

# A “lost” language of Northern Germany

## An introduction to Wangerooge Frisian

Sune Gregersen

Frisistik, CAU Kiel

Sprachwissenschaftliches Kolloquium, 20 June 2023

# *A grammar of Wangerooge Frisian (2022–2024)*

CARLSBERGFONDET

Carlsberg Foundation grant no. CF21-0502

# Outline

1 What is Wangerooge Frisian?

2 Three grammatical highlights

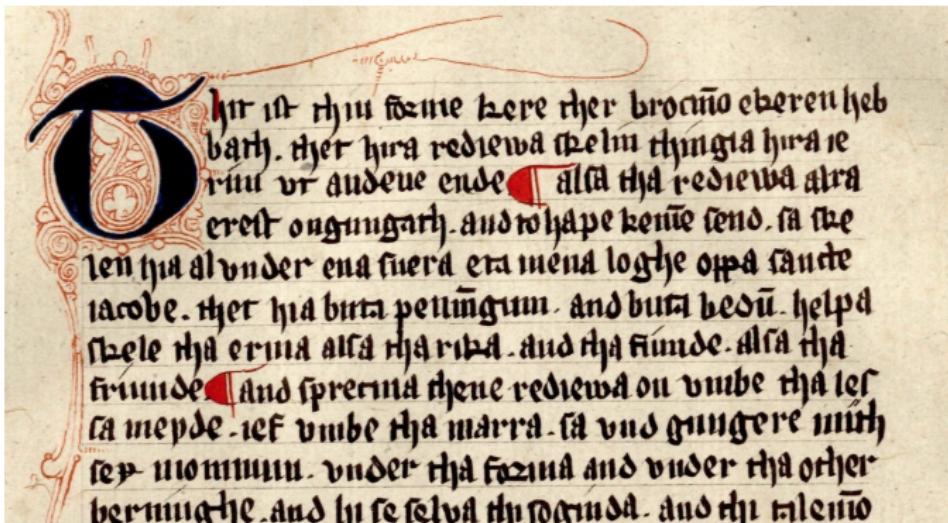
3 Conclusions and perspectives

## Section 1

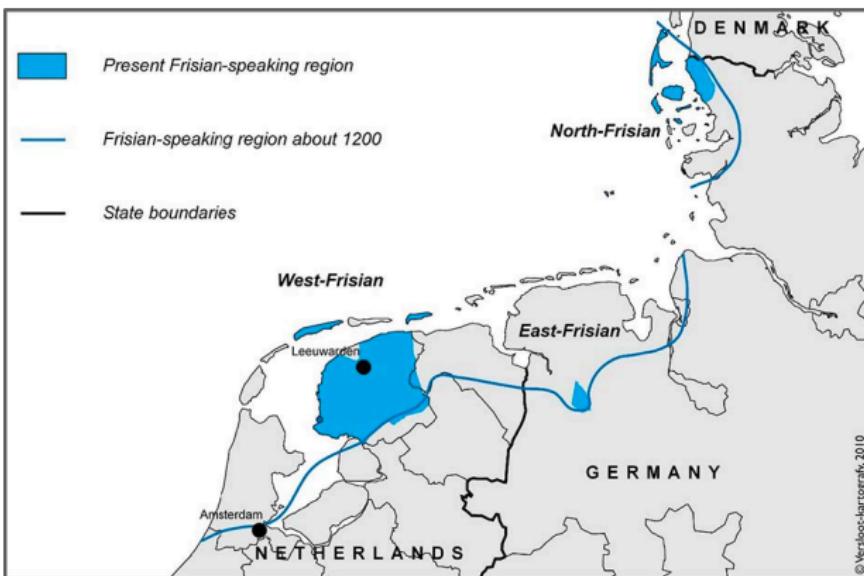
What is Wangerooge Frisian?

## What is Frisian?

- Subbranch of the Germanic language family, most closely related to English (“Anglo-Frisian”)
  - Old Frisian spoken along the North Sea coast in the Middle Ages – manuscripts from c. 1300–1500 CE
  - After Middle Ages gradual language shift, resulting in much smaller Frisian-speaking area:
    - West Frisian (Fryslân in The Netherlands)
    - East (Sater) Frisian (Saterland in Niedersachsen)
    - North Frisian (Nordfriesland in Schleswig-Holstein)



## Old Frisian manuscript (Brokmerbrief, c. 1300)



## (Old) Frisian-speaking area

(© Versloot-kartografy 2010; reproduced from Winter 2022)

# Frisian today

- West Frisian: c. 400,000 speakers, vulnerable
- Sater Frisian: c. 1,000 speakers, severely endangered
- North Frisian: c. 4,000 speakers (all dialects), severely endangered (cf. Winter 2022)



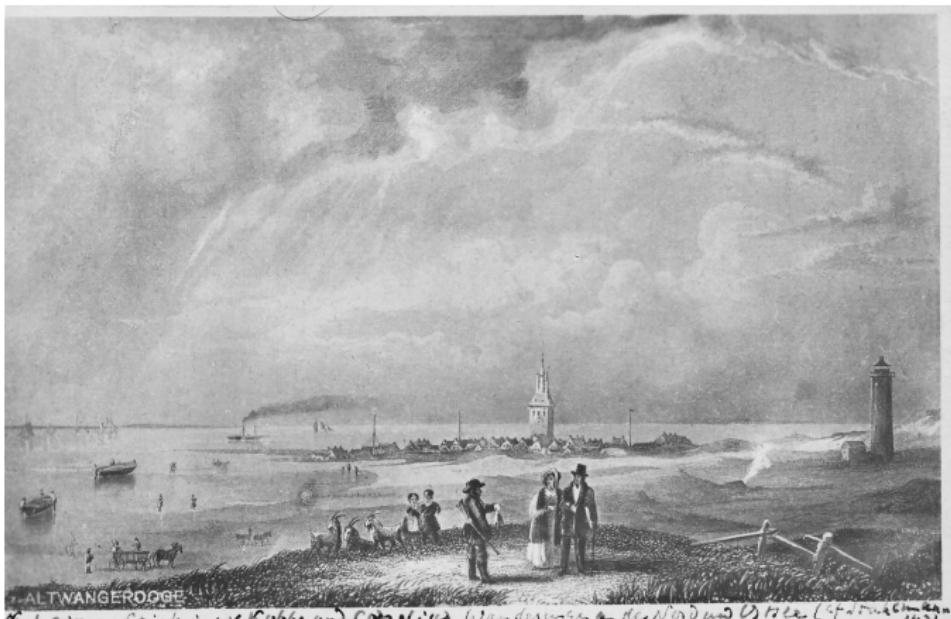
Modern Frisian languages (from Nielsen & Larsen 2009)

# Wangerooge Frisian

- East Frisian language/dialect on the Wadden Sea island Wangerooge; never more than a few hundred speakers
  - First mentioned 1671
  - Earliest documentation (word lists) c. 1800
  - Main corpus collected c. 1840
- *Neujahrsflut* 1854/1855 → evacuation of speakers to the mainland followed by gradual language loss
- The last two speakers are said to have died in 1950, but these may have been semi-speakers (cf. Versloot 1996a: liv)



Wangerooge (© Martina Nolte, CC BY-SA 3.0 DE)



ALTWANGERODE  
Met een tekening van V. Cobbe en Comp. te Leiden, Wanderingen der Noord en Oostzee (1837)

View of Alt-Wangerooge, c. 1840 (Zuiderzeemuseum Enkhuizen, CC BY-SA 4.0)

# Winckelmann (1671) on the islanders

*Though the inhabitants of this island do commonly use the Westphalian [Low German] language, yet amongst themselves they have another, which an outsider cannot understand at all ... Also, like other sea-dwelling people, the inhabitants have a rather coarse and wild manner, though they are said to have improved much recently.*

[Die Einwohner dieses Eylandes gebrauchen sich zwar ins gemein der Westphälischen Sprach / jedoch haben sie unter sich noch eine besondere / die ein fremder / gar nicht verstehen kan [...] Auch sind die Einwohner / wie fast andere Wasserleut / etwas roh- und wilder Art / sollen sich jedoch / innerhalb kurzer Zeit / sehr gebessert haben]

Winckelmann (1671: 11)

# Documentation of Wangerooge Frisian

- Good documentation, mainly thanks to Heinrich Georg Ehrentraut (1798–1866) and his primary consultant Anna Metta Claßen (1774–1846)
- Also some shorter texts (e.g. Littmann 1922, Siebs 1923), *Wenkersätze* (Bosse 2021: 510–513), and a few sound recordings
- Total corpus of more than 100,000 words

**Table 1:** Main sources of Wangerooge Frisian

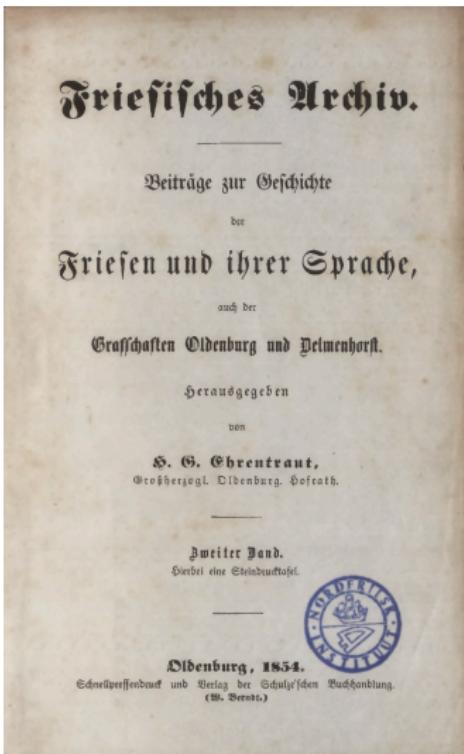
Source	Main type of material	Date	Words
Ehrentraut MS.	Fairy tales, sentences, etc.	c. 1840	c. 66,000
FA1 (Ehrentraut 1849)	Sentences	c. 1840	c. 12,500
FA2 (Ehrentraut 1854)	Autob., fairy tales	c. 1840	c. 18,000
Firmenich (1854)	Translations, anecdotes	c. 1850	c. 1,700
Winkler (1874)	Translation	1871	c. 950
<i>Wenkersätze</i>	Sentences	c. 1884	c. 450
Littmann (1922)	Autob.	1897	c. 2,000
Siebs (1923)	Autob., sentences	c. 1899	c. 3,000
In total			c. 104,600



H. G. Ehrentraut (1798–1866)

## H. G. Ehrentraut (1798–1866)

- Lawyer and exceptionally talented “hobby linguist”
- Fieldwork on Wangerooge 1837–1841
- Developed a transcription system and collected texts, paradigms, and material for a dictionary
- Some of the material appeared in *Friesisches Archiv* (1849, 1854), the rest edited and published by Versloot (1996c)



*Friesisches Archiv*, vol. 2 (Ehrentraut 1854)

8. Volksglauen.  
Heren.

bî ólen tiden, won de wâfer stinen tô sjénnen, un haïden dait sjénnen in de sjen farfind \*) — dait kan gans licht farfind wêr mit tô heit wâtter óder tô kôl — den krêigen yâ nain búter. óder mónnich môl krêigen yâ 'n lets ful, dait wêr jûst as mélkstippel, dait híten ya fon héxenbûter. won der den 'n wûfminsk ûrtó kaum dait wêr 'n hex. fà wêr der aînmôl 'n wûf bî 't sjénnen, yû kan nain búter krîg, dâ kumt 'er 'n ôl wûf 'erdin un fidert híri an, wut yû nain wôn hâ? dâ bit \*\*)

Example of a text (Ehrentraut 1854: 13)

# Ehrentraut (1849) on the islanders

*The people of Wangerooge have often been ridiculed because of their language, and generally shy away from speaking it when an outsider is present. For this reason it is virtually unknown and despised by the neighbours on the mainland.*

[Die Wangeroger sind oft wegen ihrer Sprache geneckt worden, und scheuen sich deshalb in der Regel, in derselben zu reden, wenn ein Fremder gegenwärtig ist. Sie ist dadurch den Bewohnern des nahe liegenden Landes fast ganz unbekannt geblieben und von ihnen verachtet.]

Ehrentraut (1849: 13–14)

## Some perceptions collected by Ehrentraut

*One pious man was unable to understand how these pagans ... could possibly have a language which was of interest to any sensible person. ... Another, who wanted to smear the name of the islanders, thought that it was a thieves' language which the islanders had made up in order not to be understood.*

[Ein frommer Mann konnte es nicht begreifen, wie es möglich wäre, daß dieses Heidenvolk [...] eine Sprache hätte, die einen vernünftigen Menschen interessiren könnte. [...] Ein anderer, welcher die Insulaner gern schwarz machen möchte, meinte, es wäre eine Diebessprache, welche die Insulaner erfunden hätten, um nicht verstanden zu werden.]

Versloot (1996c: 446.36)

# Example of Wangerooge Frisian

- (1) yaa schríiv-et de Wangeróog-er too<sub>e</sub>l up, deer  
they write-PL DEF W.-DER language up there  
kum-t doch siinléTHIig nicks fon herdúut ...  
come-3SG surely ever nothing of out  
‘They are writing down the Wangerooge language, but surely  
nothing will ever come of that...’

## Example of Wangerooge Frisian, continued

- (2) dait kan-t yaa doch nich farsta'un, af yaa mütt-ert  
that can-PL they surely not understand.INF1 or they must-PL  
álltiid 'n Wangeróog-er bii yam hab, deer yam dait  
always INDF W.-DER by them have.INF1 REL them that  
farthiúutsk-et

Germanize-3sc

'... surely people cannot understand that, unless they always  
have a person from Wangerooge with them who can translate  
it into German for them' (Versloot 1996c: 446.34)

# Sociolinguistic situation

- Relative isolation and linguistic endogamy ensured the survival of Wangerooge Frisian into the modern period
- Wangerooge Frisian and its speakers clearly recognized as distinct, both by outsiders and by the speakers themselves
- Low prestige, no official functions, and no written tradition
- After 1854/1855 speakers quickly assimilated to (Low) German majority

# Decline of Wangerooge Frisian

Table 2: Number of Wangerooge Frisian speakers

Year	Speakers (approx.)	Source
1738	171	Ehrentraut 1849
1790	174	Crome 1793
1890	32	Kollmann 1891
c. 1900	30	Siebs 1923
1927	7	Siebs 1931

# *Stand der Forschung*

- Word lists and paradigms in Ehrentraut (1849)
- A few works on historical phonology in the early 20th century (e.g. Siebs 1901, Löfstedt 1932)
- Some more recent work on phonology and morphology
  - e.g. Versloot (1996b, 2002), Hoekstra (1998, 2008), Stiles (2008), and Bosse (2012)
- My plan: synchronic grammatical description
  - Special attention to syntax and information structure
  - Intended audience: general linguists as well as students and scholars of Frisian

## Section 2

Three grammatical highlights

# Brief typological overview

- Analytic language with few inflectional categories (but many inflectional classes)
- Nouns inflect for number (SG/PL)
- Finite verbs inflect for person (1/2/3), number (SG/PL), mood (IND/IMP), and tense (PST/NONPST)
- Nonfinite verb forms: INF1, INF2 (“gerund”), PTCP
- Adjectives inflect for gender/definiteness (M.SG.INDF vs. the rest) and degree (POS/CMPR/SUPR)
- V2 in main clauses, V-late/V2 in subclauses (Gregersen 2023b)
- Significant Low German influence on syntax and vocabulary

# Some (more or less) unusual features

- Phonological “r-insertion” /TəT/ → /TərT/ (Hoekstra 1998)
  - e.g. *mut-* ‘must’ + *-et* ‘PL’ → *múttert* ‘must.PL’
- Geminated consonants (Versloot 1996b) – unusual for the area
- No productive diminutive formation (but many lexicalized forms; cf. Versloot 2002)
- Inflection of premodifying adverbs
- Two definite articles (“strong” vs. “weak”)
- “Free” polar complement clauses

# Some (more or less) unusual features

- Phonological “r-insertion” /TəT/ → /TərT/ (Hoekstra 1998)
  - e.g. *mut-* ‘must’ + *-et* ‘PL’ → *mútttert* ‘must.PL’
- Geminated consonants (Versloot 1996b) – unusual for the area
- No productive diminutive formation (but many lexicalized forms; cf. Versloot 2002)
- **Inflection of premodifying adverbs**
- **Two definite articles (“strong” vs. “weak”)**
- **“Free” polar complement clauses**

# Inflected adverbs

- Attributive adjectives and premodifying adverbs are usually uninflected:

- (3)   'n   gans äärm faun  
INDEF very poor girl(F)  
'a very poor girl'

# Inflected adverbs

- Attributive adjectives and premodifying adverbs are usually uninflected:

- (3) 'n gans äärm faun  
INDF very poor girl(F)  
'a very poor girl'

- But adjectival suffix *-en* in M.SG.INDF contexts – this is copied to premodifying adverbs:

- (4) den wart hii 'n gáns-**en** ríik-**en** kö'öniing  
then become.3SG he INDF very-M.INDF rich-M.INDF king(M)  
'... then he becomes a very rich king'

# Inflected adverbs



# “Strong” vs. “weak” definite articles

- Two definite articles, one “strong” and one “weak”

(5) nu gungt hi na **de** prinsessin to  
now go.3sg he to DEF.F.WK princess(F) to  
'Now he goes to the princess'

(6) deer sit **djuu** prinséssin oon  
there sit.3SG DEF.F.STR princess(F) in  
'In there the princess is sitting'

# “Strong” vs. “weak” definite articles

Table 3: Wangerooge Frisian definite articles

	“Weak”	“Strong”
M.SG	de	dan
F.SG	de	djuu
N.SG	't	dait
PL	de	daa

# “Split” definiteness

- “Split” definiteness in other languages tied to shared knowledge (common ground) of interlocutors
  - Identification due to linguistic co-text → strong
  - Identification due to extralinguistic context → weak

# “Split” definiteness

- “Split” definiteness in other languages tied to shared knowledge (common ground) of interlocutors
  - Identification due to linguistic co-text → strong
  - Identification due to extralinguistic context → weak
- Systems with two definite articles have been described for a number of languages (cf. Schwarz 2013), including:
  - Various varieties of German (e.g. Heinrichs 1954, Hartmann 1982, Haberland 1985, Harweg 1989, Schwarz 2009)
  - Fering (North Frisian; Ebert 1971)
  - Lakhota (Siouan; Schwarz 2013: 546–548)
  - Hausa (Chadic < Afroasiatic; Jaggar 2001: 316–323)
  - Bohairic Coptic (Egyptian < Afroasiatic; Müller 2011: 19–23)

# Generic and “global” contexts: typically weak

- (7) in 't            **djúnkens** muuzt            de            kat      am  
in DEF.N.WK darkness(N) catch\_mice.3SG DEF.M.WK cat(M) PTCL  
best.  
best  
‘The cat catches mice best in the dark’ (proverb)
- (8) de            sun    gungt únner  
DEF.F.WK sun(F) go.3SG under  
‘The sun is setting’

## Anaphoric context: typically strong

- (9) nu kumt 'er 'n løøv un fint daa twoo  
now comes EXPL INDF lion(F) and find.3SG DEF.PL.STR two  
béener deer, nuu nimt **djuu** **løøv** ain fon  
children there now take.3SG DEF.F.STR lion(F) one of  
daa béener thwäärs in 'er tuut  
DEF.PL.STR children sideward in DEF.M.WK mouth(M)  
'Then a lion comes and finds the two children; then the lion  
takes one of the children in its mouth'

# Variation in weak and strong articles

- (10) daa sjucht hii **dan**      **grooet riiz**      al      fon  
then see.3SG he DEF.M.STR big      ogre(M) already from  
fiirens. daa ropt      **de**      **grooet riiz:**      wut  
far\_away then shout.3SG DEF.M.WK big      ogre(M) what  
wult      duu kleiner Erdwurm?  
want.2SG you small earthworm  
‘Then he sees the big ogre from a distance; then the big ogre  
shouts: “What do you want, you puny earthworm?”’

## Free *wut* clauses

- Polar complements formed with *wut* ‘if, whether’, as in (11)–(12):

- (11) iik wul        him fraig,    **wut** hii mit gung wul  
I want.1sg him ask.INF1 if he with go.INF1 want.3sg  
‘I’ll ask him if he wants to come along’

# Free *wut* clauses

- Polar complements formed with *wut* ‘if, whether’, as in (11)–(12):

- (11) iik wul        him fraig,    **wut** hii mit gung wul  
I want.1sg him ask.INF1 if he with go.INF1 want.3sg  
‘I’ll ask him if he wants to come along’
- (12) hii wet        nich, **wut** hii up ’t        haud    gungt, af up  
he know.3sg not if he on DEF.N.WK head(N) go.3sg or on  
'e              foot.  
DEF.PL.WK foot[PL]  
‘He doesn’t know if he’s walking on his head or on his feet’

## Free *wut* clauses

- However, *wut* clauses may appear without a complement-taking predicate
- The function is more like a purpose than a complement clause

(13) doot dait fínster ínsen ípiin, **wut** djuu  
do.IMP.PL DEF.N.STR window(N) once open if DEF.F.STR  
duuv hiir wail herdíin kumt  
dove(F) here really inside come.3sg  
'Please open the window [to find out] if the dove is going to  
come inside'

# Free *wut* clauses

- (14) yaa wult    weg un wult    naa hírii kantóor too, **wut**  
they want.PL away and want.PL to her office to if  
yaa daa        breíver nich fiin        kant  
they DEF.PL.STR letter.PL not find.INF1 can.PL  
'They want to go to her office [to see] if they might be able to  
find the letters'

## Free *wut* clauses

- (14) yaa wult    weg un wult    naa hírii kantóor too, **wut**  
they want.PL away and want.PL to her office to if  
yaa daa        breíver nich fiin        kant  
they DEF.PL.STR letter.PL not find.INF1 can.PL  
'They want to go to her office [to see] if they might be able to  
find the letters'

- Question: Are you aware of similar phenomena in other languages? References welcome!

## Section 3

Conclusions and perspectives

# Take-home messages

- Wangerooge Frisian is an exciting language to work on!
  - Under-investigated and little known outside of Frisian studies

# Take-home messages

- Wangerooge Frisian is an exciting language to work on!
  - Under-investigated and little known outside of Frisian studies
- 19th-century documentation of exceptionally good quality
  - Also of interest for the history of linguistics

# Take-home messages

- Wangerooge Frisian is an exciting language to work on!
  - Under-investigated and little known outside of Frisian studies
- 19th-century documentation of exceptionally good quality
  - Also of interest for the history of linguistics
- Typologically similar to neighbouring Germanic languages
  - ... but also less common phenomena in need of further research

# Plans for the future

- Continue work on grammatical description
- Transcription of sound recordings from the 1920s (to the extent possible)
- Online publication of the entire Wangerooge Frisian corpus

# An invitation

- As far as I know, no one else is working on Wangerooge Frisian at the moment – but anyone interested is welcome!
- Corpus can be made available upon request
- If you want to know more, a preliminary grammar sketch is available at DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7775494

# An invitation

- As far as I know, no one else is working on Wangerooge Frisian at the moment – but anyone interested is welcome!
- Corpus can be made available upon request
- If you want to know more, a preliminary grammar sketch is available at DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7775494
  - Feedback on any aspect of this will result in eternal gratitude!

# A syntactic sketch of Wangerooge Frisian

Sune Gregersen<sup>1</sup>  
Kiel University

Version 1.0, 16 March 2023

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7775494

# Thank you for your attention!



© Andreas Trepte, [www.avi-fauna.info](http://www.avi-fauna.info)

Comments and questions are always welcome:  
[s.gregersen@ifsfas.uni-kiel.de](mailto:s.gregersen@ifsfas.uni-kiel.de)

# References I

-  **Bosse, Temmo.** 2012. Wangeroogische i-Verben: Betrachtungen zum Verbsystem des ausgestorbenen ostfriesischen Dialekts der Insel Wangerooge. *Us Wurk* 61. 125–141.
-  **Bosse, Temmo.** 2021. *Das nord- und ostfriesische Wenkermaterial: Hintergründe, Validität und Erkenntniswert.* (Deutsche Dialektgeographie 128). Hildesheim: Olms.
-  **Crome, A. F. W.** 1793. Statistisch-öconomiche Beschreibung der Reichsunmittelbaren Herrschaft Jever, im westphälischen Kreise, bisher dem Fürstlich Anhalt-Zerbstischen Hause gehörig. *Neues Journal für Staatskunde, Politik und Kameralistik* 1. 1–51.
-  **Ebert, Karen H.** 1971. *Referenz, Sprechsituation und die bestimmten Artikel in einem nordfriesischen Dialekt (Fering).* Bräist/Bredstedt: Nordfriisk Institut.
-  **Ehrentraut, H. G.** 1849. Mittheilungen aus der Sprache der Wangeroger. *Friesisches Archiv* 1. 3–109, 338–416.
-  **Ehrentraut, H. G.** 1854. Mittheilungen aus der Sprache der Wangeroger. *Friesisches Archiv* 2. 1–84.

## References II

-  Firmenich, Johannes Matthias (ed.). 1854. *Germaniens Völkerstimmen: Sammlung der deutschen Mundarten in Dichtungen, Sagen, Märchen, Volksliedern u. s. w.* Vol. 3. Berlin: Friedberg & Mode.
-  Gregersen, Sune. 2023a. *A syntactic sketch of Wangerooge Frisian*. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7775493. Unpublished working paper.
-  Gregersen, Sune. 2023b. Komplementsætninger med V2-ledstilling i wangeroogefrisisk. *Ny forskning i grammatik*. To appear.
-  Haberland, Hartmut. 1985. Zum Problem der Verschmelzung von Präposition und bestimmtem Artikel im Deutschen. *Osnabrücker Beiträge zur Sprachtheorie* 30. 82–106.
-  Hartmann, Dietrich. 1982. Deixis and anaphora in German dialects: The semantics and pragmatics of two definite articles in dialectal varieties. In Jürgen Weissenborn & Wolfgang Klein (eds.), *Here and there: Cross-linguistic studies on deixis and demonstration* (Pragmatics & Beyond III.2–3), 187–207. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/pb.iii.2-3.10har.

# References III

-  Harweg, Roland. 1989. Schwache und starke Artikelformen im gesprochenen Neuhochdeutsch. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 56(1). 1–31.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40503116>.
-  Heinrichs, Heinrich Matthias. 1954. *Studien zum bestimmten Artikel in den germanischen Sprachen*. Gießen: Schmitz.
-  Hoekstra, Jarich. 1998. R-ynfoeging yn it Wangereagersk. *Us Wurk* 47. 25–48.
-  Hoekstra, Jarich. 2008. Suppleesje by tiidwurden yn it Eastfrysk: Sealtersk *sjo-saach - blouked*, Wangereakersk *sjoo - blauket - blauket* ('sjen'). *Us Wurk* 57. 120–140.
-  Jaggar, Philip J. 2001. *Hausa*. (London Oriental and African Language Library 7). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
-  Kollmann, Paul. 1891. Der Umfang des friesischen Sprachgebietes im Großherzogtum Oldenburg. *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 1. 377–401.
-  Littmann, Enno. 1922. *Friesische Erzählungen aus Alt-Wangerooge: Letzte Klänge einer verschollenen Sprache*. Oldenburg: Littmann.

## References IV

-  Löfstedt, Ernst. 1932. Zur Lautgeschichte der Mundart von Wangeroog. In *Zwei Beiträge zur friesischen Sprachgeschichte* (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N. F. Avd. 1. 28, no. 2), 3–33. Lund: Littmann.
-  Müller, Matthias. 2011. *Grammatik des Bohairischen*. (Lingua Aegyptia – Studia Monographica 24). Hamburg: Widmaier.
-  Nielsen, Hans Frede & Niels-Erik Larsen. 2009. *Frisisk*. In *Den Store Danske*. <https://denstoredanske.lex.dk/frisisk>. (3 Nov 2022).
-  Schwarz, Florian. 2009. *Two types of definites in natural language*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Amherst. (Doctoral dissertation). DOI: 10.7275/1077454.
-  Schwarz, Florian. 2013. Two kinds of definites cross-linguistically. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 7(10). 534–559. DOI: 10.1111/lnc3.12048.
-  Siebs, Theodor. 1901. Geschichte der friesischen Sprache. In Hermann Paul (ed.), *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, 2nd edn., vol. 1, 1152–1464. Strassburg: Trübner.

# References V

-  Siebs, Theodor. 1923. Vom aussterbenden Friesisch der Insel Wangeroog. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten* 18. 237–253.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40498287>.
-  Siebs, Theodor. 1931. Die Friesen und ihre Sprache. In Conrad Borchling & Rudolf Muuß (eds.), *Die Friesen*, 56–76. Breslau: Hirt.
-  Stiles, Patrick V. 2008. A note on the development of Old Wangeroogic \*e and \*o in open syllables. *Us Wurk* 57. 176–194.
-  Versloot, Arjen. 1996a. Einleitung. In Arjen P. Versloot (ed.), "Mittheilungen aus der Sprache der Wangeroger": *De neilittenskip fan H.G. Ehrentraut oangeande it Eastfryske dialekt fan it eilân Wangereach út it argyf fan it Mariengymnasium yn Jever*, li–xcv. Ljouwert/Leeuwarden – Aurich: Fryske Akademy – Ostfriesische Landschaft.
-  Versloot, Arjen. 1996b. Konsonantengeminaten in der Sprache der Wangeroger: Eine Einmaligkeit unter den westgermanischen Sprachen. *NOWELE: North-Western European Language Evolution* 28–29. 241–250. DOI: 10.1075/nowele.28-29.17ver.

# References VI

-  Versloot, Arjen. 2002. Die wangeroogischen Diminutivendungen *-uuk* und *-iik*. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 56(1). 223–231. DOI: 10.1163/18756719-056-01-90000016.
-  Versloot, Arjen P. (ed.). 1996c. *"Mittheilungen aus der Sprache der Wangeroger": De neilittenskip fan H.G. Ehrentraut oangeande it Eastfryske dialekt fan it eilân Wangereach út it argyffan it Mariengymnasium yn Jever*. Ljouwert/Leeuwarden – Aurich: Fryske Akademy – Ostfriesische Landschaft.
-  Winckelmann, Johann Just. 1671. *Oldenburgische Friedens- und der benachbarten Oerter Kriegs-Handlungen*. Oldenburg: Zimmer. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/details/bsb11054802>.
-  Winkler, Johan (ed.). 1874. *Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesch Dialecticon*. Vol. 1. Groningen: Nijhoff.
-  Winter, Christoph. 2022. Frisian. In *Oxford research encyclopedia of linguistics*. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.938.