht* 'brought').
→ Pom. /ɛ:/ (before i)
päät 'godfather' < Lat. *patrinus*
- PGmc. /ē₂/ Mostly functional morphemes and borrowings from Latin /e/, /e:/
→ Pom. /i:/

- hijr* 'here'
schijr 'pure', *grijk* 'Greek' < Lat. *scērum*, *grēco*
→ Pom. /ai/
 - lait* 'let.past', *hail* 'held',
braiw 'letter', *raim* 'belt', *praister* 'priest' < Lat. *brēva*, *rēma*, *prēsbyter*)
- Pom. /e:/
 - speigel* 'mirror' < Lat. *spēculum*
- Pom. /i:/
 - spijs* 'nutrition', *sijren* 'in silk', *krijd* 'chalk', *fijra* 'celebrate'
<late Latin *expēsē* < Lat. *expensae*, *sēta*, *crēta*, *fēriari*

- PGmc /ū/ (< PIE /u:/)
 - WGmc /ū/ → Pom. /u:/ *muus* 'mouse', *fuul* 'rotten', *suur* 'sour', *duu* 'thou'

8.1.3 Short Vowels

- PGmc /a/ (< PIE a or o)
 - WGmc /a/ → Pom. /a/ (most contexts)
 - gast* 'guest', *acht* 'eight', *rad* 'wheel'
 - Pom. /e/ (before i)
 - wer* 'bet' (cf. Dutch *wedde*, Got. *wadi*), *ber* 'bed'

- Proto Germ /e/ (< PIE e)
 - WGmc /e/ → Pom. /e/ *fel* 'skin', *recht* 'straight'
 - Pom. /i/ (before i)
 - richtig* 'correct'
 - Pom. /ö/ *söss* 'six', *höl* 'hell',

- Proto Germ /i/ (< PIE i)
 - before i
 - WGmc /i/ → Pom. /i/ *wid(fruug)* 'widow'
 - Pom. /i/ *fisch* 'fish'
 - before a
 - WGmc /e/ → Pom. /e/ *nest* 'nest'

- Proto Germ /u/ < PIE /u/
 - WGmc /u/ → Pom. /y/ *jük* 'yoke'
- Proto Germ /u/ < PIE /ŋ/ /ṛ/ /m/
 - WGmc /u/ → Pom. /y/ *dün* 'thin'
 - Pom. /u(:)/ before clusters
 - huunert* 'hundred', *buuna* 'bound', *hulpa* 'helped'
 - Pom. /y:/ before /i/
 - süün* 'sin'

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- > ggv-; 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.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GLIDE VELARIZATION

| Pom | Eng / gloss | Du | Frisian | Ger | Swedish | Remarks |
|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|--|
| bäkerig | bakery | bakkerij | bakkerij | Bäckerei | bageri | Only the English word has no final stress. |
| blåg | blue | blauw | blau | blau | blå | |
| blijg | 'lead (metal)' | bli (mDu) | - | Blei | bly | |
| blöiga | to blow | bloeien | - | blüten | - | |
| borga | to borrow | borgen | boargje | borgen | borga | (reverse path in English) |
| bröiga | to breed | broeien broeden | briere | brühen | - | |
| bruuga (EP) | to brew | brouwen | | brauen | brygga | |
| buuga | 'to build' | bouwen | bouwe | bauen | bo | |
| douch | dew | dauw | dauwe | Tau | dagg | HG confuses these two lemmas. German <i>tau(en) < *dauen</i> |
| - (BP) döiga (EP) | thaw | dooien | teie | tau(en) | töa | |
| douw / douch | deaf | doof | deaf | taub | döv | |
| dreiga 1 dreiga 2 | 'turn' drive | draaien drijven | draaie triuwe | drehen treiben | - driva | |
| egerlig | 'marital' | echtelijk | - | ehelich | - | |
| eig | egg | ei | aai | Ei | ägg | |
| fluich | flea | vlo | flie | Floh | - | fló (Icel.) |
| friig (EP) | free | vrij | frij | frei | fri | BP: <i>frai</i> < HG <i>frei</i> |
| friiga | 'to marry' | vrijen | frije | - | - | |
| fruug | 'woman' | vrouw | frou | Frau | fru | |
| grüügig | 'horrendous' | gruwelijk | grouwe | grausam | gruva sig | |
| houga | to hew | houwen | houwe | hauen | hugga | |
| huich (EP) hui (BP) | hay | hooi | hea | Heu | - | |
| juuch | you | jou | jow | euer | eder/er | (in Low Prussian and Groningen: <i>juun</i>) |
| köich | cows | koeien | kij | Kühe | kor | (var: <i>kuich</i>) |
| kouga | to chew | kauwen | kôgje | kauen | tugga | |

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

| <i>kräig</i> | <i>crow</i> | <i>kraai</i> | | <i>Krähe</i> | <i>kråka</i> | |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|-----------------|--------------------------|---|
| <i>-lijg</i> (EP) | 'sort, kind' | <i>-lei</i> | <i>-lei</i> | <i>-lei</i> | <i>law</i> | < Lat. <i>lege</i> 'law' |
| <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> ²⁰² | <i>more</i> | <i>meer</i> | <i>meer</i> | <i>mehr</i> | <i>mer</i> | Also monosyllabic <i>meir</i> [me:] |
| <i>möicht</i> ²⁰³ | '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> ²⁰⁴ | <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) saw | <i>zag</i> | <i>seach</i> | <i>sah</i> | <i>såg</i> | 3sg. preterite |
| <i>säiga</i> | <i>to sow</i> | <i>zaaien</i> | <i>saije</i> | <i>säen</i> | <i>sugga</i> | |
| <i>schüüg</i> | <i>shy</i> | <i>schuw</i> | <i>skou</i> | <i>scheu</i> | <i>skygg</i> | |
| <i>snijke</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' | <i>spuwen</i> <i>spugen</i> | <i>spijke</i> | <i>spucken</i> | - | |
| <i>sriiga</i> | 'to cry' | <i>schreeuwen</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 fortition); |
| <i>teech</i> (BP) / <i>tåg</i> (EP) | <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>waidog</i> | 'pain' | - | - | <i>wehtun</i> | - | < <i>wai</i> + <i>daua</i> 'to do pain' ²⁰⁵ |

²⁰² It is also possible that the velar [j] is original ~ Lat. *maiōr*, cf. Grimm s.v. *mehr* < *mag-*.

²⁰³ Tressmann's dictionary has *möich*.

²⁰⁴ The sound laws (cf. also next section) predict *nüügen*. The ordinal is *nuind*.

²⁰⁵ The Pomeranian (also Low German) *waidog* [vaidɔx] was borrowed into High German (dialects) as *Wehtag*, presumably under erroneous connection to *dåg* 'day'. Note that the vowel [ɔ] is different from the pair [dax]-[dɔ:x] 'day(s)'. Tressmann writes *waidåg*.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------------------|
| <i>Alt Schlage</i> | - | - | - | - | - | ~ Kashubian <i>Slawa</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.²⁰⁶ The West Germanic incidence 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').

List of incidental cases of glide velarization in West Germanic.

| | Velar | Glide | Gloss | Comment |
|-----|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------|---|
| 1. | <i>Pagei</i> EP | < <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>Pagei</i> . |
| 2. | <i>niget</i> (Fri) | <i>nij</i> (Fri) | 'news' | The Frisian word <i>niget</i> 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' | withiut corresponding lemma in Pomeranian. |
| 10. | <i>graag</i> (VorPom) | <i>grau</i> (HG) | 'gray' | Note that Pom <i>grüüg-</i> , Du <i>gruwen</i> 'disgust' is an other root, cf. the list above. |
| 11. | <i>gnåga</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 *ū (i.e. [y:] = U+I) is realized in the 'broken' form [ui] in Pomeranian. Nevertheless, the long [y:] does exist, which has another

²⁰⁶ It is doubtful if Pomeranian *huch!* 'hey' belongs to this pattern, as it might link up with *ach* 'ah', Dutch *och/ach*.

source. Pomeranian [y:] fully parallels Fri /ju/, e.g. Pom *fütür* versus Fri *ffür* 'fire'. In the next scheme, we list some examples.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PROTO-GERMANIC *IU

| PGmc eo / a/ eu, iu / i/ | Pomeranian ai y: | Frisian i: ju | Flemish i: i: | Dutch i: y:/x ^y | Old Norse jó ý | English i: i: / ai | NHG ie [oi] |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| *deuri | düür | djür | dier | duur | dýrr | deer | teuer |
| *deusti | düüster | tsjuster | deester/ diester | duister | - | OE ðiestre 'darkness' | - |
| *eudira- | üürer | jaar | uder | uier | júgr | udder | HG Euter LG jeder |
| *feuri | füür | ffür | vier | vuur | fúrr, fýrr | fire | Feuer |
| *heudi | hüüt | hjoed | heden | huidig | - | 'today' | heute |
| *keuk- + -i suffix | küüka ²⁰⁷ | sjuuken | kieken | kuiken | kjúklingr | chicken | - |
| *keul- | küül 'thigh' | tsjalk 'ship' | kiel 'ship' | - | kjóll | - 'curvature' | Keule |
| *leudi | lüür | lju | lieden | lui(den) | lýðr | OE leód 'people' | Leute |
| *reukjan | rüüka | riäka (OF) | rieken | ruiken | rjúka | reek | - ²⁰⁸ |
| *fleug+it | flügt | fljucht | vliegt | vliegt | | flee/fly | fleugt (E-NHG) sieht |
| *sehw+it | süüst | sjucht | ziet | ziet | | | |
| *steurjan | stüür | stjûre | stieren | sturen | stýri | steer | Steuer |
| *(ga)-teugi | (be)tüüga | tsjüga | (be)tichten | (be)tuigen | - | OE zeohhian 'witness' | zeugen |
| *peudisko | Düütsch | Tsjutsk (obs.) | Diets | Duits | pjód | Dutch ²⁰⁹ | deutsch |
| *(bi)-peupjan | bedüüra | bitsjutte | bedieden | beduiden | pýða | - 'to mean' | bedeuten |

The systematic connection between Frisian [ju/jœ]²¹⁰ and Pomeranian [y:]²¹¹ shows that the merger of |I| and |U| has two realizations: umlauted u, which is Pom. [ui] < |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

²⁰⁷ Wangeroog East-Frisian. The root is absent in Frisian.

²⁰⁸ HG riechen 'to smell' is from a related verb without umlaut < PGmc *reukan. The 23sg forms MHG are reuchst/reucht, as expected.

²⁰⁹ This is not a cognate, but a borrowing from Dutch.

²¹⁰ See Hoekstra (2001:728) for the context-dependent realizations. Frisian has [øə] before /n/: freon 'friend' < PGmc *friun. Pomeranian has a short [y] which lengthens in the plural fründ - friüün. The other cases of /eo/ are instances of "Jorwert breaking" (Dyk 2007).

²¹¹ Apart from this transmission line, there are borrowings: 1. Pom. biiüsa < HG biißen 'pay in the religious sense', Pom. süün < HG Sünde 'sin'; 2. Pom. tüüg 'cloth', which corresponds to modern Fri tíg, 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 ~ *niiüntig. Probably, nuinsig is a re-pomeranization of HG neunzig, since Pomeranian higher numbers show High German influence, whence /sig/ instead of the etymological /tig/.

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. *fütür* '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).

| | | | |
|---|---------------|---|--------|
| $f \underset{ U }{V} \underset{ I }{V} r +$ | \rightarrow | $f \underset{ U }{V} \underset{ I }{V} r$ | [fuir] |
|---|---------------|---|--------|

- (14) Submission of onset material to the root vowel

| | | | | | |
|---|---------------|---|----|---|---------------|
| $+ f \underset{ I }{V} \underset{ U }{V} r$ | \rightarrow | $f \underset{ I }{V} \underset{ U }{V} r$ | or | $f \underset{ U }{V} \underset{ I }{V} r$ | [fjur > fy:r] |
|---|---------------|---|----|---|---------------|

- (15) Submission of a floating element (Standard Umlaut)

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|-------|
| $f \underset{ U }{V} r +$ | \rightarrow | $f \underset{ U }{V} r$ | [fyr] |
|---------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|-------|

- (16) Submission of prosodic material under compensatory lengthening

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|---------------|---|--------|
| $f \underset{ U }{V} r +$ | $+(C)V$ | \rightarrow | $f \underset{ U }{V} \underset{ I }{V} r$ | [fy:r] |
|---------------------------|---------|---------------|---|--------|

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) (*fütür* < [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: *friünd - friüün* '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. *schüüig* 'shy', where we reconstruct PWGmc. **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*²¹² '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.

| | EP (Gumtow dialect, ~1880) ²¹³ | BP (in Tressmann's spelling elicited through German) ²¹⁴ | BP (in IPA, elicited through Portuguese) ²¹⁵ |
|----|--|--|--|
| 1. | Im winte fleige dei dröhge Bläre dücht Luft rümme. | Im winta flage dai dröige bläär doir dai luft rüme. | im wintə flaiγə dai drœijə ble:r doirdəluft |
| 2. | Dat höhet glieck up tau schniegen, denn wat dat Wäre wer bete. | Dat hört gelijk up tam issen ²¹⁶ , den waard dat wääre wääre beite. | dat høirt dør ?up tau sni:ən, den wa:dat we:rə ?albeitə |

²¹² *Schüül* from *schüüld(e)* with intervocalic cluster reduction and catalexis, cf. section 2.3.2.3.

²¹³ 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.

²¹⁴ The informant is fluent in German and Portuguese. The sentences were translated from German.

²¹⁵ For the Portuguese text, cf. section 8.6.

²¹⁶ 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.

| | | | |
|-----|--|--|---|
| 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 ?inə?ɔ:və (d) ²¹⁷ dai miɛlk deit glik anfəŋə ?anəkɔ:kən |
| 4. | Dei gaur ul Mann is mim Peet döcht Is broake u it kul Woate falle. | Dai gaura ula ²¹⁸ keel is mit dem peed, doi't iis brooka u in't kul wåte fala. | dai gaura ula ?is ?inzakt ?ina ?is mi:t demvalax u: ?int kulgota fala |
| 5. | Hei is va 4 ore 6 Wäke sturve. | Hai is for fair oder söss weeke sturwa. ²¹⁹ | hai ?isfɔ faɪə ?ora zɛsvɛkə doudblɛ:və |
| 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 fyçøve taugrout daibiskuita sin ?ala fəbriənt fan?unə |
| 7. | Hei et dei Ege ümme oan Sult u Päpe. | Hai ärt ²²⁰ dai ejer one suld u peeper. | haiteit?y:mə da?eiçə ?etə ?ounəzult ?upepə |
| 8. | Dei Fuit dauwe mi weih, ick glöw, ick hews döchlope. | Dai fuit daue mij seir wai, ik löiw, ik häw's mij doirloupa ²²¹ | daifuit dauə sejə wai ?igmain ?ikhef taufə:l gɔ: |
| 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:mitdefrux thoup ?u hef ?e:r dat sext sai se: sai deit e:r məkə dat uk zeyən |
| 10. | Ick wütt uck ni mehe werre daue. | Ik wü dat uk ni meir weira daua! | igvyr dat nime nə ais məkə |
| 11. | Ick sloa die glieck mim Koakleppel ümt Ohre du Oap! | Ik slåg ²²² dij glijk mit dem kokleppel ²²³ üm dai ora, duu åp! | ik h:oux di mit deichem hultlepelana?our du?ɔp |
| 12. | Wa gehst hen, scheuw mit die goahe? | Wo jeist du hin? Schoile wij mit dij gåa? | woujistuhin schuiləvi mi:t dimi:tgo |
| 13. | Dat sün slecht Tiere! | Dat sin schlechte tijta. ²²⁴ | tsinflextətitə |
| 14. | Mie leiw Kind, bliev hie unnen stoadhn, dei Gäs biete die dodt. | Mij laif kind, blijf hie unne ståa ²²⁵ , dai slimä jääse bita dij doud. | mi laif jong bli:f hi?unə dai fl̩iəmə jɛ:s kʰynədi doutpitə |
| 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 wääst. Duu dörwst aira nå huus gåa as dai andre. | du he:t gaut leit alaina du kʰast ?uk ?aiə nɔhus gɔ: ?as də ?andərən |

²¹⁷ Hesitation to use the complementizer *dat*. Only part of the [d] is realized.²¹⁸ The speaker systematically uses the masculine inflected ("accusative") forms in masculine nominative contexts. This is not common. See section 2.10.²¹⁹ *Sterwa* 'to die' and *sturwa* 'died' are not in Tressmann's dictionary. The usual term is *doudbljwa*. For the inchoative use of *blijwa* in Dutch and Low German, cf. Philippa (1987:119).²²⁰ 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.²²¹ 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.²²² This erroneous *-g* is probably influence of the High German text source.²²³ Literary translation. Alternative: *mita kel*.²²⁴ 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.²²⁵ This infinitive 1 form is unexpected, as the informant systematically makes a distinction between the two infinitives, and *blijwa* selects inf2, cf. *leejen bleva* ('lay.inf2 stay.ptc') in W25.

| | | | |
|-----|--|--|--|
| 16. | Du büst no nie grot naug an Flasch Wien uttaudrinken. Du must noa a En wasse un grötte wara. | Du büst no ni grout nauch tam ain flasch wijn utdrinken. Du muus air ein ²²⁶ wassa u gröite waara. | du byst nəni ?ultnaux tam ?ain flaʃ vi:n ?utdrinken du must nəx aist e meiçə ²²⁷ vasə |
| 17. | Godh ²²⁸ , wes so gaut u segg Diene Schweste, sei schadei Klere fa juch Mutte fag nehge un mit dee Büst rege moake. | Gå, wäs so gaud u säg dijn swester sai schu/schå dai klera for juuch mutter trecht näige u mit der böörst reigen måka. | gɔ və'st sogaut ?uzex datdinjестə sai sa dat ty'ç reiçənməkə ?uflikətatdim:utə |
| 18. | Hast du en kennt, denn wee't annes koame, u ha bete üm em stoahе. ²²⁹ | Hast du em keind, dan wäir dat aners koma u dat däir beta üm em ståa / dat häir ²³⁰ beta für em wääst. | wenduem kʰenthast deitdat ?aləs ?aners ?u mit ?em geit dat beitə |
| 19. | Wem hett mie miene Koaw mit Fleisch stoahle. | Wee hät mij mijna koaw mit flaisch staula? | we:het minə koaf mit flaiʃ ſtɔ:lə |
| 20. | Hei dee so as harre sei em tom Döschen bistellt sei oawe hewet sülwe doahe. | Hai dai so as haare sai em tam kloppen bestellt, sai häwa dat åwa alaine mäkt. | hai het siç so ?ansteəlt ?as sai ha:rə dat ?afməkt ?ɔvə sai ha:rə dat ?alainə ?afməkt |
| 21. | Wemme hette dei nieg Gischicht vatellт? | Wem hät hai dai njich jeschicht forteld? | ven het hai dei ni'ç jəſiçt fatʰəlt |
| 22. | Wie muite sehe schriege süste vastete us nie. | Ma muut luur srijge söste forsteit hai ous ni. | wi muita ſri'çə sysa deit hai ?ous ni høirə |
| 23. | Wie sün muir u hewe Döst. | Wij sin muir u häwa dörst. | wi: si'nmu:i ?u hewa dœəst |
| 24. | As wie gistenowend tus keime, doahe leige dei Andre im Bärr u schleipe. | Ås wij jiste åwent tröich kaima, dun laiga dai andra al ijn ber u däira fast slåpa/wäira fast am släpen | aswi jistenəvənt nəhus kaimə dai ?andrə we:ra al in be:r ?u de:rə daip ſləpə |
| 25. | Dei Schnei is dis Nacht bie us legen blewe, oawe hüt isse schmült/ schmüla(?) | Dai schnee is deis nacht bij ous lejen bleewa, awa hüt moije is hai forsmülst. ²³¹ | dai ſne: laiç ?upm̩ borm̩ deizə naxt (yp) ?in ousə ſtel ?ɔvə hytmoijə is sai ?al faloupa |
| 26. | Hinne usem Hus stoahе drei schmuck Äppelböme mit rohre Aple. | Hina ousem huus stå drai schöna klaina ²³² äpelboima ²³³ mit roura klaina äpel. | hinə?ousəm hu:s zin drai klainə masə bøim gans ful klainə rourə masə |

²²⁶ Unusual in this sense and form (*in*) in BP. Probably an influence of the German text.

²²⁷ *meiger* 'more', translation of *crescer mais* 'grow more'.

²²⁸ 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.

²²⁹ Schönlitz has: u 't deer bätē üm em stoahе (stüe bätē üm em).

²³⁰ The use of HAVE is noticeable. Firstly, the usual auxiliary to the ptc *wäist* 'been' in BP is BE. In Dutch dialects and colloquial speech, choice of 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.

²³¹ 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 *forsmülda* or, with intervocalic voicing, *forsmülda*. Intervocalic cluster reduction to *forsmüla* is not according to the sound laws as lenition only takes place with underlying *-ld-* not with *-lt-*.

²³² 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.

²³³ High German form. Tressmann's dictionary has *böim*.

| | | | |
|-----|---|---|--|
| 27. | Keu ji ni a Ogeblick lure denn goah wie mit jie. | Küna ²³⁴ jij nich noch aina ougeblick ²³⁵ up ous luure, den gå wij mit juuch. | kʰynəjɪ· ʔous ni·ai bits lu·rə den gɔwi· 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 ²³⁶ sin ni seir houg, juuch sin fääl höiger | ous bœ̄x sin nizouhoux ju:xsin fe:l høijø |
| 30. | Wuvel Pund Wust u wuvel Brot wu ji hewwe. | Woufeel kilo wurst u woufeel brood wüla jij häwa? | woufe:vust wystu hœ̄və ʔu voufe:lbrout |
| 31. | Ick vastoah ju ni, ji muite lure rere. | Ik forstå juuch ni, jij muita air [aiə] bits luura reera. | ikhørju:x ni ji·muitə ʔai bits lura (f) ²³⁷ re:rə |
| 32. | Hew ji ni a Stück wit Seep up mim Disch funne. | Häwa jij kai klaistück wirt ²³⁸ seip for mij up mijn disch fuuna? | hevəjɪ ni:ç ai styk wit zeip funə fon mi: ʔin mi:n hu:s ²³⁹ |
| 33. | Sie Braure wü sich twe nig Hüse in jugem Gaare buge. | Sijna braure ²⁴⁰ wü ²⁴¹ sich twai schöina njiga hüusa ijn juuchem gåra buuge. | sinəbraurə vyə twai hypʃə hy:zə buxə ʔin ʔerəm ²⁴² gó:rə |
| 34. | Dat woat kamm em vam Hertz. | Dat word kaim em få herza. | dat woud kaim ʔem fən hietsən dat woud kaim fan sin hets |
| 35. | Dat was recht va e. | Dat wäir recht få ei. (i.e. <i>eles</i>) | fən ʔiem ʔu:t veiə dat seiə gaut |
| 36. | Wat sitte doahe va Veugel boaven uppe Müe? | Wat sita då fon klaina foigel booven up dai klain muur? | vatfomfoijəl 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 schâp nå dai stad bröcht, dai wula's forköipa. | dai kolonistə hevə fi:f bulən ʔun neijə kœiç ʔu twelf sɔ:p brœçt tam fakʰøipənina stat |
| 38. | Dei Lür sün hüt alle um Fel ²⁴³ u mehge. | Dai lüür sin hüüt ala buten um Land u fousen. | dai ly: hyt sin ʔalə ʔupə ruos pʰutsən |
| 39. | Goah ma, dei brue ²⁴⁴ Hund det die nist | Kast ²⁴⁵ gåa, dai bruna hund däit dij nischt. | gɔ:døhin daibrunəhund deit di niç |

²³⁴ This seems to be an irrealis form (Konjunktiv-II).

²³⁵ In BP, *ougenblick* 'moment' is masculine like in HG, in contrast to EP/Dutch/Frisian, where it is neuter.

²³⁶ The singular is *barg* [ba:x], the plural has umlaut and an optional schwa.

²³⁷ Probably, the speaker first wants to say *srijga* 'scream'.

²³⁸ 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.

²³⁹ The informant assumes *casa* instead of *mesa*.

²⁴⁰ This is an accusative form. The informant explicitly adds the comment that other people say: *sij braure*, which is the more common nominative form.

²⁴¹ This is a past tense in optative use.

²⁴² The Portuguese text has *deles* 'of them'.

²⁴³ 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)ø + intervocalic cluster reduction.

²⁴⁴ Notice that this dialect hads *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.

²⁴⁵ Instead of *duu kast gåa*. 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.

| | | | |
|-----|--|--|--|
| 40. | Ik bü mit dee Lüre doahe hinen euwet Wisch it Kohn feuet | Ik bün ²⁴⁶ mit dai lüür da hina oiwa dai weir ina planta fuid. | ik bin mitda ly: ?mə miλə gɔ: dɔhi:nə ?upə land |
|-----|--|--|--|

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 state 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 Mannheim²⁴⁷, 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)

| | Wisconsin Pomeranian |
|-----|--|
| 1. | Im Winter fleige dei drööge Blär inne Luft ümher. |
| 2. | Dat hört glik an to schniegen, dann watt dat Wåter wedder båter. |
| 3. | Dau Kåhle in dei Åwe, dat de Melk ball an te kåken fängt. |
| 4. | Dei gaur ål Mann is mit dem Peerd dörch't Iis bråke un in dat kål Wåter falle. |
| 5. | Hei is ver veier o söss Wochn terög schtorwe. |
| 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 gåe? |
| 13. | Dat sin schlechte Tiere. |
| 14. | - |
| 15. | - |
| 16. | Du bist noh nit groot genaug , um et Glas Wien utdrinken, u musst eiste noch e bits wasse un ook grøter ware. |
| 17. | - |
| 18. | |
| 19. | Wer het mi mine Korf mit Fleisch stähle? |
| 20. | - |
| 21. | Were het hei dei nieg Geschicht verteilt? |

²⁴⁶ This *-n* is usually debuccalized.

²⁴⁷ MV-corpus: MV--_E_00134_SE_01_A_01_DF_01

| | |
|-----|---|
| 22. | Wi moite lurer schriege, söster versteht hei os nich. |
| 23. | Wi sin mooier o hewwe Dörst. |
| 24. | - |
| 25. | - |
| 26. | Hinne osem Huus stååe drei klein Eppelbööm mit rore Eppel an. |
| 27. | - |
| 28. | - |
| 29. | - |
| 30. | - |
| 31. | Ik verstå 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*, *gåe*, *wasse*, *ware*, etc.) and in *-en* (*schniegen*, *utdrinnen*) 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 *-e* infinitives (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. |

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>2. Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser.</p> <p>3. Thu Kohlen in den Ofen, daß die Milch bald an zu kochen fängt.</p> <p>4. Der gute alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durch's Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen.</p> <p>5. Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.</p> <p>6. Das Feuer war zu stark/heiß, die Kuchen sind ja unten ganz schwarz gebrannt.</p> <p>7. Er ißt die Eier immer ohne Salz und Pfeffer.</p> <p>8. Die Füsse thun mir sehr weh, ich glaube, ich habe sie durchgelaufen.</p> <p>9. Ich bin bei der Frau gewesen und habe es ihr gesagt, und sie sagte, sie wollte es auch ihrer Tochter sagen.</p> <p>10. Ich will es auch nicht mehr wieder thun!</p> <p>11. Ich schlage Dich gleich mit dem Kochlöffel um die Ohren, Du Affe!</p> <p>12. Wo gehst Du hin? Sollen wir mit Dir gehn?</p> <p>13. Es sind schlechte Zeiten.</p> <p>14. Mein liebes Kind, bleib hier unten stehn, die bösen Gänse beißen Dich tott.</p> <p>15. Du hast heute am meisten gelernt und bist artig gewesen, Du darfst früher nach Hause gehn als die Andern.</p> <p>16. Du bist noch nicht groß genug, um eine Flasche Wein auszutrinken, Du mußt erst noch ein Ende/etwas wachsen und größer werden.</p> <p>17. Geh, sei so gut und sag Deiner Schwester, sie sollte die Kleider für eure Mutter fertig nähen und mit der Bürste rein machen.</p> | <p>Já vai parar de nevar, então o tempo vai melhorar.</p> <p>Põe carvão no forno, que o leite logo vai começar a fervar.</p> <p>O bom velhinho afundou no gelo com o cavalo e caiu na água fria.</p> <p>Ele faleceu quatro ou seis semanas atrás.</p> <p>O fogo estava forte/quente, os biscoitos ficaram todos queimados em baixo.</p> <p>Ele sempre come os ovos sem sal nem pimenta.</p> <p>Os pés dóem muito, acho que eu andei demais.</p> <p>Eu estive com a mulher e falei isso a ela, e ela disse que iria dizer à filha dela também.</p> <p>Eu não quero nunca mais fazer isso de novo.</p> <p>Eu já te bato já com esta colher de pau na orelha, seu macaco!</p> <p>Para onde você esta indo? Quer que nós vamos com você?</p> <p>São tempos ruins.</p> <p>Meu querido filho, fica aqui em baixo, os gansos bravos podem te morder até morrer.</p> <p>Você estudou bastante e foi bonzinho, você pode ir para casa mais cedo do que os outros.</p> <p>Você ainda não tem idade para beber uma garrafa inteira de vinho, precisa crescer e ficar mais velho.</p> <p>Vai, seja boazinha e fale para a sua irmã remendar e limpar com escova as roupas para a sua mãe.</p> | <p>Het houdt dadelijk op met sneeuwen, dan wordt het weer wel weer beter.</p> <p>Doe (wat) kolen op de kachel, dat de melk gauw gaat koken.</p> <p>De goede oude man is met zijn paard door het ijs gezakt en in het koude water gevallen.</p> <p>Hij is voor vier of zes weken gestorven.</p> <p>Het vuur was te heet, de koeken zijn van onderen immers helemaal zwart gebrand.</p> <p>Hij eet de eieren altijd zonder peper en zout.</p> <p>Mijn voeten doen mij erg zeer, ik geloof, dat ik ze doorgeloopen heb.</p> <p>Ik ben bij de vrouw geweest en heb het tegen haar gezegd; zij zeide, dat ze het ook aan haar dochter zou zeggen.</p> <p>Ik zal het nooit meer doen.</p> <p>Ik sla je dadelijk met den potlepel om je ooren, jou aap,</p> <p>Waar ga je heen? Zullen we met je meegaan?</p> <p>Het zijn slechte tijden!</p> <p>Mijn lieve kind, blijf hier beneden staan, de booze ganzen bijten je dood.</p> <p>Jij hebt vandaag het meest(e) geleerd en bent zoet geweest, je moet eerder naar huis gaan als (dan) de anderen.</p> <p>Je bent nog niet groot genoeg om een flesch wijn leeg te drinken, je moet eerst nog wat groeien en groter worden.</p> <p>(Ga,) wees zoo goed, en zeg aan je zuster, dat ze de kleeren (het kleed) voor jullie moeder moet afnaaien en met den borstel schoonmaken.</p> |
|---|---|---|

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>18. Hättest Du ihn gekannt! dann wäre es anders gekommen, und es thäte besser um ihn stehen.</p> <p>19. Wer hat mir meinen Korb mit Fleisch gestohlen?</p> <p>20. Er that so, als hätten sie ihn zum dreschen bestellt; sie haben es aber selbst gethan.</p> <p>21. Wem hat er die neue Geschichte erzählt?</p> <p>22. Man muß laut schreien, sonst versteht er uns nicht.</p> <p>23. Wir sind müde und haben Durst.</p> <p>24. Als wir gestern Abend zurück kamen, da lagen die Andern schon zu Bett und waren fest am schlafen.</p> <p>25. Der Schnee ist diese Nacht bei uns liegen geblieben, aber heute Morgen ist er geschmolzen.</p> <p>26. Hinter unserm Hause stehen drei schöne Apfelbäumchen mit rothen Aepfelchen.</p> <p>27. Könnt ihr nicht noch ein Augenblickchen auf uns warten, dann gehn wir mit euch.</p> <p>28. Ihr dürft nicht solche Kindereien treiben!</p> <p>29. Unsere Berge sind nicht sehr hoch, die euren sind viel höher.</p> <p>30. Wieviel Pfund Wurst und wieviel Brot²⁴⁸ wollt ihr haben?</p> <p>31. Ich verstehe euch nicht, ihr müsst ein bißchen lauter sprechen.</p> <p>32. Habt ihr kein Stückchen weiße Seife für mich auf meinem Tische gefunden?</p> <p>33. Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen.</p> <p>34. Das Wort kam ihm von Herzen!</p> | <p>Se você o tivesse conhecido! Tudo seria diferente e estaria melhor com ele.</p> <p>Quem roubou a minha cesta com carne?</p> <p>Ele fingiu que eles o tinham mandado debulhar. Mas eles debulharam sozinhos.</p> <p>Para quem ele contou essa nova história?</p> <p>É preciso gritar, senão ele não nos ouve.</p> <p>Nós estamos cansados e com sede.</p> <p>Quando nós voltamos ontem à noite, os outros já estavam na cama, e num sono profundo.</p> <p>A neve ficou no chão esta noite no nosso bairro, mas hoje de manhã ela derreteu.</p> <p>Atrás da nossa casa tem três belas macieirinhas carregadas de maçãzinhas vermelhas.</p> <p>Vocês não podem nos esperar mais um instantezinho? Aí, vamos com vocês.</p> <p>Vocês não devem ser tão infantis!</p> <p>Nossas montanhas não são tão altas, as suas são muito mais (altas).</p> <p>Quantas libras de salsicha e quanto pão você quer (ter)?</p> <p>Eu não estou ouvindo vocês, vocês têm que falar um pouco mais alto.</p> <p>Vocês não acharam um pedaço de sabão branco para mim na minha mesa?</p> <p>O irmão dele quer construir duas casas bonitas no jardim deles.</p> <p>A palavra veio do seu coração/A palavra lhe veio do coração.</p> | <p>Had je hem gekend, dan was het anders gelopen en hij zou er beter aan toe zijn.</p> <p>Wie heeft mijn man met vleesch gestolen?</p> <p>Hij deed alsof ze hem besteld hadden om te komen dorschen, maar ze hebben het zelf gedaan.</p> <p>Aan wien heeft hij dat nieuwe verhaal verteld?</p> <p>Je (men) moet hard schreeuwen, anders verstaat hij ons niet.</p> <p>Wij zijn moe en hebben dorst.</p> <p>Toen wij gisteravond terugkwamen, (toen) lagen de anderen al in bed en waren vast in slaap.</p> <p>De sneeuw is vannacht bij ons blijven liggen, maar vanmorgen is ze gesmolten.</p> <p>Achter ons huis staan drie mooie appelboomjes met roode appeltjes.</p> <p>Kunnen jullie nog niet een oogenblikje op ons wachten? dan gaan wij met je mee.</p> <p>Jullie moeten niet zoo kinderachtig doen.</p> <p>Onze bergen zijn niet erg hoog, die van jullie zijn veel hooger.</p> <p>Hoeveel pond worst en hoeveel brood willen jullie hebben?</p> <p>Ik versta jullie niet, jullie moeten een beetje harder spreken.</p> <p>Hebben jullie op mijn tafel geen stukje witte zeep (voor mij) gevonden?</p> <p>Zijn broer wil in jullie tuin twee mooie nieuwe huizen bouwen.</p> <p>Dat woord kwam uit zijn hart (kwam hem uit het hart).</p> |
|---|---|--|

²⁴⁸ The original Wenker sentence has *Brod* here.

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>35. Das war recht von ihnen!</p> <p>36. Was sitzen da für Vögelchen oben auf dem Mäuerchen?</p> <p>37. Die Bauern hatten fünf Ochsen und neun Kühe und zwölf Schäfchen vor das Dorf gebracht, die wollten sie verkaufen.</p> <p>38. Die Leute sind heute alle draußen auf dem Felde und mähen/hauen.</p> <p>39. Geh nur, der braune Hund thut Dir nichts.</p> <p>40. Ich bin mit den Leuten da hinten über die Wiese ins Korn gefahren.</p> | <p>Foi muito bom da parte dele!</p> <p>Que passarinhos estão lá em cima do murinho?</p> <p>Os fazendeiros trouxeram cinco bois e nove vacas e doze ovelhinhas para o vilarejo para vender.</p> <p>As pessoas hoje estão todas na roça, carpindo.</p> <p>Vai aí, o cachorro marrom não te faz nada.</p> <p>Eu fui com as pessoas para o milharal detrás do campo.</p> | <p>Dat was heel goed van hen!</p> <p>Wat zitten daar voor vogeltjes boven op het muurtje?</p> <p>De boeren hadden vijf ossen en negen koeien en twaalf schaapjes naar het dorp gebracht, die wilden ze verkoopen.</p> <p>De lui zijn vandaag allemaal buiten op het land aan het maaien.</p> <p>Ga maar door, de bruine hond doet je niets.</p> <p>Ik ben met de mensen (daar achter) over de weide naar den akker gereden.</p> |
|--|--|---|

9 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 his 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 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.²⁴⁹ 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 questionnairy in Pommern, published in 1833, with 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).

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

²⁴⁹ 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.

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).²⁵⁰ 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.

9.2 Charter of 1388 by Warslaff and Bogislaff, dukes of Pomerania, and princes of Rügen

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 wullen, de uns anlygende syn, van de stichtes wegen, tho Cammyn hebben vesettet tho dem meystere unde dem Orden van Prüszen, vor two dusent prüszensche Marck, de wij dem sülüigen Meystere unde Orden bynnen vyff yaren, negest thokamende un mitsaften ouer eyn yar, tho heuende, betoden unde betalen

²⁵⁰ 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].

schöllen yn alszo danner wys unde vnderschedyng, als de breue dat vth wesen de wy Hertoge Warslaff myt vnsen erbenömeden Steden, vor breuet vnde vorsegelt hebben vor datsüle löuede, dat vnse stedere ergenömet uns gedan hebben, hebben wy, vor uns unde unse eruen, densülen 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, aldusz dane wysz, dat Henningh Gropelingh van unser wegene de vorgeschreuene borgermystere unde radtmann unser obschreuenen steden se, van Stadt an, in den Molen tho Stolp wesen schal, yn alsodannen underscheydinge, als hier nhageschreuen ys: ...

9.3 Aldermen's Registers of Freienwalde i Pom, 1329-1503, Wenker location 01268

Even these local Aldermen's registers are, from 1418 onward, written in a supraregional 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: *middekekens* '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 ewyge 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 Glambike vnd Jacob Albrechte vor eren bruder Symon Albrechte, dem god gnade, vnd de zone is geschen vnd degdedinghet vor boren vnd vneheboren vnd is gheschen des middewekens vor sunte Katherinen in dem jare **vnses** hern M°CCCC°XVIII°.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ "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

The absence of the early Inguaeonic 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 Pomeranians' 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.

Charateristics:

- infinitive in *-en* after modals: *singen* 'sing'
- infinitive 2 in *-ende* after *to* '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 pronunciation 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, sondern 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 destre groter lust hebben to singende.²⁵²

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].

²⁵² "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 pronunciation 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 liturgic 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 liturgic 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].

9.5 Children's song taken from Müller's Probe, published in Dähnert 1756: volume 5, 172-177, republished in Haas 1994:168-171).

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) *n*-drop in *ein* and *klain* (in neuter and masculine nominative), indicated by adding *-h*: *einh* 'a(n)', *klainh* '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.infl |
| Wenn dei Roggeh riep is | when the rye is ripe |
| Wenn dei Vagel pieck is | when the bird is fat |
| Brinck mi einh klainh Breider= | bring me a little brother/sister.DIM |
| Schwester=ke ²⁵³ | |

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

²⁵³ The layout with = and the option between *Breiderke* and *Swesterke* is in the original.

were from Farther Pomerania. The dialect of this tale is from the border of Pomerania and Prussia, the so-called Pomerelia²⁵⁴, that stood in strong 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 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 typical Pomeranian: regret for responding secondarily, in addition to resignation to the final outcome.

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>[Hochtied in de Unnerwelt]</p> <p>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 wegstöte un dunn verloos sei sick.</p> <p>Üm ne klein Wielka fund sick nu ein Unner-eerdschka tau em, un fraug 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 putzig²⁵⁷ hädd.</p> <p>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 Dochter mäuk hüt Hochtied. Dei Schäper säd: Dat geiht nich,</p> | <p>A Wedding in the Underworld [Translation, GJP]</p> <p>An old story that has happened before old times! There was once a shepherd²⁵⁵, 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 frog²⁵⁶ 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.</p> <p>After a short while, an underworld being 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.</p> <p>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.²⁵⁸ — 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 way²⁵⁹,</p> |
|--|--|

²⁵⁴ For an early linguistic description of a Pomerelian dialect, cf. Schweminski (1835).

²⁵⁵ In classical and medieval stories and songs, the shepherd is a symbol of (free) sexuality.

²⁵⁶ Also 'toad'. The toad / frog is the main symbol of sexuality in medieval iconography.

²⁵⁷ Litt. 'funny, happy'.

²⁵⁸ It is a typical property of gods to substantiate in this world's creatures. The god seems to be Pluto.

²⁵⁹ Litt. 'that does not go'.

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 herunger, 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 durch, un alle klein Lüde danzde un sprunge, dat er de Keddels so wippda.

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 wüszt, denn hai hadd im Krönka van allem Drinken. Sei brägde 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 schwör vör, un asz hei besach, wuare de Tasche vull Karwspöhn. Dat verdroot em, in der Meinung, dei Unnereerdschka häwwen em tum Narre hätt, un schmeet nu uth dem Fauberhemd²⁶⁴ de Spöhne alle wech, aber vam Brustdauk²⁶⁵ vergatt hei. As hei nu bi Awendtied tum Schlafen 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

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 jumping²⁶⁰.

When the day came, the shepherd asked, they shall now bring him back to his sheep. Now, many came to him and put wood²⁶¹ splinters in all his pockets²⁶², of which he was not aware, because he had an hangover²⁶³ 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 bindle 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 dollars²⁶⁶.

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

²⁶⁰ It is unclear what this expression means.

²⁶¹ *Karw* is a type of low quality wood, from Du *kerf* / *karf* 'wood'.

²⁶² *Foob(e)*, HG *Fuppe(n)*, any pocket or bag a traveler has with him.

²⁶³ Litt. 'little crown'.

²⁶⁴ Litt. 'shirt with / as a pocket'. The first part is the same as *Foob* 'pocket, bag' above. Pomeranian lemmas often have a different form in compounding, often taken from High German. *Fauber-* seems to be pseudo High German. The second part is *Hemd* 'shirt'. We translate the compound here with 'bindle' i.e. a bag made out of a shirt. The reason is that, icolonologically, shepherds have two ornaments: a fluit and an a staff, with an optional bindle to it.

²⁶⁵ Litt. 'breast cloth', cf. Du *borstrok* 'singlet, undershirt'. We translate it here with *vest* which usually have small pockets.

²⁶⁶ HG *Thaler*, Du *daalder*, and English *dollar* were local silver coins with different value. The words are related in the etymological sense only. A Pomeranian *dahler* never existed as a separate currency. The only truly Pomeranian coin has been the Pomeranian guilder (in 1489 by Bogislaw X).

| | |
|---|---|
| sick woll beter vörseihne. Hei was awer doch tofrede, denn sien Hochtiedspehlen hädd hei doch gaud betahld kreve. | would be better prepared. Yet, he was rather content for his wedding play had been paid well. |
|---|---|

9.6.2 Charateristics

Here we list the main charcteristics 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 *brägde* 'brought.pl'.
- breaking: *kaim* 'came.sg', *dauk* 'cloth', *tau* 'to'.
- intervocalic custer reduction: *ulla* 'old', *unner* 'under', but also velarization: *wunger* 'wonder', *herunger* 'under (dir.)'.
- schwa apocope: *ull* 'old', *hädd* 'had'.
- no intervocalic rhotacism: *liide* 'people' (BP *lüür*), *tiedig* 'early' (BP *tijrig*), *hädd* 'had' (BP *haar*), *säd* '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* 'push away', *maake* '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.

Då was eia Mann, dei härr drei Jungens; dei jinga all drei in dea wilt, un jeera wull eia Hantwark leera. Dei jüngst dåvoa, dei dumm Haas, wull Schpitzbuuw waara. Dei Våta wull dat nonnich lîra, åwa hei leit em doch trecka.

Nu jing hei imma tau. Tooletzt kaam hei a eia huus, då keer hei a un wull då bliwa. Då frauch em dei wirt, wo hei heer kaim un wat hei wull? Un hei schtellt sik recht dumm un sächt, hei wüsst nich, wo hei heea kaim. — Nu frauch hei em werra, woo hei t'Huus hart un wo sir Våta heita dää — Hei sächt, dat wüsst hei nich.

— Nu frauch hei, wo hei denn int Schaul gää wää? — Hei sächt, hei wää nich int Schaul gää.
 — Of hei denn nich leesa künn? — Nee, leesa künn hei nich. — Of hei denn nich eia Hantwark leera wull? — Jå, hei härr Lust, hei wull eia Schpitzbuuw waara; hei wüsst bloos nonnich, weea em dat leera dää. — "Na," sächt dei Mann, "wenn du åndlich bist un dî åndlich fäuest, denn kaast du bî mî blîwa, denn kann ik dî dat wol leera".

Dat was nuu gaud, hei bleew bî em, Dei Wirt jing uut up sîr Schpitzbuuweschtreich (denn hei was já dei Schpitzbuuw), un dei Jung, dumm Haas, müsst imma thus blîwa. Dei Wirt härr åwa veel Bäuka t'Huus in sine Schtuuw; un wil dei dumm Haas sächt härr, dat hei nich leesa künn, müsst hei imma dei Bäuka reeje måka, dei Schpenn un dea Schtoof däruute feega. Dâbî laas hei sik dat imma uut dea Bäuka ruute, alles, wat då in'n sctunn; denn då sctunne all dei Schpitzbauweschtreich in.

Dat dürt gää nicht lang, då wüsst hei voa allem Bescheit. As nuu soon ganz Tiid üm was, då säa hei eis tau sîm Meista, of hei nich eis mitkâuma schull, dat hei dat doch ook leeat. "Jå" sächt dei Wirt, "mitneema kann ik dî nich; du müsst glîk dîr proow måuka. Ik warr dî säggga: Hia kümmt eia Schlächta mit eim Kalf. Wenn du dem dat Kalf wech krichst, denn schasst du mîa best Schpitzbuuw weesa."

Dei Leeabursch müsst nu allein tauseia, woo hei dem Schlächta dat Kalf wech kricht. Hei treckt sik fin Kleera an, bünn sik na Såbel üm, jing hen anne Wech, häng sik anna Boom uu dää so, as wenn hei sik uphangt harr. As dei

[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".

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

Schlächta då voabî kaam, sach hei em hängen un dacht: "Kîk, dei hat sik uphangt, dei hat noch na schôna Säbel üm."

As hei nu a en wîra kaam, sach hei noch eia hänga, denn dîs Schpîtsbuuw härr sik voa disem Boom looslata un was dea Schlächta våabî loopa un härr sik då uok werra anna Boom hängt. Dei Schlächta härr dat åwa nich seja; denn dat was dicht am Hult, un då waera noch Räubes in. As hei disa nu hänga sach, dacht hei, dei Räubes wâra dä west un härra dîs uphängt, un dat dei Räubes nu doch wechgåa weera un em nu nischt daua künna.

Nu dacht hei: "Då hinna hängt ook all eia, un dei härr na schoina Säbel üm. Du schasst hen gää un dî dea Säbel neema; denn hast du na schôna Säbel". As hei åwa hen jing, leet då dei Schpitzbuuw voa disem Boom loos un naam dem Schlächta dat Kalf wech. Dea Schwanz schneed hei dem Kalf af un schtåk em in dei Murr, denn då was so a Wåtaloch am Wech

As nu dei Schlächta då hen kaam, was, dei sik då uphängt härr, mit sîm Säbel wech. Nu müsst hei werra tröch gåa, na sîm Kalf hen. As hei då kaam, was sîa Kalf ook wech. Nu keek hei ümheea, wo dat Kalf bleewa wää, un då sach hei dea Schwanz in dea Murr schtecka un dacht, dat Kalf wea då rinna loopa un härr sik vorsöpt.

Nu müsst hei dat doch werra ruute hoola. Dat was åwa deip, un därüm müsst hei sik uuttrecka. Sîn Kleera leea hei då anne Wech. Dei Schpitzbuuw passt äwa up un naam ook dem Schlächta sîne Kleera nä Huus. Hei härr sîn Proow gaud beschtää.

Dei Schlächta wull nu dat Kalf uut dem Murr ruute hoola. Hei fåut an dea Schtaat un treckt — då reet dei Schwanz uut. Nu dacht hei, hei härr dem Kalf dea Schwanz uutreeta. Dat Kalf künn hei nich aruute krîja, un hei wull sik nu antrecka un nå Huus gåa. Då waira sîn Kleera ook wech. Dat hulp em alles nischt, hei müsst näukt int Dorp gåa, dat hei werra Kleera kricht taum antrecka. Dei Schpitzbuuw härr also nu uutleeat un kreech sîna Schîn, dat hei a ächt Schpitzbuuw waea. —

Nu jing hei nå Huus to sîm Våta un säa em, dat hei dat Schpitzbuuhantwark åndlich leat härr. Då kreeja dei Luer alla Angst. Dei Herr åwa säa, hei wull em uutprobîra, of hei ook eia åndlich Schpitzbuuw wää. Hei müsst nå dem Herra henkauma, un då frauch em dei Herr, of hei dat Schpitzbuuhantwark åndlich leeat härr. Hei sächt: "Jä, seea gaud." — Då säa dei Herr, hei wull mit em werra. Wenn hei sîm Kutscha un all sîna Dachlönes sîna Hingst wechkrijja dää,

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.

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'

denn schull dat sîa weesa un schull hei ook no huunet Dåula häwwa. Wenn hei dat äwa nicht t'recht krîja dää, denn schull hei dem Herra huunet Dåula geewa.

As dat nu Auwend was, müsst all dei Dachlönes bî dem Kutscha im Peeadschtall wäuka, dat dei Schpitzbuuw dea Hingst nich wechkîja schull. Dei Kutscha müsst sik up dea Hingst aruppa setta.

As dat nu duesta was, härr sik dei Schpitzbuuw Frauweskleera antreckt un kaam då ant'gåa as so a ull Wîf. Nu kaam hei ook an dea Peeadschtall un sach, dat dei Luer alla då wära. Hei frauch nu eiste, of hei då nich wooa Nacht blîwa kün; em wull keia Meeasch Nacht behulla. Nuu wää dat all schpår, un dei Luer schleipa alla, un sei wüsst nich, wo sei blîwa schull — Jâ, säara dei Dachloenes, sei kann då blîwa im Schtall; annetweeje künna sei eea nich henbringa un Bescheit sägga.

Mit dea Tid frauch sei denn ook, wârum sei alla dä wära im Peeadschtall; wat dat up sik härr? — Jâ seera dei Dachhenes, "hîa is eia Schpitzbuuw int Dorp käuma; nu häwwa dei Luer alla Angst kreeja. Oos Herr äwa härr eia Werr mit em mäukt: Wenn hei dise Hingst oos wech kricht, denn schall hei huunet Dåula häwwa; wenn hei dat nich t'recht kricht, denn schall bei dem Herra huunet Dåula geewa."

"Jâ", säa sei, "dat is doch recht schlîmm, dat dei Luer so ungerecht sint un jönnna sik eia dem annre nischt. — Dit is kult! Hîa meut jî doch ook recht bî freisa! Mî früst ook all! Häww jî keina Schluck bî juw?"

"Nee", sära sei, "wî häwwa keina, un wechgåa dörr wî ook nich. Denn künna grâur dei ull Schpitzbuuw ankâuma un neema oos dea Hingst wech; denn kreej wî alla wat voa dem Herra."

"Jâ", sächt sei. "ik häww noch eia Bummka bî mî; ik wull juw dat woll anbeira, dat loont sik man nich vooa juw alla." Sei gaf eer dat åwa, un sei drünka alla då af. Dit was åwa da Schlâupdrunk. Nu duurt dat nich lang, då wära sei alla inschläupa. Nu naam hei dea Kutscha voa dem Hingst arunna un sett em up dea Ruumboom. Hei müsst em åwa anbîna, dat hei nich arunna föl. Dunn tooch hei mit sîm Hingst af.

Dat Moejens nu reet hei mit sîm Hingst nä dem Herra hen un säa em, dat hei sîne Luer dea Hingst wechkreeja härr. Dei Herr was seea ärgalîk un jing hen nå dem Peeadschtall. Då sach hei dea Kutscha up dom Ruumboom anbunna sitta, un dai annre schleipa ook noo alla. Då,

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.

After some time she also said: why they were 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

naam hei sîn Kurbatsch un schacht sei alla dorch.

Nuu müst dei Herr dem Schpitzbuwa dei huunet Dâula geewa, un dea Hingst behüll hei ook. Da säa dei Herr, eia Werr wull hei noch mit em mâuka. Wenn hei sîna Fruu dat Berrlåuka un dea Fingaring wechkrîja dää, denn schull hei ook huunet Dâula häwwa; wenn hei dat nich trecht krîja dää, denn müest hei em huunet Dâula geewa.

Dâ jing dei Schpitzbuuw hen nå dea Kirch in dat Gewölfst un naam då eina Doora ruute un jing daamit hen unna dem Herra sîa Feestra, schtellt då eia Lerra ant Feester un schtellt då deera Doora aruppa. As dei Herr dat too sein krîch, dacht hei, dat waa dei Schpitzbuuw, un hei keek dürcht Fenster, dat hei seja wull, wat in dea Sctuuw passiert. Dâ sächt dei Herr tau sîna Fruua: ["Mutter, sieh mal, da sieht er durch's Fenster. Weisst du, ich schiess' ihn tot; dann sind wir vor ihm sichert."]

"Jâ", säa sei.

Dâ naam dei Herr sîn Pistol un schoot dea Doora voa dea Lerra nmna un dacht: dit waa dei Schpitzbuuw. Dunn sächt hei tau sîna 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", säa sei.

Nu jing hei rute un wull dea Doora åwa Sîr bringa. Unnades jing dei Schpitzbuuw rasch arinna (denn hei härr imma uppasst) un vorschellt sik so, as wenn hei dei Herr wää, un säa tau dem Herra sîna 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", säa sei, "das wollen wir thun."

Nu naam hei dat Berrlåuka un dea Fingaring un jing rasch dâmit wech. — Dat duurt nich lang, dunn kaam dei Herr ook rinna. "So, Mutter," säa hei, ["nun hab' ich ihn weggebracht; nun wird er nicht mehr wieder kommen."]

"Ja", säa sei.

["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

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.

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 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.

"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

mitgeben." — "Dann ist der alte Spitzbube wieder hier gewesen und hat uns angeführt"], sächt dei Herr.

As dat nu Dach was, naam dumm Haas sîa Berrlauka un dea Fingaring un jing däamit na dem Herra hen un säa em, dat hei em dat doch wechkreeja härr. Dä müsst hei Herr em werra huunet Dåula geewa.

Nu sächt dei Herr åwa "eia Wark wulla sei no mäuka". — "Na jä," sächt dai Schpitzbuuw. — Wenn hei dem Preista all sîa Jeld wechkreeja dää, denn schull hei werra huunet Dåula häwwa un dem Preista sîa Jeld schull hei denn ook behulla.

Dâ 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 schtict all dei Kreefta an un leit sei dâ ümheea kruupa. Dunn jeet hei hen un lütt mit dea Klocka.

Nu kåuma all dei Luer an, as sei dat Luerent höra, un seja nu, dat uppem Kirchhof so veel Lichta sint un dat dei nich up eim Flach schtill schtää un imma wîra gåa. Inne Kirch is åwa ook Licht. Dâ gåa sei ook int Kirch un willa seja, wat dä loos is. Ook dei Preista jeet hen un will seja, wat dat up sik hät.

As nu dei Preista in't Kirch kümmt, schteet 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 woll dei Preista doch gean. Hei jing also hen un häuelt all sîa Jeld, wat in sîm Huus was, un bröcht dat hen näura Kirch. Dä frauch dei Schpitzbuuw, of dat sîa Jeld alles wâa?

— "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 nå Huus un häult dea eine Dreeja ook noch un bröcht dea dâ hen un gaf em dea.

Nu frauch dei Preista, wenn dei Kösta ook sîa Jeld alles bringa dää, of hei denn ook läwentsch inna Himmel kåuma dää. — "Jâ" sächt dei Schpitzbuuw, ["gewiss doch! Wenn der Küster auch sein Gold zu mir bringt, dann kann er gleich mitkommen."] Dä geit dei Kösta oök hen un häuelt all sîa Jeld.

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 lightens 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.

"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

Dat was nu duesta in dea Nacht, denn dei Lichta up dem Kirchhof wära uutbreent. Nu schull dei Preista un dei Küsta inna Himmel. Då häuelt sik dei Schpitzbuuw na Sack, dä müsst dei beira rinna kruupa, un dunn schleempt hei mit eea loos un treckt mit eea umheea.

As hei nu so a Een wech is, dä treckt hei mit eea dâur 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 Tid lang hen is, treckt hei mit eea up dem Preista sîna Gäusschtall. As sei da dei Gäus höra schnauttra, sacht dei Preista tau dem Kosta: ["Ach, Küstenchen, jetzt sind wir auch schon bei den lieben Engeln im Himmel. Wir kunnen sie schon hören."]

"Ja", säa dei Kösta.

Då leit hei sei nu dei Nacht åwa ligga. Sei wära natt woora, un dat froos eea ook åandlich. Mooejens nu in alle Tid kümmmt dem Preista sîna 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?".]

Dat Maika wüsst nich, wo dei Preista was. Nâuheea sach sei åwa, dat dei Preista mit dem Kösta, im Sack taubunna, up dem Gänsschtall leïa. Då jing sei hen un bunn dea Sack up. Dann sach dei Preista un dei Kösta, dat sei beir up sîm Gänsschtall leïa; un sei wära aandlich anfâuet.

Dat Mooejens åwa jing dei Schpitzbuuw hen nå dem Herra un säa em, dat hei dem Preista all sîa Jeld wechkreeja harr un dem Kösta sîa Jeld ook. Dei Herr frauch dem Preista un dem Kösta, of dat ook wirklich wâa wâa? — Jå, sära sei, dat wâa so. Då müsst dei Herr em werra huunet Dâula geewa.

Nu was dei Schpitzbuuw eia rîk Mann woora. Hei härr dreihuunet Dâula voa dem Herra un dem Herra sîna Hingst un dat Berrlåuka un dea Fingaring, dåtau dem Preista un dem Küsta all sîa Jeld. So härr em sîa Schpitzbuuwehantwark veel inbröcht in körte Tid. Hei hat dat also gâud verschtää.

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 (?), he 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?

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 succeeded 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 Charactistics

1. Etymology

- Intervocalic rhotacism + schwa deletion (*härr* < *hadde* 'had', *Lüür* < *Liide* '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 (*gåa* - *jeet* - *jing* 'to go - goes - went')
- No evidence for synchronic schwa deletion, i.e. schwa catalexis, but this might be due to the brevity 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 *-n* (*sach hei em hängen* 'saw him hang', *too sein kriich* 'got to see')
- 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').²⁶⁷

4. Lexis

- Germanisms (*Kirch* < Kirche 'church', *Gänsschtall* 'goose stable', *Frauweskleera* < *Frauenkleider* 'woman's cloths', *Såbel* 'sabre').

²⁶⁷ Taken from a Prussian dictionary (Frischbier 1882:118). Absent in Laude's Pomeranian dictionary.

10 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).²⁶⁸ 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 Mariengaarde (*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 juxta 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 vtilitltibus & appendiciis suis libere & quiete sine omni exactione soli claustro ibidem constituto perpetualiter seruituras. nomina vero villarum sunt hec Gummin que sola culta est. Wistroweze, Miroslavece, Wiscau, Karzene, Darsuue, Brosamuste, Drosdoue, Jarchowe, Kynowe. Latin. Strigutine. Medietatem eciam porcionis clausure piscium in fluvio qui Rega dicitur fratrum refectioni 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 sartagini ad vsum salis ab omni exactione perpetualiter liberas. Ista ad inceptionem cenobi predicti contulimus ita libere vt quicunque eos de terra sua sequi voluerit & fratribus 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°.

²⁶⁸ 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 Priewe & Teuchert (1928:253ff).

[Translation, GJP]

In name of the holy and undividable Trinity. We, Bugislaus and our brother Casimir, princess of Pomerania by God's grace, together with our venerable mother Anastasia, decided for now and in the future, that the brothers of **Mariëngaarde**²⁶⁹ could come to our land in the place near Treptow, near the site of the castle formerly called Belbuc²⁷⁰ 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, Miroslau, Wischow, Karnice, Darsow, Brosamuste, Drosedow, Jarchow, Kienow, Lensin²⁷¹, 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 Nifloze²⁷² and the adjacent fishermen's villages. To the Church, we grant the church in Treptow with all its rights and twenty mark²⁷³ 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 monks²⁷⁴, 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, Necessa 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

²⁶⁹ Premonstratensian monastery in Hallum in Friesland. (Known because of their white robe, "white monks").

²⁷⁰ West Slavic *Bialbug* is 'white god'. The fact that premonstratensian monks are renowned as white monks is probably a mere coincidence.

²⁷¹ Lędzin.

²⁷² Livia Łuża/Liebelose, oder Niechorze/Ostseebad Horst.

²⁷³ i.e. the coins.

²⁷⁴ Strictly speaking it concerns cenobites.

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 honorare, cupiens cum ipso, si sua prestiterit clementia, partem perpetue recipere hereditatis.

Verum quia, quanto sumus fragiliores, tanto magis bonorum auxiliis indigimos, ego, qui magis iis indigeo, dignum duxi de auxilio et consilio domini abbatis in Belbog et fratum ibidem fideliter domini seruentium domum ancillarum Christi in dote mea, quam a marito meo felicis 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, relicte uidelicet filii mei Bugzlae et alterius filii Kazemari relicte, et nobilium ipsarum approbatione, ad sustentationem ancilarum Chisti ibi domino fideliter seruentium, 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: Tribus²⁷⁵ com piscatura et omnibus attinentiis suis, Topacle²⁷⁶, Szwetie, Bialcur, Jorewino, Drosdouwe, Jarcouwe, Scrilowe, Darsowe, Sucowe, 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°.XXIIII. 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.

As, witness the apostle²⁷⁷, we arrive in this world naked and cannot take anything out than²⁷⁸ 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 is hard to get in. Therefore I decided to gain God's mercy by a gift, who

²⁷⁵ *T + ribus* = preposition + *ribus* 'bush'. The monastery is to be called *ribus sancte marie* or Marienbusch.

²⁷⁶ =*To + patle* = 'up' + *Patelica* (now Gützlafshagen), see also: *Tanklim* for Anclam.

²⁷⁷ In fact, it is Ecclesiastes.

²⁷⁸ 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").

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 owners²⁷⁹, being the parts of, viz. my son Boguslaw and the part of my other son Cazimir, and with permission of these nobles, as a 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 villages 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 ours words, we hang our stamped seal to it. These are our requested witnesses: Conrad, the fifth bishop of Cammin, Pallo, the abbot of Kolbats; Pripsielaus, 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, abbe 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, abbe 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 audiens abbas gavisus est

²⁷⁹ 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.

valde: erat enim multo tempore cupiens audire que tune audiebat. Et ut domne ipsius voluntas haberet effectum, omnem se operam adhibitum efficaciter pollicetur. In brevi igitur sororum mansionibus constructis, cum litteris petitoris ducisse se preparans ad iter, transiens vias invias, aquosas scilicet et inaquosas, quarum quelibet laborem itinerantibus generant et gravamen, venit in Fresiam de negocio et voluntate ducisse cum abbe 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 contiugere ampliari. Habito igitur cum senioribus domus sue consilio, qui omnes congaudebant in hoc quod audiebant, sorores in Bethlehem, quas predictum negocium magis tangebat, alloquendas decrevit. In iunctis autem orationibus in conventu fratrura, in presencia coabbatis sui abbas Sibrandus prehabito sermone hiis exhortacionibus usus est: "Licet, dilectissime Deo mihi 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 omibus 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?" Necessa est, o filie, necessa est non solam audientibus, sed eciam verbum Dei dicentibus. Quare necessa? Quia laborantem agricolam oportet primum de fructibus percipere; oportet eciam per personas religiosas ac Deum timentes verbum auditum, ut in bono statu perseveret et &uctum faciat tricesimum, seiagesimum sive centesimum, confirmari. Sicut autem predicacio fit verbo et opere, ita eciam confirmatio predicationis non solum spirituali verbo, sed etiam boni operis exemplo. Predicacio itaque verbi sicut solis viris litteratis, ne error generetur, cum necessa 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 fratribus de Belboch inducta, sicut a predecessore nostro, beate memorie domino Sigehardo abbe, conventum exegit canonicorum, ita eciam 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 illecebrosis, 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 fratribus ad eumdem locum transmissorum sequentes, et normam, quam sunt edoete, secum assa meutes, nee cum uxore Loth retro respicientes, sed in anteriora se cum apostolo extendentibus, eorum, cum quibus conversabuntur, doctrine stndeant 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 tarnen 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; denote in infirmitorum pro recreacione 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. Auditio 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 fuit talis muiier visa in uni versa terra. De qua, o lector vel auditor, quia me quod audivi et didici non piguit scribere, te quoque non pigate 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 relacione sic percepit.

(...)

Cap. XIII. *De sororibus que sese pro Dei amore ad exteras naciones tradiderunt perpetuo moraturas.*

Bethlehemiticarum autem sororum, que, patriam parentesque propter ordinis honestatem ac religionis dilatacionem relinquentes ad petitionem domorum 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 eciam in eodem existens officio appositus est ad patres suos. Soror Eltetis de Groningen, et altera eiusdem nominis de Liuwerth. Soror Tetta, Translaicana, et altera eiusdem nominis de Westergine. Soror Margareta de civitate nobili et cesarea Groningensi, et altera nominis eiusdem de civitate eadem. Soror Vernua de Twislum; et soror Intetis, que fuit germana soror fratri Geldardi supprioris ecclesie in Dockum qui et secutus eam in Belboch, diu prioratus officio functus ibidem. Iste numero sorores decem vocacione, qua vocate fuerant forte digne invente sunt et ideo in sua vocacione fideliter feliciterque perstitere; aliis quibusdam que denounceantur, 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 Ortu 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).

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 an 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 wordly 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 nons, 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 be read in abbot Frederik's Vita;
- Sister Siburb, a kin of abbot Otto; Her brother was brother Thomas, regular monk of Mariengaarde, 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 Margareta 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.

11 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 Neumark.

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

Contratos de Colonos Alemães e Austriacos (1859-1860) - L93-G

Carl Ziemann

Nº 1

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 o nomeado abaixo das condições seguintes:

Art. 1º A Associação Central de Colonização no Rio de Janeiro, devidamente autorizada pelo Governo de Sua Magestade O Imperador do Brasil, e abaixo da sua responsabilidade, obriga-se:

§. 1. A adiantar ao Colono *Carl Ziemann de Bratig em Pommern* e sua família, composta de 4 pessoas, as passagens de Hamburgo até o Rio de Janeiro, pagando pelos maiores de 10 anos para cima 60 e pelos menores de 3 até 10 anos 40. thalers da Prussia; e nada pagarão os menores até 3 anos.

§. 2. A deduzir da importância das passagens a subvenção do Governo Imperial de 37 \$ 500 Reis por Colono adulto de 10 até 45 anos, e de 22 \$ 500 Reis por menor de 5 até 10 anos.

§. 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 dívida.

§. 4. A dar-lhes passagem gratuita até a colônia de

Leopoldina na Província de Espírito Santo, e lhes fornecer-lhes também gratuitamente alojamento provisório.

§. 5. A pôr à disposição de cada chefe de família um lote de terras contendo 120,000 braças quadradas ou metade dessa área à 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 10,000 braças quadradas pouco mais ou menos.

§. 6. A fazer o suprimento de viveres por adjantamento até seis meses, de ferramentas de lavrura, sementes de milho, feijão, arroz e algumas outras, bem como batatas e mandioca para as primeiras plantações, se o colono disto carecer no começo de seus trabalhos.

§. 7. A proporcionar ao Colono os serviços que houver na Colônia, se quiser trabalhar à jornal, o qual será arbitrado entre 1000 e 1200 reis a seco, segundo os costumes no lugar. Neste caso cessará o adjantamento de sustento.

§. 8. As terras serão vendidas a prazo e na razão de 1½ real a braça quadrada, entrando nesse preço as derrubadas e mais trabalhos preparatórios acima declarados.

§. 9. O título de venda das terras será passado gratuitamente pelo Delegado da Repartição Geral das Terras públicas na Província de *Espirito Santo*.

Art. 2º O Colono se obriga:

§. 1. A reembolsar o preço das terras como todos os outros adjantamentos recebidos (passagem, mantimentos, instrumentos &c.) dentro de cinco anos e em três prestações iguais, a contar do fim do segundo ano do estabelecimento na colônia. 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, verschafft sich:

§. 1. Dem Colonisten *Carl Ziemann de Bratig en Pommern* und seiner Familie, welche aus 4 Personen besteht, die Überfahrt von Hamburg nach Rio de Janeiro vorzuschaffen, um 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 Überfahrt die Subvention der Kaiserlichen Regierung abzüglich, welche 37 \$ 500 Reis für jeden erwachsenen Colonisten von 10 bis 45 Jahren, und 22 \$ 500 Reis für jeden unerwachsenen von 5 bis 10 Jahren beträgt.

§. 3. Die Kosten zu bezahlen, welche die Colonisten in der Überberge des Vereines machen, so lange sie nicht nach ihrer Bestimmung abgehen, da diese Kosten nicht als Schuld belastet werden.

§. 4. Ihnen freie Überfahrt nach der Colone

Leopoldina in der Provinz *Espirito Santo* zu geben, und ihnen dort auch freie, provisoriale Wohnung anzubieten.

§. 5. Seinem Familienvater ein Grundstück von 120,000□ Braßen oder die Hälfte dieses Flächenraumes nach Wahl des Colonisten und in Übereinstimmung mit seinen Arbeitskräften zur Verfügung zu stellen. Dieses Grundstück wird ihm vermessen und abgezeichnet, und mit einem verbrannten Holzschlag von etwa 10,000□ Braffen übergeben.

§. 6. Den Colonien als Vorschuss während sechs Monaten die erforderlichen Lebensmittel, Äckergeräte, Samen von Mais, Bohnen, Reis, wie auch Kartoffeln und Mandioca zu den ersten Pflanzungen beim Anfang ihrer Arbeiten zu liefern, wenn sie es möglia haben.

§. 7. Ihnen die Arbeiten nach Verhältniß zuzuteilen, welche auf der Colônia vorzunehmen, wenn sie im Taglohn arbeiten wollen, welcher auf 1000 bis 1200 Reis ohne Kosten je nach örtlichem Gebrauche geschäft wird, in welchem Falle jedoch der Vorschuß zum Unterhalter aufzählt.

§. 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 Kaufaufschluß des Bodens wird durch den Commissario des General-Landamtes in der Provinz

Espirito Santo, unentgeltlich ausgefertigt.

Art. 2. Der Colonist verschafft sich:

§. 1. Den Kaufpreis des Landes sowohl, als alle andern empfangenen Vorschüsse, nämlich Überfahrt, Lebensmittel, Geräthe u. s. w., innerhalb fünf Jahren und in drei Terminen, vom abgelaufenen zweiten Jahre der Niederlassung an gerechnet, zurückzuzahlen. Während der besagten Frist werden keine Zinsen berechnet; ist sie aber verstrichen, so werden 6% verlangt.

GERTJAN POSTMA

Contratos de Colonos Alemaes e Austríacos (1859-1860) - L93-G

§. 2. As terras e quaesquer benfeitorias que n'ellas se fizerem, ficão hypothecadas ao Governo Imperial até real emboço da dívida 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 família declarão dever ao Governo Imperial do Brazil pôr adiantamento para a viagem de Hamburgo até o Rio de Janeiro as seguintes quantias:

Idade. Thl. d. Pr.

| | | |
|-------------------------|------|------|
| Ziemann, Carl | 33 | 60 |
| " Friederike | 37 | 60 |
| " Emilie | 1½ | ~ |
| Braatz, Wilhelm, entead | 7 | 40 |
| | | 9160 |
| Tago. | 50 | |
| a família dividida | 9110 | |

§. 2. Die Grundfläche 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 Vermählung, jedoch immer mit der Bürde der Hypothek bis zur Tilgung der befragten Schuld.

§. 4. 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. G.

| | | |
|-------------------------|------|------|
| Ziemann, Carl | 33 | 60 |
| " Friederike | 37 | 60 |
| " Emilie | 1½ | ~ |
| Braatz, Wilhelm, entead | 7 | 40 |
| | | 9160 |
| Tago. | 50 | |
| a família dividida | 9110 | |

os quaes elles se obrigão á reembolsar segundo as estipulações do presente contrato.

Feito triplice.

Hamburgo aos 25 de Abril de 1859.

welche sie nach Vorschrift des vorliegenden Contrates wieder erstatthen sich verpflichten.

So geschehen und dresfaß ausgefertigt.

Hamburg, den 25 April 1859.

Carl F. Ziemann

v. f. Schmidt

Visto para legalização das assinaturas acima.

Consulado Geral do Imperio do Brazil em Hamburgo,

aos 27 de Abril de 1859.



O Consul Geral

o Chancery

Paulo Schmitz

Presentam documentos satisfactorios
que nos visados.

12 References

- Aalberse, Suzanne (2009). *Inflectional Economy and Politeness - Morphology-Internal and Morphology-External Factors in the Loss of Second Person Marking in Dutch*. PhD Dissertation. Amsterdam University.
- Abraham, Werner (1989). Futur-Typologie in der germanischen Sprachen. In: Werner Abraham & Theo Janssen (1989). *Tempus - Aspect - Modus - die lexikalischen und grammatischen Formen in der germanischen Sprachen*. Niemeyer Verlag. Tübingen.
- Abraham, Werner (2016). Pervasive underspecification of diathesis, modality, and structural case coding: the gerund in historical and modern German. *Linguistische Berichte* 248, 435-472.
- Alber, Birgit & Stefan Rabanus (2011). Kasussynkretismus und Belebtheit in germanischen Pronominalparadigmen. In: Elvira Glaser, Natascha Frey, & Jürgen Erich Schmidt (eds). *Dynamik des Dialekts - Wandel und Variation*. Steiner Verlag. Stuttgart.
- Baker, Mark (1988). *Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function changing*. MIT Press.
- Barbiers, Sjef (2007). On the periphery of imperative and declarative clauses in Dutch and German. In: Wim van der Wurff (ed.) *Imperative Clauses in Generative Grammar: Studies in Honour of Frits Beukema*. 95 – 112.
- Beilke, Neubiana (2012). Pomerano: Uma Variedade Germânica em Minas Gerais. *Anais do SILEL*. 3(1). Uberlândia: EDUFU. 2013.
- Bernecker, Walther (1997). Siedlungskolonien und Elitenwanderung. Deutsch in Lateinamerika: das 19. Jahrhundert. In: *Matices. Zeitschrift zu Lateinamerika, Spanien und Portugal* 15.
- Besch, Werner (2000). *Sprachgeschichte*. 2. Bände. Walter de Gruyter. Berlin.
- Birkenes, Magnus Breder (2014): Subtraktive Nominalmorphologie in den Dialekten des Deutschen. Ein Beitrag zur Interaktion von Phonologie und Morphologie. Stuttgart: Steiner. (= *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik*. Beiheft 156).
- Blom, Philippus (1889). *Beknopte Friesche spraakkunst voor den tegenwoordigen tijd*. R.P. Zijlstra Publisher.
- Bobaljik, J.D. & D. Jonas (1996). Subject positions and the roles of TP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27, 195-236.
- Böhmer, Heinrich Ludwig Wilhelm. (1833). Sammlung der niederdeutschen Mundarten in Pommern. *Baltische Studien* 2a, 139-172.
- Booij, Geert (1983). Principles and Parameters in Prosodic Phonology. *Linguistics* 21, 249-80.
- Booij, Geert (1989). On the representation of diphthongs in Frisian. *J. Linguistics* 25, 319-332.
- Booij, Geert (1995). *The Phonology of Dutch*. Oxford University Press.
- Bornträger, Br. (1837). Recension of Carl Rosenkrans' Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. *Ergänzungsblätter zur Jenaischen Allgemeinen Literaturzeitung* 55, 50.
- Bos, G. F. (1964). *Het probleem van de samengestelde zin*. London, The Hague, Paris.
- Brandner, Ellen (2006). Bare Infinitives in German and the Categorial Status of Infinitival Complements. *Language Variation Yearbook* 6. Benjamins. Amsterdam.
- Bree, Cor van & Versloot 2004. *Oorsprongen van het Stadsfries*. Leeuwarden.
- Bremmer Jr, Rolf H. (2009). *An Introduction to Old Frisian. History, Grammar, Reader, Glossary*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam.
- Bülow, Gottfried von (1881). Die colberger Klosterordnung von 1586. *Baltische Studien* 31, 163-190.
- Bures, T. (1992). *(Re)cycling expletives and other sentences*. Ms., MIT.

- Bye, Patrik & Peter Svenonius (2012). Exponence, phonology and non-concatenative morphology. In: Trommer, Jochen (ed.). *The Morphology and Phonology of Exponence*. Oxford University Press. 427–495.
- Canstatt, Oscar. (1902/1906). *Kritisches Repertorium der Deutsch-brasilianischen Literatur*. Berlin.
- Cedeño Núñez, Rafael A. (1987). Intervocalic /d/ Rhotacism in Dominican Spanish: A Non Linear Analysis. *Hispania* 70, 363-368.
- Collins, Beverley & Inger M. Mees (2003). *Practical Phonetics and Phonology: A Resource Book for Students*. Routledge. London.
- Creemers Ava, Jan Don & Paula Fenger (2015). Stress and categorial flexibility as a consequence of morphological structure. Thuy Bui & Deniz Özyıldız (eds.). *Proceedings of NELS 45*. 165-178.
- Dahl, Östen (2007). *Grammaticalization in the North: Noun Phrase Morphosyntax in Scandinavian Vernaculars*. (Studies in Diversity Linguistics 6). Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Dähnert, Johann Carl (1756). *Pommersche Bibliothek*. Band 1-5. Greifswald.
- Dähnert, Johann Carl (1781). *Platt-Deutsches Wörterbuch nach den alten und neuen Pommerschen und Rügischen Mundart*. Stralsund.
- Darski, Józef (1973). Diachronische Betrachtung des Lautbestandes der ehemaligen niederdeutschen Mundart von Sępólno Krajeńskie [Zempelburg]. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 17. 81-96.
- De Padua Fleury, André Augusto (1863). *Relatorio do presidente da província do Espírito Santo na abertura da Assembléa Legislativa Provincial 1863*. Vitoria.
- De Vos, Mark A. (2005). *The syntax of verbal pseudo-coordination in English and Afrikaans*. PhD Dissertation Leiden University.
- Diégues Júnior, Manuel (1943). Influências estrangeiras no Espírito Santo. *Revista do Brasil*, setembro de 1943.
- Don, Jan (2015). Vrouwelijke persoonsnamen in het Nederlands. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 20, 315-338.
- Droogers, André (2008). Religião, identidade e segurança entre imigrantes luteranos da Pomerânia, no Espírito Santo (1880-2005). *Relig.Soc.* 28(1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0100-85872008000100002>.
- Dyk, Siebren (2007). Jorwert Breaking: A Late Old West Frisian Sound Change. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 64. 91-128.
- Ebert, Karen H. (2000). Progressive markers in Germanic languages. In: Dahl, Östen (ed.) *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 605-654.
- Elsäßer, Sophie (2016). Was bedingt Kasussynkrtismus im Oberdeutschen? Talk presented at Saarbrücker Runder Tisch für Dialektsyntax (SARDIS) 2016.
- Emmel, Ina (2005). “Die kann nun nich’, die is’ beim treppenputzen!” *O Progressivo no Alemão de Pomerode-SC*. PhD Dissertation. Universidade de Santa Catarina. Florianópolis.
- Emonds, Joseph Embley & Jan Terje Faarlund. (2014). *English: The language of the Vikings*. Olomouc modern language monographs 3. Olomouc.
- Erb, Marie Chirstine (2001). *Finite auxiliaries in German*. PhD Dissertation, Tilburg University.
- Everest, Kate (1892). Early Lutheran Immigration to Wisconsin. *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, 8. Madison, Democrat Printing Company. 289–298.

- Feitsma, Anthonia (1997). Taalkundig reisplan voor een gezelschap Hollanders — J.H. Halbertsma als taalideoloog en taalkundige. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*. 113. 124-144.
- Fernandes da Costa Pereira Júnior, José (1861). *Relatorio do presidente da província do Espírito Santo na abertura da Assembléa Legislativa Provincial 1861*. Vitoria.
- Fernandes da Costa Pereira Júnior, José (1862). *Relatorio do presidente da província do Espírito Santo na abertura da Assembléa Legislativa Provincial 1862*. Vitoria.
- Fisher, Olga (1995). The distinction between *to* and bare infinitival complements in Late Middle English. *Diachronica* XII. 1-30.
- Fochesatto, Cyanna Missaglia de et al. (2017). *Bibliografia sobre a imigração e colonização alemã no Rio Grande do Sul*.
- Fokkema, K. (1948). *Beknopte Friese spraakkunst met leesoefeningen*. Groningen: Wolters.
- Frischbier, Harmann (1882). *Preussisches Wörterbuch. Ost- und westpreussische Provinzialismen in alphabetischer Folge*. Band 1. A-K.
- Fröschle, Hartmut (2006). Die Deutschbrasilianer einst und jetzt rund 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung und Siedlung in Brasilien. - Ein Überblick. *Eckartschrift* 183.
- Gaede, Rudolpho (1983). Up Platt Dutsch. *O Semeador*. December 1983.
- Gelderen, Elly van (1998). "For to in the History of English". *American Journal of Germanic Language and Literature* 10.1: 45-72.
- Gelderen, Elly van (2000). The absence of verb movement and the role of C – Some negative constructions in Shakespeare. *Studia Linguistica* 54, 412-423.
- Giegerich, Heinz J. (1985). *Metrical Phonology and Phonological Structure*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- GLFP - *Gemeindelexikon für den Freistaat Preußen. Provinz Pommern*. Nach dem endgültigen Ergebnis der Volkszählung vom 16. Juni 1925 und anderen amtlichen Quellen unter Zugrundelegung des Gebietsstandes vom 1. Oktober 1932. Berlin: Preußisches Statistisches Landesamt, 1932.
- Goiston, Chris & Richard Wiese. (1996) Zero Morphology and Constraint Interaction: Subtraction and Epenthesis in German Dialects". In: Geert Booij and Jaap van Marle (eds) *Yearbook of Morphology* 1995. 143-159.
- Granzow, Klaus (1973). Zur Geschichte der pommerschen Auswanderung nach Brasilien. *Baltische Studien*. Neue Folge 59, 59-73.
- Granzow, Klaus (1975). *Pommeranos unter dem Kreuz des Südens : dt. Siedler in Brasilien*. Erdmann. Tübingen. (Translated into Portuguese under the title: Pomeranos sob o crreiro do sul. Editora Canaã. Vitoria).
- Grimm, Jacob (1854-1961). *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Leipzig.
- Groen, P. (1930). *Oude en nieuwe Groninger liederen (I) (II), opgetekend, verzameld en van enkele aanteekeningen voorzien door P. Groen*. Meinema. Delft.
- Haas, Walter (1994). *Deutsche Idiotismensammlungen des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Walter de Gruyter. Berlin.
- Haider, Hubert (1991). *Fakultativ kohärente Infinitivkonstruktionen im Deutschen Arbeitspapiere des SFB 340*, Universität Stuttgart, 17.
- Haider, Hubert (1993). Deutsche syntax, generativ: Vorstudien zur Theorie einer projektiven Grammatik. Gunter Narr Verlag. Tübingen.
- Haken, Christian Wilhelm (~1790). *Pommersch Idiotikon - Ortsmundart von Jamund bei Köslin*. unpublished/lost.
- Haken, Johann Christian Ludwig (1806). *Hinweisung auf einige Idiotismen und Sprüchwörter der Mundart in Hinter-Pommern*. Republished in Haas (1994). 172-180.

- Halbertsma, J.H. (1829). 'Voorbericht'. In: J.H. Halbertsma: *Het geslacht der Van Haren's. Fragmenten*. Deventer, 1829, p. I-XVI.
- Hall, Tracy Alan (1989). Lexical phonology and the distribution of German [ç] and [x]. *Phonology* 6: 1–17.
- Hartwig, Adriana V.G. (2011). Professores(as) Pomeranos(as): Um estudo de caso sobre o Programa de Educação Escolar Pomerana - Proepo - desenvolvido em Santa Maria de Jetibá/ES. Master's thesis. UFES.
- Harweg, Roland (2014). *Studien zum Verbum und seinem Umfeld*. LIT Verlag. Münster.
- Heim, Irene (1982). *The Semantics of Definite and Indefinite Noun Phrases*. PhD. dissertation. University of Massachusetts.
- Heine, Bernd (1995). On the German werden future. In: Abraham, W. et al (1989). *Discourse Grammar and Typology*. Benjamins. Amsterdam.
- Heye, Jürgen (1978a). Bilingualism and Language Maintenance among German Speaking Immigrants in Brazil. In: Gerhard Nickel (ed). *Sociolinguistics*. Stuttgart. 93-105.
- Heye, Jürgen (1978b). Diglossia and Dialect Levelling among German Speaking Immigrants in Brazil. *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Linguists*. 293-296.
- Hinskens, Frans (2007). Sandhi voicing and opacity in Limburg dialects of Dutch: towards a formal account. In: S. Döring & J. Geilfuß (eds.). *Von der Pragmatik zur Grammatik*. Leipzig.
- Hoekstra, Jarich (1997). *Syntax of infinitives in Frisian*. PhD dissertation Groningen University.
- Hoekstra, Jarich (2001). An Outline History of West Frisian. In: H.H.Munske (ed.). *Handbuch des Friesischen*. 722-734.
- Holsinger David J. & Paul D. Houseman (1998). Lenition in Hessian: cluster reduction and 'subtractive plurals'. In: Geert Booij and Jaap van Marle (eds). *Yearbook of Morphology* 1998, 159-174.
- Holsten, Robert (1913). *Sprachgrenzen im Pommerschen Plattdeutsch*. Pyritz.
- Holsten, Robert (1952). Alte Wege und Mundart in Pommern. - In: *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 20. Hrsg. von Walther Mitzka, S. 102-113. - Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Hoogeweg, Hermann (1924/25). *Die Stifter und Klöster der Provinz Pommern*. 2 Volumes, Stettin.
- Iotti, Luiza H. (2010). A política imigratória brasileira e sua legislação – 1822-1914. In: *Encontro Estadual de História* 10. Santa Maria, RS.
- Jacob, Alexandra (2008). American Pommersch - Pommern im linguistischen Erbe Wisconsins. In: Jan Worrer & Josef Raab (eds). *Die deutsche Präsenz in den USA/The German presence in the U.S.A.* Berlin. 627-641.
- Jäger, Andreas (2006). *Typology of periphrastic 'do'-constructions* (Diversitas Linguarum 12) Taschenbuch. Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer. Bochum.
- Jahn, Ulrich (1886). Probe der Mundart in und um Crazig bei Cöslin. *Baltische Studien* 36. 55-63.
- Jedig, Hugo (1966). *Laut- und Formanbestand der niederdeutschen Mundart des Altaigebietes*. Akademie-Verlag. Berlin.
- Jellinghaus, Hermann (1884). *Zur Einteilung der niederdeutschen Mundarten - Ein Versuch*. Lipsius & Tischer. Kiel.
- Kager, René (1995). Consequences of Catalexis. In: H. van der Hulst & J. van de Weijer (eds.) *Leiden in Last: HIL Phonology Papers I*, The Hague. 269-298.
- Kaufmann, Göz (2018). *Complex verbal heads in V2: The case of Pomeranian*. Ms. Freiburg University.
- Kemmer, Suzanne (1993). *The Middle Voice*. Benjamins. Amsterdam.
- Kiparsky, Paul (1991). *Catalexis*. Ms. Stanford University and Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin.

- Kiparsky, Paul (2006). *Livonian stød*. Standford University [ms]. Available at: <http://web.stanford.edu/~kiparsky/Papers/livonian.pdf>
- Kleiner, W. 1925. Zur entwicklung der Futur-Umschreibung werden mit Infinitiv. *UCB Publications in Modern Philology* 12, 1.
- Knoop, Otto (1889). Plattdeutsche Sprüchwörter und redensarte in Hinterpommern. *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutscher Sprachforschung* XV, 53-60.
- Kosegarten, Johann Gottfried Ludwig (1858). Neue Schriften in Niederdeutscher Sprache. *Baltische Studien* 17, 199-XXX
- Krak, Gustav (1865). *Die Städte der Prinvinz Pommern. Abriß ihrer Geschichte, zumeist nach Urkunde*. Berlin.
- Kühl, Karl (1932). *Die Saatzig-Dramburger Mundart; ein Beitrag zur niederdeutschen Sprache in Ostpommern*. Greifswald. (Vorarbeiten zu pommerschen Wörterbuch, 4).
- Kuhn Silva, D. (2012). *Projeto Pomerando: Língua Pomerana na Escola Germano Hübler*. São Lourenço do Sul: Danilo Kuhn da Silva, 2012.
- Kuhn, Danilo (2013). Emigração Pomerana através da canção de 'Múta éna hóchtich'. *Anais Eletrônicos do II Congresso Internacional de História Regional* (2013) – ISSN 2318-6208.
- Laabs, Kurt (1980): Die Mundart von Jamund um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts nach den 40 Sätzen des Deutschen Sprachatlas und nach anderen Quellen. - In: Rita Scheller (ed.) *Jamund, Kreis Köslin in Pommern. Chronik eines Dorfes in Hinterpommern, dargestellt im Spiegel seiner Volkskultur*. Hamburg. 47-58.
- Laabs, Kurt (1980): Die Mundart von Voigtshagen Kr. Greifenberg/Pommern gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 87, 49-55.
- Lacmann, Wilhelm (1906). *Ritte und Rasttage in Südbrasilien; Reisebilder und Studien aus dem Leben der deutschen Siedelungen*. Berlin.
- Lange, Klaus-Peter (1981). Warum Ersatzinfinitiv? *Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik* 19, 62-81.
- Lasch, Agathe (1914). *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*. Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte. Halle.
- Laude, Robert (1995). *Hinterpommersches Wörterbuch: des Persantegebietes*. Volume 12 of Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Pommern / 4: Quellen zur pommerschen Geschichte, Historische Kommission für Pommern.
- Leiss, Elisabeth (1985). Zur Entstehung des Neuhochdeutschen analytischen Futurs. *Sprachwissenschaft* 10, 250-273.
- Leithold, Theodor von (1820). *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien oder Reise von Berlin nach Rio de Janeiro und von dort zurück: nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung dieser Hauptstadt, des daselbst herrschenden Tones bei Hofe und unter dem Volke und einigen Winken für diejenigen, welche ihr Heil in Brasilien versuchen wollen*. Maurerschen Buchhandlung.
- Lemcke, Hugo. (1882). Das älteste Schöffenbuch von Freienwalde in Pommern. *Baltische Studien* 32, 1-72.
- Lessiak, Primus (1933). *Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Konsonantismus*. Rohrer Verlag. Brünn.
- Loon, Jozef van (1986). *Historische fonologie van het Nederlands*. Leuven.
- Los, Bettelou (2005). *The rise of the to-infinitive*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.
- Louden, Mark (2009). Das Wisconsin-Pommersche im Spiegel deutsch-amerikanischer Sprachvarietäten. - In: *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 132. Hrsg. von Verein für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung. Neumünster: Wachholtz. 165–176.

- Louden, Mark (2016). *Pennsylvania Dutch – The Story of an American Language*. John Hopkins University Press. Baltimore.
- Lutherische Kirche (1955). *Lutherische Kirchen in Brasilien*. Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestehen der lutherischen Synode am 9. Oktober 1955. Joinville.
- Mahnke, Georg (1931). Die Schlawer Mundart - Sprachgeschichtliche und dialektgeographische Untersuchung. Bamberg, Greifswald.
- Marantz, Alec (1985). Re Reduplication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 13, 435-482.
- Marques, Cezar Augusto (1879). *Diccionario Historico, Geographico e Estatistico da Provincia do Espírito Santo*. Rio de Janeiro.
- Maselko, Mateusz (2013). Hunsrik-Xraywe. A New Way in Lexicography of the German Language Island in Southern Brazil. *Dialectologia*. Special-issue, IV (2013), 147-180.
- Maske, Wilson (2013). Imperialismo e Luteranismo: o embate entre missionários alemães e americanos pelas comunidades luteranas no Brasil (1899-1938). *Carta International* 8(2) 157- 170.
- McCarthy, John (1979). *Formal problems in Semitic phonology and morphology*. PhD Dissertation. MIT.
- Meyers Konversationslexikon. Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, Leipzig und Wien, Vierte Auflage, 1885-1892.
- Mischke, Kurt (1934). Die niederdeutsche Sprache in Pommern. In Werner Witt (ed.) *Wirtschafts- und verkehrsgeographischer Atlas von Pommern. Mit Unterstützung des Provinzialverbandes von Pommern*. Geographischen Institut der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald. Ostsee-Druck und -Verlag.
- Mischke, Kurt (1936). Rummelsburger und Büttower Mundart. Aus der in Vorbereitung befindlichen "Dialektgeographie Pommerns und der Grenzmark." (= Pommernforschung. Reihe 1: Vorarbeiten zum Pommerschen Wörterbuch. Bd. 8). Greifswald.
- Miedema, H.T.J. (1954). Saxonische dialektstudie. *De Nieuwe Taalgids*. 48, 41-45.
- Müller, Johann Engelbert (1756). *Probe eines Pommerschen Wörterbuchs*. Cf. Haas (1994).
- Myers, S. (1984). Zero-derivation and inflection. *MIT working papers in linguistics 7 : Papers from the January 1984 MIT Workshop in Morphology*. MIT, Cambridge (MA).
- Nauck, E.G. (1937). Ist ein Daueransiedlung deutscher Auswanderer in den Tropen möglich? In: *Der deutsche Auswanderer* 1937. 108-111
- Nieuweboer, Rogier (1998). *The Altai dialect of Plautdiitsh (West-Siberian Mennonite Low German)*. PhD dissertation. Groningen University.
- Oostendorp, M. van (2000). Syllabic Sonorants in Clay Frisian and Padgett's Generalisation. *Philologica Frisica anno 1999*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy, 225-240.
- Oostendorp, Marc van (2007). *An exception to final devoicing*. Ms. Meertens Institute.
- Padgett, Jaye (1994). Stricture and Nasal Place Assimilation. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 12, 465-513.
- Pesetsky, David (1995). *Zero Syntax*. MIT Press. Cambridge (MA).
- Peters, Robert (1987-1990). Katalog sprachlicher Merkmale zur variablenlinguistischen Erforschung des Mittelniederdeutschen. Teil I. *Niederdeutsches Wort* 27 (1987), S. 61–93; Teil II. *Niederdeutsches Wort* 28 (1988), S. 75–106; Teil III. *Niederdeutsches Wort* 30 (1990), S. 1–17, hier II, 4.2.2.4.
- Philippa, M.L.A.I. 1987. *Noord-zee-Germaanse ontwikkelingen; een keur van fonologische, morfológische en syntactische parallellen op Noord- en Noordzeegermaans gebied*. PhD Dissertation Amsterdam University.
- Philippa, Marloes, et al. (20003). *Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Postma, Gertjan (1990). *Morpho-phonemic compensatory lengthening in Frisian and Brazilian Portuguese*. Ms. Free University Amsterdam.

- Postma, Gertjan (2013). Clause-typing by [2] – the loss of the 2nd person pronoun du 'you' in Dutch, Frisian and Limburgian dialects. In: Victoria Camacho-Taboada, Ángel L. Jiménez-Fernández, Javier Martín-González and Mariano Reyes-Tejedor (eds). *Information Structure and Agreement*. Benjamins. Amsterdam. 217–254.
- Postma, Gertjan (2014). A Pomeranian language island in Brazil: New syntactic data and some considerations on 'weak T'. *Language Typology and Universals/Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 67(4) p. 627–663.
- Postma, Gertjan (2016). Der Verlust des Infinitivpräfix *tau* ,zu‘ im brasiliensischen Pommersch – Akkommodation an das Portugiesische oder Dialektkonvergenz? In: Alexandra Lenz (ed.) *German Abroad. Proceedings of the Vienna Conference on Language Islands*. Vienna University Press. 177-210.
- Postma, Gertjan (2018). *The Comtetetive Tier - Element Subtraction in German and Pomeranian*. Ms. Meertens Institute Amsterdam.
- Potthast-Hubold, Elke (1982). Zum Mundartgebrauch in Siedlungen pommerscher Auswanderer des 19. Jahrhunderts in Espírito Santo (Brasilien). Eine Pilotstudie. (= Kieler Beiträge zur deutschen Sprachgeschichte. 5). Neumünster: Wachholtz.
- Priewe, O. & H. Teuchert (1927). Dialektgeografische Forschungen östlich unteren Oder. *Teuthonista* 4, 130-159; 221-262.
- Raasch, Silas (2010). *A colônia de Santa Isabel e seus imigrantes (1847-1889)*. Tese de mestrado UFES.
- Radlof, Johann Gottlieb (1821). *Musteraal aller teutschen Mund-arten*. Bonn. Büschler.
- Raffelsieben, Renate (2016). *Allomorphy in German verb paradigms*. Talk presented at Phonoloical Theory Agora-3, Tours.
- Rakers, Arnold (1944). *Die Mundarten der alten Grafschaft Bentheim und ihrer reichs-deutschen und niederländischen Umgebung*. Oldenburg.
- Reifferscheid, A.F. (1887). Über Pommerns Anteil an der niederdeutschen Sprachforschung. *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutscher Sprachforschung* XIII, 33-41.
- Reker, Siemon (2006). *Corpus-gebaseerde dialectologie - drie Groninger tijdschriften uit de 20ste eeuw*. Assen.
- Rethwisch, I. (1889). *Die Deutsche im Auslande. Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Auswanderungspolitik*. Verlag von Karl Siegismund.
- Richter, Klaus (1940). Hamburgs Rolle im Interessenkonflikt um Die Ersten Auswanderungen Nach Brasilien. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 63, 87-126.
- Riemsdijk, Henk van (1974). *A Case Study in Syntactic Markedness*. Foris. Dordrecht.
- Robinson, Orrin (1992). Old English and Its Closest Relatives: A Survey of the Earliest Germanic Languages. Stanford University Press.
- Roelke, H.R. (1996). *Descobrindo raízes: aspectos geográficos, históricos e culturais da Pomerânia*. Vitória: UFES/Secretaria de produção e difusão cultural.
- Roelke, Helmar (2006). *Raízes da imigração alemã. Historia e Cultura Alemã no Estado do Espírito Santo*. APES. Vitória.
- Rohrbacher, Bernhard Wolfgang (1999). *Morphology-Driven Syntax: A theory of V to I raising and pro-drop*. Amsterdam. Benjamins.
- Rosenberg, Peter (1998). Deutsche Minderheiten in Lateinamerika. In: Theo Harden / Elke Hentschel (Hrsg.): *Particulae particularum. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Harald Weydt*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 261-291. (Republished in Staden-Jahrbuch 49 2001/02, São Paulo, 9-50).
- Rosenberg, Peter (2005). Dialect convergence in the German language islands (Sprachinseln). In: Peter Auer, Frans Hinskens, and Paul Kerswill (eds). *Dialect Change - Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*. Cambridge University Press. 221 - 235.

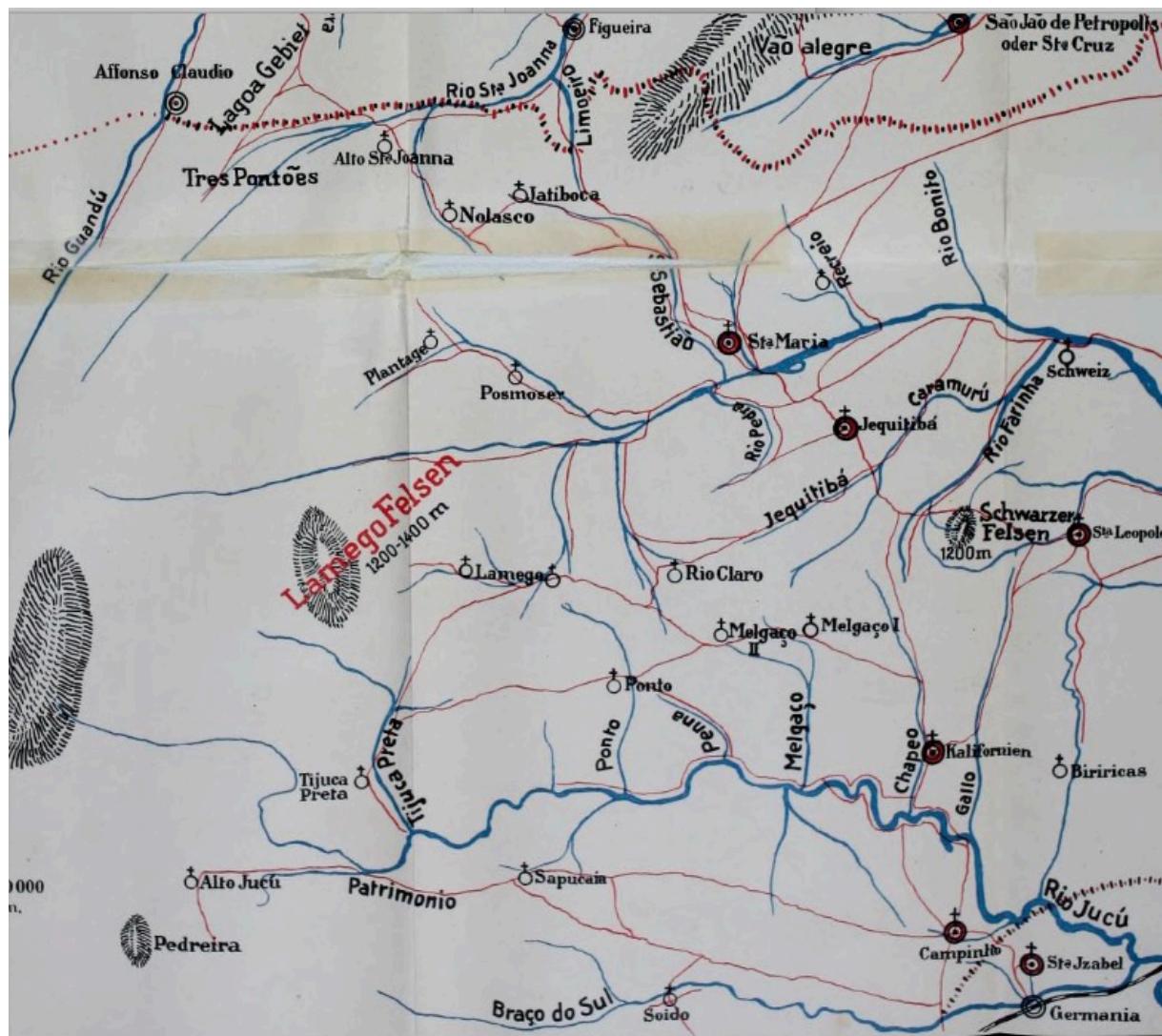
- Rosenberg, Peter (2006). *Regularität und Irregularität in der Kasusmorphologie deutscher Sprachinselvarietäten (Russland, Brasilien)*. Ms. Europa Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder.
- Rosenfeld, Hans-Friedrich & Franz Jost (1993). *Hinterpommersches Wörterbuch: der Mundart von Gross Garde (Kreis Stolp)*. Böhlau Verlag. Köln.
- Rost, Paul (1907). *Die Sprachreste der Draväno-Polaben im Hannöverschen*. Leipzig.
- Salis, Friedrich (1909). Untersuchungen zur pommerschen Urkundenwesen im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. *Baltische Studien Neue Folge* 13, 129-193.
- Schabus, Wilfried (2009). *Tirol do Brasil – Das Dorf Tirol in Brasilien*. Berenkamp.
- Schaeffer, Shirlei (2012). *Descrição fonética e fonológica do pomerano falado no Espírito Santo*. Dissertação apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação Stricto Sensu em Linguística (PPGEL) do Centro de Ciências Humanas e Naturais da Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo.
- Schaeffer, Shirlei & Alexandre Meireles (2010). *Estrutura silábica da língua de imigração pomerana: análises preliminares*. Ms. Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (UFES) Vitória, ES, Brasil.
- Schaeffer, Shirlei & Alexandre Meireles (2014). Descrição sonora da língua pomerana. *Letras de Hoje*, 49(1), 46-55.
- Schaffel, Elizana (2014). Análise Sociolinguística da Manutenção da Língua Pomerana em Santa Maria De Jetibá, Espírito Santo. Master's thesis, UFES.
- Schappelle, Benjamin Franklin (1907). *The German Element in Brazil – Colonies and Dialect*. Philadelphia.
- Scheer, Tobias (2004). *A Lateral Theory of Phonology. What is CVCV and why should it be?* Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Schönenfeld, M. (1959). *Historische grammatica van het Nederlands*. Zutphen.
- Schröder, Carl (1871). *Sanct Brandan. Ein lateinischer und drei deutsche Texte*, p. 127–152. Erlangen: Eduard Besold.
- Schröder, Ferdinand. (2003). *A imigração alemã para o sul do Brasil até 1859*. Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS.
- Schweminski, Johann (1853). Materialien zur Geschichte deutscher Mundarten. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 13, 1-19; 14, 134-147.
- Seibel, Ivan (2010). *Imigrante no Século do Isolamento / 1870 - 1970*. São Leopoldo-RS.
- Seyferth, Giralda (2010). Deutsche Einwanderung nach Brasilien. In: Sérgio Costa, Gerd Kohlhepp, Horst Nitschack, Hartmut Sangmeister (eds) *Brasilien heute* 739-756.
- Siller, Rosali Rauta (2011). *Infância, Educação Infantil, Migrações*. Doctoral Thesis. Universidade Estadual de Campinas.
- Sousa Oliveira (2008). *Colonização alemã e poder - A cidadania brasileira em construção e discussão* (Rio Grande do Sul, 1863-1889). PhD Dissertation. University of Brasilia.
- Spliesgart, Roland. (2006). *"Verbrasilianierung" und Akkulturation: deutsche Protestanten im brasilianischen Kaiserreich am Beispiel der Gemeinden in Rio de Janeiro und Minas Gerais (1822-1889)*. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Steriade, Donca (1991). Syllables. In: W. Bright (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, 4 vols. Oxford University Press, iv, 106-11.
- Stritzel, Herbert (1974). Die Gliederung der Mundarten um Lauenburg in Pommern. Deutsche Dialektgeographie. *Berichte und Studien über G. Wenkers Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs*, 33. - Marburg, 1937.
- Taeldeiman, Johan (1980). Inflectional aspects of adjectives in the dialects of Dutch-speaking Belgium. In: Wim Zonneveld, Frans Van Coetsem and Orrin W. Robinson (eds.). *Studies in Dutch Phonology*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 265-292.

- Temme, J. D. H. (1840). *Die Volkssagen von Pommern und Rügen*. Nicolaischen Buchhandlung. Berlin.
- Theiß, Alissa & Jürgen Wolf (2013). Lübeck. In: Martin Schubert (ed.). *Schreiborte des deutschen Mittelalters: Skriptorien – Werke – Mäzene*. De Gruyter. Berlin. 283 - 306.
- Tiersma, Pieter Meijes (1985). *Frisian Reference Grammar*. Dordrecht.
- Tressmann, Ismael (2006a). *Upm Land - up pomerisch språk*. Santa Maria de Jetibá.
- Tressmann, Ismael (2006b). Pomerisch-Português Wöirbauck - Dicionário Enciclopédico Pomerano-Português. Secretaria de Educação, Santa Maria de Jetibá.
- Tressmann, Ismael. (2015). As categorias lexicais dos nomes e dos adjetivos em Pomerano. In: Sandra Márcia de Melo & Marcos Teixeira de Souza (eds). *Pomeranos no Brazil - olhares, vozes e histórias de um povo*. Rio de Janeiro. 15-33.
- Tschudi, Johann Jakob de (1860). l'Envoyé extraordinaire au Brésil, Mr. de Tschudi, sur les colonies de Santa Isabel, Santa Leopoldina et Rio Novo, etc. (Du 20 Décembre 1860). In: *Feuille Fédérale Suisse* 13.
- Tschudi, Johann Jakob de (1866). *Reisen durch Süd Amerika*. Leipzig : Brockhaus.
- Veenstra, Durk (1989). /d/-rotasisme yn it Frysk - Fonetyske en fonologyske aspekten fan de oergong ynterfokalyske /d/ > /r/. *Tydskrif foar Fryske Taaklunde* 5, 41-67.
- Velde, J.B. van der (1994). *Grammatica van Twents*. Van de Berg. Enschede.
- Vollmer, Matthias (2008): Zur Dialektlexikographie in Pommern. Kosegartens Wörterbuch der Niederdeutsche Sprache älterer und neuerer Zeit. *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 131. 113-132.
- Vollmer, Matthias (2014). Das ostpommersche Idiotikon von Georg Gotthilf Jacob Homann. *Niederdeutsches Wort* 54, 91-101.
- Wagemann, Ernst (1915). *Die deutschen Kolonisten im brasilianischen Staate Espírito Santo*. Mit 14 Abbildungen und 2 Karten. Muenchen. Wehrmann, Martin (1896). Die erhaltenen mittelalterlichen Stadtbücher Pommerns. *Baltische Studien* 46, 45-102.
- Wernicke, Hugo (1910). Deutsch-evangelisches Volkstum in Espírito Santo. Eine Reise zu deutschen Kaffeebauern in einem tropischen Staate Brasiliens. Potsdam. Translated as: Viagem pelas Colônias Alemãs do Espírito Santo. Coleção Canaã 18. APEES.
- Wiesinger, Peter (1983). Die Einteilung der deutschen Dialekten. In: Walter Besch et al. (Eds). *Dialektologie*. Walter de Gruyter. 807-889.
- Willem, Emilio [1946] 1980. *A aculturação dos alemães no Brasil: estudo antropológico dos imigrantes alemães e seus descendentes no Brasil*. Nacional. São Paulo.
- Willem, Emilio. 1940. *Assimilação e populações marginais no Brasil*. São Paulo: Nacional.
- Winkler, Johan (1874). *Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesch dialecticon* (2 volumes). Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Winter, Franz (1865). *Die Prämonstratenser des zwölften Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung für das nordöstliche Deutschland - ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Christianisierung und Germanisierung des Wendenlandes*. Berlin.
- Wrede, Ferdinand (1908a). Die Diminutiva im Deutschen. In: Ferdinand Wrede (Hg.): *Deutsche Dialektgeographie. Berichte und Studien über G. Wenkers Sprachatlas des deutschen Reichs*. Marburg: Elwert. 73–126.
- Wrede, Ferdinand (1908b). Herkunft der Diminutiva im Deutschen. In: Ferdinand Wrede (Hg.): *Deutsche Dialektgeographie. Berichte und Studien über G. Wenkers Sprachatlas des deutschen Reichs*: Marburg: Elwert. 127–144.
- Wrede, Ferdinand (1924). Ingwänisch und Westgermanisch. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten* 19. 270-283.
- Wyngaerd, G. vanden (1994). IPP and the structure of participles. In: *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 37, 265-276.
- Zwart, Jan-Wouter (2007). Some notes on the origin and distribution of the IPP-effect. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 45, 77-99.

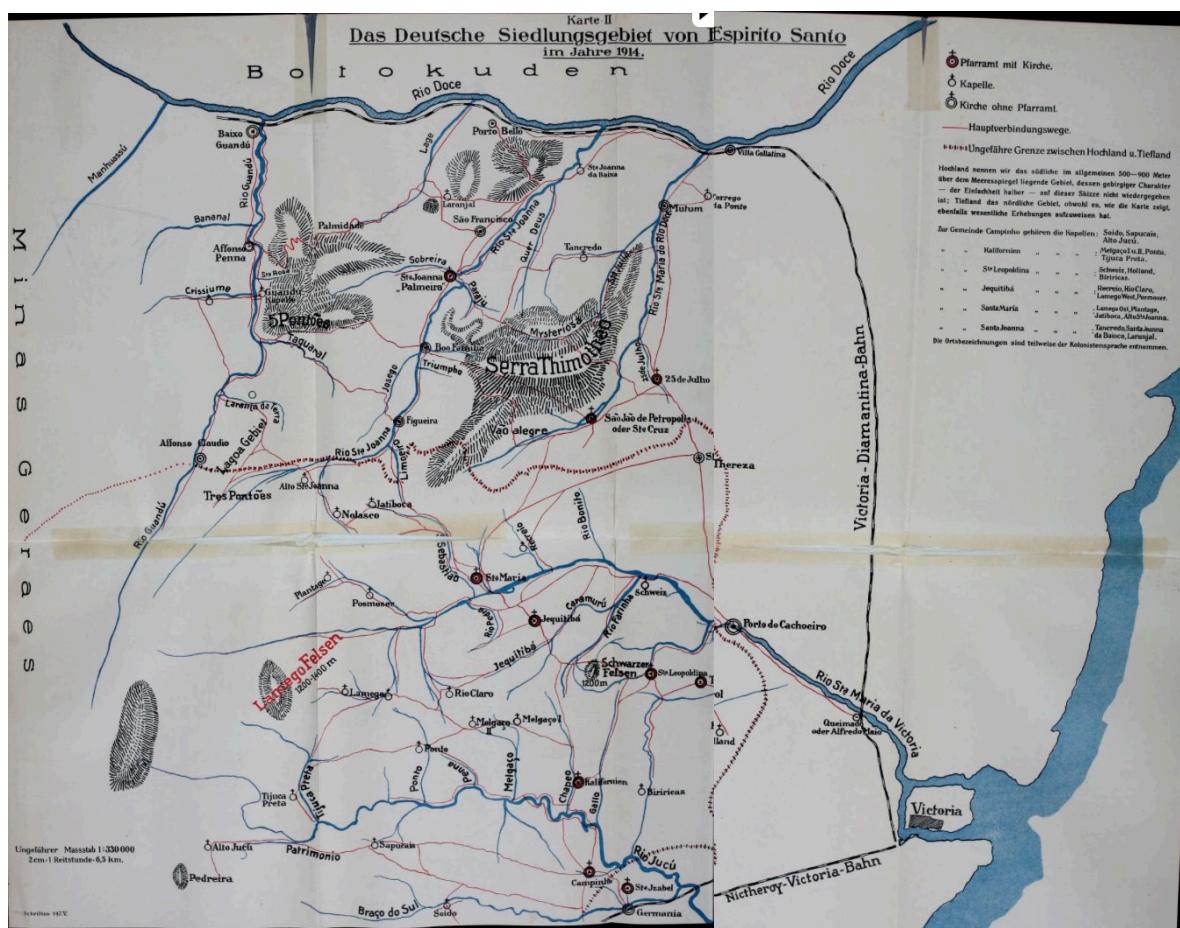
Zwart, Jan-Wouter & Jan Koster (2000) Transitive expletive constructions and the object shift parameter. In: Hellen de Hoop and Ton van der Wouden (eds). *Linguistics in the Netherlands 2000*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia. 159-170.

Wrede, Ferdinand (1908c). XXX. In: Ferdinand Wrede (Hg.): *Deutsche Dialektgeographie. Berichte und Studien über G. Wenkers Sprachatlas des deutschen Reichs*: Marburg: Elwert. XXX.

13 Maps



Some important settlements in the Pomeanian area in 1914 (taken from Wagemann 1915).
The railway station Germania is now called Vale da Estação.



14 Wordlist

Results of the elicitation of a wordlist 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 Sant Leopoldina). The words were elicited using the Portuguese lemmas, sometimes with additional bracketed explanation (which is sometimes translated by the informant). The English translation is 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 of mostly Pomeranian descndence, 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. 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 country side. Of full 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 ε). Overlong vowels are indicated with :: (400ms). Short diphthongs are indicated with a little bow over the two vowels. They are typically 200ms, i.e. the length of tense vowels. Short vowels are typically 150ms. 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..

| Lemma | ES | HB | LB |
|---|--|--|---|
| Abacate (avocado) | abakat ^h | abakat | abakat ^h |
| Abacaxi (ananas) | bakaſi | abakashi | ananas |
| Abelha (bee) | īem | īm | īem |
| Abóbora (pumpkin) | k ^h ø̄ns | kø̄ns | kø̄ns |
| Abraçar (to embrace) | yømfɔ̄te | ymfɔ̄te | ymfɔ̄te |
| 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 i:ə is drø̄iç | dai e:r ist drø̄iç | dai e:r is drø̄iç |
| Acordar (to wake up) | upv ^v ækə | upvækə | upvaka |
| Acúcar (sugar) | s:uke | sukə | suka |
| Aipim (casave) | e:pi | ēpi | ēpi |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Agora (now) | nu' | nu: | nu |
| Água (water) | vɔ'te | vɔ:tæ | vɔ'ta |
| Ajudar (to help) | hɪəlbe | helpə | hɪəlpə |
| Alho (garlic) | knufluk | kno ^u flux | knufluk |
| Ali (over there) | dɔ: | hijə (sic) | dɔ: |
| Alimentar (to nourish) | ɛ'ta | ernɛ:rə | - |
| Alimento (food) | ɛ'tn ²⁸⁰ | ɛtn | ɛtn |
| Alma (soul) | - | ze:l | ze:l |
| Alto (high) | ho ^u x | ho ^u x | ho ^u 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) | əmbi'nə | t ^h o ^u pbina | əmbina |
| Andar (to walk) | gɔ: | gɔ: | gɔ: |
| Animal (animal) | ti:ə | tiə | tiər |
| Anjo (angel) | ɛŋəln | ɛŋəl | ɛŋəl |
| Ano (year) | jɔ:: | jɔ: | jɔ: |
| Anta (tapir, kind of animal) | - | ant | ant |
| Antena (antenna) | ant̪iən | ant̪enə | ant̪ena |
| Anteontem (day before yesterday) | fo'jistn | fo:jistən | a ^j istn |
| Antúrio (kind of flower) | bla::mə | anturio-bla ^u m | anturio |
| Anzol (fish hook) | aŋəl | aŋəl | aŋəl |
| Apertar (tighten) | fasthulə | drykə | - |
| Aquele (that one) | da ⁱ dɔ:: | da ⁱ | - |
| Aqui (here) | hi:: | hiə | hi: |
| Areia (sand) | zand | 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)) | jibakt | jibrɔ:t | jibrɔ:t |
| Assar (to bake) | bake | brɔ:rə | brɔ:rə |
| Assobiar (to wizzle) | flə ⁱ te | flə ⁱ ta | flə ⁱ ta |
| Aula (class) | ʃa:1 | ʃa ^u l | ʃa ^u l |
| Avó (grandmother) | gro ^u smute | gro ^u smute | gro ^u tmute |
| Avô (grandfather) | gro ^u sfrɔ:tə | gro ^u sfrɔ:tə | gro ^u tfɔ:tə |
| Azedo (sour) | zu:: | zu: ^ə | zu: |
| Azul (blue) | blɔ:x | blɔ:x | blɔx |
| Baixo (low/short) | kla:n | nidriç | zi:d |
| Banco (de sentar) (bench) | beŋk | beŋk | beŋk |
| Balde (bucket) | imə | ime | ame |
| Baralho (pack of cards) | - | kɔ:tə | kɔ:tə |
| Barba (beard) | bɔ:t | bɔ:t | bɔ:d |
| Barranco (ravine) | ba::x | u:və | u:və |
| Barriga (belly) | buk | buk | buk |

²⁸⁰ The two were given in reversed order.

| Barrigudo (with a big belly) | gro <u>u</u> dbuk | dikbukiç | dikbukt |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| Batata doce (sweet potato) | bata: <u>da</u> | su: <u>t</u> e pat <u>h</u> at <u>ə</u> | pat <u>h</u> at <u>ə</u> |
| Batata inglesa (potato) | pat <u>h</u> yf <u>l</u> ə | patyf <u>ə</u> l | pat <u>h</u> yf <u>l</u> ə |
| Bater (to beat) | ho <u>u</u> x <u>ə</u> | klo <u>p</u> ə | ho <u>u</u> g <u>ə</u> |
| Bêbado (drunk) | bis <u>ɔ</u> .pa | bis <u>ɔ</u> :p <u>ə</u> n | bis <u>ɔ</u> :p <u>ə</u> n |
| Beber (to drink) | dri <u>ŋ</u> ge | dri <u>ŋ</u> k <u>ə</u> | dri <u>ŋ</u> g <u>ə</u> |
| Bebo (I drink) | dri <u>ŋ</u> kt (sic) | drink | drink |
| Beijo (kiss) | pus | pus | p <u>h</u> us |
| Bíblia (bible) | bi: <u>b</u> əl | bi: <u>b</u> əl | bi: <u>b</u> əl |
| Biscoito (cooky) | bisku <u>ɪ</u> t <u>ə</u> | bisko <u>ɪ</u> t / yib <u>ə</u> ks <u>ə</u> l | bisku <u>ɪ</u> t |
| Blusa (shirt) | jak | jak | jak |
| Boca (mouth) | mu::l | munt ²⁸¹ | mu::l |
| Bode (goat) | - | buk | se <u>ç</u> ebuk |
| Boi (ox) | bul <u>ə</u> | bul <u>ə</u> | bul <u>ə</u> |
| Bolo (cake) | kux <u>ə</u> n | kux <u>ə</u> n | kux <u>ə</u> n |
| Bolsa (bag) | ta <u>ʃ</u> | ta <u>ʃ</u> | t <u>h</u> a <u>ʃ</u> |
| Bom (good) | ga <u>u</u> t | ga <u>u</u> d | ga <u>u</u> d |
| Boné (cap) | my <u>ə</u> ts | my <u>ə</u> ts | myts |
| Braço (arm) | a: <u>m</u> | a: <u>m</u> | a: <u>m</u> |
| Branco (white) | vi <u>ð</u> t <u>h</u> | vi <u>ð</u> t | vi <u>ð</u> t |
| Bruxo/feiticeiro (witch) | hj <u>ɛ</u> ks | hi <u>ɛ</u> ks / h <u>ɛ</u> ks <u>ə</u> meist <u>ə</u> | hi <u>ɛ</u> ks |
| Bule (teapot) | k <u>h</u> an | k <u>h</u> an | k <u>h</u> an |
| Buraco (hole) | l <u>ɔ</u> χ | l <u>ɔ</u> χ | l <u>ɔ</u> χ |
| Burro (donkey) | ɛ:z <u>ə</u> l | ɛ:z <u>ə</u> l | ɛ:z <u>ə</u> l |
| Cá (here (directional)) | hi:: | hi: <u>ə</u> | hi: |
| Cabeça (head) | k <u>ɔ</u> ρ <u>ə</u> p | k <u>ɔ</u> ρ <u>ə</u> p | - |
| Cabelo (hair) | h <u>ɔ</u> .re | h <u>ɔ</u> : | h <u>ɔ</u> :ra |
| Cabelo branco (white hair) | vit <u>ə</u> h <u>ɔ</u> .re (pl) | vita h <u>ɔ</u> : | vit fi <u>ɔ</u> : |
| Cabide/gancho (hook) | - | h <u>ɔ</u> k <u>ə</u> | fi <u>ɔ</u> ka |
| Cabrita (goat) | se: <u>i</u> ç | se: <u>i</u> ç | se: <u>i</u> ç |
| Caçar/procurar (to seek) | jaxta | jaxta / z <u>ø</u> ik <u>ə</u> | jaxt <u>ə</u> |
| Cachaça (liquor) | ʃnaps | ʃnaps | ʃnaps |
| Cacho (de banana) (bunch) | ban <u>ə</u> nak <u>ə</u> ʃ | k <u>af</u> | k <u>af</u> |
| Cachorro (dog) | hund <u>ə</u> | hunt | hund <u>ə</u> |
| Cadeira (chair) | ʃta: <u>l</u> | ʃta <u>u</u> l | ʃta <u>u</u> l |
| Caderno (note book) | hi <u>ɛ</u> ft | hi <u>ɛ</u> ft | heft |
| Café (coffee) | k <u>h</u> af <u>ə</u> | kaf <u>ə</u> | k <u>h</u> af <u>ə</u> |
| Cair (to fall) | fal <u>ə</u> | fale | fale |
| Calça (trousers) | ho <u>u</u> s | ho <u>u</u> s | ho <u>u</u> s |
| Calcanhar (heel) | und <u>ə</u> fuit <u>h</u> | hak | 'el <u>ɔ</u> :g <u>ə</u> |
| Calor (heat) | wa: <u>m</u> ora ha <u>i</u> t | hi <u>ð</u> ts | hi <u>ð</u> ts |
| Cama (bed) | bi: <u>ə</u> | be: <u>r</u> | bi <u>ə</u> r |
| Caminho (road/way) | ve: <u>ç</u> | ve: <u>ç</u> | ve: <u>ç</u> |
| Camisola (nightdress) | un <u>ə</u> r <u>ɔ</u> k | ʃl <u>ɔ</u> pkleid <u>ə</u> | ʃl <u>ɔ</u> pkleid <u>ə</u> |

²⁸¹ This is a calque of Hunsrückisch. The informant explicitly adds that as children they were not allowed to use the Pomeranian word *muul*.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Cana (sugar cane) | s <u>u</u> kerou | suker:ou | s <u>u</u> kərou |
| Cantar (to sing) | zin <u>j</u> ⁱ <u>ə</u> | zin <u>j</u> <u>ə</u> | zin <u>j</u> <u>ən</u> |
| Capacete (helmet) | kapase <u>t</u> ^h | kapase <u>t</u> | kapase <u>t</u> ^h |
| Capim (grass) | gras | gras | gras |
| Capinar (to weed) | putse <u>s</u> | putse <u>s</u> | putse <u>s</u> |
| Careca (bald) | kari <u>ɛ</u> k | k <u>ɔ</u> :lk <u>ɔ</u> p | k <u>ɔ</u> :lk <u>ɔ</u> p |
| Carne (meat, flesh) | fla <u>ʃ</u> | fla <u>ʃ</u> | fla <u>ʃ</u> |
| Carne de boi (beef) | b <u>u</u> leflai <u>s</u> | b <u>u</u> leflai <u>s</u> | b <u>u</u> laflai <u>s</u> |
| Carne de porco (porc) | svi <u>:n</u> flai <u>s</u> | svi <u>:n</u> flai <u>s</u> | svi <u>:n</u> flai <u>s</u> |
| Carro (car) | a <u>χ</u> :ca | a <u>χ</u> :ca | a <u>χ</u> :ca |
| Carvão (charcoal) | - | k <u>ɔ</u> :l | k <u>ɔ</u> :l |
| Casa (house) | hu <u>s</u> | hu:s | hi:u:s |
| Casar (to marry, wed) | [u:] = 260ms | [u:] = 360ms | [u:] = 230ms |
| Casamento (wedding) | fri <u>ç</u> <u>ə</u> | fri <u>ç</u> <u>ə</u> | fri <u>ç</u> <u>ə</u> |
| Casca (peal) | h <u>u</u> xti <u>t</u> | h <u>u</u> xti <u>t</u> | h <u>u</u> xtit |
| Cavalo (horse) | sel | sel / s <u>ɔ</u> :l | sel / s <u>ɔ</u> :l |
| Cavar (to dig) | valax | valax | valax |
| Caverna (cave) | l <u>u</u> cxm <u>ə</u> k <u>ə</u> | hake | hake |
| Cebola (onion) | p <u>u</u> ol <u>ə</u> (pl) | pol | p <u>u</u> ol |
| Cego (blind) | blind <u>d</u> | blint <u>h</u> | blind <u>d</u> |
| Cerca (fence) | t <u>h</u> u:n | t <u>h</u> u::n | t <u>h</u> u::n |
| Cerveja (beer) | bi: <u>ə</u> | bi: <u>ə</u> r | bi: <u>ə</u> r |
| Cesta (basket) | k <u>u</u> of | k <u>u</u> of | k <u>u</u> of |
| Céu (sky) | him <u>ə</u> l | him <u>ə</u> l | him <u>ə</u> l |
| Chá (tea) | t <u>h</u> e: | t <u>h</u> e: | t <u>h</u> e: ⁱ |
| Chão (soil) | i: | i:r | e:r |
| Chapéu (hat) | faud <u>d</u> | ha <u>u</u> d | fa <u>u</u> d |
| Chave (key) | flo <u>u</u> dl | flo <u>u</u> dl | flo <u>u</u> dl |
| Chegar (to arrive) | k <u>h</u> om <u>ə</u> | k <u>h</u> om <u>ə</u> | k <u>h</u> om <u>ə</u> |
| Cheio (full) | fu:l | fu:l | ful |
| Cheirar (to smell) | ryka | ryka | ryka |
| Chicote (whip) | pits <u>f</u> | pits <u>f</u> | pits <u>f</u> |
| Chifre (horn) | ho: <u>i</u> n (pl) | ho: <u>ə</u> n (sg) | ho: <u>ə</u> n (sg) |
| Choca (galinha choca) (clucker) | klu <u>ɛ</u> k | kluk | kluk |
| Chupar (to suck) | zu: <u>y</u> <u>ə</u> | zu <u>y</u> <u>ə</u> | zu: <u>y</u> <u>ə</u> |
| Chuva (rain) | re: <u>j</u> <u>ə</u> | re: <u>j</u> <u>ən</u> | re: <u>j</u> <u>ən</u> |
| Cidade (city) | ſtat | ſtat | ſtat |
| Cinco (five) | fi:f | fi:f | fi:f |
| Cinza (gray, ash) | gris | a <u>ʃ</u> | aſi <u>ç</u> |
| Claro (luminoso) (clear) | k <u>l</u> ɔ: <u>ə</u> | hi <u>ɛ</u> l | hi <u>ɛ</u> l |
| Cobertor (blanket) | d <u>ɛ</u> k | d <u>ɛ</u> k | d <u>ɛ</u> k |
| Cobra (snake) | fla <u>ŋ</u> | fla <u>ŋ</u> | fla <u>ŋ</u> |
| Coçar (to itch) | jo <u>i</u> ge <u>ə</u> | rak <u>ə</u> | jo <u>i</u> g <u>ə</u> n |
| Cócegas (tickling) | k <u>i</u> edl <u>ə</u> | kidl <u>ə</u> | k <u>i</u> edl <u>ə</u> |
| Colchão (mattress) | strouzak | ſtrouzak | ſtrouzak |
| Com (with) | mi <u>ə</u> t | mi <u>ə</u> t | mi <u>ə</u> t |
| Comer (to eat) | ɛ <u>te</u> | ɛ <u>te</u> | ɛ <u>te</u> |
| Comprido (long) | la <u>ŋ</u> k | la <u>ŋ</u> k | la <u>ŋ</u> k |

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

| | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------------|---|
| Comprimido (pill) | jídrykt / p ^h il | p ^h il | pil |
| Como? como assim? (how?) | w <u>o</u> ^u s <u>o</u> ^u ? | wou / wous <u>o</u> ^u | wou / wo <u>u</u> s <u>o</u> ^u |
| Concha (ladle) | k̄iel | k̄iel | k̄iel |
| Contar (to tell) | t ^h ele | t ^h ele | fot ^h iēle |
| Coração (heart) | hīə-ts | heəts | hīeə-ts |
| Corda (rope) | ſtriēk | ſtriēk | ſtrik |
| Coroa de flores | bla: <u>m</u> aſtruts | bla ^u məkrants | bla ^u məkrants |
| Correr (run) | lo ^u p̄e | lo ^u p̄e | lo ^u p̄e |
| Cortar (to cut off) | fafni:re | sni:re | sni:re |
| Coruja (owl) | u::l | u::l | u::l |
| Costas (back) | r:ø:jø | rø:jø | rø:jø |
| Costurar (to sew/nit) | ne: ^h çø | ne: ^h jø | ne: ^h çø |
| Cotovelo (elbow) | elbø: <u>y</u> e | elbø:yø | 'elbø: <u>y</u> e |
| Coxa (de galinha) (thigh) | hīnəky::l | ky::l / hīnəky::l | ky::l |
| Cozinha (kitchen) | ko ^h kən | ko ^h kən | ko ^h kən |
| Cozinhar (to cook) | k ^h çøkø | kø.kø | k ^h çøka |
| Crescer (to grow) | gro ^u dva:re / vast (3sg pres) | vasa | vasa |
| Criança (child) | k ^h ind ^h | k ^h int | k ^h ind ^h |
| Curto (short) | kvøt | kvøt | kvøt |
| Dançar (to dance) | danza | dansa | danza |
| Dar (to give) | je:ve | je:fø | je:ve |
| De dia (at daytime) | bida.x | bida.x | bidax |
| De manhã (in the morning) | mo'ns | mo'ns | mo'ñøns |
| De noite (at night) | ɔ:ms | ɔ:vənts | ɔ:vənts |
| De pé (standing up) | bim ſtɔ:n | im ſtɔ:n | bim ſtɔ:n |
| De tarde (in the afternoon) | nōmiə-daxs | nōmiə-daxs | nōmiə-daxs |
| Dedo (finger) | fiŋø | fiŋø | fiŋ ⁱ ø |
| Dedo grande (big finger) | gro ^u da fiŋø | gro ^u ta fiŋø | gro ^u ta fiŋ ⁱ ø |
| Deitado (laying) | le ^h çt | le ^h çənt | le ^h çənd ^h |
| Deitar (to lay) | le ^h çø | hinleyø | le ^h çø |
| Dente (tooth) | t ^h ɛ::n | t ^h ɛ::n | t ^h ɛ::n |
| Depois de amanhã (day after tomorrow) | ɔ'vəmo ^h øjø | ɔ'vəmo ^h jø | ɔ'vəmo ^h |
| Deslizar (to slide) | rutsʃø / v <u>ɛ</u> xrutsʃø | rutsʃø | rutsʃø |
| Deus (god) | gøɔd ^h | gøɔt | gøɔd |
| Dia (day) | dax | dax | dax |
| Diabo (devil) | dy:føl | dy:vøl | dy:vøl |
| Dinheiro (money) | jild ^h | jild ^h | jild ^h |
| Direito (right-hand) | rıexs | rexts | riçtiç |
| Dizer (to say) | zeŷø | zeŷø | zeŷø |
| Doce (sweet) | zu't | zu't | zu't |
| Dor (pain) | va <u>h</u> døx | va <u>h</u> døx | va <u>h</u> døx |
| Dois (two) | twa ^h | twa ^h | twa ^h |
| Dormir (to sleep) | ſløpø | ſløpø | ſløpø |
| Égua (mare) | ɛ:zøl | ſtaut | p ^h e:t |
| Ela (she) | za ^h | za ^h | za ^h |
| Ele (he) | ha ^h | ha ^h | ha ^h |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| Ele é bom (he is good) | ha ⁱ ?is gaud ^o | ha ⁱ ?is gaut | ha ⁱ ?is gaud ^o |
| Ele está coçando a perna (he is scratching his leg) | ha ⁱ de: daba: ⁱ jo ⁱ g ^e | ha ⁱ de: daibai | ha ⁱ de: da ⁱ ba ⁱ jo ⁱ g ^e |
| Ela furou a orelha (she pierced her ear) | za ⁱ het da o:ra (pl) | rake | za ⁱ het der o:ra |
| Elas (they.fem) | dœrç ^e tke ^e l ^o t ^e | do ⁱ rst ^e k ^e | do ⁱ rst ^e k ^e |
| Eles (they.masc) | za ⁱ | sa ⁱ | za ⁱ |
| Em casa (at home) | za ⁱ | sa ⁱ | ha ⁱ (sic!) |
| | im hu:s | tu:s | tu:s |
| Em cima (above) | [u:] = 300ms | [u:] = 260ms | [u:] = 300ms |
| Embaixo (downstairs) | bɔ:və | up | bɔ:vən?up |
| Empurrar (to push) | u:nə | u:nə | u:nədəm |
| Entender (to understand) | ʃu:psə | ʃu:ve | ʃu:ve |
| Enxada (hoe) | forst ^o : | forst ^o : | forst ^o : |
| Errado (wrong) | hak | hak | fiak |
| Erva (herb) | fake:t | foke:t | forke:t |
| Escola (school) | - | krut | kru ^ð |
| Escuro (dark) | ʃa:l | ʃa: ^u l | ʃa: ^u l |
| Escutar (to listen) | dy:st ^e l | dy:st ^e | dy:st ^e |
| Esmagar (to bruise) | h ^o :re | h ^o :re | horg ^e |
| Esposa (wife) | - | fokwetʃ ^e | fokwetʃ ^e |
| Esquerdo (left) | frux | frux | frux |
| Está chovendo (it is raining) | liŋks | liŋks | liŋks |
| Está chovendo (it is raining) | dat re:j ^e nt | deit re: ^u ynə | de ⁱ t re: ^u ynə |
| Esta/esta pasta/essa menina (this/this bag/this girl) | de ⁱ s / de ⁱ s kiŋə / | de ⁱ ç taʃ / | de ⁱ s /deis past / |
| Este/este armario) (this/this cupboard) | dit mekə | dit me ^u ke | dit meke |
| Estômago (stomach) | dat spint | dit spint | deis / dit spint (or spink?) |
| Estragar/apoderecer (to foul up) | mɔ:x | mɔ:x | mɔ:x |
| Estreito (narrow) | fu::lə | fofu:le ^u | fodurvə / fu:l |
| Estrela (star) | foi ^u zoi ^u je | foi ^u zoi ^u je | foi ^u zoi ^u je |
| Estudar (to study) | ɛŋk | ʃmal | ʃma:l |
| Eu (I) | ʃte:nə | ʃte:n | ʃte:n (or st ^e n?) |
| Eu digo (I say) | l ⁱ :re | ʃtudi:re | le:ren |
| Faca (knife) | i ^ə k | i ^ə k | i ^ə k |
| Facão (machete) | ʃte:nə | ik s ^e x | ʃte:nə |
| Falar (to tell/speak) | mɛə-tsə | mɛə-tsə | mɛə-tsə |
| Farinha de mandioca (casava flour) | fak ^ə u | gro ^u tmɛətsə | fak ^ə u |
| Farmácia (farmacy) | fatielə | zeɣə | zeɣə |
| Fazer (to make) | fari: ^u n | fari: ^u n fən | fari: ^u n |
| Fazer comida (make food) | farm ^ə s | mandjok | farm ^ə s |
| Fechado (closed) | mɔ:kə | farm ^ə s | mɔ:kə |
| Feijão (beans) | ɛtnmɔ:kə | ɛtnmɔ:kə | ɛtnmɔ:kə |
| Ferrugem (rust) | t ^h a ^u | ta ^u | ta ^u |
| Festa (feast) | bo ^u nə | bo ^u nə | bo ^u nə |
| Fígado (liver) | rust / farust | ruəst | ruəst |
| Filha (daughter) | fie ^u st | fie ^u st | fie ^u st |
| | le:f | le:f | le:f |
| | me:kə | me:kə | me:kə |

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|--|
| Filho (son) | ja <u>ŋ</u> ə | ja <u>ŋ</u> | ja <u>ŋ</u> |
| Fino (fine) | ʃmal / fi::n | fi::n | dyən |
| Firme (strong, firm) | ha:t / h <u>ɔ</u> ndfast | h <u>ɔ</u> ntfast | - |
| Flauta (flute) | - | flø:t | flø:t |
| Flor (flower) | bla:m | bla <u>m</u> | bla <u>m</u> |
| Fogo (fire, bonfire) | fy: | fyçə | fy:r |
| Folha (leaf) | blat | blat | blat |
| Fome (hunger) | hu <u>ŋ</u> ə | hu <u>ŋ</u> ə | hu <u>ŋ</u> ə |
| Formiga (ant) | ama's | ama's | ama's |
| Forno (oven) | b <u>ɔ</u> k <u>ɔ</u> .va | b <u>ɔ</u> c <u>ɔ</u> .va | bak <u>ɔ</u> .va |
| Fraco (weak) | ʃwak | ʃwak | ʃwak |
| Freio de burro (break) | - | kandar | brıems |
| Frigideira (frying pan) | p <u>h</u> an | br <u>ɔ</u> :rp <u>h</u> an | p <u>h</u> an |
| Frio (cold) | kult | kult <u>h</u> | kuld |
| Fruta (fruits) | fruxt | fruxt | apəl / fruxt |
| Fubá (corn meal) | me:l | m <u>iç</u> em <u>e</u> :l | me:l |
| Fumaça (smoke) | ro <u>u</u> k | ro <u>u</u> k | ro <u>u</u> k |
| Fumando (smoking) | ro <u>u</u> k <u>ε</u> / is bim ro <u>u</u> k <u>ən</u> | ro <u>u</u> k <u>ε</u> | ro <u>u</u> k <u>ən</u> |
| Fumo (tabacco) | - | t <u>ɔ</u> <u>u</u> bak | t <u>ɔ</u> <u>u</u> bak |
| Furadeira (drilling machine) | b <u>ɔ</u> :re | b <u>ɔ</u> :rma <u>ʃ</u> i:n | b <u>ɔ</u> :rma <u>ʃ</u> i:n |
| Furar (to drill) | d <u>ɔ</u> r <u>ɔ</u> ba:re | b <u>ɔ</u> :re | b <u>ɔ</u> :re |
| Furo (hole) | l <u>ɔ</u> ox | - | l <u>ɔ</u> ox |
| Gaiola (cage) | gaj <u>ɔ</u> l | f <u>ɔ</u> yalsgajola | burg <u>ɔ</u> |
| Galho (branch) | - | ter <u>ç</u> (sic) | tiel <u>ç</u> |
| Galinha d'angola (guinea fowl) | p <u>h</u> edl <u>ɔ</u> jin | p <u>h</u> edl <u>ɔ</u> jin | p <u>h</u> edl <u>ɔ</u> hin |
| Galo (cock) | h <u>ɔ</u> n <u>ə</u> | h <u>ɔ</u> n <u>ə</u> | hi:n |
| Garagem (garage) | gara <u>z</u> ja | gara <u>z</u> j <u>ə</u> | gara <u>z</u> |
| Garfo (fork) | g <u>ɔ</u> b <u>əl</u> | g <u>ɔ</u> b <u>əl</u> | g <u>ɔ</u> b <u>əl</u> |
| Garganta (throat) | hals | fluk | fials |
| Garrote (young bull) | kla <u>i</u> na bul <u>ə</u> | bul <u>ə</u> / k <u>la</u> <u>i</u> na bul <u>ə</u> | k <u>la</u> <u>i</u> bul <u>ə</u> |
| Gato (cat) | k <u>h</u> a:p (sic) | k <u>h</u> a:t | k <u>h</u> a:t / k <u>o</u> t <u>ə</u> |
| Gavião (hawk) | h <u>ɔ</u> fk <u>ə</u> | h <u>ɔ</u> fk <u>ə</u> | h <u>ɔ</u> fk |
| Gelo (ice) | is | i:s | i:s |
| Gengibre (ginger) | ʒin <u>ɔ</u> ə | dʒin <u>ɔ</u> ibr <u>ı</u> | tʃin <u>ɔ</u> ibi:r |
| Gente/pessoa (people) | ly:r / me <u>ʃ</u> | ly:r | ly:r |
| Goiaba (guava) | ku <u>ja</u> :p | ko <u>ja</u> :p | k <u>u</u> ja:p |
| Gordo (fat.adj) | f <u>ie</u> t | f <u>ie</u> t | f <u>ie</u> t |
| Gordura (fat.noun) | f <u>ie</u> t | f <u>ie</u> t | - |
| Grande (big) | gro <u>u</u> d | gro <u>u</u> t | gro <u>u</u> t |
| Grosso (thick) | di <u>ə</u> k | di <u>ə</u> k | di <u>ə</u> k |
| Hoje (today) | hy <u>d</u> | hy:t | hy <u>d</u> |
| Homem (man) | me <u>ʃ</u> | ke::l | ke::l |
| Homem velho (old man) | ul me <u>ʃ</u> | ul <u>ə</u> ke::l | ul ke:l |
| Horta (garden) | g <u>ɔ</u> ra | g <u>ɔ</u> ra | g <u>ɔ</u> ra |
| Idosos muitos idosos (old people) | ul <u>ə</u> ly: | ult / sej <u>ə</u> ult | ul ly:r / se: u:l |
| Igreja (church) | kir <u>ç</u> | kir <u>ç</u> | kir <u>ç</u> |

| | | | |
|---|---------------------------|--|--|
| Ilha (island) | - | inzəl | inzəl |
| Inchar (swell up) | upʃwələ | d̥ikva:rə/ upʃwələ | upj̥iəzə |
| Inferno (hell) | hœl | hœl | fiœl |
| Inhame (yam/kind of edible root) | jamas | james | jamas |
| Inteligente (smart) | kla ^u k | kla ^u k | kla ^u k |
| Irmã (sister) | ʃwestə | ʃwestə | ʃwestə |
| Irmã maior (oldest sister) | grœtst/ylst ʃwestə | grout ʃwestə | ylst / grœtst ʃwestə |
| Irmã menor (youngest sister) | klenst/jynst ʃwestə | klain ʃwestə | kliənst ʃwestə |
| Irmão (brother) | bra ^u rə | bra ^u rə | bra ^u rə |
| Irmão maior (oldest brother) | ylst bra ^u rə | gro ^u tə bra ^u rə | grœtst bra ^u rə |
| Irmão menor (youngest brother) | jynst bra ^u rə | kla ⁱ nə bra ^u rə | kliənst bra ^u rə |
| Jaca (jaca/kind of fruit) | ʒaka | ʃaka | ʒaka |
| Jacaré (aligator) | - | ʒakarɛ | ʒakarɛ |
| Jambo (jambos/kind of fruit) | ʒamba | ʒambu | ʒamb̩ |
| Janeiro (January) | janə?ə: | janu?ar | janə?ar |
| Janela de madeira (wooden shutter) | huldłuk | huldluk | huldluk |
| Jasmim (jasmin) | - | jasmi:n | ʒasmi:n |
| Jesus (Jesus) | jezus | jezus | jezus |
| Joelho (knee) | kna: | gna ⁱ | kna ⁱ |
| Jogar/atirar (to throw) | ʃmitə | ʃmitə | ʃmitə |
| 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) | - | ʃlœ ⁱ f | ʃlœ ⁱ f / kla ⁱ n ʃlœ ⁱ f |
| Lago (pond) | - | wɔterku:l | di:k |
| Lagoa (pond) | - | wɔterku:l | - |
| Lâmpada (lamp) | lamp | lamp | lamp |
| Laranja (orange) | randʒa | larantʃ | rantʃ |
| Largo (broad) | braid̩ | braid | braid̩ |
| Lavagem / comida de animais (slop, animal food) | tho ^u pvaʃən | aʃvaʃvɔdə | trank |
| Lavar (to wash) | vaf̩ | vaf̩ | vaf̩en |
| Leite (milk) | mielk | mielk | mielk |
| Limpo (clean) | re ⁱ jən | re ⁱ jən | re ⁱ yən |
| Língua (tongue) | tu: ⁱ ŋ | tuŋ | t ^h u: ⁱ n |
| Linha de costura (sewing thread) | - | twe ⁱ n tam ne ⁱ jen | twe ⁱ (n) |
| Liso (smooth) | gla:d̩ | glat | glad̩ |
| Livro (book) | ba ^u k | ba ^u k | ba ^u k |
| Longe (far) | vid ^ø af | vit | vid ^ø |
| Lua (moon) | mo:n | mo:n | mo:n |

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Lua cheia (full moon) | fu:l mɔ:n | ful mɔ:n | ful mɔ:n |
| Lua nova (new moon) | niç mɔ:n | niç mɔ:n | niç mɔ:n |
| Macaco (monkey) | ɔp | ɔp | ɔp |
| Macaco grande (big monkey/ape) | gro <u>u</u> d?ɔp | gro <u>u</u> d?ɔp | gro <u>u</u> t?ɔp |
| Macarrão (pasta) | nu:dlə | nu:dl | nu:dl |
| Machado (axe) | íeks | eks | eks |
| Madeira (wood) | huld | huld | huld |
| Maduro (ripe) | rip | rip | rip |
| Mãe (mother) | mama / mutə | mutə | mutə |
| Magro (meagre) | mɔ:ye | mɔ:ye | mɔ:ye |
| Mais (more) | me: | me:jø | mi: |
| Mais curto (more short/shorter) | k ^h ørdə | bits k ^h ørdə | bits k ^h ørdə |
| Mais velho (more old/older) | ylə / ylst | meje ?uld | ?ylə |
| Mandioca (cassave) | manjuk | manjuk | manjuk |
| Manga (mango resp. sleeve) | māŋga ('mango') | māŋka ('mango') | mo <u>u</u> x ('sleeve') |
| Manteiga (butter) | bɔ̄tə | bɔ̄tə | bɔ̄tə |
| Mão (hand) | hand | hand | hand |
| Mar (sea) | ze: | me: | ze: |
| Marido (husband) | ke:l | ke ^a l | ke:l |
| Mata/floresta (wood/forest) | valt | valt | valt |
| Matar (kill) | do <u>u</u> dmɔ:kə | do <u>u</u> dmɔ:kə | do <u>u</u> dmɔ:kə |
| Mau (bad) | ʃliext | ʃliext | ʃliext |
| Meio (half) | half | half | half |
| Melancia (watermelon) | wɔ̄temilo <u>u</u> n | milo <u>u</u> n | wɔ̄temilo <u>u</u> n |
| Menina (girl) | mekə | me:kə | mekə |
| Menino (boy) | ja <u>u</u> ŋ | ja <u>u</u> ŋ | ja <u>u</u> ŋ |
| Mentir (to lie) | laije | laije | laijən |
| Mês (month) | mo <u>u</u> nat | mo <u>u</u> nat | mo <u>u</u> nat |
| Mesa (table) | diʃ | diʃ | diʃ |
| Meu nariz (my nose) | mi:n ne:s | mi:n ne:s | mi:n ne:s |
| Meu pai (my father) | mi p ^h apa | mina fɔ̄tə | mi fɔ̄tə |
| Miado (meow) | - | kat de't bla:rə | bla:rən |
| Milho (corn) | mi:çə | miljə | miljə |
| Milho verde (green corn) | gru'na miçə | gru'nə mijə | gru'nə miljə |
| Minha boca (my mouth) | mi: mu::l | mi:n munt | mi: mu::l |
| Moça (girl) | meka | me:ka | meka |
| Moça velha (old spinster) | ulmeka | ulme:ka | ulmeka |
| Moço (boy) | ja <u>u</u> ŋ | nja <u>u</u> ŋə | ja <u>u</u> ŋ |
| Mole (soft) | wa ⁱ k | wa ⁱ k | wa ⁱ k |
| Molhado (wet) | nat ^h | nat ^h | nat ^h |
| Morango (strawberry) | moraŋgu | moraŋgu | e:rber |
| Morar (to live somewhere) | wɔ:nə | wɔ:nə | wɔ:nən |
| Morder (to bite) | bite | bite | bitən |
| Morrer (to die) | do <u>u</u> ḍpli:və | do <u>u</u> ḍpli:fə | do <u>u</u> tpli:vən |

| | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Morto (dead, a dead) | do ^u re ('a dead') | do ^u ð ('dead') | - |
| Mostrar (point/show) | vi:sə | vi:sə | vi:sən |
| Muitas crianças (many children) | fɛ:l kinə | fɛ:l kinə | fɛ:l kinə |
| Muito (many) | fɛ:l | fɛ:l | fɛ:l |
| Mulher (woman) | frux | fru'x | frux |
| Mulher idosa (old woman) | ulfrux | ulfru'x | ulfrux |
| Nadar (swim) | ʃwemə | ʃwimə | ʃwimə |
| Não (no) | ne: | ne: / ni | ne: |
| Nariz (nose) | nɛ:s | nɛ:s | nɛ:s |
| Nascente (de água) (water source) | vɔ:təkwɛl | vɔ:tekwɛl | kwɛl |
| Nascer (to be born) | jibɔ:re | jibɔ:re | jibɔ:re wa:re |
| Neta (granddaughter) | ɛŋəlkind | ni̯eta | ɛŋəlskint |
| Neto (grandson) | ɛŋəlkind | netik... | ɛŋəlsja ^u ŋ |
| Noite (night) | naxt ^h | naxt ^h | ɔvənt |
| Noite clara (clear night) | klo:naxt | hɛlnaxt | hɛlnaxt |
| Noite sem luar (night without moon) | dystənaxt | dysternaxt | naxt onə mɔ:nəʃin |
| Nome (name) | a:mən | a:mən | a:mən |
| Nós (we) | vi: | vi: | vi: |
| Nosso (our) | o ^u zə | o ^u s | o ^u s |
| Nossos narizes (our noses) | o ^u s ne:zə | o ^u s ne:zə | o ^u s ne:zə |
| Novo (new) | ni:ç | niç | ni:ç |
| Nuca (neck) | gniæk | gniæk | gniæk |
| Número (number) | numə | numə | numər |
| Nuvem (cloud) | vɔɔlk | volk | vo:lk |
| O cabelo é preto (the hair is black) | da ⁱ hɔ:re sin swa:t | dai fi: ?is swa:t | dai fi:χ ?is swa:d |
| O pescoço é comprido (the neck is long) | da ⁱ fials ?is laŋk | dai fials ?is lank | da fials ?is lank |
| O sol está quente (the sun is hot) | da ⁱ syn ?is ha ⁱ t | dai zyn ?is ha ⁱ t | dai zyn ?is ha ⁱ t |
| Oco/vazio (empty) | lɪeiç (2 syll) | lɪerç | hɔl |
| Oito (eight) | axt | axt | axt |
| 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 (buss) | onibus | unəbus | upə |
| Ontem (yesterday) | jiəstən | jiəsten | ji'stən |
| Orelha (ear) | o ^u rə (pl) | o ^u r | o ^u r |
| Orquídea (kind of flower) | bla:m | parasit | orki:t |
| Osso (bone) | kno:kə | kno:kə | kno ka |
| Ouro (gold) | gult | gult | gult |
| Outro (other) | dere andər | andrə | anət |
| Ouvir (to hear) | hɔ:re | hɔ:ra | hɔ:ra |
| Ovo (egg) | e:ç | e ^l ç | e:ç |
| Ovo de Páscoa (Eastern egg) | o ^u stə?e:ç | o ^u ste?e ^l ç | o ^u ste?e:ç |

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Paca (kind of animal) | pak | pak | p ^h ak |
| Padaria (bakery) | padari: | bækəriç | bækəriç |
| Pai (father) | fɔ̄ote | fɔ̄ta | fɔ̄ta |
| Palavra (word) | wo ^u d | wo ^u d | wo ^u d |
| Palhaço (clown) | - | pajas | paljas |
| Panela (pan) | kætl | kedəl | kedəl |
| Pão (bread) | bro ^u d | bro ^u d | bro ^u t ^h |
| Papagaio (parrot) | papaga ⁱ | papaga ⁱ | papaga ⁱ |
| Para lá (direção) (to there) | dɔ̄:hin/ dɔ̄:hiɔ̄n tau | dɔ̄:hin | dɔ̄:hin |
| Parafuso (screw) | - | ʃru:f | ʃru:f |
| Parede (wall) | want | want ^h | want ^h |
| Pássaro/ave (bird) | fɔ̄:yəl | fɔ̄:yəl | fɔ̄:yəl |
| Pasto (pasture) | we: | we:r | we:r |
| Pato (duck) | ɛnt ^h | ɛnd | abel |
| Pau (wood, stick) | ʃtyk huld | stɔ̄ok | (hult) |
| Pé (foot) | fa ^u t | fa ^u t | fa ^u t |
| Pecado (sin) | zy'n | zy'n | zyn |
| Pedra (stone) | ʃta: | ʃta ⁱ | ʃta ⁱ |
| Pedra amarela (yellow stone) | - | jɛ:lə ʃta ⁱ | jɛ:l ʃta ⁱ |
| Pedra branca (white stone) | - | wī:te ʃta ⁱ | wi't ʃta ⁱ |
| Pedra furada (stone with holes) | ločiʃ ʃta: | doirjibʊɔrtənə ʃta ⁱ | doirjistekənə ʃta ⁱ |
| Pedra preta (black stone) | swarda fīelzn / swart ʃta: | swartə ʃta ⁱ | swardə ʃta ⁱ |
| Peito (breast) | bɔ̄ost | bɔ̄ost | bɔ̄ost |
| Peixe (fish) | fis | fis | fis |
| Pelado (nu) (naked) | nɔ̄kənd | nakənt | nakənt ^j / nakəniç |
| Pelado (sem pêlos) (without hair) | ɔ̄nə hɔ̄:rə | kɔ̄l | kɔ̄l |
| Pele (skin) | fīel | fel | fel |
| Pêlo (hair) | hɔ̄:rə | ho: | hɔ̄:rə |
| Peludo (hairy) | hɔ̄:riç | hɔ̄:riç | hɔ̄:rig |
| Pena (feather) | fe:dre | fe:dr | fe:dr |
| Penca (de banana) (bunch) | p ^h enjk | dru:f | dru:f |
| | (inf. is not sure) | | |
| Peneira (sieve) | ze:f | ze:f | ze:f |
| Pensar (think) | denga | dənka | dənkə |
| Pente (comb) | k ^h amp | k ^h am | k ^h am |
| Pentear (to combe) | k ^h emə | ke:mə | ke:mə |
| Pepino (cucumber) | jurgə / jurk | gurk | gurk |
| Pequena lagoa (small pond) | kla'ne dik | kla'n wɔ̄təku:l | kla'n e dik |
| Pequeno (small) | kla'ne | kla'n | kla'n |
| Pêra (pear) | p ^h era | p ^h e:ra | p ^h e:r |
| Perguntar (to ask) | frɔ̄:xə | frɔ̄:yə | frɔ̄:yən |
| Perna (leg) | ba'n | bajə | ba' |
| Perna fina (fine leg) | fina bain (pl) / f:in ba: (sg) | fina bai | fina bai |
| Perto (close by) | ne'iç | diçt | diçt |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Pesado (heavy) | ʃwɔ: | ʃwɔ: | ʃwɔ: |
| Pescar (to fish) | fisə | fisə | fisən |
| Pescoço (neck) | ha'ls | ha:ls | gimik |
| Pessoa (person) | me:ʃ | me:ʃ | me:ʃ |
| Pessoa ruim (bad person) | ʃlext me:ʃ | ʃlexta me:ʃ | ʃlext me:ʃ |
| Pessoa suja (dirty person) | driekiç me:ʃ | driekiçə me:ʃ | meəsiç me:ʃ |
| Pimenta (pepper) | pəpə | pe:pər | pe:pə |
| Pimentão (paprika) | - | pimentā ^u | gro ^u tə pe:pə |
| Pintinho (chick) | - | k ^h ykə | k ^h ykə |
| Piolho (louse) | ly:s | ly:s | ly:s |
| Pisar (to step) | p ^h e:rə | pe:ra | pe:ra |
| Podre (dirty) | fu:l | fu:l | fu:l |
| Poeira (dust) | ʃtʊf | stʊf | ʃtʊf |
| Polenta (corn meal) | polɛnt | polənta | polənta |
| Pomba (pigeon/dove) | - | du:f | du:f |
| Porca (female pig) | zoic | so ⁱ c | zoic |
| Porco (male pig) | be:rə | svijə | be: |
| Porco capado (castrated pig) | boax | bvɔx | bvɔx |
| Porta (door) | do: ⁱ | dojə | doi |
| Portão (gate) | portā ^u / [kansəl] ('barrier') | gro ^u d:ojə / kansel | portão / hæk |
| Poucos (few) | ve ⁱ niç | ve ⁱ niç | ve ⁱ niç |
| Poucos piolhos (few lice) | pɔ:: ly::s | ve ⁱ niç ly:s | ve ⁱ niç ly:s |
| Prego (spike/nail) | nɔiçəl (pl) / nɔyəl (sg) | nɔyəl | nɔyəl |
| Preocupar (to worry) | ɛŋstə / jidanjə məkə | so ⁱ ja məka | sich ursaxə məkən |
| 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 ɻa ⁱ st | a ⁱ sta | a ⁱ st |
| Primo (cousin) | [min pri:m] | pri:mə | pri:m |
| Problema (problem) | jvi:riçke ⁱ t | jvi:riçke ⁱ t | proble:m |
| Pronto/terminado (ready) | trięçt | trięçt | trięxt |
| Pulga (flea) | flø ⁱ çə (pl) | flø ⁱ ç | flø ⁱ ç |
| Puxar (to pull) | triękə | triękə | triękə |
| Quando (when) | vən | vəna ⁱ | vona ⁱ |
| Quarto (cômodo da casa) (room) | k ^h ɔmə | kɔmə | kɔmə |
| Quatro (four) | - | fa ⁱ jə | fa ⁱ |
| Que (what) | vat ^h | vat | vat |
| Queijo (cheese) | ke:s | ke:s | ke:s |
| Queimar (to burn) | fəbriɛnə | briɛnə | fobriɛnə |
| Quem (who) | vε: | vəm | vīem |
| Quente (hot) | ha ⁱ t | ha ⁱ t | ha ⁱ t |
| Quieto (quiet) | ſtil | ruiç | ſtil |
| Rabo (tail) | ſwants | ſwants | ſvants |
| Raiz (root) | - | vørðəl | vørndl |

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ralar (to grind) | ri:və | ri:və | ri:wə |
| Rapaz (boy) | ja <u>u</u> ŋ | jo <u>u</u> ŋ | ja <u>u</u> ŋ |
| Raposa (fox) | - | valthunt | fʊɔs |
| Raspar (grate) | afri:ve | ʃroba | - |
| Rastelo (rake) | ha:k | ha:rk | ha:k |
| Rede (net) | - | niets | - |
| Rédea (horse tack, rein) | - | - | toiçl |
| Redondo (round) | ruŋk | rund | rund |
| Relógio (clock) | u: | klɔ̄ok | klo'k |
| Remédio (medicine) | meləsi: <u>u</u> n | miləsi: <u>u</u> n | miləsi: <u>u</u> n |
| Repolho (cabbage) | ko:l | ko:l | ko:l |
| Reto (straight) | grɔ: | grɔr | grɔ: |
| Rezar (to pray) | be:re | be:re | be:re |
| Rio (river) | fluəss | fluəs | flus |
| Rio cheio (full river) | fula fluəss | o'vəʃwɪ̄emunk | ful |
| Rir (laugh) | laxe | laxe | laxən |
| Roçar (brush) | fo <u>u</u> zə | fo <u>u</u> zə | fo <u>u</u> sa |
| Roda (wheel) | rað | rat | ra:t |
| Rodo (rake) | - | kryk | kryk |
| Sabão (soap) | zip | se' <u>u</u> p | ze' <u>u</u> p |
| Saber (to know) | va'tə | va'tə | va'tη |
| Saia (skirt) | rɔ̄ok | rɔ̄ok | rɔ̄ok |
| Sal (salt) | zuld | zult | zult |
| Saliva (spit) | wɔ̄tə ina mu: <u>u</u> l / spiç | ʃpiç | ʃpiç |
| Salvar (rescue) | - | rera | rera |
| Sangue (blood) | bla <u>u</u> t | bla <u>u</u> t | bla <u>u</u> d |
| Sapato (shoe) | ſa <u>u</u> | ſa <u>u</u> | ſa <u>u</u> |
| Sapo (toad) | pɔ̄ox | pɔ̄ox | pɔ̄ox |
| Se (if) | vən | vien | vən |
| Seco (dry) | drø̄ç | drø̄ç | drø̄ç |
| Seio (breast) | ful ('cheio'?) | bɔ̄ost | tiə:tə |
| Segundo (second) | swa'd | sva't | twa'd |
| Segurar pegar (grasp) | fasthulə | fasthula | fasthula |
| Semente (seed) | zət | zə:t | zə:t |
| Senhor/dono/patrão (mister) | em / mit eəm (you.honorific) | patrə <u>u</u> | fi:r |
| Sentado (seated) | ziət | siət / zitənt | zitənt ('sitting') |
| Sentar (to sit) | hiənziətə | hiñzətə | zitə |
| Sepultura (grave) | graf | graf | graf |
| Serra (mountain) | ba:x | ba:x | ba:x |
| Seu nariz (de você) (your nose) | din ne:s | din ne:s | min ne:s ('my nose') |
| Seu nariz (dele) (his nose) | īem sin ne:s | em sin ne:s | din ne:s ('your nose') |
| Sobrancelhas (eyebrows) | o <u>u</u> γəbrɔ:nə | o <u>u</u> γəbrɔ:n / ſirm | o <u>u</u> γəbrɔ:n |
| Sobrinha (niece) | - | sobriŋu | so <u>u</u> brin |
| Sobrinho (nephew) | - | - | - |
| Sofrer (suffer) | uthulə | uthulə | uthulə |
| Sol (son) | zyən | zyn | zyn |

| | | | |
|---|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Solo (soil) | e: | e:r | e:r |
| Sopa (soup) | zup | zu:p | zu:p |
| Soprar (to blow) | p ^h uste | p ^h uste | p ^h usta |
| Sorvete (ice cream) | - | i:s | i:sklu:t |
| Sujo (dirty) | [is] 'ice' | driekiç | mɛ̃siç |
| Taioba (kind of vegetable) | tio <u>u</u> ba | tio <u>u</u> ba | tio <u>u</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 | dryre | dry:r |
| Terra (land) | land / 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) | uŋgəl | uŋkəl | uŋgəl |
| Tirar leite (to milk) | mielga | mækka | mækka |
| Todos (all) | alə | alə | alə |
| Tomate (tomato) | tuməda | tamatə | t ^h umat |
| Touro (bull) | bulə | була | була |
| Trabalhar (work) | a:be:rə | a:be:rə | a:be:rə |
| Trança (tress) | di fleçt | flięct | flięxt |
| Tratar (to treat) | - | futre | uppasen |
| Trazer (to bring) | briŋə | briŋə | mitbriŋə |
| Travesseiro (cushion) | kyə:sə | kyə:sə | kyə:sə |
| Tremer (tremble) | sitrə | sitrə | sitrə |
| Três (three) | dra: ⁱ | drai | drai |
| Trigo (wheat) | me:l | ve:tme:l | me:l |
| Tripas (guts) | [də:ma] | da:mə | də:ma |
| Tu/você (you.sg) | du | du: | du: |
| Tucano (toucan) | tuka:n | tuka:n | tuka:n |
| Túmulo (tomb) | graf | graf | graf |
| Último / fui o ultimo a chegar (the last) | da lietst | da ⁱ lietst vat | lietst / wyn da letst west tam komən |
| Um (one) | ain | ainə | ain |
| Umbigo (navel) | buknɔ:yəl | buknɔ:yəl | buknɔ:yəl |
| Unha (nail) | fiŋənɔ:yəl | fiŋənɔ:yəl | niɔ:yəl |
| Urubu (vulture) | urubu | urubu | ɔsfɔ:yəlt |
| Vaca (cow) | ka ^u | ka ^u | k ^h a ^u |
| Vamos para casa (let's go home) | vim es nə hu:s: go: [u:] = 170ms [s:] = 350ms | vym nə hu:s go: [u:] = 180ms | vilavi nə hu:s go: [u:] = 180ms |
| Vassoura (broom) | biesəm | biezəm | biezəm |
| Vazio (empty) | lieç (2 syll) | lierç (1 syll) | lieç (2 syll) |
| Veado (dear) | - | re: | re ⁱ |
| Velho (old) | ul/ult | ult | uld |
| Vem cá (come here) | kom he | kom he | kom he |
| Veneno (poison) | jift | jift | jift |

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Vento (wind) | vind ^ø | vind ^ø | vind ^ø |
| Ver (to see) | za: | saiə | kikə |
| Verde (green) | gru ⁱ n | gru ⁱ n | gru ⁱ |
| Verme/larva (earthworm) | wœəm (pl) | woœm | woœm |
| Vermelho (red) | ro ^u d ^ø | ro ^u d ^ø | ro ^u d ^ø |
| Viagem (trip) | re:s | re:s: | re:s |
| Viajar (to travel) | re:zə | re:zən | re: ⁱ zə |
| Vir (come) | komə | komə | k ^h omə |
| Visitar (to visit) | bizu ⁱ gə | bizo ⁱ kə | bizu ⁱ ga |
| Viver (to live) | lɛ:vrə | lɛ:fa | lɛ:vrə |
| Vivo / ele esta vivo (he is alive) | ha ⁱ lɛ:ft | lɛ:vent / ha ⁱ de:t | lɛ:ft |
| Voar (to fly) | fla:jə | fla:jə | fla: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) | kvɔ:tse | kvɔ:tse | kvɔ:tse |
| Vós/vocês (you.pl) | ji: | ji: | ji: |
| Xícara (cup) | kanie̯k | t ^h as | t ^h as |
| Xixi (piss) | ze ⁱ ç | p ^h iəs | p ^h is |
| Caldeirão (cauldron) | i:s-ketl / swi-ketl | groutə kedl | grouutə kedl |