A Contrastive Grammar

of

Brazilian Pomeranian

by

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Preface

My first encounter with Pomeranian was in the framework of the (Zeeuws) Flemish dialect spoken in the state of Espírito Santo (Brazil). This dialect, spoken by descendents 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

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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 äußeren Gestalt, ihrer Schrift, und ihrer Sprache normsetzend wirkten. Diese normbildende Kraft der lübischen Kanslerei kann dabei keinerfalls überschätzt werden".

²Radlof (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), Priewe & 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 been taken as the possible lingua franca that might have been created in Europe if history had taken another course. 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. Furthermore, we could take material from various interviews in the socio-linguistic studies by

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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.
Hartuwig, Siller, Seibel, and Schaffel. Meantime we did our own fieldwork. In the finishing stage, Hilda Braun was of immense help of providing me with additional data (Wenkersätze), stories, dialectal variation, etc. In the end, I had more than enough material to put a cover around. I thank Ben Hermans, Marc van Oostendorp, Göz Kaufmann for commenting on earlier versions of the manuscript as well as the audiences of conferences for all their comments on my presentations on some aspects of Pomeranian: Vienna Workshop "German Abroad" 2014, Pavia Syntax of the World's Languages 2014, Comparative Germanic Syntax Workshop 2014, Saarbrücken Round Table on Dialect Syntax 2014, Dei foar de Fryske Taalkunde 2015, 2017, München Workshop on Language Islands 2015, Leiden Workshop on Language Variation 2016, Amsterdam Workshop on Heritage Languages 2016, MFM Fringe meeting 2018, and the various occasions I gave guest lectures on Pomeranian at the Meertens Institute, USP 2013, Unicamp 2013, Utrecht University 2014, UFES 2015, Leiden University 2017. I thank Alain Corbeau 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 reflexified 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'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>[yː]</td>
<td>grün</td>
<td>süss</td>
<td>fühlen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>groen</td>
<td>zoet</td>
<td>voelen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English/Frisian</td>
<td>[iː]</td>
<td>green/grien</td>
<td>sweet/swiet</td>
<td>to feel/fiele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomeranian</td>
<td>[ui]</td>
<td>gruin</td>
<td>suit</td>
<td>fuila</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)ø/ and /petit(e)ø/ with a latent final segment (t)ø and (e)ø. 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)ø/ 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 judgments. Although we base our grammar mainly on written sources, we have asked what the native speaker’s judgments were when variation was observed. Where native judgements diverge, it is mentioned. The language certainly shows more variation than could be presented here. Whenever there is systematic (or simply frequent) variation, this is acknowledged. Whenever variation is the result of code switching (with German or Portuguese), variation is ignored. For instance, if Pomeranian uses a High German word instead of the expected word from Low German, the High German form is acknowledged, e.g. *fümwt* ‘fifth’, *grosfåter* ‘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 whereever 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

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

vi
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 *Upm Land* short stories collected by Tressmann and Kuhn, cf. Tressmann (2006a).
UNS abstract notation for the 1st person plural pronoun (after German *uns* '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
\(\times\) subtractive morphology, e.g. in the paradigm of the indef. art. *ain*, \(\times\) produces *ai*. 
- absence of inflection, e.g. in the paradigm of the indef. art
* ungrammatical or reconstructed form
(...),\(\mu\) catalectic morpheme. Catalexis will be defined in the next paragraph.
[ec] empty category / trace
- separates forms that are in a paradigmatic relation, e.g. huus - hüüsa '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/l/l.
    3. in a phonological rule together with __: "in the context of", e.g.: x / __ yyy
<xy> orthographic representation
[x] phonetic representation
/xy/ 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 (...)ₚ. 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 [pati] - [petit] 'small.m/f' and [gri] - [griz] 'gray.m/f', which are taken as underlying peri(t)ₚ - petit(e)ₚ. and gri(z)ₚ and griz(e)ₚ. A case of morphological catalexis is the Arabic "ta? marbuta"⁶, the written but silent /t/ of the feminine suffix, as in /risala(t)ₚ/ [risa:la:] 'letter', which /t/ shows up upon further derivation, e.g. plurals, with suffixes, and in construct states: rsaltiι 'my letter'. In Pomeranian, final -e, -n and -r are catalectic, i.e. they remain obligatorily unpronounced: (e)ₚ and (n)ₚ. Many so-called "subtractive" paradigms (cf. Golston & Wiese 1995, Holsinger & Houseman 1998, Birkenes 2014) become regular under the assumption of catalexis of final (e)ₚ and (n)ₚ. 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 lievø Kind 'my dear child') and dialects with systematic absence of it (west): mijn liewe Kind. The line follows: Jademündung - Wildeshausen - Diepholz - 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, Kösln, Schlawe, as well as from four site grammars (Mahnke 1931, Kühl 1932, Stritzel 1974, Laabs 1980). Finally the dialectal specimen for Crazig (Krasnik Koszaliński, 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.

**Ingvaenic**
Related to a hypothetical people that lived on the shores of the North Sea before the first millenium (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' [t̬ɛlç], as an alternative pronunciation of the simple short vowel [tɛlç]. The ligature notation is ambiguous between the pre-articulated and post-articulated version: [ˈɛ] and [r̚].

**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DEFINITE</th>
<th>MASC</th>
<th>FEM</th>
<th>NEU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>struct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>struct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>struct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INDEFINITE</th>
<th>MASC</th>
<th>FEM</th>
<th>NEU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>struct</td>
<td></td>
<td>struct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>struct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>struct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>struct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diachronic</th>
<th>Proto-WGmc.</th>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R0.</td>
<td>{n,l}</td>
<td>ø / __{s,f,θ}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1.</td>
<td>uо</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2.</td>
<td>e:/iо</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3.</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R4.</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R10.</td>
<td>ü:</td>
<td>ui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ö:</td>
<td>oi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ä:</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synchronic</th>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R5.</td>
<td>-ən</td>
<td>-ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R6.</td>
<td>-ə</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R7.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>ø / VV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R8.</td>
<td>-d-</td>
<td>-r-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R9.</td>
<td>-ld-</td>
<td>-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nd-</td>
<td>-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-rd-</td>
<td>-r-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| R11.       | [ɛ], [ɔ] | [ʲɛ|eʃ], [ʊ|ɔ|ɐ] | pre-/post-articulation |
|            | [i]      | [ʲi|iʃ] | |
|            | [æ]      | [ʲæ|æ³] | |
|            | [y]      | [ʲy] | |
|            | [u]      | [ʲu] | |
| R12.       | -d, -ŋ, -w, -z | -l, -ŋk, -r, -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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BP and EP</th>
<th>morpheme</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adj inflection</td>
<td>(e)_o</td>
<td>gaud(e)_o</td>
<td>intervocalic rhotacism: gaur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj inflection</td>
<td>(n)_o</td>
<td>gaud(e)(n)_o</td>
<td>lack of schwa apocope: gaura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subtractive morph</td>
<td>(n)_o</td>
<td>mij(n)_o, ai(n)_o</td>
<td>paradigm mij/mijn/mijna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dim morpheme</td>
<td>(n)_o</td>
<td>klia(n)_o</td>
<td>paradigm kla/kla/kla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbal infl pl</td>
<td>e(n)_o</td>
<td>wij reere(n)_o</td>
<td>nasalisation of enclitic wij: wi'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inf1 morpheme</td>
<td>e(n)_o</td>
<td>reere(n)_o koina</td>
<td>lack of schwa apocope: reera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inf2 morpheme</td>
<td>end(e)_o</td>
<td>reerend(e)_o</td>
<td>intervocalic cluster reduction: reeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominalizer</td>
<td>d(e)_o</td>
<td>fröid(e)</td>
<td>intervocalic rhotacism: fröir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal class</td>
<td>e(n)_o</td>
<td>oowe(n)_o</td>
<td>plural oowens 'ovens'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal class</td>
<td>(e)_o</td>
<td>fruug(e)_o</td>
<td>plural fruuages 'women'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural morpheme</td>
<td>(e)_o</td>
<td>hund(e)_o</td>
<td>intervocalic cluster reduction + compensatory lengthening: huun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal ending</td>
<td>e(r)_o</td>
<td>wåte(r)_o</td>
<td>wåtra 'pour', wåträig 'watery'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| EP | past -ed morpheme | d(e)_o | ik setd(e)_o | intervocalic rhotacism + compensatory lenthening: seer |
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).](image)

Pomeranian participates in various Ingvaeronisms, 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).
As one can see from (1), Pomeranian and Frisian generally opt for the Ingvaeonic 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 Ingvaeonisms 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', grousmita 'grandmother', etc. as well as semi-germanisms, such as hochtijd 'wedding' of which only the first part is German (Hochzeit)).

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Ingvaeonic n-drop in various West Germanic languages</th>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Frisian</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>süsta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>zus (obs.)</td>
<td>sonst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meisch</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>minske</td>
<td>mens</td>
<td>Mensch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ous</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>ús</td>
<td>ons</td>
<td>uns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guis8</td>
<td>goose</td>
<td>goes</td>
<td>gans</td>
<td>Ganse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiiw</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>fiif</td>
<td>vijf</td>
<td>fünf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seis</td>
<td>scythe [saiθ]</td>
<td>seine</td>
<td>zeis</td>
<td>sense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anert</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>oar</td>
<td>ander</td>
<td>ander</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as</td>
<td>as[æz]</td>
<td>as[ɔs]</td>
<td>als</td>
<td>als</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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


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

\[(2) \quad \begin{array}{lll}
\text{(Low Prussian)} & \text{(Pomeranian)} \\
a. \text{min} & \sim & \text{mi} \\
b. \text{ons} & \sim & \text{ous} \\
c. \text{jun} & \sim & \text{juuch (< juw)}^{12} \\
d. \text{loupe(n)} & \sim & \text{loupa} \quad \text{(infinitive 1)} \\
& & \text{loupen} \quad \text{(infinitive 2 or gerund)}
\end{array}\]

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).

\[(3) \quad \text{a.} \]

---

\(^{12}\) Glide velarisation will be discussed in section 2.3.2.4.2 and 8.2.

\(^{13}\) For the Western border, cf. also Prieve & Teuchert (1927/1928: 153), Holsten (1952:110). Neither author notices the double infinitive system.
b. The map below, taken from Wenker’s Atlas, show a green area with drop of \(-n\) in monosyllabic infinitives, like *daua* 'do', *gåa* 'go', *saia*, 'see', where Pomeranian patterns with modern English (*do* < ME *doon*).

\[(4)\] a.

The area of infinitival \(n\)-drop coincides with \(n\)-drop in the pronominal system.\(^{14}\)

\(^{14}\) 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.
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 underlingly present. Under that assumption, we obtain the scheme under (5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mecklenburg-VorPommern (West)</th>
<th>Pomeranian (Middle)</th>
<th>Low Prussian (East)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gerund</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-e(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infinitive1</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-e-ø</td>
<td>-e(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>Vns (uns)</td>
<td>V-ø-s (us)</td>
<td>Vns (ons)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Groningen (East)</th>
<th>Frisia (Middle)</th>
<th>Holland (West)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gerund</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-e(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infinitive1</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-e-ø</td>
<td>-e(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>Vns (ons)</td>
<td>V-ø-s (ús)</td>
<td>Vns (ons)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scheme suggests a connection between the /n/ in the infinitive 1 (i.e. the infinitive without complementizer) and /n/ in UNS 'us'. The default infinitive form has -n if and only if the 1pl acc pronoun has -n-. More precisely put, there might exist a morpheme in infinitives and UNS with an equal spellout.
We briefly speculate on the theoretical connection. When in Frisian and Pomeranian, /n/ became reanalyzed as a nominalizer\(^{15}\), 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\(_{aβ}\).

\[(6)\] \[\text{OP}_{1,2} \ldots \ldots \text{[PRO}_{1/2}\text{UNS}] \ldots\] with 1,2 the indexes for speaker/hearer NP\(_a\) \ldots V \ldots NP\(_β\) \ [ \ldots \text{[PRO}_{αβ}\text{ V}_{\text{inf}} \ldots\] \]

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

1.1.2 Strong inflectional morphemes: mijn laiwei/laiwes Kind vs. mij laiw-ø Kind

A second important isogloss that separates Pomeranian from the other Low German variants, and actually separates it from German dialects in general, High and Low German alike, is the absence of strong inflectional morphemes -er/-es or -er/-et, in structural cases. Strong endings are present in Gothic, Old High German, and Old Norse, but absent in Old English, Old Saxon\(^{16}\), 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).

\[(7)\] *mein-es liebe Kind \rightarrow mein liebes Kind \quad \text{High / Low German}\]

*miin-et laiwe Kind \rightarrow miin laiwet Kind \quad \text{Low Prussian}\]

These strong morphemes are absent in the North Sea Germanic area, as well as in Pomeranian. Pomeranian contrasts with its Low German neighbours, Mecklenburgisch/VorPommersch in

\(^{15}\) In Minimalist terms, it is anazlished 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.

\[(8) \text{mij-ø laiw-ø Kind} \quad \text{Pomeranian}\]

The isoglosses that separates the area without the -et/-es morpheme (Hinter-Pommern), and the area that has the -es/-et morpheme (Mecklenburg/VorPommern and Prussia) neatly follows the isoglosses of the double infinitives. West from the western isogloss with VorPommern, the -et/-es morpheme shows up\(^17\), 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 cases\(^18\) 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-infinite 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 - 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.
POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

states of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul). 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. 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

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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 "Suíça"), Hunsrück (colônia "Luxemburgo") and Austria (colônia "Tirol"), the Pomeranians imposed their language on other immigrants (Lutherische Kirche 1955:137)\textsuperscript{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 \textit{et al.} 2017). Until recently, Pomeranians considered themselves \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{platt} or \textit{plattdüütsch} and the distance with \textit{Hochdeutsch} (High German) was considerable: many Pomeranians could not understand the religious service in High German (Hartuwig 2011, Siller 2011, Schaffel 2015). Initially, the identity in Brazil as \textit{Pomeranians} was hardly developed. This has changed over the past 30 years. Starting with Rodolpho Gaede’s \textit{Up Platt Dutsch} in 1983 in \textit{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 (\textit{Ump 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 19\textsuperscript{th} century wave, Pomeranian is the language that is best preserved.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{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".

\textsuperscript{23} Immigrants from Schivelbein, which is in Brandenburg’s Neumark, do list themselves as Prussian, though Schivelbein is linguistically Pomeranian, e.g. the \textit{Gröner} immigration record.

\textsuperscript{24} "In Espírito Santo wurde die Kolonisierung erst nach der Ankunft von Einwanderern aus Pommern in den siebzig 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.\(^\text{25}\) 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 century\(^\text{26}\) 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 Pomernia). There were very few non-Lutherans (less than 5%, mainly Catholics and Jews) in the days of the emigration (Krak 1864)\(^\text{27}\) 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 Gottfried Scheibl, a theology professor in Breslau (Silesia) left Prussia, soon followed by people from Erfurt, Magdeburg and parts of Pomerania (Everest 1892:292). When people started to be prosecuted, more and more fled to the USA,


\(\text{26}\) 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.

\(\text{27}\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality (Kreis)</th>
<th>1850-1860</th>
<th>1861-1870</th>
<th>1871-1880</th>
<th>1881-1890</th>
<th>Total Localized</th>
<th>Not localized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regenwalde</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>44</td>
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<td>195</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>-</td>
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</table>

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).
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 (mi:j laiw kind instead of Low German and Low Prussian mi:n laiwes/laivet kind), and finally, the development of a separate second infinitive (infinitive2 or gerund) in -n. There are bundles of isoglosses that separate Pomeranian from the neighboring regions. In 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 Pomerania. According to Böhmer, even a countryman switches to the "round" variant to the degree of his education" (Böhmer 1833:151ff).

"The main point that we are making, is this: in Pomerania there are living side by side two deeply distinct Low German dialects. One is round, light, smooth, without diphthongs, simple in roots and grammatical complexity; the other is broad, heavy, (...), full of diphthongs (au, ei, ai) or vowels with post-articulation, inclined to slowly vanishing final sounds. (...) However, what is stranger, even where the population speaks the broad dialect, the educated people in these areas use the round dialect, and, by way of the educated men, the towns are (linguistically) in opposition to the surrounding country men. Closer 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, Hartuwig 2011). The emigration to Brazil is different, however, in the sense that there was an official policy by the Brazilian imperial government that favoured immigration, provided the candidate was Catholic, farmer, could pay the transport, and was willing to work on the land by his own hands. So there was a clearly explicit attracting force in the case of Brazil, which was absent in the USA. What was also absent in the USA, is the policy of cultural dominance by Prussia/Germany. This is a force that should not be ignored. There was an official imperialist policy by Prussia and later Bismarck’s Deutsches Reich, which culminated in the overtly national-expansionist policy of Wilhelm II’s "informal imperialism". It stimulated imperialistic occupation to the East (e.g. Germans in Romania) and, trans-continentally, to Brazil. The idea was that settlers to these areas would preserve their Deutschtum ("German-hood"). The official policy was making new German territories by cultural dominance over the local population. There was the hope that these enclaves would grow out to independent Brazilian states. The optimal circumstance for this Deutschtum and
Volkstum was creating isolated, socially-closed communities with their own church, press, and intellectual life. The German historian Bernecker judges that the results of this policy remained limited (Bernecker 1997, apud Spiesgart 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 Espirito 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 resistant.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 Espirito 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 Espirito 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.

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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 Colonisação at the Imperial level that had a civil contract for the recruitment of 57,000-100,000 new colonists to ES.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{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 20\textsuperscript{th} century, in the 19\textsuperscript{th} 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 meterological 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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. Relatorio of 1856 by Luiz Pedreira do Coutto 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 Spiesgart (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.

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\(^{30}\) 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 – órgão 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 colonia Cantagallo in the state of Rio de Janeiro fifty years earlier). Nevertheless, Protestants (albeit a minority) came along with the Catholics. In 1857, in the oldest German settlement, Santa Isabel 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). Because of internal religious tensions in the community of Santa Isabel, the Protestants established their own sister colony in Domingo Martins 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 Leopoldina on an ethnic basis: Holanda (cf. Roos & Eshuis 2008), Suiça (immigrants from Switzerland), Tirol (Austria, cf. Schabus 2009), and Luxemburgo (Luxemburgian and Hunsrück immigrants). The dominant group, however, was Pomeranian (Raasch 2010:18-19), who build a

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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'.

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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.

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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).
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)\(^\text{41}\), 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.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Colonia Leopoldina</td>
<td>BH</td>
<td>Swiss</td>
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<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>Novo Friburgo/ Cantagallo</td>
<td>RJ</td>
<td>Swiss, later German</td>
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<td>1824</td>
<td>São Leopoldo</td>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Hunsrück</td>
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<td>Santo Amaro</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Germany</td>
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<td>Quilombo</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>South Germany</td>
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<td>SC</td>
<td>Rhineland</td>
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<td>1829</td>
<td>Rio Negro</td>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Petropolis</td>
<td>RJ</td>
<td>Hunsrück, Westphalia, Pfalz, etc. (ethnically separated)</td>
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<td>1847</td>
<td>Santa Isabel</td>
<td>ES</td>
<td>Hunsrück, Rhineland</td>
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<td>SC</td>
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<td>Santa Cruz</td>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Pomerania, Rhineland, Silesia</td>
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<td>Blumenau</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>(Nearer?) Pomerania and Mecklenburg</td>
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<td>SC</td>
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<td>Protestant Hunsrück from Santa Isabel, Pomerania</td>
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<td>1860</td>
<td>Brusque</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Rhineland, Baden, Oldenburg, Westphalia</td>
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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. The quick religious organization is an argument that religion must have played some role in the emigration. In sum, we assume that there were mixed religious, socio-cultural and economic reasons for the Pomeranian immigration.

The Pomeranian language is well preserved in ES, especially na roça (the countryside). In the older municipalities with a more mixed population (Hunsrück, Swiss, Austrian, Dutch), such as Santa Leopoldina, there is language contact with the Hunsrück dialect (Rosenberg 2006, Barth Schaeffer 2012). Much less language contact is present in the countryside of Melgaço, which is now part of the municipality of Domingo Martins, and in the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá. However, this does not imply that the language in Santa Maria de Jetibá is equal to what was spoken in Europe: Pomeranian-internal dialect convergence to a new lingua franca can be observed (Postma 2016). It is this variety that is the basis of our presentation of Pomeranian in the next sections. In the 21st century, the influence of Portuguese is clearly increasing, as many localities have become well-connected by asphalt roads from 2002 onwards, and virtually all speakers of Pomeranian are bilingual now. This recent increase does not mean that influence of Portuguese was only marginal in the 20th century or even in the 19th century, as Portuguese and the indigenous languages have always been an important source in the realm of lexis, especially in the domains of food products, tools, wildlife, etc. That said, this influence is still weakest in ES compared to RS, PR and SC. In the table below, extracted from data in Lacmann 1906, Wagemann 1915, Schappelle 1917, Willems 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 (Willems 1947).
Some typical borrowings from Portuguese in the various immigrant languages

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<td>cana</td>
<td>sugar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>canne</td>
<td>kane</td>
<td>(suka)rour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>portão</td>
<td>gate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>fous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foice</td>
<td>scythe</td>
<td>Fuchs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>fosc/feuse/feuste</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manga</td>
<td>mango</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>venda</td>
<td>shop</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>vend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arroba</td>
<td>measure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>roub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milho</td>
<td>corn</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mijleha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fumo</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>fum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pacá</td>
<td>some animal</td>
<td>Pak</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>pak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>facão</td>
<td>big knife</td>
<td>Fakong</td>
<td>fac</td>
<td>fakóng</td>
<td>fakon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farinha</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Farin</td>
<td>farin</td>
<td>farin</td>
<td>farijn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 segg't'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 [dyːtʃ], 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 protesters) 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, Spiesgart 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 mentionend 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 Pomerianos (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 archives in Vitória. Further research is needed on this extremely relevant point.

1.2.1.4 Summary
In the previous sections, we have seen that the Pomeranian immigration to Espirito 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. 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 Espirito 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 Deutschtum in Brazil.

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

Most of the social scientists that analyze the German immigration, such as Williams, Albersheim and Martins, would certainly deny to the Teuto-Brazilians the condition of an ethnic group: their works are invariably focussed on phenomena defined by theoretical concepts of assimilation and aculturation, 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 itself47, 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 viaiam 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 Espirito 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. 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 (Hartuwig 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 [aːm] ‘arm’. This r-drop is so systematic that one can take it as an (etymological) spelling rule, e.g. [koːf] 'basket' is written korv, 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.
In the subsequent paragraphs we discuss the basic properties of the various consonants.

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

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

In coda, the fortis-lenis opposition is neutralized: so, the dental in hand 'hand' [ɦand] and kant [kant] 'side' have the same acoustic realization, though not the same articulatory realization. It is unclear if this should be described as final devoicing of [d] to [t] or final fortition of [t] to [tʰ]. Phonetically, there is final fortition in obstruents: hau[tʰ] 'hat' - haudadans [d] 'hat dance'. Neither final devoicing nor final fortition is written in Tressmann’s orthography. After sonorants, final fortition does not apply, as in land [land], not [lantʰ] 'country'. This coda [t/d], written as <d>, in hand is a devoiced stop, i.e. [d], that drops in the plural: [hein]. Frisian has gone here the full way by dropping /d/ in both singular and plural: hân-hannen 'hand(s)'. Dental drop in clusters only happens with clusters that have underlying /d/, i.e. not with underlying /t/, 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 /ɡ/ 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 [lanŋ] 'long', eng [enŋ] 'narrow'.

Intervocally, the fortis-lenis contrast seems to be neutralized: helpa–helba 'help', groudà–grouta 'big' are not in opposition. For reasons that are not entirely clear, Tressmann’s spelling chooses one of these spellings <helpa> not <helba>, <groudà> not <grouta>. Whatever its writing, grouta is not pronounced as *[groʰu], nor /elpa/ as *[hɛlpʰu].

Intervocalic [g] has developed into [ŋ] and [x], or to its palatal counterparts [ʝ] and [ç]), or to [j]. Intervocalic -k- is always realized as [k] and is never shifted to [ɡ], e.g. breeka [bre:kɔ] not *[brɛ:ɡu] 'to break'. Intervocalic /ŋk/ has developed into [ŋk], or to its palatal counterparts [ʝk] and [çk], or to [j].

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 doud[tp]lijwa, not doud[thp]lijwa, or doud[db]lijwa as would be the case in Dutch and Frisian. Reporting on fieldwork in the original, but more mixed, 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:te]. This looks more extreme than it seems, as all speakers realize the fortis-lenis opposition in the onset, albeit by different means, and all speakers lack the fortis-lenis opposition intervocalically.

The /h/ is mostly realized as voiced, i.e. [ɦ] as in Dutch but voiceless as in German 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. Collins & Mees (2003:192), but Booij (1995) assumes underspecification for voice.

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

If no onset is present, Pomeranian realizes a glottal stop: äp [ʔap] 'ape'. This may create a hiatus in sandhi contexts that is not deleted: duu äp! [duʔap] 'you monkey!', wijd af [viːtʔaf] 'far away'. This glottal stop is retained in compounds: bakäwa [bakʔɔwɔ] 'oven' and after a prefix: ge-ernt [ɡiʔɛrnt] 'harvested'. Only a few function words lack this glottal stop and may cliticize, e.g. is 'is': hai is [hiai̯is] 'he is'.

2.2.2 Fricatives [fwszj3xy]

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

$fai$ [fai] 'cattle', $wai$ [vai] 'pain',
$schin$ [ʃin] 'dandruff', $gingebijr$ [ʒin3ebiɾ] 'ginger beer'.


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 [ʃukwetʃe] 'crush', twai [twai] 'two'. Pomeranian here deviates form Dutch and German, which have [v] both in single and complex onsets: German [vo] 'where' and [kvɐt], 'across'. Pomeranian might have taken this from Portuguese [verdadʒi] 'thrust' and [guarda] 'guard', but many Frisian dialects are like Pomeranian, e.g. Wierum B014: waarm [vaːɾm] 'where' versus twa [twɑː] '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 $ʃ$, as in German, but it is written by $<s>$, according to the etymology, not as $<sch>$, e.g. $staul$ [ʃtaul] 'chair' (cf. Frisian stoel). The $<s>$ notation is also used in srijwa [ʃriːvɔ] '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 [vɔs/vaːst] 'grow.sg/pl' versus blås/blåsa [błɔs/blɔːs] 'blow.sg/pl', but it correlates with the length of the preceding vowel. Similarly, there is an intervocalic voice contrast between [f] and [v]: wafa [vafə] 'weapon', gråwa [ɡɾɔːvɔ] 'dig', but it correlates with the length of the preceding vowel. The intervocalic contrast between [ɣ] and [x], and its variants [j/ç] is lost. They are written as $<g>$ laiga 'lie' or $<ch>$ lacha 'laugh' in function of the length of the vowel, but are not pronounced differently. The voiceless fricatives [x/ç] only occur in codas, as devoiced alternates of intervocalic [ɣ] or [j], written $<g>$, but they can also be heard intervocally as alternants of [ɣj]. The choice between [x] or [ç] depends on the preceding vowel: /i, e, ü, ö / trigger [ç] e.g. eig [eic] 'egg',

31
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* [ʃɛːf] 'seive', and of underlying /z/: *blås* '(I) blow'. There is final devoicing in fricatives: *fruug* [fru:x] 'woman', *eig* [eiç] 'egg', *korw* [koːf] 'basket'. The coda /g/ in *fruug* [x] 'woman' is analogical with the possible voiced realization in plural *fruuges* [fruːɣəs], though [fruːxes] 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* [ɾɪŋk] - *twai fingerings* [ɾɪŋs] 'one/two rings', *langa* [lɑŋə] 'long.infl' versus *lang* [lɑŋk] 'long.pred', but not in verbs: *ik sing* [ɪk sɪŋ]/*[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 [ɾ] and sharp [ɬ]. In the coda, /l/ is often silent or a rhotacized schwa [ɬ] (tijr 'animal' [tʰiːɬ]), while /l/ may undergo lenition to [l] in some speakers. Intervocalic apical [ɾ] is usually the result of intervocalic rothacism of etymological /d/, *muir(a)* 'tired' ~ Germ müde, or underlying /d/: *gaur* 'good', < /gaude/, possibly underlying /gaud+(ə)ᵵ/ 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. Phonomically 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 qualititative 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 oppositions 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 [œ]. 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 å/ö/ü, e.g. Pom. *muer* ~ HG müde 'tired', Pom. *suit* ~ HG süss 'sweet', Pom. *koina* ~ HG können 'can.pl', and Pom. *kaim* 'came' ~ HG kâm 'came.optative', etc.

It seems that this ai/oi/ui is the outcome of a later Pomeranian breaking of earlier umlaut å/ö/ü, not an early bisegmental realization of the historical "umlaut factor" (Wiese 1996), i.e. uCi→ü:C→ui:C, and not uCi→ui:C. Arguments for the late emergence of /au/oi/ui/ are irregular plurals (cf. below) and k-palatalization (cf. par. 3.8.3).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i ü u</td>
<td>iü üü uu</td>
<td>ui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ö -</td>
<td>ei/äi öi ou</td>
<td>oi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä/e o</td>
<td>ee/ää å/oo</td>
<td>ai au</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:
Short/lax vowels

Long/tense vowels
[i:] jis 'ice'; [e:] weit 'wheat', hään 'hands'; [e:] feel 'many', [ɛ:] määka 'girl', [a:] waara 'become', warm [wa:m] 'warm'; [y:] hüüt 'today'; [o:] köipa 'to buy'; [o:] 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)  

-wit 'white' - wijdt[t] 'wide';  
-feel 'skin' - feel 'many', kwela 'to flush/to spring' - kwääla 'to torture'; bestela 'order' - besteela 'steal'  
-insprütsen 'injection' - düüts 'German'; sün 'sun' - süün 'sin'  
-köp 'heads' - köip '(I) buy';  
-dag 'day' - däg 'days'; wal(fisch) 'whale'; wäl 'choice'  
-graw 'grave' - graaw 'earl/count'  
-rok 'skirt', rooka 'smoked'  
-insprütsen 'injection' - düüts 'German'; sün 'sun' - süün 'sin'  
-graw 'grave' - graaw 'earl/count'  

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

2.2.5.2 Overlength

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

(4)  

a. Air meesch hät ni twai kina  
   'a person has not two chins'  
   kına / kĩnə  
   "short/lax"  

b. Deich fruug hät twai kjiner  
   'this woman has two children'  
   kiːnə  
   "long/tense"  

c. Dai milcha muit kjina  
   'the corn must germinate'  
   kiːnə  
   "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 /nmlrsʃ/, typically realized as a vowel of 400ms length. The reason that the vowel in [kiːnə] does not lengthen to [iː] 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 [wiːl] 'I will', wjl 'wild.fem' [viːl], and wjl [viːl] 'because', where wjl 'wild.infl' is /wild(e)/ 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)üül I cry – the tense (dai k)üül 'the cold' - the overlong (dai k)üül 'the thigh'. Tressmann’s orthography is not able to represent these ternary oppositions. Tressmann’s orthography only allows for a binary contrast realized by doubling the vowel. It projects this doubling on the phonetic length in an arbitrary way, as illustrated in (5) below.
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: <kënnä> '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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>mutated</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>u [u]</td>
<td>ü [y]</td>
<td>uld – üler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>huud – hüüd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>a [a]</td>
<td>å [ɛ]</td>
<td>swak – swäker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hand – häin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>å [ɔ]</td>
<td>ö [œ]</td>
<td>måka – mökt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>swär – söner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oo [ɔː]</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>boowa – boiwerst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fågel – foigel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nägel – noigel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv.</td>
<td>ou [ɔ̃]</td>
<td>öi [œ̃]</td>
<td>boum – böim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wourd – wöir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>au [ɑ̃]</td>
<td>ui [u̯]</td>
<td>faut – fuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hauð – huir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: [uː]/[yː] → modern form [ɑ̃]/[u̯], where the ancient mutation relation between [uː] and [yː] has been obscured by later phonological developments (diphthongization and breaking, respectively). Synchronously, the process can be described as competition of elements.
where the floating [I] of the ending anchors to the root, while the A is delinked from its root node.\(^\text{56}\) [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]. Synchronically the process can be described as:

\[
\text{(7) } \begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{A} & \text{U} & \text{I} \\
\hline
\cdot & \cdot & t & + & \rightarrow & \cdot & \cdot \cdot t \\
\hline
| & | & | & & | & | \\
\end{array}
\]

[fauator fu't] 

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.\(^\text{57}\) 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 <e> in open syllables, and written as <e> in the contexts -er/-en/-ell/-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 [milãu]. The prefix for- is written with a full vowel, although it can be pronounced as [fə], but usually as [fa/fo/fo] (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], [ɦ]), might be a Portuguese superstrate effect.

2.3 Historical phonology

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

2.3.1 Vowels

2.3.1.1 Heavy roots

Pomeranian is seemingly conservative in its vowel system. West Germanic diphthongs [uo] and [io]\(^ {58} \) 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: ough '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'.

Pomeranian participates in the lowering of PGmc palatal ē\(_1\) to long [a:], såd 'seed', lāta 'let', slāpa 'sleep', and Pomeranian here contrasts with Ingvaeonic, like English sleep, Frisian sliepe, which are conservative (Gothic slēpan).

2.3.1.2 Schwa and -(ə)n.

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

\[(9)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>WGmc</th>
<th>Pomer</th>
<th>Groningen</th>
<th>Frisian</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R1.</td>
<td>uo</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>g[a^u]d</td>
<td>g[a^u]d</td>
<td>g[u^a]d</td>
<td>g[u]d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2.</td>
<td>iə</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>br[a^i]w</td>
<td>br[a^i]w</td>
<td>br[i^a]f</td>
<td>br[i]f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3.</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>h[u:]:s</td>
<td>h[u:]:s</td>
<td>h[u:]:s</td>
<td>h[ɑ^u]:s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R4.</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>w[i:]:d</td>
<td>w[i:]:d</td>
<td>w[i:]:d</td>
<td>w[ɑ^i]:t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pomeranian participates in the lowering of PGmc palatal ē\(_1\) to long [a:], såd 'seed', lāta 'let', slāpa 'sleep', and Pomeranian here contrasts with Ingvaeonic, like English sleep, Frisian sliepe, which are conservative (Gothic slēpan).

\[(10)\]

R5. -(ə)n → -ə
R6. -ə → -

\(^ {58} \) From PGmc ə and WGmc ə\(_2\), 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\alpha. \text{ ein-en} & \rightarrow \text{ ain-a} \\
\beta. \text{ ein-e} & \rightarrow \text{ ain-} \\
\gamma. \text{ ein} & \rightarrow \text{ ai}
\end{align*}
\]

Besides these projections, there is a general rule of -\textit{n} drop in nominal and verbal plurals, as well as in infinitives with \textit{en} \rightarrow \textit{a}, though a separate -\textit{en} infinitive emerged in Pomeranian (< -\textit{enə}, < -\textit{enədə}). The \textit{n}-drop at the right edge has also affected the \textit{/n} as final root consonant after ([−round]) diphthongs, as in \textit{klain} \rightarrow \textit{klai} 'small', \textit{swijn} \rightarrow \textit{swij(ə)} 'pig'. This seems to be the same process as R5. Therefore, we would like to subsume \textit{α} and \textit{γ} in (6) under one rule.

Now, if \textit{α} were ordered before \textit{β}, then \textit{α} would feed \textit{β}: this is incorrect because we would predict \textit{einen} \rightarrow \textit{ain} (error!). If \textit{β} were ordered before \textit{α}, then \textit{β} would feed \textit{α}: this is incorrect because we would predict \textit{eine} \rightarrow \textit{ai} (error!). So we only can generalize over \textit{α} and \textit{γ}, if we assume that the generalized rule \textit{α+γ} and rule \textit{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 -\textit{n} apocope either, in view of \textit{taum måken} 'to make', and \textit{teigen} 'ten', etc., unless we assume underlying /måkene/ and /teigene/ with (silent) -\textit{a}, which is the historical situation MD \textit{te makene} 'to make', Flemish \textit{tiene} 'ten'.

There is a rule active in Pomeranian that affects the root-final consonant -\textit{n}. After high diphthongs and long i, this -\textit{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 -\textit{r}, e.g. \textit{swijr} 'pig' [\textit{ʃiː(ə)}] \textless \textit{swijn}; \textit{swijn} 'pigs' \textless \textit{swijne}.

\[
\text{(12) R7. -n} \rightarrow \text{Ø/VV} \\ \\
\begin{align*}
wijr [\text{ʃiː(ə)}] - \text{swijn 'pig(s)'} & < *\text{swijn} - \text{swijne} \\
ei\text{-deeld} [e\text{ʔdɛːlt}] & \sim \text{HG eingeteilt 'shared'} \\
stair [staː(ə)] - \text{stain 'stone(s)'} & < *\text{stain} - \text{staine} \\
bair [bɑ(ə)] - \text{bain 'leg'} & < *\text{bain} - \text{baine} \\
klair [klɑ(ə)] - \text{klain - klaina} & < *\text{klain} - \text{klaine} - \text{klainen}
\end{align*}
\]

These contexts can be subsumed to R5 if we assume that -\textit{n} in \textit{swijn} etc. is syllabic, i.e. (swij\textit{)}\textsubscript{a}(n)\textsubscript{a}. There is evidence from EP that this was the case in the Saatzig-Dramburger dialect.
Moreover, the resulting *swiː* is pronounced with an optional schwa *[ʃviː]*. 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 *[ʃvi] →[ei]* in open syllables: *trije - treeje* 'three', *nij→neej* 'new', etc. This change also occurred in *sn[ei]n* → *sn[ei]n* 'sunday', *w[ei]n* → *w[ei]n* 'vehicle', *r[ei]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 -*ar*-/*aar* '-er' in Dutch, where -aar is selected after a syllable with schwa: *wand[ə]ar* 'walker'. Curiously, VVn select /-aar/ instead of /-er/ as if it were underlingly V+-en: *winnaar* 'winner', *minnaar* 'lover', *dienaar* 'servant' on a par with *beoef[ə]ar* '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, a(n) '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, [ɛː], [yː] and [øː] were broken to [ai], [ui] and [oi], respectively. Short vowels did not participate in this change.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ä} & \rightarrow \text{ai} \quad \ast \text{käm} & > \text{kaim} \ 'came' \\
\text{ü} & \rightarrow \text{ui} \quad \ast \text{müde} & > \text{muir} \ 'tired' \\
\text{ö} & \rightarrow \text{oi} \quad \ast \text{dör} & > \text{doir} \ 'through'
\end{align*}
\]

This does not mean that long [ɛː], [yː], [øː] do not exist in the present-day language, e.g. *däit* 'does', *hüüit* 'today', *köipa* 'buy'. These have either an other source, e.g. *hüüit* < *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* [*fɔːtə*] 'father', *meir* [*meːr*] 'more', *hier* [*hiːr*] 'here', *suur* [*zuːr*] '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: bargain [ˈbærɪ] 'mountain', warm [ˈwɔrm] 'warm', /r/ has dropped under compensatory lenition. In other coda clusters, /r/ deletion has caused prearticulation: kord [kʰɔrd] '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 [ˈlyːr] 'people', ber [ˈber] 'bed', luur [ˈluːr] 'loud' with final apical [r or r]. In all these cases, /r/ has developed from intervocalic -d- under schwa apocope: < *liüüde, *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 [ɾ] in younger speakers, or even, incidentally, to [x] in Portuguese spelling pronunciation.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(14)} & \quad \text{liüür} \quad \sim \text{mDu lude} \ '\text{people'} \\
& \quad \text{weir} \quad \sim \text{mDu weide} \ '\text{meadow'} \\
& \quad \text{ber} \quad \sim \text{mDu bedde} \ '\text{bed'} \\
& \quad \text{luur} \quad \sim \text{mDu luud} \ '\text{loud'} \\
& \quad \text{eir} \quad \sim \text{mDu eerde} \ '\text{earth'}
\end{align*}
\]

For intervocalic rhotacism, see the next section. The remaining onset /r/, single and as part of clusters, as an apical trill: reera [ˈreːrə]. /r/ is a prototypical onset consonant, i.e. lüür should be analyzed as (lʊu)ᵣ(rV)ᵣ 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(15)} & \quad \text{aːa} \quad \text{Du baden} \sim \text{Pom. båra} \ '\text{to bath'} \\
& \quad \text{MD hadde} \sim \text{Pom. haar} \ '\text{had'} \\
& \quad \text{HG schade} \sim \text{Pom. schår} \ '\text{a pity'} \\
& \quad \text{eːe} \quad \text{HG reden} \sim \text{Pom. reera} \ '\text{to talk'} , \text{Du vrede} \sim \text{Pom. freera} \ '\text{peace'} \\
& \quad \text{MD bedde} \sim \text{Pom. beer} \ '\text{bed'} \\
& \quad \text{iːi} \quad \text{Fri riide} \sim \text{Pom. rijra} \ '\text{ride'} \\
& \quad \text{Du midden} \sim \text{Pom. mir} \ '\text{mid/middle'}, \\
& \quad \text{oː} \quad \text{HG oder} \sim \text{Pom. ora} \ '\text{either/or'}, \\
& \quad \text{uːu} \quad \text{Fri luud} \sim \text{Pom. luur} \ '\text{loud'} \\
& \quad \text{Low Saxon drudde} \sim \text{Pom. drüüir} \ '\text{third'} . \\
& \quad \text{yː} \quad \text{MD lude} \sim \text{Pom. liüür} \ '\text{people'} \\
& \quad \text{diphthongs} \\
& \quad \text{ui} \quad \text{HG müde} \sim \text{Pom. mui̯r} \ '\text{tired'} \\
& \quad \text{ai} \quad \text{Du brede} \sim \text{Pom. brair} \ '\text{broad'} \\
& \quad \text{ou} \quad \text{Du rode} \sim \text{Pom. rour} \ '\text{red.infl'} \\
& \quad \text{ei} \quad \text{Du weide} \sim \text{Pom. weir} \ '\text{meadow'}
\end{align*}
\]
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 [stɑt] - stäärer [stɛːr] 'city/cities', bred [brɛt] - breer [breɛr] 'shelf(s)'. Inflected forms imposed this new [r] to seemingly uninflected forms\(^{60}\) within the adjectival and nominal paradigm, e.g. air rour [roʊˈr] 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 [roʊt] 'the book is red'.

(16)  

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>roud [t]</td>
<td>rour</td>
<td>roura</td>
<td>'red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloud [t]</td>
<td>blour</td>
<td>bloura</td>
<td>'naked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braid [t]</td>
<td>brair</td>
<td>braira</td>
<td>'broad'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Synchronically, it is not immediately clear if we should treat rour etc. as allomorphic adjectives or as regular adjectives with a synchronic rule of intervocalic rhotacism, R8 + schwa apocope [rour], or final devoicing [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. gedānk '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 tandem\(^{61}\) 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) \[R8.\]  \[d \rightarrow r / (V)\{\#+\}V_2 \] with \[V_2 = [ə]\]

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 - sääär - sät 'to set-set-set', where sääär 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)ə/. 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)ə 'happy(ness)', cf. section 5.1.1.1, and upon conversion *arbeid* [t] 'work' → *arbeira* 'to work', *bruud* [t] 'bride' → *brüüra* 'to be a bride/to play as a bride', *blaud* [t] 'blood' - *bluire* 'to bleed' (section 5.3).

Synchronically, intervocalic rhotacism can be described phonologically as spreading of features [continuant, sonorant] on the supralaryngeal tier of the environment, to the empty manner slot of /d/ (Cedeño 1987), which produces /r/. 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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{root tier} & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet \\
V & C & V & V & C & V \\
\text{laryngeal tier} & \{\} & [\text{voice}] & \{\} & \rightarrow & \{\} & [\text{voice}] & \{\} \\
\text{place} & \{\ldots\}^* & [\text{cor}] & \{\} & \{\ldots\}^* & [\text{cor}] & \{\} \\
\text{manner} & [\text{son}] & [\text{son}] & [\text{son}] & [\text{son}] & \text{[cont]} & \text{[cont]} & \text{[cont]} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 [zu’t/zu’ta] or [zu’t-zu’da]), sometimes as <d>, groud – grouda usually [gro’d/gro’də] but also [gro’d/gro’də] 'great, big' or [gro’d/gro’də]. The spelling grouda is

---

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 < *uldɔ 'old.inf!'. The intervocalic trigger can be extracted from minimal pairs such as *schuuler < *schulder 'shoulder' versus *schuuld [ʃuːl] < *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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(19)} & \quad \text{ld} \rightarrow 1 / V_1 C_{\ldots} V_2 & \text{with } V_2 = [\ddot{a}/\ddot{e}] \\
\text{nd} \rightarrow n / V_1 C_{\ldots} V_2 & \text{with } V_2 = [\ddot{a}/\ddot{e}] \\
\text{rd} \rightarrow r / V_1 C_{\ldots} V_2 & \text{with } V_2 = [\ddot{a}/\ddot{e}]
\end{align*}
\]

This can be generalized to:

\[
d \rightarrow \emptyset / V_1 C_{\ldots} V_2 \quad \text{with } C = [\text{cor}] \text{ and } V_2 = [\ddot{a}/\ddot{e}]
\]

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).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(20) a. } & \quad \text{bijld [bilt]} \quad - \quad \text{bijler [biˈlɛ]} \quad - \quad \text{photo(s)}' \\
\text{wourd [voʊt]} & \quad - \quad \text{wöir [vœr]} \quad - \quad \text{word(s)}' \\
\text{kuld [kult]} & \quad - \quad \text{kul - kula} \quad - \quad \text{cold}' \\
\text{uld [ult]} & \quad - \quad \text{ul - ula} \quad - \quad \text{'old}' \\
\text{wijld [vilt]} & \quad - \quad \text{wijl - wijla} \quad - \quad \text{'wild}' \\
\text{anders } & \quad \text{nominalization} \\
\text{b. } & \quad \text{gesund [jizunt]} \quad - \quad \text{gesuner} \quad - \quad \text{'healthy/heathier'} \\
\text{andras } & \quad \text{other(s)}' \\
\text{behandla } \text{treat}' & \quad - \quad \text{behanelt} \quad - \quad (\text{he) treats'} \\
\text{hand } \text{treat}' & \quad - \quad \text{hain} \quad - \quad \text{hand(s)}' \\
\text{hund } \text{hunt}' & \quad - \quad \text{huun [huːn]} \quad - \quad \text{dog(s)}' \\
\text{spind } \text{cupboard(s)}' & \quad - \quad \text{spijner [ʃpiˈnɛr]} \quad - \quad \text{cupboard(s)}' \\
\text{c. } & \quad \text{peird [peɪt]} \quad - \quad \text{peira -} \quad - \quad \text{'horse(s)'} \\
\text{hard } \text{treat}' & \quad - \quad \text{haarer} \quad - \quad \text{'hard(er)'}
\end{align*}
\]

63 See Birkenes (2014) for an overview of subtractive effects in various German dialects. See Bye & Svenonius (2012) for a formal account.
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]/[ula] synchronically, if we assume the underlying form /uld/ for [ult], /ulde/ for [ul] and /ulden/ for [ula], 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/roud/ 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 {lrn} together with the following schwa causes lenition. It is even more defensible as there is a trigger in the case of clusters: the spreading might be parasitic on spreading the place features of /lnr/ and adjacent /d/, having the place feature [coronal] in common. The OCP then coerces these double [cor] features to be represented as a spread feature, and enforces other features on the supralaryngeal tier, such as [-son], to participate as well, so that /d/ 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-.
(21) root tier

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{CV-tier} & \text{CV-tier} \\
\hline
\text{C} & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{C} & \text{V} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

laryngeal tier

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{supralaryngeal: place} & \text{supralaryngeal: place} \\
\hline
\text{[cor]} & \text{[cor]} & \text{[son]} & \text{[son]} \\
\hline
\text{[cont]} & \text{[cont]} & \text{[cont]} & \text{[cont]} \\
\text{[lat]} & \text{[lat]} & \text{[lat]} & \text{[lat]} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow [\text{cor}]\]

\begin{align*}
\text{l} & \quad \text{d} & \quad \text{a} & \quad \text{l} & \quad * \\
\end{align*}

Notice that intervocalic cluster reduction and schwa apocope are one and the same process in this analysis. This cannot be the full story in view of \textit{schuuler} < *\textit{schulder} 'shoulder' and \textit{ule} < *\textit{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- (\textit{planta} \rightarrow *\textit{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.

\[^{65}\text{This can be seen as an implementation of Birkenes’ observation that (coronal) sonorants favour schwa-apocope: ”Andererseits ist Apokope nach Liquiden und Nasalen (l, m, n, r ) häufiger als nach anderen Lauten. (...) Allgemein scheint folgendes Gesetz zu gelten: Je sonorer der vorangehende Laut ist, desto wahrscheinlicher ist die Apokope des Schwa.” (Birkenes 2014:52).}^\]
2.3.2.4.1  ks → ss and sk → f
The first change *waksen > wassen > wassa 'grow', *fokse > fosse > foss 'fox', *oksen > ossen > ossa 'ox', *weksel > wessel 'change', *deksel > deistel 'adze, cutting tool' is a typical Low German development, shared by Groningen, Dutch and Flemish, but not by Frisian or the High German dialects, which retain /ks/.

The second change, sk → f, e.g. *skap > 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|ɣ] and [ç|ʝ], respectively, is a characteristic that separates European and Brazilian Pomeranian from its neighboring (Mecklenburgian and Low Prussian) dialects: HG frau ~ Pom. fruug [fru:x] 'woman', Fri nij ~ Pom. niig [ni:ç] 'new', HG bauen ~ Pom. buuga, HG schreien ~ Pom. sriiga [ʃri:ʝ] 'cry', Du blauw ~ Pom. blåg [błɔx] 'blue', Du. naaien ~ Pom. nöiga [nøiʝ] 'knit', HG bleistift ~ Pom. blijgstift [♭li:ʝʃɪft]. Du taai 'tough' ~ Pom. teeg [tɛ:x]. We will interpret the process as onset strengthening triggered by schwa apocope. Before the change, the glide is an ambisyllabic segment: fruwe. When the ambisyllabic nature is resolved into a true coda element and a pure onset element (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-jàrsdag '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/: Gützlaffshagen (W00398), Zamow (W00543), Tribus (W51413), Voigtshagen (W51412), Arnsberg (W51414), Wustrow-Camp (W00536); /sk/: Mittelhagen (W50994), Hagenow (W00542); /sx/: Robe (W51416). These are all in the area with juw (~ Fri jou) instead of general Pomeranian juuch 'you.PL.ACC'.
In this scenario, *fruug* emerged because of schwa apocope and extended to related forms. A similar diagram holds for *niig* [niːç] '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 amabisyllabic 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* [-*ərɪç]: *bäkerig* [bɛkərɪç] '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* [kɛ] '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).


---

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 *housa* [hoʊ̯a] 'hit/beat' i.e. it has an underlying long /ɔ/, rather than [haʰa] with a heterorganic diphthong.68 This situates the rise of the velarisation 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(lijk) - 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* [miça]. This is parallel to a perhaps much older borrowing *famijlch* [famiˑlç] 'family', and the suffix *-erig* < French -erie: *bäkerig* [bɛkərɪç] '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* [jeːvɐ] '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/ → /t/, there was the – not exceptionless – intervocalic voicing with underlying /t/. It is unclear if these forms were imposed by analogy on the underived forms because of final devoicing, as Tressmann’s spelling assumes: *sward* [swaːt] - *swarda* 'black', Dutch *zwart* - *zwarte*; *groud* [ɡroʊt] - *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 [plɑndə] besides [plɑntə].

68 Other cases in the table in section 8.1.
69 Frisian (*nij - niger* 'new / curiosity') can be explained by an older form *nuw* (which is the Hollandish form). Alternatively, *niger* 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 [do¹f] > douch [do²x] 'deaf', seev [sɛ:f] ~ sijch [si:ç] 'sieve'. This might be related to the change in section 2.3.2.4.2, where a glide [w] velarizes to [x/ç]. Apparently, the fricative in [douf] is interpreted as a glide, and participates in glide velarization. This gives us the following developmental partih: /do:ff/ > /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 sijcta '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 Invaenions 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 Ingvaenic change as a phonological assimilation process of a nasal to a subsequent fricative, which we schematized in (23).

\[
\begin{align*}
(23) \quad & R_0: \quad \{n, m\} \rightarrow \emptyset / \{s, f, \emptyset, f\} \\
& [\alpha \text{place}, -\text{cont}, +\text{nasal}] \rightarrow \emptyset / [\alpha \text{place}, +\text{cont}, +\text{sg}] 
\end{align*}
\]

The trigger of this assimilation is: if two coda consonants share a set of (place) fetaures, 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 form 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.

![Diagram](image_url)
The coronal feature in (24) may be replaced by a labial feature in order to derive cases like *fumf → fiauf. 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). This approach still leaves open two questions: why does place assimilation only happen in the Ingaevonic 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] /oːs/ < *uns, Fri meenske [mẽːskə] < *minske, or in synchronic phonology: Fri w[ën]ne – w[ẽː:]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.


2. -ng- as [ŋ] or [ɲ] in function of the preceding vowel: angel [ŋ] 'angling rod'; ängel [ɲ] 'angel'. This also occurs within paradigms: lang [ŋ(k)] - länger [ɲ]. 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 -inh(o) in mocim/mocinho 'small boy': -inh(o) [ĩ] or [ĩɲũ]. The [ŋ/ɲ] alternation in paradigms gets extended to nonvelar nasals clusters in modern speech. For instance, it is possible to hear the opposition blind/bliner 'blind' (with intervocalic cluster reduction) realized as blink/bliner, probably through intermediate [bliɲer] which has [bliɲ] and [bliŋ] as back formations. The

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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: \(ig\;\text{gå}\;[gɔ]\) 'I go' — \(hai\;geit\;[je\text{"t}]\) 'he goes' and \(gåbel\) 'fork' [gɔbɔl], \(geel\;[je:\text{\text{"l}}]\) 'yellow'. The first opposition is also regularized to \([j\text{\text{"e}}]/[je\text{"t}]\) 'go/goes' in some speakers. The [j] pronunciation of onset /g-/ is always possible (e.g. even [jɔbɔl]), but the [j] is obligatory before front vowels [i/e/ɛ]: *\([gɛ:\text{\text{"l}}]\) 'yellow'. The past tense \(gaif\) of \(geewa\;[je:\text{\text{"v}}e]\) is always pronounced [jaif] not [gaif].

2.3.4 Affrication

Affrication (sometimes labeled "palatalization") of -k- to a coronal fricative [t(s)] before and after front vowels was found in some European Pomeranian dialects (e.g. Meesow in Kreis Regenwalde, Leba in Kreis Lauenburg) and Low Prussian dialects (e.g. Lisewo in Kreis Konitz): \(keerl\; >\;tjeerl\) 'man', \(kääm\; >\;tjeem\) 'came'. I have not found any such affricates in Brazilian Pomeranian in Espírito Santo. It is a common feature in Mennonite German (Low Prussian) variants around the world (Jedig 1966, Nieuweboer 1998, 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: \(geewa\;[je:\text{\text{"v}}e]\).

2.3.5 Unrounding

Various complex rounded sounds, such as [y] and [ø], are realized in an unrounded manner in some EP dialects and in some speakers in Brazil, for instance \(üm\;[ym]\; →\;[im]\) 'around', \(sün\;[zyn]\; →\;[zin]\) 'sun', \(mücht\;[my(:)čt]\; →\;[mĉt]\) '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] < [høi\text{"n}], \(müts\) 'bonnet' [mits] < [myts], \(lüür\) 'people' [li:] < [ly:r].

2.3.6 Debuccalization (deletion of [place])

Various final consonants can be optionally silent (with leaving an audible trace) while these may show up in careful speech. Such deletion of place features (delinking the place tier) especially happens with coronals /n, r, l/ in final position. It is not clear if there is any relation with the Ingvaeonic 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]* > *[wɪh]* and *schal* *[fɑl]* > *[fɑ]*. 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 underlingly present. 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)-schwå(r)er/schwå(r)er* 'heavi(er)'. I found one case with systematic dropping of -g, as in *jeira dag [jeirədə?] 'every day' in one speaker.*

2.3.7 Complex breaking of short vowels

The short stressed vowels *[ɛ], [ɔ], [æ], [o], [y]* are sometimes realized with a slight pre- or post-articulation, while remaining short. Such short diphthongs are: *[ɛ|ɛ], [o|ɔ], [ɪ|ɪ], [œ|œ], [ʊ|ʊ], and *[w|o]*. Examples: *telg* *[tɛlç|teˈlɛ]* 'branch', *melk* *[mɛlɛk|mɛˈlɛk]* 'milk', *ik kots* *[kɛtɑs]* 'I vomit', *weg* *[vɛx|wɛˈx]* 'away', *foss* *[fʊs]* 'fox', *ik* *[iɡk]* 'I', *löt* *[lʊt]ˈlɛt* '(he) lets', *sün* *[sʊn]ˈsʊn* 'sun'. Only complex vowels are sensitive to it: it does not happens with the simple vowels *[a], [i], and [u]*, though it may occur in *uld* 'old' in those speakers who pronounce *old*: *[wʊl]ˈoʊld]*. Complex breaking versus simple breaking can be represented as in (25):
It happens in some speakers, and some words (Tressmann 2006b:vi)\(^\text{72}\), especially when the word has emphasis. It is often difficult to judge if the glide is before or after the stress-bearing vowel\(^\text{73}\); 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.\(^\text{74}\) 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:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{simple} & \rightarrow & \text{complex} \\
\text{breaking} & \rightarrow & \text{breaking} \\
\hline
| | & | & | \\
| | & | & | \\
| | & | & | \\
| | & | & | \\
| | & | & | \\
\end{array}
\]

\([\varepsilon] \quad [\text{\acute{a}}] \quad [\varepsilon]\)

(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 etymological\(^\text{75}\) (*foss*, HG Fuchs *fox*), is the most common trigger, but also paradigmatically contracted contexts (*weeg* 'road' [\varepsilon\:\varepsilon\:\varepsilon] \sim [\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon], *klain - kl'ener* 'small(er)', *låta* 'let' \sim (hai) *l'öt* 'he lets', *fläiga* 'fly' \sim (hai) *flöcht* 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\:\acute{e}ldöl\:\acute{e}n], 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 [\varepsilon].
/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 underlingly short: bork 'bark' with reduction of /r/, either under compensatory lengthening [bɔːk] or under prearticulation as [bɔːk, bɔːk].

Perhaps we should add a third trigger: schwa apocope. This might explain ek [ɛk] 'corner', or sün [ʃyn] 'sun', to be compared with HG Ecke and Sonne. Interestingly is the case of written porch [pɔʃx], 'toad', which should probably 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). 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 [ʷəlt]–[ʷylər] (Tressmann 2006a:vi), shows that the prearticulation is not part of the lexical frame but derived. Moreover, it shows a relative independence of the overt complexity of the coda, but the articulation is probably a sign of the underlying presence of /ld/ in üler. Prearticulation can combine with aspiration, as in korw 'basket' [kʰɔst] < [kʰɔst].

One might be tempted to compare the Pomeranian prearticulation with the second Frisian breaking in underived forms, e.g. koart [kʰɔt] 'short' < koart < kort with deletion of /t/ 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 [bˀɔst] (simple breaking), with Pomeranian borst [bˀɔst] (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

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76 Pomereliani had pog 'toad' (Schwemannski 1853:138). See also the plural pageh 'frogs' in section 9.4.
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* [jaːv], '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* [jaːf]. Final devoicing has led to loss of oppositions, like EP *korf* – *korw* 'basket(s)', which was replaced by umlaut + suffix in BP, *korw* – *körwa* [koːʃ/køːvɐ], 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 [ɣʝxɔ] are positional variants. In final position only [xɔ] occur. The choice between [xɔ] depends on the preceding vowel. It seems that underlying /t/ and devoiced underlying /d/ (incompletely) 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 hūūtsendāgs < *hūüt-tam-dāgs, ~ Fri hjoedtedei, Du heden ten dage 'at present/today'. Another case might be Pom hait – hïts '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 form 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
au & \rightarrow a: & blaum & \rightarrow blaam 'flower' \\
ai & \rightarrow a: & stai & \rightarrow staam 'stone', bai& \rightarrow baa 'bone', saia & \rightarrow saa 'to see' \\
kai & \rightarrow a: & kai & \rightarrow kaa 'no one' \\
akai & \rightarrow a: & ai & \rightarrow a(n)'
\end{align*}
\]

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 [thp]. Similarly,
'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: 'kill' is realized with [dm].

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

Many irregular paradigms becomes regular if we assume final -e or -n without exponence. In the scheme below, this so-called catalectic realization is written as ( .. )o, e.g. (ə)o and (n)o, 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.

### Table 1: Catalexis Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Realization without catalexis</th>
<th>Realization with catalexis + intervocalic reduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wij[t]</td>
<td>hijl - wijla</td>
<td>wijld - wijld(ə)o - wijld(ə)(n)o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gau[t]</td>
<td>gaur - gaura</td>
<td>gaud - gaud(ə)o - gaud(ə)(n)o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bill[t]</td>
<td>bila</td>
<td>'image' - bild - bild(ə)o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haut[t]</td>
<td>huir</td>
<td>'hat' - haid - huid(ə)o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kruu[t]</td>
<td>krüur</td>
<td>'herb' - kruud - kruudder(ə)o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>aib - aina</td>
<td>'a(n)' - ai(n) - ai(n)(ə) - ai(n)(ə)(n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

### Assumptions:

1. Morphemes are {grid, melody} pairs (McCarthy 1979)
2. (Post-lexical) lining up of grid and melody is left to right (McCarthy 1979)
3. Morphemes can be degenerate, i.e. melody without grid point (Marantz 1985)
4. Pomeranian allows final {t,s}* as an appendix, 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).

Pomeranian categorial suffixes n°, a° are degenerate

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78 The suppletive account of subtractive morphology in Bye & Svenonius (2012, section 10) clearly misses a generalization.
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/baira* (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. *düän* and *düna* 'thin'. The principles under (29)-(30) shed light on this problem. Consider the structure below:

The last segment of the stem *braid*, /d/, is analyzed a categorial morpheme, $a^\circ$, that turns the root /brai-/ into the adjectival stem /braid/. As it is a categorical suffix, it lacks a grid point $\bullet$, 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/ (inf1 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 V's (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 consitute a learnability problem unless 1. catalexis is an option of UG\(^81\), 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), '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] - freiën 'friend(s), har[t] - haar 'hard'. Here, the free grid point is used for lengthening the vowel rather than exponent 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), (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 ~ [jœ¥r] (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 synchronous n-apocope: Port. aipim 'casave' > eipi ['eipi], Port. cupim 'termite' > kupij [kupi]. An extra piece of evidence that the plural morpheme in verbs -a [ø] is -e(n), is the fact that the enclitic form 'm of the 1plural morpheme wij, e.g. in wi'm gåa! < /wiø(n), wij gåa/, 'let us go'. The nasal feature in the enclitic pronoun is not provided by the pronoun, and hence must be an exponent of underlying (n), which is, after cliticization, not at the end of the prosodic domain anymore, and hence cannot 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-ø-(n), as well. Notice that infinitive 2, which ends in -en, can be analyzed as either V-øn-(ø), or V-ønd-(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 exclave feature might be a consequence of migration (Ostsiedlung), but not necessarily so, as breaking is a cross-linguistic

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82 The latter is the historical form. "Tom voften schulen sie ock nene beruchtigte und unehrliche, schendliche und untüchtige mans- oder frouen- und megepersonen, ock keine junge gesellen to sick laten, ut und in ghan, oder die nacht mit ehm sitten, nicht mit solken vele to donde hebben, sondern sick derselven mit allem vlite entslaen, nicht alleine vele verdiechlichkeit, sondern ock grote fähr to vormiedene, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(32)</th>
<th>Older Pomeranian</th>
<th>EP and BP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[yː]</td>
<td>→ [ui]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[œː]</td>
<td>→ [oi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛː]</td>
<td>→ [ai]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are gruin 'green' < *grün, doir < *dör 'door', kaim 'came' < *kām '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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(33)</th>
<th>a. German kām</th>
<th>Pomeranian kaim</th>
<th>c. English came</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x x</td>
<td>x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 drōig '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.
Pomeranian /melk/ 'milk' and coarticulated /mɛlɛk/.

a. [melk]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
| & | & | & | \\
C & V & C & *v
\end{array}
\]

b. [mɛlɛk]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
| & | & | & | \\
C & V & C & *v
\end{array}
\]

..., 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/: [mɛlɛk]. 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: [mɛlɛk].

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
| & | & | & | \\
C & V & C & *v
\end{array}
\]

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 setete '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
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), 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I, A, U</th>
<th>I, A, U</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dröig</td>
<td>druig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köich</td>
<td>kuich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forspöira</td>
<td>forspuiira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nöirg</td>
<td>nuïrg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öil</td>
<td>uil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forsöika</td>
<td>forsuika</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I, A, U</th>
<th>I, A, U</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>forsoiga</td>
<td>*forsöiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joiga</td>
<td>*jöiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öiwer</td>
<td>*öiwer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koiken</td>
<td>*köiken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noiit</td>
<td>*nöit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moiil</td>
<td>*möil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) -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 √[dr|A,U|g] takes a floating categorial morpheme a₀=|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.

\[ \text{(35)} \quad \text{dr} \cdot \cdot \cdot \text{g} + \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{dr} \cdot \cdot \cdot \text{g} \quad /\text{dra}^{\text{u}}\text{g} +\text{i/} \rightarrow /\text{dru}^{\text{i}}\text{g/} \]

Tier 2 \[ \begin{array}{c|c|c} |\text{A}| & |\text{I}| & |\text{A}| \end{array} \quad |\text{I}| \quad |\text{A}| \quad |\text{U}| \quad |\text{I}| \]

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).

\[ \text{(36)} \quad \text{dr} \cdot \cdot \cdot \text{g} + \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{dr} \cdot \cdot \cdot \text{g} \quad /\text{dro}\: \text{g} \: + \: \text{i/} \rightarrow /\text{dro}^{\text{i}}\text{g/} \]

Tier 1 \[ \begin{array}{c|c} |\text{A}| \quad |\text{I}| \end{array} \quad |\text{I}| \quad |\text{A}| \quad |\text{I}| \quad |\text{U}| \]

This root + a₀ 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. 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 \( \rightarrow \) forspuir(e)o. Now a contradiction looms between catalexis, which proceeds under left-to-right alignment (cf.

\[ \text{[85] A similar opposition is probable for bluira - blöir 'bleed.pres-past' and buiga - böig 'bow.pres-past'.} \]
(31)), and the expulsion of [A] in \(-spu|^\text{ir}^-, which proceeds under right-to-left alignment on the competitive tier by the umlaut factor [\text{I}]. In other words, catalexis requires coalescent alignment of \textit{forspöir} in the past tense. Similar effects with the alternates \textit{druig} / \textit{dröig} 'dry' which have \textit{dröigt} 'draught' as their only nominalization. There is reason to believe that the deadjectival nominalizer -\textit{t} is in fact underlying -\textit{d(e)}, 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 \textit{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 -\textit{r} by [ʁ/x] as in \textit{Carioca} accent and it sometimes happens in Pomeranian as well.

3. Mixed speech may have partial merger of -\textit{l} and -\textit{r} (as in the so-called \textit{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 -\textit{r} and coda -\textit{g} [x], producing -\textit{g} codas in, say, \textit{suur} 'sour': [su\textasciitilde{x}], They may pronounce \textit{blind} as [blint], perhaps as an avoidance strategy for the Brazilian final-t palatalization [blintɕi]. 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:
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).

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{NOM} & 1 & 2 & 3\text{MASC} & 3\text{FEM} & 3\text{NEUT} & 1\text{PL} & 2\text{PL} & 3\text{PL} \\
\text{DAT} & \text{mij} & \text{dij} & \text{em} & \text{eer} & - & \text{ous} & \text{juuch} & \text{eerr} \\
\text{ACC} & \text{mij} & \text{dij} & \text{em} & \text{eer} & \text{dat/-t} & \text{ous} & \text{juuch} & \text{eerr}
\end{array}
\]

There is full neutralization between dative/accusative case in strong pronouns. This Ingvaenic feature was already present in Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon for 12sg and 12pl, but not for 3sg/pl. EP represents this old Ingvaenic situation, at least in the five dialect grammars or dictionaries available. For 3sg, dat/acc forms were *em/en* 'him' and *eerr/sai* 'her'. BP extended dat/acc neutralization to 3sg masc *em/em* and fem *eerr/eerr* by extending the dative form to the accusative, reserving *sae* '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 *sae*.

\[
\begin{align*}
(2) & \quad \text{a. Wen air meisch kümnt un däit eerr darbij forstöira, …} & \text{(UmL:101)} \\
& \quad \text{when a person comes and does them then disturb.inf1} \\
& \quad \text{when a person comes near and disturb them, …'} \\
\text{b. Wen man eerr argra däit, …} & \text{(UmL:102)} \\
& \quad \text{when one them annoy does, …} \\
& \quad \text{'when one annoys them} \\
\text{c. Wen sai brüla daua, höört man eerr fijw kilomeiter af.} & \text{(UmL:102)} \\
& \quad \text{when they scream.inf1 do.pl, hears one them five km off} \\
& \quad \text{'when they scream, one can hear them from a distance if 5 km.} \\
\text{d. dat kair hawk eerr greepa krigt} & \text{(UmL:104)} \\
& \quad \text{so that no hawk them caught gets} \\
& \quad \text{'so that no hawk can catch them'}
\end{align*}
\]

The reduced enclitic pronoun *-s* is the only relict of the old use of *sae* 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. Pronouns have the same distribution as full arguments, but there are a few exceptions in the realm of V2. There is a zero-counterpart of the second person singular in inversion only. The syntax of this so-called "pro-drop" is discussed in section 4.5.1. Weak pronouns in Pomeranian only occur in enclitic position: 3pl ('s), 3sg fem ('s), 3sg masc (-a), and 2sg, which is empty (Ø). The weak enclitic counterpart of accusative eer 'them' is 's. Examples of weak pronouns are given under (3).

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

### (3) Examples of Weak Pronouns

- **a. Wen's dröig sin, ...**
  - NOM (UmL:71)
  - 'when-they dry are
  - 'when they are dry, ...'

- **b. Dun sää́r'a blous: ...**
  - NOM
  - then said-he simply ...
  - 'then he said simply ...'

- **c. Must ø wekmåls froiga so "mama, wat is dat?"**
  - NOM
  - must you sometimes ask such "mum, what is that?"
  - 'Do you sometimes need to say: Mum, what is it?'

- **d. un (wij) hāwa's ranerhängt ana kangal**
  - ACC (UmL:57)
  - and we have them onto-hung to-the yoke
  - 'and we hung them onto the yoke'

### (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>Klaai-Frisian</th>
<th>Wâld-Frisian</th>
<th>Groningen</th>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. 'me'</td>
<td>mei</td>
<td>mə</td>
<td>mei</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 'thee'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dei</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 'ye'</td>
<td>jëi</td>
<td>jə</td>
<td>jö</td>
<td>jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 'we'</td>
<td>wei</td>
<td>wə</td>
<td>wëi</td>
<td>wø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 'she'</td>
<td>zei</td>
<td>zə</td>
<td>seï</td>
<td>sə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 'he'</td>
<td>hëi</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>hëi</td>
<td>-ər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. 'thou'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dou</td>
<td>-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. 'them'</td>
<td>hen</td>
<td>-ze</td>
<td>har</td>
<td>-se</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

86 For instance WS 8: dei fuit daue mi seer weih, ik gloow, ik hew sei dorchoope (Kolberg, 52272) versus …, ik hefs mie dürchloope (Necknin, 00553).


88 Dutch has lost it 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'.

67
Weak pronouns with positional reduction are listed below the drawn line. While Dutch and Klaai-Frisian developed a *phonological* reduction strategy \( [\epsilon i] \rightarrow [i/ə] \), 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.\(^9\) Notice that the systematic relation between the full and reduced vowel has been facilitated in Dutch by the merger of Old Germanic long \(*\ddot{i}\) (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 18\(^{th}\) century High German, but died out in the 19\(^{th}\) century.

\[\text{(5)}\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } Geit \text{ dat ales gaud met Em?} \\
& \text{goes that all good with Him} \\
& \text{'Is everything well with you.hon?'} \\
\text{b. } Geit \text{ Hai uk mit?} \\
& \text{goes he also with} \\
& \text{'Do you.hon go with us/them too?'}
\end{align*}\]

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*.

\[\text{(6)}\]
\[
\begin{array}{lcc}
1\text{SG} & \text{id schääm mij} \\
2\text{SG} & \text{dou schäämst dij} \\
3\text{SG} & \text{hai/sai schäämt } \textbf{sich}/*em/*eer \\
1\text{PL} & \text{wij schääma ous} \\
2\text{PL} & \text{jij schääma juuch} \\
3\text{PL} & \text{sai schääma } \textbf{sich}/*eer
\end{array}
\]

The heavy reflexive reflexive can be created by collocating *selwst* after the reflexive pronoun: \(mij \text{ selwst/dij selwst/sich selwst, e.g. dau dat for dij selwst 'do it for yourself'}\). This is a rather

\(^{9}\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>ACC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>mijn-ø braurer</td>
<td>mijnem braurer</td>
<td>mijnna braurer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEM</td>
<td>mijn kau</td>
<td>mijn kau</td>
<td>mijn kau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEUT</td>
<td>mijn-ø fetswijr</td>
<td>mijnem fetswijr</td>
<td>mijn planta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>mijn planta</td>
<td>mijn planta</td>
<td>mijn planta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

```
(8)        M    F  N    PL
  NOM  ✂  -  ✂  -
  DAT  em  er/a  em  ~/a
  ACC  a  -  ✂  -
```

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*.

3.1.4 The "Saxon" genitive with family names

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

(10) a. *Grulke’s Laura* [grulkəs]    *Müntge’s Frida* [myntçəs]
    'daughter Laura in family Grulke'  'daughter Frida in family Möntschow'
The Saxon genitive has a variant in -a, which is used whenever the Pomeranian family name is monosyllabic, illustrated in (11).

(11)  
\[ \text{Kalka Marij / Swantsa Marij / Bruna Marij} \]
\[ \text{'daughter Mary of family Kalk / Swants / Brun} \]

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 giint/gijinent) 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:

\[
(12) \quad [\text{DP - de [ sijn...]}] \quad \rightarrow \quad [\text{DP sijn de [ sijn...]}]
\]

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

\[
(13) \quad \text{a.} \quad \textit{Dai hät sijnd antrekt hat, as hai doud wäir.}
\quad \text{he.TOP has his-one worn has, when he dead was}
\quad \text{He (i.e the other) has put on his one after his death'}
\]

\[
\text{b.} \quad \textit{Dai håwk kaim an flaigend un greip sich \textit{aind}.}
\quad \text{the hawk came PRT flying and caught REFL one}
\quad \text{'The hawk arrived flying and caught himself one (of the chickens)'}
\]

\textit{Albeid/beid} [be'd] 'both' originally has this ending too, but is also inflected like an adjective: with \textit{beid} the predicative form (\textit{wij beid 'we both'}, also used for the floating quantifier (\textit{wij dânsa beid pulsch} lit. 'we danse both polka') and \textit{beir(a)} the attributive form (\textit{dai beira jonges}, lit. 'the both boys'). \textit{Anerd} [anət], being both an inflected adjective (\textit{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)  
\[ \text{Janne weuning} \]  
\[ \text{'t Is t'r êên van Klaorties} \]
\[ \text{Jan.infl house} \]  
\[ \text{it is QR one of Klaortie.infl} \]
\[ \text{'John's house'} \]  
\[ \text{'It is one of Clara's family'} \]

Cf. Van Dam et al. (2006:31).
goes with the article most of the time, as in dai anerd/ander 'the other(s)'. 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(ː)] used as a pronoun can be used in this function as well.

(14) Air is ni meir as dai anerd
    'one is not more (worth) than the other'

This function was already present in E-Pomeranian, as shows WS 22 for Gützlaffshagen 00398: Eie mui 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>def. art.</th>
<th>MASC</th>
<th>FEM</th>
<th>NEUTER</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>dai ( &gt; de)</td>
<td>daï</td>
<td>daï</td>
<td>dat</td>
<td>dai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dem</td>
<td>dera/de</td>
<td>dera/de</td>
<td>dem</td>
<td>dera/de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>dera/der</td>
<td>dai</td>
<td>dera/der</td>
<td>dat</td>
<td>dera/der</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>de</th>
<th>MASC</th>
<th>FEM</th>
<th>NEUT</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>da(i)t</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>dei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dem</td>
<td>dera</td>
<td>dem</td>
<td>dera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>dera</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>da(i)t</td>
<td>de</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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*. 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 [ə:]. 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. 

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


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.

---
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.

One can derive the Pomeranian chart by the projection rules $\alpha$, $\beta$, $\gamma$ given under (92).

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

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 (...)$_o$. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>MASC</th>
<th>FEM</th>
<th>NEUT</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ai(n)ₐ</td>
<td>ain(e)ₐ</td>
<td>ai(n)ₐ</td>
<td>kain(e)ₐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>ainem</td>
<td>ainer</td>
<td>ainem</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>aine(n)ₐ</td>
<td>ain(e)ₐ</td>
<td>ai(n)ₐ</td>
<td>kain(e)ₐ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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.

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/-es/-et) 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 ales 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>MASC</th>
<th>FEM</th>
<th>NEUT</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jeira (jeirer)</td>
<td>jeira</td>
<td>jeira</td>
<td>ala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>jeirem</td>
<td>jeira</td>
<td>jeirem</td>
<td>ala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>jeira</td>
<td>jeira</td>
<td>jeira</td>
<td>ala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'

b. Pår weeka wijrer
    'some weeks later'

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

3.1.10 Interrogative pronouns and the existential reading

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

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

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

(27) a.   Ik wil nuu ais **wat** säga
       I want now once something say
       'I would like to tell something'

b.   Dun häw ik **wek** darfon schoota un mijn sroud is alwoura.
       then have I which of them shooted and my sroud is run.out.
       'Then I shot some of then and finished all my bullets'

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

(28) a.   **Wek** häwa anhula am leiren.
         wek, existential
         'some have stopped learning'

b.   Wat hät juuch kwäält
       wat, interrogative/*existential
       'what bothered you?'

c.   **Wou** bün ik hen gäa
       wou, interrogative/*existential
       where have I PRT gone?
       "where have I gone?"

d.   Ik bün **wou** hen gäa wou schata wäir
       wou, existential
       I am where PRT go, where shadow was
       'I went to a place with shadow'

e.   Dā wair aine keirl ana doir.
       where was a.ACC man at the door
       'there was a man at the door'

f.   *Dā wāir **wee** ana doir
       who, *existential
       there was someboy at the door

g.   **Wee** wāir 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'.

76
(29)  a.  Hai mud sicher **wouhen** gåa, weegen hai hât sündågstüüg an
    'he must for sure be going somewhere, as he wears his Sunday best'.
    
b.  ..., wen man **wou** hen rija wul
    ... if one somewhere PRT drive wanted
    '... if one wanted to drive somewhere'

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

3.2  The NP domain

3.2.1  Number

Nouns have two forms: a singular and a plural form. 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)', *någel* - *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)'
5. no difference: 
   schau - schau 'shoe(s)', schāp - schāp 'sheep', knai - knai 'knee(s)'
   and words in -el: tāfel - tāfel/tāfels 'table(s)', taigel - taigel/taigels 'tile(s)'.

6. suppletion 
   (stāārer)meisch - (stāārer)lūür '(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 
shwa 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'. Diachron-
ically, 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,\(^\text{103}\) 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: fruu(e). The plural oowens 
from oowa might be taken as an argument for -n catalexis: /oowe(n), 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 their are patterns. Plural forms 
can be equal to singular forms, e.g. schau 'shoe(s)'.

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

1. -a [ə/ɛ] Predominantly feminine nouns
   FEM plant - planta 'plant', swalk - swalka 'swallow', tijd - tijra 'time'.
   NEUT dail - daila 'thing', tijr - tijra 'animal', slang - slanga 'snake'.
   MASC hāfk - hāfka 'hawk, soldat - soldata 'soldier'

2. only umlaut: Predominantly masculine nouns
   MASC boum - böim 'tree', but - büt 'bundle, packet', buk - bük 'belly', slag - slääg 'hit'.
   FEM muus - müiis 'mouse/mice', fuust - füüst (EP) 'fist'.
   NEUT glas - glääs 'glass', fat - fät 'ton'.

\(^\text{103}\) Imperative fijn!/*fijnd!
3. -er (+ umlaut): Predominantly neuter nouns.
   NEUT huus - hüüser, hunu - huiner, kind - kiner 'child', eig - eiger 'egg',
   nest - nester 'nest' folk - folker 'people', lijd - lijrer 'song',
   baun - buiker 'book', land - läner 'land'
   FEM stad - stääër 'city'
   MASC Pomer - Pomrer 'Pomeranian'

4. lengthening: masculine.
   FEM -dåg 'day'

5. -en: mostly masculine and neuter nouns in -äa; and a few feminine nouns.
   MASC ossa - assen 'ox', bula - bulen 'ox', kasta - kasten 'box(es)', hird -
   hirde 'shepherd'.
   NEUT farka - farken 'sucking pig', felse - felsen 'rock', swijr - swijn 'pig',
   FEM tun - tunen 'ton', tung - tungen 'tongue', aik - aiken 'oak'.

6. -s
   1. Nouns in -er/-el/-em.
   2. Some masculine and feminine words with overlength. This s-
      plural is a loan from Portuguese and Tupi
   3. The few lexically frozen diminutives have this marker
   4. This plural marker of loan words from Portuguese and Tupi
   5. keerl - keerls 'man', braiw - braiws 'letter', dak - daks 'roof', hån -
      hâns 'cock', steel - steels 'handle', kijl - kijls 'cone', knufluk - knufluks
      'garlic', (füür)heird - heirds 'stove'
   FEM bruud - bruuds, 'bride', bán - bâns 'road', fabrik - fabriks 'usine'
   NEUT määka - määkes 'girl', haimka - haimkes 'cricket'

7. -es
   Rare ending. Only three cases found.
   MASC jong [ŋ] - jonges 'son'
   FEM fruug - fruuges 'woman', bank - bankes 'bank'

8. Subtractive morphology - mostly masculine.
   MASC fründ - früün 'friend', band - bäin 'band', hund - huun 'dog'
   FEM hand - hän 'hand'
   NEUT -

One noun has a separate oblique sg. form, which is identical to the plural. dag (sg) - 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 [køiç] 'cow(s)'
   b. guis[juːs] - guis [jɛːs] but also regular guis-guisa 'goose/geese'
   c. faut - fuit 'foot/feet'
   d. haud - huir 'hat(s)'

79
The nouns lüür 'people', jonges 'boys' are pluralia tanta.\(^\text{104}\) 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)\(^\text{105}\) behaves like a feminine singular: Dai waidog is forgåa 'the pain has gone'. Hai hât groud waidog ina bain 'he has great pain in his legs', but plural cases do occur as well: dai waidog häwa nålâta '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), with intervocalic cluster reduction. I only found one instance of these dative forms in Brazilian Pomeranian in my corpus: slijpstair [sli:pstaia] once realizes as upm slijpstain 'on the whetstone'. This seems the be an error (upm slijpstain 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.\(^\text{106}\) 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': [filr] /[file]. This might be analyzed as file(r)\(_n\) in the structural cases and filer(n)\(_d\) in plural dative case, as in German. More research is needed.

\subsection*{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'.\(^\text{107}\)

\(^{104}\) 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 lai 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'\textsuperscript{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 Espirito 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.

\begin{align*}
\text{(33)} & \quad \text{a. Ik saig de } \textbf{bruna} \text{ boum} \quad \text{I saw the brown tree} \\
& \quad \text{b. Dai boum is } \textbf{brun} \quad \text{The tree is brown}
\end{align*}

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(ɐ)] 'old'.

\begin{align*}
\text{(34)} & \quad \text{a. Dat } \textbf{ul} \text{ huus} \\
& \phantom{a.} \text{the old house} \\
& \quad \text{attributive, NEUT SG} \\
& \quad \text{b. dai } \textbf{ula} \text{ hüsa} \\
& \phantom{b.} \text{the old houses} \\
& \quad \text{attributive, PL} \\
& \quad \text{c. Wen sai airsta } \textbf{uld} \text{ sin,...} \\
& \phantom{c.} \text{when they first old are} \\
& \phantom{c.} \text{when they are old, ...'} \\
& \quad \text{predicative}
\end{align*}

Similarly wijld [vi:l] versus attributive wijl(a) [vi:l(ɐ)] 'wild', roud [roʊt] - 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.

\textsuperscript{108} Possibly from Slavic origin, cf. Lower Sorbian budka 'kennel, dog house' + -ka (diminutive).
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. früüs 'early, ancient': dai früüscha liüür '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 [ku₁] (German kühl) 'cool' is regular: kuil/kuiler/kuilst.
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 feminin and neuter accusative singulars, where the adjective is zero. The scheme is given in (116).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>Standard German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(37)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(38)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>a. NOM</strong></td>
<td><em>dai sijbend stok</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the seventh floor'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>DAT</strong></td>
<td><em>in dem grouda dop</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'in the big hedgehog'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ACC</strong></td>
<td><em>Duu kast de fainsta boum neema</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'You can take the best tree'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b. NOM</strong></td>
<td><em>dai ul kirch</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the old church'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>DAT</strong></td>
<td><em>ina wijra wild</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'in the wide world'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ACC</strong></td>
<td><em>dai sward kat</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the black cat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c. NOM</strong></td>
<td><em>dat groud rad, dat düürst hold</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the big wheel' the 'most expensive wood'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>DAT</strong></td>
<td><em>mit dem neemliga tüüg</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'with the same cloths'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ACC</strong></td>
<td><em>dat gans huus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the entire house'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d. NOM</strong></td>
<td><em>dai klaina eenda</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the small ducks'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>DAT</strong></td>
<td><em>mita bloura ougen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'with the naked eyes'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ACC</strong></td>
<td><em>air alaina däir dai gansa kiner ni twinga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'one alone could not rule all the children'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In some fixed prepositional contexts, the article *dai* may cliticize and reduces to 'd and creates a pseudo neuter context: *in'd schaul* [int jaul] instead of *ina schaul* 'in school'. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>~</th>
<th>High German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adj</strong></td>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
<td><strong>F</strong></td>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 groud rad* 'a big wheel' instead of the observed *ainem groud rad*. The systematic zeroeness 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: [jun] =

---

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’mər].
/jung(a)/ while [junk] =/jung.prec/. We leave it for further research. Below we give a table with typical examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(40)</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Affix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>hai wäir air seir gaur praister</td>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>in ainem grouda telg</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Wen dai aikkata kaina hola boum fijna daua, …</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ain swär tijd / ain groud partai/kain rât</td>
<td>FEM</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Nâ aina korda tijd</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ain rour schal / ain niş kirch</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>air fuul huld /air gaur huld ('a dirty/good wood')</td>
<td>NEUT</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>ainem groud rad</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>air gruin hemd</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>dat sin uk seir njigliga tijra</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>mit klaina fijna bambah</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>gruina banana/gaura ossen</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-levation or {nd/ld/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).

(i) zij is kwaa[t] (=kwaad) een kwaa[ï] wuf(=kwaad(e)a) she is angry an angry woman

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MASC</th>
<th>FEM</th>
<th>NEUT</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>✪</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✪</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>✪</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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: ✪. (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Affix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Dai klaar apel / dai klaar keirl</td>
<td>MASC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'the little apple' / 'the little man'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Den waard air stok nooma un air klaar stük bred</td>
<td>NEUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Then AUX.pass a stick taken and a little piece.N (of) wood (lit. shelf)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Uut forrüktheid häwe’s ainem jeirer air klaar huldgeweer sou måkt</td>
<td>NEUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Out.of silliness have-they to one each a little gun so made 'Crazily, everyone made himself a little gun'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Dai blumasuugers daua sich air klaain nest måka</td>
<td>NEUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The humming birds do themselves a small nest make.inf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'The humming birds make tehmelves a small nest'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>un anerd tijra häwa klaain hüüser</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and other animals have small houses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Dai doura lait twai klaain kiner</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'The deceased left behind two little children'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>dai klaar Arthur Schneider</td>
<td>MASC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'the little Arthur Schneider'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Against such an analysis as a DP inflection might plea the occurrence of klaair 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: klaair (45)a is parallel to (k)air in (42). The adjectival form is possible in predicative position as well (45)b-e.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Ik bün klaair</td>
<td>× (UmL:110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I am small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Wén man klaain is, ...</td>
<td>Ø (UmL:48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'when one small is, …'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Wék blijwa klaain.</td>
<td>Ø (UmL:10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'some remain small'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>As wîj klaain wäira, ...</td>
<td>Ø (UmL: 13, 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'when we small were, …'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Wéen døi farken klaain sin,..</td>
<td>Ø (UmL:36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'when the pigs small are, …'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The functional nature on klaair 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/-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. waik \(\rightarrow\) waiker [k/g] - waikst 'soft'
b. gesund [jizunt] \(\rightarrow\) gesuuner - gesuunst 'healthy'
c. bruun \(\rightarrow\) bruuner - bruunst 'brown'
d. jüng [ŋk] \(\rightarrow\) jünger [n] - jüngst 'young'
e. uld[t] \(\rightarrow\) üler - ülst 'old'
f. lang[ŋk] \(\rightarrow\) länger [n] - längst [ŋ] 'long'
g. höug[ʃ] \(\rightarrow\) höiger [ʃ/ʃ] - höigst [ʃ] 'high'
h. swak \(\rightarrow\) swäker - swäkst 'weak'
i. grow[ʃ] \(\rightarrow\) gröwer - gröwst 'course'
j. kort \(\rightarrow\) körder - kördst 'short'
k. klauf \(\rightarrow\) kluiker - kluikst 'smart'

Allomorphic and suppletive adjectives and adverbs are:

(47) a. groud[t] \(\rightarrow\) gröiter / gröter / gruiter \(\rightarrow\) grödst 'big'
b. klain \(\rightarrow\) kläner - klänst 'small'
c. gaud [t] \(\rightarrow\) beeter - best 'good'
d. bald [bal] (adverb) \(\rightarrow\) aierer - airst 'soon'
e. feel \(\rightarrow\) mei(ge)r - meist 'much, many'
f. geirn [je:n] (adverb) \(\rightarrow\) laiwer - laiwst 'with pleasure'
g. spår \(\rightarrow\) spärer - alerspårst / letst '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. fijn \(\rightarrow\) fijner - fijnst 'fine, i.e. not course'
b. fain \(\rightarrow\) fainer - fainst '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 encouter.
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)*, 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)'

This also happens in *substrandard* Portuguese.

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

(53) a. wat groudes
    what great.GEN
    'something big'

This is here completely parallel to Dutch and Frisian, but it uses a connecting vowel [v/a] rather than attaching the genitive -s directly to the root as Dutch/Frisian (*wat goeds*
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 hüüs (double stress).

3.3.8 Adjective + Bodypart + ED

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

3.3.9 The GE-prefix

The participial ge-prefix is absent when a participle is used verbally, but is present when it is used adjectivally: *dai gekookt banan* 'the fried banana', *afgesoogen kalw* 'weaned calf'. The ge-prefix is not used with pseudo participles discussed in section 3.3.8: *braidmuuln* /*braidgemuuln* '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 adjectivally: *air afgesoogen kalw* 'a weaned calf'. In predicative and adjunct position, the participle ending is -end: *dai boum wäir ümgfealend fauna* '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)/ende(n), with catalexis and intervocalic cluster reduction. In the absence of predicative e-inflection, the -end suffix shows up.

3.4 Adverbs

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

(54)

a. *Dat is gaud[t]*

That is good'

b. *Wen dai fal näheer ni gaud[t] reigenwuschä waard, ...* 

when the trap after not well clean.washed is,...

'If the trap is not well cleaned after, …

c. *Wen air meisch gaur ossen häwa wil, ...* 

when a person good oxen have want, ...

'if somebody wants to have good cows, …

d. *Ik häw ain seir gaur kau* 

I have a.F very good.F cow.F

'I have a very good cow'
POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

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)  
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Dun kaima dai soldată dårhen} \\
& \text{then came the soldiers there.} \text{DIR} \\
& \text{'Then the soldiers went there'} \\
\text{b. } & \text{Dun sin twai ima ankooma un häwa em stooka.} \\
& \text{then are two bees PRT.come and have him stitched} \\
& \text{'Then there arrived two bees and stitched him'} \\
\text{c. } & \text{Mijcha waard plant un (...) ernt. Un den kan man dar feel daila mit måka.} \\
& \text{corn is planted and harvested. And then can one ther many things with} \\
& \text{make.inf} \\
& \text{'Corn is planted and harvested. And then one can make many things with it'}
\end{align*}\]

A similar difference is found in embedding complementizers, *ās* ('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:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{(56)} & 1. \text{ain(d)} [\text{ain}d] & 11. \text{älwen} & 20. \text{twansig or swansig} \\
& 2. \text{twai} & 12. \text{twelw} & 30. \text{draisig} \\
& 3. \text{drai} & 13. \text{draitsee} & 40. \text{firtsig} \\
& 4. \text{fair} & 14. \text{fiertsee} & 50. \text{fiwstig} \\
& 5. \text{fiw} [\text{fi:f}] & 15. \text{fiwtsee}^{116} & 60. \text{sechstsig} \\
& 6. \text{söss} [\text{søs}] & 16. \text{sechtsee} & 70. \text{sijbsig} \\
& 7. \text{soiwen} & 17. \text{sijbtsee} & 80. \text{achtsig} \\
& 8. \text{acht} [\text{axt}] & 18. \text{achtsee} & 90. \text{nuinsig} \\
& 9. \text{neegen} [\text{ne:xən}] & 19. \text{nuintsee} & 100. \text{huunerd} \\
& 10. \text{teigen} [\text{te:jən}] & & 1000. \text{duuzend}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[\text{\textsuperscript{116}}\] Notice the absence of umlaut in *fiwtseen* and *fiwtsig*, in contrast to HG *fünfzehn* and *fünfzig*. It is unclear whether the onset cluster in *-tsen* [tsə:n] is taken from HG *-zehn*, or is original, in view of Frisian *tsien* [tsiən].

92
Mijn swijgermuter 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 neegen / *neegenen, 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 aində 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 nà 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 jår or drai jåra, söss stuun or söss stuuna 'six hours', twai pår 'two couples'.

(60)

a. air klair jong (...) fon twelw jår
   a small boy of twelf year.sg
   'a small, twelve years old boy'

b. twai jår tröichuut
   two year.sg ago
   'two years ago'

c. hai is twelw jår uld
   he is twelve year.sg old
   'he is twelve years old'

d. Fon hijr bet Santa Marij sin uk söss stuun tau faut
   from here till Santa Maria are also six hour.sg on foot
   'It is six hours on foot from here to SM de Jetibá'
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Adverb(^{117})</th>
<th>Fractions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>airst</em></td>
<td><em>airst</em></td>
<td>1. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>twaid</em> [twai'd], also [svait](^{118})</td>
<td><em>twaid</em></td>
<td>2. <em>hält</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><em>drür</em></td>
<td><em>drürd</em></td>
<td>3. <em>drütel</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td><em>firt</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4. <em>firtel</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td><em>fünwt</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td><em>söst</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td><em>soiwend</em> (also <em>sijbend</em>)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td><em>acht</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td><em>nuind</em></td>
<td>9. <em>näägd</em></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td><em>teigend</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They are inflected like adjectives, cf. section 3.3. Many ordinals are drawn from High German, cf. the non-Ingvaemonic -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 [v/a], 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'.

\[(62)\]

\begin{align*}
\text{infinitive 1 or "infinitive":} & \text{ stem + a} & \text{ [-v/-a]} & \text{ kooma 'come'} \\
\text{infinitive 2 or "gerund":} & \text{ stem + en} & \text{ [-ən]} & \text{ koomen, e.g: taum koomen}
\end{align*}

The infinitive 1 always ends in -a: geewa [ˈɣɛːvə] '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 [ˈduːə] 'do', gåa [ˈɡɔːə] 'go', saia [ˈsaɪə] 'see', ståa [ˈʃtɔːə] '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, sai'en, 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), for inf1, and either N-ən(ə), or N-ənd(ə), for inf2, 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), 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.

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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 formes 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, -nre- 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 [v/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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>weak verbs</th>
<th></th>
<th>strong verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>st/s</td>
<td>st</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123pl</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>123pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 it 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.
Paradigm of the weak verb schika 'send'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>present</th>
<th>past (obsolete)</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik schik</td>
<td>ik schikt</td>
<td>ik hä(w) schikt</td>
<td>ik däir schika</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duu schikst</td>
<td>duu schiktst</td>
<td>duu häst schikt</td>
<td>duu däist schika</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hai schikt</td>
<td>hai schikt</td>
<td>hai hät schikt</td>
<td>hai däir schika</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wij/jij/sai schika</td>
<td>wij/jij/sai schikta</td>
<td>wij/jij/sai häwa schikt</td>
<td>wij/jij/sai schika</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Slupsk) 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 preceeding voiceless spirants and obstruents into voiced segments, e.g. lewa - lewd 'lived', schimpa - schimbd 'taunted'. Third, the EP morpheme was -d(e)ø with catalectic schwa, not -t(e)ø 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'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>present</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duu röpst [œ]</td>
<td>duu raipst</td>
<td>duu häst roopa</td>
<td>duu däist raupa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hai röpt [œ]</td>
<td>hai raip</td>
<td>hai hät roopa</td>
<td>hai däir raupa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wij/jij/sai raupa</td>
<td>wij/jij/sai raipa</td>
<td>wij/jij/sai häwa roopa</td>
<td>wij/jij/sai däira raupa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The broken form $\alpha$ (=$|A|+|U|$) in the root of raupa (Frisian roppe) is palatalized as if it were /o(:)/ (=$|A|\cdot|I|$) and realizes as its shortened palatalized counterpart $[\varepsilon]$: röpst 'you call'. The broken form $\alpha'$ (=$|A|+|U|$) in the root of gaita 'pour' is palatalized as if it were /e(:)/ (=$|A|\cdot|I|$) and realizes as short $[\varepsilon]$: gitst 'you pour'. It is sometimes realized in a rounded fashion as $[\uparrow\varepsilon]$:

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 [bliː:və] 'to stay'.

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.

Incidentally, some speakers realize a double past marker in velar roots: krijga - kreigt and saia - saicht\textsuperscript{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-söcht 'to seek'. In the case of bruuka 'need', this occurs in all speakers: bruuka - brüük'to need'.

\textsuperscript{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.

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

---

\textsuperscript{98}
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. 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. \textit{fala} - \textit{fail} - \textit{fala} 'to fall'. When that happens, participles are sometimes regularized as in the case of \textit{geewa} - \textit{gaif} - \textit{gewt} [\textit{jaif}] instead of the expected \textit{geewa} 'given') without effecting the past tense (\textit{gaiw} [\textit{jaif}]). Conversely, the past tense may turn strong without the participle being affected: \textit{måka} - \textit{maik} - \textit{måkt} 'to make' where a non-etymological apophonic form \textit{maik} shows up in the past tense. Similarly, \textit{smeka} - \textit{smaik} - \textit{smekt} 'to taste', with a non-etymological \textit{smaik}.

\begin{table}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textbf{blijwa} & - 'to stay' & & \\
\textbf{present} & \textbf{preterite} & \textbf{perfect} & \textbf{imperfect} \\
\hline
ik blijw & ik bleiw & ik hâ(w) bleewa & ik dâir blijwa \\
duu bliwst & duu bleiwst & ... & ... \\
hai bliwt & hai bleiw & & \\
wij blijwa & wij/jij/sai bleiwa & & \\
\hline
\textbf{geewa} & - 'to give' & & \\
\textbf{present} & \textbf{preterite} & \textbf{perfect} & \textbf{imperfect} \\
\hline
ik geew & ik gaiw & ik hâ(w) gewt & ik dâir geewa \\
duu giwst & duu gaiwst & ... & ... \\
hai giwt & hai gaiw & & \\
wij geewa & wij/jij/sai gaiwa & & \\
\hline
\textbf{måka} & - 'to make' & & \\
\textbf{present} & \textbf{preterite} & \textbf{perfect} & \textbf{imperfect} \\
\hline
ik måk & ik maik & & \\
duu mökst & duu maikst & & \\
hai mökt & hai maik & hai hât måkt & hai dâir måka \\
wij måka & wij maika & & \\
\hline
\textbf{bruuka} & – 'to need' & & \\
\textbf{present} & \textbf{preterite} & \textbf{perfect} & \textbf{imperfect} \\
\hline
ik bruuk & ik brüükt & & ik hâw bruukt \\
duu bruukst & duu brüüktst & & \\
hai bruukt & hai brüükt & & \\
wij bruuka & wij brüükta & & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{124} Some younger speakers often replace it by periphrastic constructions. This might ultimately lead to a complete \textit{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. In most cases, the past subjunctive form, which had umlaut as its regular marking, has been selected as the past tense. The past form of 'to be' in BP is wäär, 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 (/iː/ → /oiː/, /ä/ → /aiː/, 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, palatilized [k] to [ɛ] in contexts with ä/ö/i/e, etc., but not in contexts with a/o/u, etc. Meesow (Mieszewo) in Kreis Regenwalde is such a Pomeranian dialect, having tjeel < /keerl/ 'man', tjind < /kind/ 'child', and tjlere < /klere/ 'cloths', but simply kole and kouken for 'coal', and 'to cook.inf2'. Interestingly, the Meesow dialect displays the palatalized form tjaime < /kaime/ 'came'. The palatal form tjaime can only be explained by assuming an older kāme → tjāme → 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 /uiː/ is not a immediate reflex of the Old Germanic umlaut factor /uːiː/, 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 willen '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.
This auxiliary has an infinitival form sin exemplified under (68).

(68) a. Taum mijlchabroud baken mud dai bakoowa seir hai sin copula
duur büst for to corn bread bake.inf2 must the oven very hot be.inf1
'For baking corn bread, the oven must be very hot'
duur wäist
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 hâ(w) ik haar ik häw hat
duur hãst duu haast
hai hât - 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 wî(l) dat daua/mâke ('I will do it') ik wu ik häw wud
duur wist -wilstu duu wust
hai wî(l) hai wu
wij/jij/sai wila dat daua wij/jij/sai wula

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

(69) a. Sai daua anwijsa wen dat reegna wil
They do indicate when it rain will
'They indicate when it will rain'

b. Sai wil mit Frijdrik reisa
'She will travel with Fred'

(68) b. Spårer wil ik broud baka
'I shall bake bread later'

(PD, s.v. wila)

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

(70) Wi’m nā huus gàa!
    ‘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 uutdüürt haar, den wür ik dat forstàa hàwa*
    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 *wū* 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 angàa*
    'he has wanted the woman have.sex.inf
     'he wanted to have sex with the woman'

**geewa 'give'** [je:we] - taum geewen

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ik geef} & \quad \text{ik häw gewt [je:ft]} \\
\text{duu gifst} & \quad \text{hai/sai(dat gaiw [jaif]} \\
\text{hai gift} & \quad \text{wi geewa}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(73) *Dat giwt* [jıft] *böim wat twai urer drai liter melk geewa daua up ainmal.*
    That gives \[REL 2\ or \ 3\ 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 infinitive, nor participle)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ik scha(l) 'must'} & \quad \text{hai schu(l) dat daua/schul-e dat daua?} \\
\text{du schast} & \quad \text{wai schoila/schåla}^{129}
\end{align*}
\]

---

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)  
\(\text{a. } Un\ nuu, \text{ wat schåla wij nuu måka?} \)  
And now, what shall we now do?  
\(\text{b. wat schåla wij där singa?} \)  
what shall we there sing.inf1  
'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)  
\(\text{a. Dai meisch säär, sai schul spårer kooma} \)  
The man said, she should later come  
'The man said that she would come later'  
\(\text{b. Hai säär, dat schüül ales ain regirung waara ina gansa wild} \)  
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  
  du kast - kast-ø  
  hai ka - kann-e (inversion)  
  wie/jij/sai koine -koine wie  
  ik küü(n) dat dau  
  du küüst  
  hai küü(n) dat daua / kü-hai dat daua?  
  sai küüna  

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

**macha** 'may' - (no *taum* form)  
  *ik mach - mag ik dat måka  
  *duu machst - machstu  
  *hai mach - mach hai  
  *wij/jij sai måcha - måcha wij  
  müücht ik /*ik müücht  
  hät mücht hai …  
  *wij/jij sai måcha - måcha wij  

The auxiliary *macha* only occurs in inversion. In formal terms, it lexicalizes T-to-C, apart from the lexicalized (dat) *mach sin* 'perhaps', cf. Portuguese *pode ser*. 
I found one instance of a cluster inversion with this verb.

The special C-oriented verb *mach* 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.

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

---

130 The text has an erroneous *macht*.
131 The text has an erroneous *magt*.
132 Tressmann (2006b) writes *muida*. 

---

(76) a. *Wou mach* dat an leiga? (UmL:5)
    what may that PRT lay
    'What might be the reason?'

b. *Wat mach* dat där ais sin? (UmL:97)
    what may that there PRT be.inf
    'What might that be over there?'

c. *Wat mach* 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. *Mach* dat eeten raika? (DP:303)
    may the food reach?
    'will the food be sufficient'?

(77) *Hät mücht hai dat trecht mâkt hëwa?* (UmL:55)
    has may.ptc he that ready made have
    'Should he have finished it?'

(78) *(Ik wait ni) of dai meisch dat wol eeta mücht* (UmL:82)
    (I don't know) if the human-being that PRT eat might
    'whether man should eat that'

(79) a. *Jeirer mag* 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.inf1

c. *Dai ima maga seir geirn dai maluulabüsch eer blauma* (UmL:115)
    the bees like very much the maluula-tree their flowers
    'The bees like the maluula tree’s flowers very much'

• *muita* (132) 'must' - müst - müst
  ik mut/muit
  müst
  ik haw müst
  du must
In the past tense it can have an irrealis reading.

(80)   Wen hijr kair water wäir, müsta wij ala doubtlijwa.  
      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 (< *warden ~ HG werden)  
  ik waar  
  ik wür  
  ik bün Vprt woura 
  duu waarst 
  hai waard 
  wij waara  
  wij würa

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

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

(81)   a. Dai wäira ina wald gåa.  
       they would in-the wood go.inf1 
       'they had the plan to go into the woods'

b. Ik waar ma’s sega.  
   I will but PRT say.inf1 
   'I would like to say'

c. Ik waar dij de weeg wijsa.  
   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 nāna rouk smeke
   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 Elisabeth is 74 wääst.  
    on 22nd April am I 80 been and E. is 74 been 
    'On the 22nd of April, I turned 80 and Elisabeth turned 74'
**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* *[waœr]*.

(83) Tauna hochtijd wůr 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     dāa
  du däist            hai däit           hai däi(r)
  wij daua            wij däira

As a lexical verb, the infinitive often drops the ending -wə [dau], rather than realizing [dau]. 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 extension of the (consonantal) **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 diphongs

---

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 (ʔ|-|T|-ʔ). 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/ä) The classification below must be taken to represent the diachronic development, not the synchronic system.

I. The Proto-Germanic ı-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 ı-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 preterit 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 bedraiga '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 (bedraige - 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 [i] (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. drinka - (drank) - drunka 'to drink', stinka - stank - stunka 'to stink'. Clusters with -d- are standardly reduced, but there are some changes in the consonantism: fijna - fung - fuuna 'to find'. This velarization is specific to the past tense of verbs. Verbs that follow this scheme include: bijna '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 doudblijwa 'stay dead'.

IV. The Proto-Germanic four-way gradation with lengthened grade in the preterite e,i - {a - e} - u shows up in Pomeranian as a three-way distinction ε : - ai - e:, 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, schuua/a) follow this pattern. The 23sg present forms can show in contracted form (kümst, nimst) when the verb is 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 steekt/*steekt 'stab(s)'.

V. The Proto-Germanic four-way gradation with lengthened grade in the preterite i - {a - ē} - i shows up in Pomeranian as a three-way distinction ei - ai - ē:, 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 diphtong: forgeeta - *forgaite / 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. faijt/foit/fuit/föt 'fetched' (Du vatte, Ger fass'te). 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, fülst.

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.
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 tenses

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<td>-</td>
<td>befeelt/ befoola</td>
<td>'order'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedraiga</td>
<td>bedrűüg / bedrűügt</td>
<td>*bedruig</td>
<td>bedrooga</td>
<td>'cheat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beweega</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'move'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binja</td>
<td>binst/bint</td>
<td>buuna</td>
<td>buuna</td>
<td>'bind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijta</td>
<td>bits/bit</td>
<td>bitt</td>
<td>bitt</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blijwa</td>
<td>bliwst / bliwt</td>
<td>bleiw</td>
<td>bleewa</td>
<td>'stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bluira (blöira)</td>
<td>bluirst / bluit</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>bluird/ blöird</td>
<td>'bleed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breeka</td>
<td>breekst / breekt</td>
<td>braik</td>
<td>brooka</td>
<td>'break'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bringa [n]</td>
<td>bringst / brinigt</td>
<td>bröcht [ɕ]</td>
<td>bröcht</td>
<td>'bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bruuka (modal)</td>
<td>bruukst / bruukt</td>
<td>bruükkt</td>
<td>bruukt</td>
<td>'need'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bruukst / bruukt</td>
<td>bruukt</td>
<td>bruukt</td>
<td>'use'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buiga/böiga</td>
<td>bögst / böigt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>buig/d / buigd / buigt</td>
<td>'bow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>davora [da°(v)]</td>
<td>däist / däitt</td>
<td>däir</td>
<td>däa / döa</td>
<td>'do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>denka</td>
<td>denkst / denkt</td>
<td>dacht</td>
<td>dacht</td>
<td>'think'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dräga</td>
<td>drögst / drögt</td>
<td>druig/draug</td>
<td>drägt</td>
<td>'carry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[°°]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drinka [k]</td>
<td>drinkst / drinkt</td>
<td>*drunk</td>
<td>drunka [g]</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eeta</td>
<td>eets / et</td>
<td>ait</td>
<td>geeta</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(also it [ia-t])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fala</td>
<td>füls / fölt</td>
<td>fail/foil</td>
<td>fala</td>
<td>'fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fänga</td>
<td>fängst / fängt</td>
<td>fong</td>
<td>fonga / funga</td>
<td>'catch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fäta</td>
<td>föst / föts / föt</td>
<td>fät</td>
<td>fäta</td>
<td>'take' (Du. vatten)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[°°]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fijne</td>
<td>fìrst / find</td>
<td>fung</td>
<td>fuuna</td>
<td>'find'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flaiga</td>
<td>flügst / flügt</td>
<td>fluig</td>
<td>flooga</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 bitst/bit, The expected forms in BP would be baira - bürst / bür / boud - boora.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>German (rare)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>forbaira</td>
<td>forbürst / forbürt</td>
<td>forbid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fordarwe</td>
<td>fordarwt</td>
<td>'spoil/rot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forlaira</td>
<td>forlürst / forlürt</td>
<td>'lose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forgeeta</td>
<td>forgest / forget</td>
<td>'forget'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forståa</td>
<td>forstäist / forstäit</td>
<td>'understand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fräga</td>
<td>frögst / frögts [ö̂]</td>
<td>'ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fraira</td>
<td>frürt</td>
<td>'freeze'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freeta</td>
<td>frets/fret</td>
<td>'eat' (of animals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gää [gɔ:], also [jɔ:]</td>
<td>gää [gɔ:]</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaita</td>
<td>gits / git (also jüüt)</td>
<td>'pour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geewa [je:və]</td>
<td>giwst [jifst] / giwt</td>
<td>'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gefala</td>
<td>dat gefült</td>
<td>Imp:giw!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gewina</td>
<td>gewinst / gewint</td>
<td>'please'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grijpå</td>
<td>gripst / gript</td>
<td>'win'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hääwå</td>
<td>häst / hät</td>
<td>'catch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hita</td>
<td>hitst / hit</td>
<td>'have'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hääla</td>
<td>hälst / hält</td>
<td>'be called'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helpa</td>
<td>helpst / helpt</td>
<td>'go for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hula</td>
<td>hüst / hölt</td>
<td>'help'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kijka</td>
<td>kistik / kikt</td>
<td>'hold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köipa</td>
<td>köfst / köft [ö̂]</td>
<td>'look'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kooma</td>
<td>künst / kämt</td>
<td>'can'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kriga</td>
<td>krigst / krigt</td>
<td>'buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kruupa</td>
<td>kruptst / krupt</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laiga</td>
<td>lägst / lügt</td>
<td>'get'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leiga</td>
<td>ligst / ligt</td>
<td>'creep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lijga (EP)</td>
<td>ligst / ligt</td>
<td>'lie, to be laid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lijwa</td>
<td>(liwst / liwt)</td>
<td>'lie, not speaking the truth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lijra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'borrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loupa</td>
<td>löpst / lüpt</td>
<td>'may'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'bear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maga</td>
<td>magst / mag</td>
<td>'make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neema</td>
<td>nimst / nimt</td>
<td>'measure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'take'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

140 Tressmann spells: forsteit.

141 This negative polarity verb seems to be defective. Only the infinitive is found.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rijra</th>
<th>rirst / rirt</th>
<th>reir</th>
<th>reera</th>
<th>'drive'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raupa</td>
<td>röpst / röpt</td>
<td>raip</td>
<td>roopa</td>
<td>'call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rija</td>
<td>rist / rit</td>
<td>reit</td>
<td>reeta</td>
<td>'rip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rijwa</td>
<td>riwst / riwt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>reewa</td>
<td>'rub'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rüüka</td>
<td>rükst / rüüt</td>
<td>*rouk</td>
<td>rooka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>säga</td>
<td>sägst / sägt</td>
<td>säär</td>
<td>sagt</td>
<td>'say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saia</td>
<td>süüst / süüt</td>
<td>saich (also saicht)</td>
<td>saia</td>
<td>'see', 'saič!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saiga</td>
<td>sügst / sügt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>saiga</td>
<td>'show'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schaita</td>
<td>schüst / schüüt</td>
<td>schöit / schüt</td>
<td>scheota</td>
<td>'shoot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schijna</td>
<td>schinst / schint</td>
<td>schein</td>
<td>scheena</td>
<td>'shine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>schast / scha(l)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'shall'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schiôte</td>
<td>schits / schit</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>scheeta</td>
<td>'shit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schuwa</td>
<td>schüwst / schüwt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>schoowa</td>
<td>'shove, push'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin¹⁴²</td>
<td>büst / is</td>
<td>wäiriş⁴³</td>
<td>wääst</td>
<td>'be'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sija</td>
<td>sitst/sit</td>
<td>sait (also seet)</td>
<td>seeta</td>
<td>'sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ståa</td>
<td>sleist / sleit</td>
<td>sloug/slöig</td>
<td>slåga</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slåpa</td>
<td>slöpst / slöpt</td>
<td>slåp</td>
<td>slåpa</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sluka</td>
<td>(weak)</td>
<td>slouga</td>
<td>sloop</td>
<td>'swallow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sluuta</td>
<td>slüst / slüt</td>
<td>*sloit</td>
<td>słoota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smeka</td>
<td>smekst / smekt</td>
<td>smaik</td>
<td>smekt</td>
<td>'taste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smijta</td>
<td>smitst / smit</td>
<td>smeit</td>
<td>smeeta</td>
<td>'throw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snijra</td>
<td>snirst / snirt</td>
<td>sneir</td>
<td>sneera</td>
<td>'cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speela</td>
<td>spail¹⁴⁴</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>sloop</td>
<td>'play'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bispreeka</td>
<td>bispreekst / spreekt</td>
<td>bespraik</td>
<td>bisprooka</td>
<td>'bless'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(for)spuira</td>
<td>(for)spöir</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'observe, notice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>srijga</td>
<td>srigst / srijk</td>
<td>*sreig</td>
<td>sreega</td>
<td>'scream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ståa</td>
<td>stäist / stäit</td>
<td>stüün/stung</td>
<td>ståa</td>
<td>'stand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steeka</td>
<td>stekest / stekt</td>
<td>staik</td>
<td>stouka</td>
<td>'put'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steela</td>
<td>steelst / steelt</td>
<td>steelle (pl.only)</td>
<td>stroola</td>
<td>'steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stijga</td>
<td>stigst / stigt</td>
<td>steig</td>
<td>steega</td>
<td>'rise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stöita</td>
<td>stöist / stöt</td>
<td>*stöt</td>
<td>stöt</td>
<td>'bump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suika</td>
<td>suikst / suikt</td>
<td>söcht</td>
<td>söcht</td>
<td>'look for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suupa</td>
<td>süpst / süpt</td>
<td>*soup</td>
<td>soopa</td>
<td>'drink' pejorative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swela</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>swula</td>
<td>'swell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swena</td>
<td>swemst / swemt</td>
<td>swum</td>
<td>swuma</td>
<td>'swim'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swöira</td>
<td>swöirst / swöirt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>swoora</td>
<td>'give an oath'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁴² I did not find any trace of the infinitive wäisa (cf. Frisian wêze 'be') in BP, though some EP dialects in the Treptow area had it (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 preterit. I encountered this form once in European Pomeranian, but I lost track of the place.
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: giv! < 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imp.sg/pl</th>
<th>inf - 1sg - 2sg</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>dau/daut!</td>
<td>daua - ik dau - duu däist</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>gå/gåt!</td>
<td>gåa - ik gå - duu geist</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>koom/koomt man!</td>
<td>kooma - ik koom - duu kümt</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>säg/sägt!</td>
<td>säga - ik säg - duu sägst</td>
<td>'to say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>sriw/srijwt!</td>
<td>srijwa - ik srijw-duu sriwst</td>
<td>'to write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>bliw/blijwt!</td>
<td>blijwa - ik blijw</td>
<td>'to stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>giv!/geewt!</td>
<td>geewa - ik geew - duu giwst</td>
<td>'to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>wäs!</td>
<td>sin - ik bü - duu büst</td>
<td>'to be'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Koomt ni tau spår!</td>
<td>koom, kümt, kümt, kooma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Don't come late!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Gåt!</td>
<td>gå, gäist, gäit, gå</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

145 Reconstructed forms corresponding to HG ziehen, Fr. tsjen. The EP dialect of Kowalk (Laude 1995:349) has taihe - tiehst / tieht - toich - tåge., with unrouded 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.
There is no difference in final devoicing in 1sg and imperative, *ik sing [ɪksɪŋ], sing! [sɪŋ] not *
*[sɪŋk], which might indicate that there is a catalectic e-ending in 1sg present tense as well as
in the imperative: sing(e). 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 hāw! 'Guess
what I have in my hand!' (cf. the noun rād '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.\textsuperscript{148} Evidence for this analysis
is the form wās! '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 o iwer 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.

---

\textsuperscript{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'.

\textsuperscript{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 lexicized *t’houp* 'together', *t’haus* 'at home' and *trecht* 'ready'. In some European Pomernaian 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 phonologocal contraction that is blind for morphosyntactic features of case, gender, number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>P + dem</th>
<th>P + de/dera/dai</th>
<th>P + dat</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td><em>nà</em> nam</td>
<td><em>nà</em>na</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>nà</em>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td><em>tau</em> taum [tam]</td>
<td><em>taum</em>tauna [tana]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>taum</em>tauna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT/ACC</td>
<td><em>in</em> im</td>
<td><em>in</em>ina</td>
<td><em>int</em>[it]</td>
<td><em>in</em>ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT/ACC</td>
<td><em>an</em> am</td>
<td><em>ana</em></td>
<td><em>ant</em></td>
<td><em>ana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT/ACC</td>
<td><em>up</em> upm [um]</td>
<td><em>up</em>upa</td>
<td><em>upt</em></td>
<td><em>up</em>upa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td><em>fon</em> fom</td>
<td><em>fona</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>fofn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td><em>bij</em> bijm</td>
<td><em>bijna</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>bijm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td><em>üm</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>üm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td><em>mit</em> mitm [mim]</td>
<td><em>mita</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>mitm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>bet</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>bet</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT/ACC</td>
<td><em>foir</em> fom</td>
<td><em>fona</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>foir</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td><em>for/för</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>for/för</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td><em>uut</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>uut</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td><em>doir</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>doir</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>mang</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>mang</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT+ACC</td>
<td><em>tüsschen</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>tüsschen</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that both *fon* 'of' and *foir* 'before' with the dative article *dem* contract to *fom*. Forms with incorporated masc/neut dative article: *taum* [tam], with fem/pl dative article: *tauna* [tana]. Examples:

(87)

- *taum pulderåwend* 'at polterabend'
- *tauna hochtiid* 'at the wedding'
- *tauna festdåg* 'on holidays'
- *fon ain nacht tauna anerd* 'from one night to the other'

3.7.2 Prepositions, postpositions, and verbal particles

Adverbial particles and postpositions are created from prepositions by both prefixing *r* - and suffixing -*er*. For instance, *an ~ r-an-er*. The prefix *r* - has no prosodic space of its own (*"onset"*).

The structure might be as in (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).
a. *Un hai wäir ana dijk ranerreera* accusative
   and he was on.the.ACC dike onto ridden
   'and he drove onto the dike'
b. *(Sa) 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*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Directional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ut</td>
<td>ruter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. in</td>
<td>riner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. an</td>
<td>raner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. up</td>
<td>ruper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. uuuer</td>
<td>uuuner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. otwer</td>
<td>roiwer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. üm</td>
<td>rümer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. hijner</td>
<td>hijner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. nà</td>
<td>nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. mang</td>
<td>mang ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>doir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. doir</td>
<td>doir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. fon</td>
<td>af</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 eidait 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 languages\textsuperscript{149} has overall OV order with additional V2 of the finite verb in main clauses.

(1) a. ... dat hai air bauk lääsa mut
    ... that he a book read must

    (ES)

    b. hai mut air bauk lääsa
    he must a book read

(2) a. ... wou slim as dai biss wääst is.
    ... how severe PRT the bite been is
    'how severe the bite has been'

    (UmL:80)

    b. Awends is hai darhen wääst
    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.
    Then has could.ptc he his life.time in-the shadow ride.infl
    'Then he could drive his whole life in the shadow

    (UmL:42)

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

    (UmL:103)

    c. Dun [hät müst] mijn fruug drågt waara bet Campinho upm naka
    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'

    (DP:333)

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]

\textsuperscript{149} Apart from Yiddish.
with fission to \([\text{past}] + [\text{MOD}]\), where \([\text{past}]\) is lexicalized by the \textsc{have} and \([\text{MOD}]\) takes the shape of the participle. This would mean that (3)a would be an alternative spellout of (4).

\[(4)\text{ Dun [këü]}\text{ hai sijn leewstijd im schata rijra.}\]
\textit{then could he his life.time in-the shadow ride}\textunderscore\textit{inf1}
\textit{Then he could ride in the shadow his entire life}'

However, this would not explain the obligatory 12 relative order of the two lexemes in V2 position, in view of the variety of orders in embedded clauses, which includes, next to the orders (12)3, 3(12), also the orders 3(21) and the, here irrelevant, order (132): (I think that he) \textit{hät müst gâa} (123) / \textit{gâa hât müst} (312) / \textit{gâa müst hât} (321) / \textit{hât gâa 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).

\[(5)\textit{ Bet sijn stuun ranerkaim, hât hai müst seir feel uuthula}\]
\textit{Until his hour arrived, has he must.ptc very much suffer}\textunderscore\textit{inf1}
\textit{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 \textit{daua} support and the rise of the complex complementizer \textit{taum}. In interrogatives, cluster V2 is not possible.\(^{151}\)

\[(6)\text{ a. Haarst duu këü em dat ni frâga?}\]
\textit{had you could him that not ask}
\textit{Couldn't you asked him}?'

\text{b. *Haarst këü du em dat ni frâga?}\]
\textit{have could you him that nit ask}

Also pronominal material, like the reflexive verbal marker \textit{sich}, can be part of this V2 positioning:

\[(7)\textit{ Jeira dag gript sich hai air küüka.}\]
\textit{every day fetches REFL he a.neuter chicken}
\textit{Every day he fetches himself a chicken'}

\[^{150}\text{See also Van Gelderen (2000) for the relation between the complementizer and absence of V-to-T in Shakespearean English.}\]

\[^{151}\text{This construction is also present in Pomeranian in RS (Kaufmann 2018).}\]
Perhaps also referential pronouns subsume to this scheme, but these can also be analyzed as cases with verb projection raising.

(8)  a.  \textit{Wij hëwa ous mëst \{ sëir kwääla darmit\}.}  (UmL:64)
we have us must.ptc very-much torture therewith
'we must have tortured ourselves with it'

b.  \textit{Dai film schal gaud sin, åwer ik hëw 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'

Clitic 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)  pref bundle 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 \textit{sich} precede the derived lexical subject (in bold), as illustrated in (10).

(10)  a. \textit{Wou gaud dääit sich dat ais leesa!}  
how good does REFL it PRT read.inf1

b. \textit{Den hült sich dai wijachtsman im mijlcha}  
then keeps REFL the christmas-man in.the corn(field)

\textit{Den plegt sich jëira hån par hiner neema}  
then use.to REFL every cock some hens take

\textit{As ik werer henkaim, wäir mij de mijlchen utfreeta.}  
when I again PRT.ca me, was me the corn.pl PRT.eaten

'When i returned, my corn was eaten'

A pronominal underived subject always precedes object pronouns.

(11)  \textit{Dikrijs kan man sich t’huus kooka.}  
Sweet-rice can one REFL at.home cook.inf

The conjunctions \textit{u(n)} 'and', \textit{ure(r)} 'or', \textit{awe(r)} 'but' and \textit{weegen} 'for' do not count for V2.

(12)  \textit{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 *afanga* 'begin' and *hengää* 'go', cf. section 4.7.1.

(13) \( \text{Wen den air meisch hengeit un [nimt dai eiger mit dai hand nimt]}, \ldots \) when the one person PRT goes and takes the eggs with the hand

'We have this 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. \( \text{... dat hai air bauk lääsa mut/mut lääsa} \quad \) (HB)

\( \text{... that he a book \{read.inf must/must read.inf\}} \)

'... that he must read a book'

b. \( \text{...wou dai liür häwa leewt un wou dai hüüt leewa daua} \quad \) (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) \( \text{Sai hät uk förståa, dat sai küün kooka, bråra un chokolade kooka} \)

'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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{infinitive 1 or "infinitive"} & : \quad \text{stem + a [-}v/-ə] & \text{kooma 'come'} \\
\text{infinitive 2 or "gerund"} & : \quad \text{stem + en}^{153} [-en/-ən] & \text{koomen, e.g.: taum koomen}
\end{align*}
\]

The infinitive 1 is in -a [v/ə]: geewa [je:və] 'give'. The infinitive 2 is in -en [-en/ən]. The two infinitives virtually have a complementary distribution. Contexts exist, however, where both infinitives may occur. Presumably, these contexts are underlingly 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(16) a. } & \text{Ik wi aira na huus kooma} & \text{(ESB)} \\
& \text{I want early to house come.inf1} & \text{MODAL} \\
& \text{'I want to come home early'} &  \\
\text{b. } & \text{Ik dau morgen mijlcha planta} & \text{(ESB)} \\
& \text{I will tomorrow corn plant.inf1} & \text{FUT} \\
& \text{'I will plant corn tomorrow'} &  \\
\text{c. } & \text{Ik loat mine jaung ni so spår na hus kooma} & \text{(ESB)} \\
& \text{I let my son not so late to home come.inf1} & \text{CAUSE} \\
& \text{'I do not let my son come home so late'} &  \\
\text{d. } & \text{Un hai wäir dårmit spatsijra reera.} & \text{(UmL:41)} \\
& \text{and he was there-with trip.inf1 ride.ptc} & \text{ASP} \\
& \text{'and he had gone ride on a trip with it (i.e. a horse)'} &  \\
\text{e. } & \text{Wen mijlchatijd is, den gåa sai ala t'houp steela.} & \text{(UmL:101)} \\
& \text{when corn.time is, then go they all together steel.inf1} & \text{ASP} \\
& \text{'During the harvest, they go and steel together'.} &  \\
\text{f. } & \text{un gåa in aina hola boum slåpə.} & \text{(UmL:104)} \\
& \text{and (they) go in a hollow tree sleep.inf1} & \text{ASP} \\
& \text{'and they go and sleep in a hollow tree'} &
\end{align*}
\]

\[
^{153}\text{Verbs in -ijra and (incidentally) iterative verbs in -era (ambisyllabic roots) do not have a separate gerund: tam kuri} \text{ra and not *tam kuri} \text{en (spatsijra, passijra (to be checked)), tam ous swijn futra/futren. Verbal clusters may follow this pattern: tam sich ni natreegna lata.}
\]
POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

g.  
\begin{quote}
Aina dag bün ik inawald jagta gåa \\
(one day am I in.the wood hunt.infl gone \\
'One day, I went into the wood hunting'
\end{quote}  

h.  
\begin{quote}
Hai kämt ous betåla \\
hecumus pay.inf1 \\
'h comes to pay us'
\end{quote}  

i.  
\begin{quote}
un den gaud fijnstampa! \\
and then good fine.crunch.infl \\
'and do crunch it then well'
\end{quote}  

j.  
\begin{quote}
Dai brükta 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''
\end{quote}  

k.  
\begin{quote}
Wim nà huus gåa \\
will.we to house go.inf1 \\
'Let’s go home'
\end{quote}  

\textit{Wim, wif and wüf} \footnote{From the tale of the Wolf and the Seven Goats: \textit{vif as úna dái dóa kíka} 'let’s look under the door' (from São Lorenzo (RS)). Also Pomeranian in ES has these forms. Neither \textit{wim, nor wif or wüf} are given in Tressmann’s dictionary.} \footnote{Old Saxon has dummy \textit{wita} 'know' in this function: \textit{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).} \footnote{The two infinitive system was also in vigor in EP. The \textit{blijwa} case can be extracted from W10 (\textit{ståen blijwa}), the \textit{tau(m)} case from W2 (\textit{taum snijgen uphöira}), W16 (\textit{ut-tau-drinken}). There is no Acl construction in the Wenkersätze, but see also the EP texts in section 9.5.} 'let’s' are contractions of the modal verb \textit{wila} 'will' \footnote{With the reduced form of the pronoun \textit{wija}/'w 'we', incidently with final devoicing. The hortative particle is functionally parallel to the Portuguese particle \textit{xe} \textless{} \textit{deixe}, from \textit{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.} with the reduced form of the pronoun \textit{wij}/'w 'we', incidently with final devoicing. The hortative particle is functionally parallel to the Portuguese particle \textit{xe} \textless{} \textit{deixe}, from \textit{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.

\textbf{4.1.3.3 Use of Infinitive 2}

The infinitive 2, with ending \textit{-en}, typically occurs with \textit{blijwa} 'stay' (17)ab, in AcI constructions (17)cd, and furthermore in combination with the complementizer \textit{taum} [\textit{tam}], cf. (18).  

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{An dera paika bleiw ous määkes dai kopduak anhängen} \\
\begin{quote}
to the peaks stayed our girls the head headkerchief PRT.hang.inf2 \\
'The headkerchief stayed hanging to the hooks'
\end{quote}
\item \textit{Dai snee is deis nacht bij ous leigen bleewa} \\
\begin{quote}
the snow is this night at us lay.inf2 stayed
\end{quote}
\item \textit{Ik häw nog kanous uplåren saia} \\
\begin{quote}
I have yet canoes up.load.inf2 see,ptc
'I saw the canoes being loaded'
\end{quote}
\end{enumerate}

\textit{(17) a.}
The following asymmetric implication holds: if there is infinitival complementsizer is lexical, there is infinitive 2. This distribution of the infinitive 2 (um...tau, AcI constructions, and under blijwa 'to stay') is parellel 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 matral 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.

Scopal adverbs cause distinct readings before or after to taum.

(19) *Wij sin ais upa land gåa [taum rijsland putsen]*
we are once to-the land gone taum rice-land cleaning

(20) *Ik benuts dijn seip rasch [tam afwaschen]*
I use you soap quick to PRT-wash
'I use your soap to quickly wash the dishes' (temporal adverb)
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
...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
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 saya [bijm ranja steelen]
I have Fritz seen at.DAT oranges steal.inf2
'I saw Fritz stealing oranges.'

This is a nominal construction that does not give accusative case, but requires incorporation to license its object (Baker 1988).

4.1.3.5 Contexts with infinitive 1 or infinitive 2: Complement clauses

In selected complements, there is no complementizer taum (=um + tau). This is without exception. Complement clauses typically realize with the infinitive 1, but cases with the infinitive 2 (without taum) occur, as well as with the participle.

4.1.3.5.1 Complement clauses with infinitive 1

Examples of control contexts with infinitive 1 are helpa 'to help', plega 'used to', säga 'to say', befeela 'to order'. These seem to have complex thematic grids, with a possible dative argument.

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 hån [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 góa].* (DP:41)
   the doctor has ordered every day walk
   'The doctor 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 forståit 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 kõipen].* (DP:135)
   she has forgotten white.bread.sg buy.inf2
   'She forgot to buy bread.'

c. *(Sai) häwa ni forgeeta im tüügkasta drai daila rinermâken: ...* (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 negativon 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 inf2 complementation.

The complementizer *taum* is excluded though.

(27) a. *Ik fersuik [ais aira na hus góa].* (ESB)
   I try early PRT to house go.inf1
   'I try to go home early'

b. *Ik forsuik [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 gâan]* (ESB)
   I try it to.DAT early to house go.inf2
   'I try to come home early'
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 därmit uphöirt måken
        serum has the institute stopped make.inf2
        (HB)

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.
        'I promiss that I keep silent'  finite
        'I promiss to keep silent.'
    b.    Dai dokter hät em forornd dat hai jeira dag gåa schal.
        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 nì gaud [mit nà huus neema].
        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 uutsponen.
        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.

---

126  Dat instituut hät uphöirt soura måken
     (HB)

157  Dat instituut hät uphöirt soura måken  (DP:505)
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).

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Dun [hät müst] mijn fruug drägt waara bet Campinho upm naka} \quad (DP:333)
then has must.ptc my wife carried AUX.pass till Campinho on-the neck
\textit{then my wife must be carried on my neck till Domingo Martins'}. \\
\item \textit{Jeier mitglied [hät müstf firtsich bet fiuwsich dåg arbeira helpa} \quad (Seibel:D)
every member has must.ptc fourty till fifty days work.inf1 help.inf1
\textit{Every member was obliged to help work 40-50 days}'.
\end{enumerate}

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 \textit{BE} + \textit{taum}
The copula + \textit{taum} forms a modal passive, as in Dutch and German.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Dat wäir ni taum bruiken} \\
that was not to use
\textquote{that could not be used'}
\item \textit{(Dai kastangaboum) is uk licht taum fijnen im urwald fon Guianen}
\textquote{(The Barzil nut tree) is easy to find in the forest of Guiana'}
\end{enumerate}

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 \textit{taum} + gerund is a nominal construction.

4.1.3.8 VP coordinations under \textit{taum}
In coordinative constructions under \textit{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
\textit{un} are in complementary distribution.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{taum mijlchabroud baken, urer polenta måka}. \quad (UmL:75)
\textquote{to bake corn bread or to make polenta'}
\item \textit{taum sich fona huun un jagter forsteeka}. \quad (UmL:78)
\textquote{... to hide themselves from the hounds and hunters'}
\end{enumerate}

I found one case where a control verb takes a complement clause with \textit{taum}.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{... dat feel juugend wat pomerer sin, sich schääma taum Pomerisch reereen}. \quad (UmL:5)
\textquote{... that much youth REL pomeranians are, REFL schame for-to pomeranian speak'}
\end{enumerate}
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‘... 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 häwk ear greepa krijt.*  (UmL:104)

   ... (so) that no hawk them caught succeeds
   '... so that no hawk succeeds in catching them'

b.  *Dai häwk 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 liür ustrtüüma*  (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 gefår waitend kreiga,*  ...

      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.
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(36) a.  *Wen den air meisch hengeit un [nint 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 [schrieft 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 [freeta mijicha]*
      (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*.

      (UmL:30)
      The hens start then [COMP lay.inf2] off
      'Then the hens start off laying (eggs).'</n
      (UmL:42)
      But the cipò has [to grow] off.start.inf2
      'But the lianas has started growing.'

      (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 legt bet dai anfänga dâua [ana upplatsen]*
      the pods were in.the sun layed till they start.inf do PRT open.jump.inf2
      'The pod vergetables were layed in the sun untill they started to open'

c.  *Mit ais häwa dai brülapa boowen ous ina böim anfungi [ana brülen]*
      (UmL:103)
      with once have the howl.monkeys above us in.the tree start PRT scream.inf2
      'Suddenly, the howler monkeys in the tree started to screem'.

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).
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 silent\(^\text{158}\), as in ((40)d). Also *blijwa* and *saia* selects the -end form ((40)efg), as well as infinitive 2 in ((17)abcd) above.

\(^{158}\) 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). 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.*
    that had Dad in the cupboard lay.prp
    'Dad had it stored in the cupboard'

    b. *Wen ain soig drägend is, ...*  
    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 tauneemenda*  
    It must one at crescent moon plant.inf
    'One should plant it at crescent moon'

    b. *mit kookend wåter*  
    with boiling water

The -end form is also used in some (lexicalized) deverbal nouns with neuter gender.

(43) a. *(Dat) mud man tau tauneemenda*  
    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 lüür dat leewend rert.*  
    and they have many people the life saved
    'and they saved many people’s life.'

This nominalizer -end is a typical feature of Low Saxon\(^\text{160}\), 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).

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\(^{159}\) Pronounced as [taunɛːmən], but also [taunɛːməntə].

\(^{160}\) For instance, the 16th century Emden church counsel 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.inf1
    'I will just say'.

    d.  Dai wäira ina wald gåa.
        they would in-the wood go.inf1
    'They had the plan to go into the woods'.

    e.  Solang as dat möiglig is, daua wij dat im stäen 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 ortographic /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 mäga '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
    'To what can it be attributed?' 

    d.  Wou mach dat an leiga?        (ES: 2015)
        where may that to lay
    'To what can it be attributed?'
Embedded interrogatives with *maga* might subsume to this rule, e.g. dependent of the interrogative marker of 'if':

(46)  
\[ \text{*Dai liüra keika ala nijglig of dai meisch dat wol eeta mächt*} \]  
\text{(UmL:55)}  
the people 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)  
\[ \text{*Ik hā müst [dat bauk leesa] } \]  
\text{(ESB)}  
I have must.ptc the.n book read.inf 'I had to read that book'.

(48)  
\[ \text{*Wij häwa ous müst [seir kwääla darmit]}. \]  
\text{(UmL:64)}  
we have us must very-much torture therewith 'We must have tortured ourselves with it'.


(49)  
\[ \text{a. Dun [hāt küüit] hai sijn leewstijd im schata rijra.} \]  
\text{(UmL:42)}  
then has.sbj could.ptc he his life.time in-the-shadow ride 'Otherwise he would has driven his whole life in the shadow.'

\[ \text{b. Dun [hāt müst] papa sou seir loupa, ...} \]  
\text{(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.
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 [taum]/[tam].

For example:

a. *Wij plüke dit [taum hospital dat geewen]* (ESB)
   '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 help the poor people.'

c. *Ik måk dat im computador taum rascher sin* (ESB)
   'I do it on the computer to be quicker.'

d. *Ik benuts kaina boter, blous süs-öil taum kuken bakken* (ESB)
   'I use no butter, only olive oil for baking cookies.'

Incidently 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, φC us PRT-φT-laugh and PRT-φT-mock
   'No one has the right to laugh at us and mock us.'
Alternatively, the infinitive 2 is analyzed as -ende with intervocalic cluster reduction and catalexis of the final schwa. Evidence for this underlying form is the existence of –end forms in some speakers.

(52)  

Dai besoopener kümt knap un noud bet nå huus gåend.
The drunk comes hardly and almost until to home go.inf2
'The drunk can hardly reach his house.'

This might be a reordering of the two rules involved. See also the present participle in the sections 3.6.1 and 4.1.6.

4.1.9 Passive/Perfect Participles

The perfect and passive participle of weak verbs is in -d, with final devoicing: [d]. 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 [ʝi] is used with passive participles in adjectival use only, never with verbal participles. An exception is the verb eeta 'to eat', where the prefix is not syllabic and incorporated into the verbal root: geeta 'eaten'.

(53)  

a.  

Den häwa sai mij fragt, ...
then have they me ø-said, ...
'Then they said to me...'

b.  

Awer ik häw em seir gaud taudekt.
but I have him very good PRT-ø-covered
'But I covered him very well.'

c.  

Wij häwa hüüt kair fleisch geeta.
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).

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(54)  

a.  

Kookbanan waard kookt, brård urer ina bakoowa bakt.
cook.banana is cooked, stewed, or in an oven ø-fried

b.  

Ik bü tuus blääw.
I ø in house stayed
'I stayed at home.'

161 In some contact varieties of German in Brazil, the prefix can be heard in passive and unaccusative constructions, as in (i). The shape of the participle in -en shows its mixed character.

(i)  

Ik ben in Huus geblieven.
A dialect in the European Pomerelia that behaves like this, is Quiram (Chwiram, Wenker location 01111, in the Kreis Deutsch Krone/Walcz).
c.  *Wen air köiter geboura waard,* ...
   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', *gekoookt/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)* with catalexis or *-end(e)* 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.inf1, cooked and fried
   'One can eat them raw, cooked and fried'

   b.  *Dai boum wäir ümgefalend fuuna.*
   the tree was PRT.GE.fall.ptc.pred found
   'The tree was found in fallen state'

In prenominal position, participles are inflected like adjectives: *gebrårda banana* 'fried banana', *uutgelekta 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 jårsål 1859.*
   'They have come to Brazil in 1859'

   c.  *Dai fruug is gaud ina krankahuus ankooma*
   the woman is good in.the hospital arrived
   'the woman has arrived well in the hospital'

   d.  *Dai wijlswijin sin in dat plandand gåa.*
   'The pigs have gone into the plantage'

   e.  *Hai is hîjr bleewa.*
he is here stayed
'He has stayed here'

Some verbs of going and coming select hāwa and sin in function of their telic internal aspect.

(57)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(57)</th>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Argument</th>
<th>Fantasy Form</th>
<th>Literal Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Sai is fon hijr bet Palmeira reera</td>
<td>she is from here to P. driven</td>
<td>Häwa</td>
<td>'She has driven by horse from here to Palmeira.'</td>
<td>Häwa</td>
<td>'He has driven by horse from here to Palmeira.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Hai hät stuuna lang upm eesel reera</td>
<td>he has hours long on the donkey ridden</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>'He has ridden for hours on the donkey.'</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>'He has ridden for hours on the donkey.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pomeranian fully parallels Dutch and German in this respect. However, Pomeranian treats anfanga to 'begin', uphōira 'to stop', frijga 'to get married', gefala 'to please' as non resultative: these verbs take HAVE.

(58)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(58)</th>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Argument</th>
<th>Fantasy Form</th>
<th>Literal Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Hai hät anfunga ana hüülen.</td>
<td>he has PRT.started PRT cry.inf2</td>
<td>Häwa</td>
<td>'The soccer game has already finished.'</td>
<td>Häwa</td>
<td>'The soccer game has already finished.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Dai bola-smiiss hät al uphōirt.</td>
<td>the ball game has already stopped</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>'The soccer game has already finished.'</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>'The soccer game has already finished.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Ous grousüler hāwa ... ni forgeeta in tüügkasta drai daila rinernåken.</td>
<td>our grandparents have not forgotten in closet three things PRT.make.inf2</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>'Our gr andparents have not forgotten in closet three things.'</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>'Our gr andparents have not forgotten in closet three things.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Wij hāwa am 07.10.1949 in Alto Santa Joana frigt.</td>
<td>we have on [date] in [place] get.married</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>'We have on [date] in [place] get.married.'</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>'We have on [date] in [place] get.married.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Dat fest gistern hät mij gaud gefala.</td>
<td>the party yesterday has me good pleased</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>'I liked the party yesterday a lot.'</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>'I liked the party yesterday a lot.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pomeranian is in this respect on a par with German, not with Dutch, which selects BE for these verbs. 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.

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162 I thank Werner Abraham for drawing my attention to this difference between Dutch and German.
4.1.11.1  
**Lexical verb daua**

Lexical 'to do' is usually rendered by måka 'make' both for concrete and eventive objects, cf. (59). Lexical daua is virtually non existing, apart with the complement dat 'it': dau dat.\(^{163}\) Compounding is possible though: waidaua 'to ache', updaua 'to open', etc., cf. (60).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(59) a.} & \quad \text{Wijnachta is air festdag åwer ni taum sich besuupa un freeta as dat feel måka} \\
& \quad \text{Christmas is a holiday, but not for-to oneself booze and stuff as that many do} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{... un dår dat blaud manga måka} \\
& \quad \text{and there the blood through put} \\
& \quad \text{'and (we) put the blood through it (the sausage)' } \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{Sai höwa de wijn ina flascha måkt} \\
& \quad \text{they have the wine in the bottle put} \\
& \quad \text{'They put the wine in the bottle'} \\
\text{(60) a.} & \quad \text{Ik forspeek, dat ik dat ni werer dau.} \\
& \quad \text{I promise that I that not again do} \\
& \quad \text{'I promise not to do it again.'} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{Dai tääna daua mij wai.} \\
& \quad \text{my teeth do me pain} \\
& \quad \text{'My teeth ache.'}
\end{align*}
\]

This reduced use of the lexical verb daua might be related to daua’s abundant use as an auxiliary.

4.1.11.2  
**Auxiliary daua**

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

4.1.11.3  
**Progressive daua**

The durative construction daua + inf1 corresponds to the estar + gerund construction in Brazilian Portuguese. Estar + gerund is an extremely common construction in Brazilian Portuguese as is daua + inf1 in Pomeranian.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(61) a.} & \quad \text{(why is this book here on the table)} \\
& \quad \text{Ik däir dat leesa.} \quad \text{(\sim\text{Port. eu estava lendo})} \\
& \quad \text{I did that read.inf1} \\
& \quad \text{'I was reading it.'} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{Ik dau srijwa.} \quad \text{(\sim\text{Port. eu estou escrevendo})} \\
& \quad \text{I do write.inf1} \\
& \quad \text{'I am writing.'}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^{163}\) But see the Wenker sentence nr. 3 in section 8.4.

138
The earliest description of Brazilian Pomeranian calls the *daua* + infinitive "o geründio" (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.\(^\text{164}\)

**4.1.11.4 Future/obligation (with negation)**
The second use of *daua* 'to do' is with future reading and/or obligation.

(62) a. \textit{Ik dau ais nij stela} \\
I do PRT not steal \\
'I should not steal'

b. \textit{In Espírito Santo hât 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.inf1 \\
'The best jacaranda was in ES, and what is left, may not sold anymore'

c. \textit{Dat ypsilon daua wij ni oft benutsa bijm srijwen.} \textit{(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 (Götz Kaufmann, *pers.comm.*).\(^\text{165}\) This parallelism was already a property in European Pomeranian (cf. Mahnke 1931:74).

(63) a. \textit{Wen ik tijd haar, den däir ik nå Düütsland gåa.} \textit{(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 elicitated in W18: \textit{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 aina nijga 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 nà Düütsland.* (HB)
    if I time had, then went I to Germany
    'If I had time, I would go to Germany,'

b.  *Wen ik jild haar, köcht ik mij aina nijga wåga.* (HB)
    if I money had, bought I me a new car
    'If I had money, I would buy a new car,'

This type of optative *daua*-support also occurs in main clauses, for instance with the adverb *geern* 'willingly'.

(65)  *Ik däir mij geern aina nijga wåga köipa* (HB)
    I did me willingly a new car buy
    'I would like to buy a new car'

These are all constructions where *daua* contributes semantically.

4.1.11.6  Periphrastic *daua* ("do-support") in embedded clauses

In 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.\(^{166}\)

    the people that on-the land live.pl/ the people that on-the land live.inf do.pl
    *wen ainer wat srijwa däit oiwer dai pomerer,* ...
    when someone something write does about the Pomeranians
    'when people writes something about the Pomeranians, ...'

b.  *Wen dai aikkata kaina hola boum fijna daua,* ...
    when the squirrel no hollow tree find do, ...
    'When the squirrel cannot find a hollow tree, ...'

c.  *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.'

d.  *...soulang as Butantan soura schika däir.*
    ...as long as Butantan serum send did
    'As long as Butantan was sending serum.'

e.  *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 lüür helpen / *helpa dauen]_  
    we work on the land to.DAT the poor people help.gerund  
    'we work on the land to help the poor people'

The ban on _taum_ + _daua_ follows from the two 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.inf1 did he not

Lexical 'do' is usually rendered by _mäka_, 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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{*Bijm singen müsta sai sjla.} \\
& \quad \text{At.the sing.NMN must they aim} \\
& \quad \text{'They had to aim their guns while singing'} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{*Bijm deis huisa buugen musten sai singa.} \\
& \quad \text{Upon these houses bild.inf2 must.past they sing} \\
& \quad \text{'Upon building these houses, they had to sing'} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{Ik häw Fritz saia [bijm ranja-steelen].} \\
& \quad \text{I have Fritz seen at-DAT oranges.steal.NMN} \\
& \quad \text{'I saw Fritz stealing oranges.'} \\
\text{d.} & \quad \text{Ik wäir bijm sloidel-afgeewen.} \\
& \quad \text{I was at.the key.drop.NMN} \\
& \quad \text{'I was away to drop the keys.'} \\
\text{e.} & \quad \text{Sai wäir bijm broud rinerbringen.} \\
& \quad \text{they was at.the bread PRT.bring.NMN} \\
& \quad \text{'Ela was putting bread into it (the oven).'}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(i)} & \quad \text{Jan wol nait hemmen dat wie Merie bellen deden} \\
& \quad \text{(Leermens, C041)} \\
\text{(ii)} & \quad \text{Jan wol nait hebb'n, dat wie Merieke bell'n deed'n} \\
& \quad \text{(Bellingwolde, C165)} \\
& \quad \text{John would not have that we Mary phone did.pl}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{168}\) I found one instance of *am* + present participle.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(i)} & \quad \text{Dai fluss is am stijgend} \\
& \quad \text{the river is on.the rising}
\end{align*}
\]

Furthermore, in a translation test, one informant translates Port. *fumando* 'smoking' by *is bijm rouken*. 142
4.1.13 NP raising constructions

NP raising is the phenomenon that a DP receives a thematic role from an embedded verb, while it receives formal Case in a higher clause, e.g. Eng. *John seems to work hard* which is related to *It seems that John works hard*. It is doubtful whether Pomeranian has any biclausal NP raising constructions. A possible candidate is given in (72), where the verb *plega* 'to seem' goes along with an expletive subject *dat* 'it'. However it is not clear if this *dat* is the expletive subject of *reegna* 'to rain' or the expletive subject of *plega*. In ((72)b) the subject *dat weerer* is clearly the subject of the embedded verb *äänrə* '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 dår 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. *(DP:335)*

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 fon + 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
One buys gold. (we buy gold professionaly)

Dat dääi 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, "Ersatzinfiniitiv") (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 güenend.  
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.  
what I undergone have, is noone granted

Here, the form güenend '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.  
there came a man quietly PRT.walk.inf  
Dutch

b. Daar kwam een man rustig aangewandeld.  
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 ümgefalend fuuna* 'the tree was found in fallen state', where we encounter the longer form *ümgefalend* instead of the expected form *ümgefalen*. Notice that this must be an extended form of the passive participle, not the the present participle, which would be *ümfalend*.

4.2 Negation

Negation is expressed by a single negative lexeme, be it adverbially or adnominally. There is no negative verbal prefix, i.e. no double negation. I found one case of an expletive negation under *airer* 'before', given under . This expetive negation is not obligatory.

(79) *Airer dai oowens ni ala haitmäkt waara, blöigt dai mijicha 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 *niː*[niː:] 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 *niːs*[niːs], i.e. *niː* + the adverbial -s suffix means 'never'. *Niːs* is probably a contracted form of *niː ais*. The latter collocation can also mean 'not even' ((81)c).

(81) a. *Ik bü (nog) niːs in Paris west.*
'I am still never in Paris been
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(ə)] 'no one' is a pronoun. It can be debuccalized to *kai* and even *kaa*.

(83)  
   a.  *Kair wil mi helpa.*  
       nobody wants me help.inf
       'nobody wants to help me'
   b.  *Ik häir gär ni/nüscht leest.*  
       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 *ljira* 'to like', *utstää koina* 'can stand', and the emphatic particle *gär* '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 bruükta den *(ni) gans hengää na Franz Lange.*  
       They need then no entirely PRT.go to Franz Lange
       'They needn't go all the way to Franz Lange'
   b.  *gär nischt*  
       'nothing at all'
   c.  *Maria leest gär *(k)air bauk.*  
       Mary reads at all no book
'Mary don't reads books at all'

d. *Dat wat ik doirset hāw, is kainem hund günend.*
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 uutstāa.*
'I cannot stand that man'

f. *Dai koīna sich ni iļra.*
they can REFL not like'
'they cannot go along'

g. *Duu dōrwst dat ni luur säga.*
you dare.2sg that not loud say.inf1
'You do not dare to say that loud'

h. *Bet hijheer dōrwst 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. [Dem groudā Oto] sīj-ō fātēr (is rijk).
the.DAT big Oto his father (is rich)
'Otto’s father is rich.'

b. *(Ik saig) Maria eera fātēr.*
(I saw) Mary her.ACC father
'I saw Mary’s father'

c. *in Maria eere hūs.*
in Mary her.DAT house
'In Mary’s house'

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.
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. \textit{Den behülst dau 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. \textit{Air groud (keirl)}
a big (man)

c. (talking about wild boars (\textit{wijl\_d\_swijr,} neuter))
\textit{Ik häw neegen kaputschoota. Air – häw ik mij nà 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 \textit{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: \textit{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 \textit{dat, hai/em, sai/eer} refer to neuter, masculine, and feminine nouns, respectively.

(87) a. Gistern häw ik \textbf{air düür bauk} köft weegen ik kięu \textbf{dat} gaud binutsa
yesterday have I an.neuter expensive book bought, for I could it.n well use

b. Gistern häw ik \textbf{aina twairad} köft, åwa ik schå \textbf{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 \textbf{ain nijg bank} köft, un ik schå \textbf{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 (inherent)
The child rests SE
'The child is resting.'

b. Däira sich alla kena? (reciprocal)
do SE all know?
'Do everyone know each other?'

c. Wou gaud däit sich dat ais leesa! (middle)
how well did SE it PRT read
'It reads so easily!'

d. Dat kind legt sich an sijn schuleran rer (bodily action)
the child put SE to his shoulders to.DIR
'The child positioned itself at his shoulder.'

e. Dai walach hät sich ängst, dårweegen is hai schüüg woura (psych-verb)
the horse has SE feared, hence is he fearful become
'The horse was frightened, whence it became fearful.'

f. Hai lait sich de bård wassa (possessive)
he let SE the beard grow
'He grows a beard.'

g. Dai walach hät sich richt mit den rijrer (detransivizer)
the horse has SE pranced with the horseman
'The horse pranced with its horseman.'

These constructions cover the entire range of what is well known form 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. (UmL:112)
every day fetches REFL he a.neuter chicken
'Every day he fetches himself a chicken.'

This might be related to the cluster V2 in Pomeranian as discussed in section 4.1.1.
4.3.4 Adjectival syntax

Pomeranian has productive adjective incorporation, especially with *klain* 'small' and *gourd* 'big'. In those cases, it has the function of an 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 Swedish (Dahl 2007:119). Some adjectives are not used predicatively, such as *spits* 'sharp', *bår* 'cash'.

4.4 The CP domain

4.4.1 Main clause interrogation

Interrogation is realized by inversion of the finite verb and the subject. In addition, a WH constituent can be fronted to the sentence initial position, just as in the rest of West Germanic. WH in situ is rare and has 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. Büstü al in Paris west? ja, ik bü da al west
    are-you already in Paris been
    'have you ever been to Paris?'

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 wåga?
    'How expensive was the car?'

d. Dai wåga 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.
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(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?

Proto a combination of man 'but' + ni 'not'. Tressmann claims it to be of Mecklenburgian origin. If so, the word must have been borrowed in Europe, as there are virtually no immigrants from Mecklenburg in ES.

4.4.3 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses have the finite verb in sentence initial position. The subject is generally empty, but can be lexical. This fully corresponds to the other West Germanic languages. Pomeranian have some imperative adverbial particles, such as ais, mas, mani 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 allows for fronting to the sentence initial position. Pomeranian patterns with German in this respect, not with Dutch. This has to do with the distinct imperative morphology in Pomeranian (cf. section 3.6.9). For a discussion on the theoretical relation between morphological form and syntax, cf. Barbiers (2007).

4.4.4 Exclamative clauses

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

(93)  a.  Wou gaud dääit 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!'

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d.  Haar ’k doch aier 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 \textit{taum} or \textit{ana}. The complementizers include:

\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{wou} & \text{‘that’. Generalized relative pronoun extracted from adjunct position. The form has merged} & \text{wou} \text{‘where’ and} \text{wou} \text{‘how’}. \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{wat} & \text{‘that’. Generalized relative pronoun, extracted from structural position.} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{dat} & \text{1. ‘that’. Complementizer with finite clauses.} & \text{2. ‘in order that’. Complementizer introducing finite purpose clauses.} \\
\text{d.} & \quad \text{as} & \text{1. ‘as, than, if’. Complementizer in comparative clauses} & \text{\textit{grouder as/sou groud as}, ‘bigger than, as big as’}. & \text{2. ‘when’ in temporal clauses/episodic contexts.} \\
\text{e.} & \quad \text{wen} & \text{‘if, when, whenever’. Introduces habitual, non-episodic contexts.} \\
\text{f.} & \quad \text{aier} & \text{1. ‘before (that)’.} \text{ \textit{Aier dai oowens ni ala haitmakt waara, blöigt dai mijlcha ni}.} & \text{‘Before the ovens are all heated up, the corn does not bloom.’} \\
\text{g.} & \quad \text{bet} & \text{‘until (that)’.} \text{ \textit{Dat waard drai mounata bet dai mijlcha groud is}. ‘It takes three months until the corn is ready’} \\
\text{h.} & \quad \text{taum} & \text{‘for … to’. Infinitival complementizer.} & \text{Always with infinitive 2. Cf. section 4.1.3.3.} \\
\text{i.} & \quad \text{ana} & \text{‘for to’. Only used when selected by} \text{anfånga ‘begin’.} & \text{Always with infinitive 2. Cf. 4.1.5.} \\
\text{j.} & \quad \text{as wen} & \text{‘as if’. Typically selected by the impersonal verb} \text{låta ‘to seem’.} & \text{Cf. section 4.1.13.} \\
\text{k.} & \quad \text{wen .... uk} & \text{‘though’. Discontinuous complementizer in admittive clauses.} & \text{\textit{Uk} remains in the middle field.} \\
\text{l.} & \quad \text{of} & \text{‘if/whether’. Typically used with embedded yes/no-questions:} & \text{\textit{Ik fruig of sai dat wüsta}. ‘I asked if they knew it.’}
\end{align*}
The preposition *üm* 'around', the etymological counterpart of German *um* and Dutch *om*, is absent as a complementizer in Brazilian Pomeranian.\(^\text{172}\)

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.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \text{Wätst dutu [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?'
\item 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.'
\item Awer sai waita ni [wou gesund as] dat is  
but they know not how healthy as that is  
'but thet don't know how healthy that is.'
\item 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'.
\end{enumerate}

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.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Den geit hai werer tröig in dai wald, \textbf{wou} hai woont. \hspace{1cm} \textbf{PP}  
then goes he again back in the world, where he lives  
'Then he goes back in the world where he lives.'
\item Dai lüür \textbf{wat} kaina stapmlots kena daua \hspace{1cm} \textbf{DP, plural}  
the people that no pestle know do  
'A horse that does not need to be fed.'
\item Air walach \textbf{wat} ni futert bruukt \hspace{1cm} \textbf{DP, masc, singular}  
a horse that not feed.ptc needs  
'The first school that we had.'
\item Dai airst schaul \textbf{wat} eer frömd foirkümt \hspace{1cm} \textbf{DP, fem, singular}  
upon-the first best thing that them strange seems  
'upon the first thing that seems strange to them.'
\item Bijm airst best dail \textbf{wat} eer frömd foirkümt \hspace{1cm} \textbf{DP, neut, singular}  
upon-the first best thing that them strange seems  
'upon the first thing that seems strange to them.'
\end{enumerate}

\(^{172}\) 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 Bijbe, 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 *låta '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 dår reegen kümt] it seems as if there rain comes 'There seems to come rain.'
    b. Dat lait [as wen dar regen kaim] Dat lait as *wen kaim reegen Dat lait/löt nam reegen
    c. *Dat lait [as kaim dår reegen kaim] 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 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
    *datte = 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.
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(100) a. Wen’s dröig sin, ...
    'When they dry are'
When they dry are

b. Süstə waard’s seir nāna rouk smekek.¹⁷³
    Otherwise will-she very to-the smoke taste
Otherwise it will taste too much of smoke.'

(101) a. Dai däist ø dij afschäla un rija.
    these do.2sg (you) yourself PRT-peel and scrub

b. Dat däist ø dij den up air tük tüüg ruperlega
    that do.2sg (you) yourself then up a piece of rack up.to.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 måka
    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 descedence 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 dà 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 mariage), 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... when you were young, did they talk everything mostly in Pomeranian? 'And then... when you were young, did you... did they, the people, talk everything mostly in Pomeranian?'

Then you small were.2sg, did.2sg you, did.3sg they 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?'

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 brasilianisch mökt ... when the priest everything in brazilian makes 'when the priest does (the service) in Portuguese'

This leads us to believe that there are some true traces of complementizer agreement in Pomeranian, which can be provoked by language contact with the local immigrant Dutch. This might be a trace of an underlying I-V2 syntax next to C-V2 syntax. (Zwart 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 kúmt 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 joikí 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 hówa daua.** (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.
'There are two kinds (of) jekitiba trees'  
(UmL:84)

g. **Dat** giwt im gansa huus kair wat tijd hätt taum mit em speelen.
'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)  

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| a. | **Must ø wekmåls froiga so: *mamä, wat is dat***?  
must you sometimes ask such: *"mum, what is that?"*  
(ESB) |
| b. | **Jå, mas, sou, wäts, wij fänga den an.**  
Yes, but (Port.), so, you know.2sg, we start.pl then off  
(ESB) |
| c. | **Gaud is ø wen dar ümer rouk uuner is.**  
good is (it) when there all the time smoke under is  
'it is good if there is smoke under it all the time.'  
(UmL:53) |
| d. | **Un sääga's dâ wat tau? Is ò gaut? Is ø egich? Ura is 't normal?**  
and say-they there something at? Is (it) ok? "Is (it) ugly"? Or is it normal?  
(ESB) |
| e. | **Dat kümt fan de reegen.**  
it comes from the rain  
'it is caused by the rain.'  
(ESB) |

(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)  

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| a. | **Waen ø mijlchatijd is, den gâa sai ala t'houp steela.**  
when (it) harvest is, then go they all together steel.inf1  
'during the harvest, they go and steal together'  
(UmL:101) |
| 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. **Dat låt (sou) as ...**  
'it seems'
it let so as if ...
'vet seems that ...'
b. **Dat reigent/dat dunert.**  
'it rains/it thunders.'
c. **Mij is dat kuld un mij släipert.**  
'to.me is it cold and to.me sleep.ITER.3s
'I am cold and sleepy'
d. **Em däir dat fraira.**  
'bodily experiences
to.him did it freeze
'He felt cold.'
e. **Dat giwt feel daila.**  
'existential construction
'There are many things'
f. **Hijr woont sich dat gaud.**  
'imperonal SE-construction
one lives well here
g. **Dat däit ana doir klöpa.**  
'imperonal passive
'that does to-the door knock
'(Some)one was knocking at the door'
h. **Dat klopt.**  
'imperonal passive
'Someone is knocking at the door'

This is even the case in inversion, XP V-expl, so it is not an epiphenomenon on the V2 constraint.

(109)  
**Glijk nåheer däir dat ana doir klopa.**  
just afterwards did it at the door knock

(PD, s.v. doir)

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 dâ 'there' as their expletive (110)b. The verb sin allows for both (110)cd.
(110) a. *Dat hāwa twai lūür air huus köft.
 EXPL have two people a house bought

b. *Dår dāir ain fruug air bauk leesa.
 EXPL did a woman a book read

Pomeranian excludes the double-argument expletives with *dat*, but allows them with *dår*.

Now it has been suggested that VO-languages without V-to-T lack transitive expletive constructions (Bobaljik & Jonas 1998, Rohrbacher 1999, Zwart & Koster 2000). 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
 'before the night'

b. *fom* slåpen
 '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 fon* bulafíaisch makt.  
    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*  
    before.the.fem trip  
    *foir + dai*

b.  *Drai meter houg fona eir*  
    three meter high of.the.fem earth  
    *fon + dera*

*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 gåa 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 rinergünga, ...*  
    when we in.the river into-went, ..

Most prepositions have a specific directional particle, which is often morphologically related. See section 3.7.1 for a list. As a preverbal particle, *ein* may show up in reduced form: *e-* (e.g. *e-sluka* [eʔslukɐ] 'swallow' and in *ik sluk dat ei* [eʔ]). We briefly review the other prepositions (*up* 'up', *an* 'at', *fan* 'of', *foir* 'before, for', *tüschen* 'between') that exhibit this double Case behaviour.

4.6.2 *Up* 'on'

The preposition *up* 'on' selects for accusative case when it is directional, e.g. when the verb is prefixed with a directional particle, such as *ruper* 'onto', as in (116)a or *hen* in (116)b. If, on the other hand, it is stative, it selects for dative case, as in (116)c.
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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.*
      I want now once what of a DAT goat tell
      'Now I want to tell something abou a goat'

       b.  *Fon dai melk häw ik kääis 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. wat fon* has both a type and token reading: 'which type?' or 'which individual?'. Because of the debuccalisation of the -n in *fon* and -r in *for*, it is also written as *wat for*.

4.6.4  *Ana* - Postposition and verbal particle

Adverbial particles and postpositions are created from prepositions by both prefixing *r*- and suffixing -er. For instance, *an* → *r-an-er*. The prefix *r-* has no prosodic space of its own ('onset').

(119)  a.  *un hai wäir ana dijk raner-reera.*
       accusative
       and he was on the ACC dike onto ridden
       'and he drove onto the dike.'

       b.  *(Sai) häwa ni forgeeta in tääügkasta drai daila rinermäken:* ...
            dative
       they have not forgotten in the DAT suitcase three things into-put:

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'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)e, 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 *fän* '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 kuía waara manga andrer planterig mang plant.*
the kui.pl become among other planting among planted
'The kuis are planted among other plants.'

e.  *Dai jakaranda wäir köft nâna farw nà.*
the jacarada became bought after.the color after
'The jacarandá (tree) was bought because of their paint.'

f.  *Wij gaa doir de tuun doir.*
we go through the fence through
'We cross the fence.'

g.  *Dai flaiga wijd fom boum af.*
they fly far from-the tree off
'They fly far from the tree.'

4.6.5 Preposition stranding

There is no preposition stranding in Pomeranian, apart from extraction of adverbial pronouns (so-called "R-pronouns"), *dår* 'there, that', *hijr* 'here/this, *wou* 'where/what', etc. under topicalization, scrambling, or WH-movement.

there have I yet PRT not of thought
'I have not thought of that.'

b.  *Åwer hai begreip ni wat [dår hijner [ec]] staik.*
however, he understood not what there after [ec] stuck
'He did not understand what was behind it.'
Pomeranian is equal to the other continental West Germanic languages in having object shift.

There is preposition stranding by an empty pronoun.

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.

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2. As a selected preposition, it marks a benificent 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)  
\[\begin{align*} 
&\text{a.} & \text{Ik säg tau eer / där tau.} \\
& & \text{'I say to her / upon that.'} \\
&\text{b.} & \text{Dat dögt tau feel daila.} \\
& & \text{'It serves to many things.'} \\
&\text{c.} & \text{Hai kümt tau nischt.} \\
& & \text{he comes to nothing} \\
& & \text{'He does not do anything.'} \\
\end{align*}\]

3. As a complementizer, *tau* introduces rational and purpose clauses (Eng *(for) ... to*) and, in some cases, a controlled complement. Synchronically, it should not be analyzed as a preposition anymore in this function. See the discussion in section 4.1.3.3. In all three cases above, *tau* can be considered linked to tense, which is reminiscent of its use as an infinitival prefix (*tau*).

4. Finally, *tau* shows up in reduced form as *i*’ in the lexicalized *t’huus* 'at home', *t’röög* 'back', *t’recht* 'ready', and *t’houp* 'together'.

4.6.7  *Bet* 'until'

The preposition *bet* 'until' selects accusative case complements.

(125)  
\[\begin{align*} 
&\text{a.} & \text{Bet anerda sündag} \\
& & \text{Till next Sunday} \\
&\text{b.} & \text{Dat löt man stàaa fon ainem dag bet andra tau ñüüren.} \\
& & \text{that let one stand.inf1 from one.DAT day until other.ACC for.to sour.inf2} \\
& & \text{'One let it rest overnight for fermentation.'} \\
\end{align*}\]

However, in most of the cases, it selects a preposition, as in ((126)ab) or a finite clause (126cd).

(126)  
\[\begin{align*} 
&\text{a.} & \text{bet ina huld} \\
& & \text{until in-the.DAT wood.n} \\
&\text{b.} & \text{Bet am fluss} \\
& & \text{Until on.the.DAT river} \\
&\text{c.} & \text{bet dai apel upplatst} \\
& & \text{until the apple open.burst} \\
&\text{d.} & \text{bet dai gumimelk hard waard} \\
& & \text{'until the gum becomes hard.'} \\
\end{align*}\]

In the latter use in (126cd), it has the function of a complementizer.
4.6.8 Tüsch'en 'between'

The preposition tüsch'en '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 tüsch'en 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', uer [urr] '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 Pörtugijisch 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', forsüika '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 Pomerisch 'Pomeranians', and the nuclears scope sin Lutheranisch 'are Lutheranian' in (129).

(129) [Dai maista]₀ [Pomerisch]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 (\textit{ni 'not'}\) or weak (\textit{kuum 'hardly'}), just like Dutch. However, the second clause starts with \textit{dun 'then'} + subject-verb inversion.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(132) a.} & \quad \text{\textit{Ik haar dat noch ni sägt, dun haar hai dat antwoud al trechtk}}. \quad \text{(HB)} \\
& \quad \text{I had that yet not said, then had he the answer already ready} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{\textit{Ik wäir kuum thus, dun kaim dai reegen uk al.}} \quad \text{(HB)} \\
& \quad \text{I was hardly at.home, then came the rain PRT already}
\end{align*}
\]

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 subjective reading, or with past tense 	extit{daua}-support.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(133) } & \quad \text{\textit{Dat däir ni meir feel feigle dat ous kano uuner güng/gäa däir.}} \quad \text{(HB)} \\
& \quad \text{it did not PRT much miss that our boat under went/go did} \\
& \quad \text{'Our boat almost sunk.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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'.

---

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

\(^{176}\text{In Middle Dutch and Middle Low German, the construction underlies the meaning 'unless' and had a weak negator in the apodosis.}\)

(i) \text{De borgere wuden on nicht en laten, se en}worden verwisent  
\text{de citizens wanted him not NEG admit, they NEG.AUX.pass informed}  
'The citizens dit not want to let him, unless they were informed'  
This second weak \textit{en} was often omitted in Middle High German, and was lost in Standard German: \textit{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.

\[
\text{(134) a. } \text{Dat lòt as Julius lustig is.} \\
\text{it seems if Julius happy is} \\
\text{'Julius seems to be happy'} \\
\text{b. } \text{Dat is gaud, dat wek liùr nog air stûk wald bij sich hëwa daua.} \\
\text{it is good that some people still a piece wood at REFL have do} \\
\text{'It is good that some people keep a piece of wood.'} \\
\text{c. } \text{Dat dai klaina folker eer språk ina ek schoowa waard, dat ligt an ous.} \\
\text{that the small peoples their language in the corner shifted gets, that lays to us} \\
\text{'It is because of us that the small peoples' languages are marginalized.'}
\]

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.

\[
\text{(135) a. } \text{Nuu wil man ais [ec] wijsa [wat dai pomerischa liùr koina].} \\
\text{Now will one PRT point-out [what the Pomeranian people can.pl]} \\
\text{'Now one will point out what the Pomerians are able to.'} \\
\text{b. } \text{Sai hät [ec] forgeeta [stuuta köipen].} \\
\text{she has forgotten bread.sg buy.inf2} \\
\text{'She forgot to buy bread.'} \\
\text{c. } \text{Den fängen sai [ana freeten] an.} \\
\text{then start they at eating out} \\
\text{'Then they start out eating.'}
\]

When the object clause is the complement of a preposition, an expletive object is obligatory (136). R-pronominalization is not obligatory, in contrast to Dutch and German.

\[
\text{(136) a. } \text{Hai haar dàran dacht [dat dai ijsern kansel em dat (...) afslàa haar]} \\
\text{he had of it thought, that the iron gate him it cut had} \\
\text{b. } \text{Dat kùmmët ümer [fùp dat] an [fou slim as dai biss wäaást is]} \\
\text{that comes always on that PRT how bad COMP the bite been is} \\
\text{'It always depends on how bad the bite was.'}
\]
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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Adjunct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Dai liüër <em>wat</em> kaina stampklots kena daua</td>
<td>the people that no pestle know do</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. <em>Ik häw ain historia</em> <em>wat</em> mij papa ümer fortela däit.</td>
<td>I have a story that my father always told</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. <em>fon dai tijd</em> <em>wat</em> hai ous hulpa hât</td>
<td>from the time that he has helped us</td>
<td>adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. <em>Wij muita ous gaud befrâga</em> <em>wat</em> ous kandidaat [ec] <em>fona meisch is.</em> subextract</td>
<td>we must us good ask what our candidate [what for a person] is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. <em>Dai schik wommit ik hijr srijwa dau,</em> ...</td>
<td>'The pleasure with which I write here, ...'</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. <em>Dat wäir den</em> <em>wat</em> nijges <em>wou</em> <em>dai kiner</em> [ec] <em>up luura däira.</em></td>
<td>it was then something new.Gen where the children on wait.inf1 did</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whatever</th>
<th>Whatever</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. <em>Huun bleeka an [wat sai ni kena daua].</em></td>
<td>Dogs bark to what they not know do.pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. <em>[Wat dai fruug mökt], waard meistens ni reekend.</em></td>
<td>what the woman does, is usually not counted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. <em>Sai måka jå doch</em> <em>wat</em> sai wila</td>
<td>They do whatever they want</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'They do whatever they want.'
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 meer krum, åwer ik denk dat giwt taum forståen.  
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 hât], ...  
...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.  
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  
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.

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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.infl
     '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 spårer kooma.*
     The man said she shall.past later come
     'The man told (her) that she should come later.'
     b.  *Hai säär, dat schüül ales ain regirung waara ina gansa wild.*
     he said it shall.opt all one government become in.the whole world
     'He said it should all be one government in the whole world'
     c.  *Ik dacht, dai wäir nog hailig.*
     'I thought she was still a virgin.'
     d.  *Fater-muter 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 biclusal 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).
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.

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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) \(-d/t + \text{vowel change; }\ -d(e)\), \text{underlyingly }\ -en\)

Deadjectival. This is the infinitive 2 or gerund suffix. It produces neuter eventive nouns. An alternative form is -end (dat leewend '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 -en instead of -ung: dat reren 'the rescue' < rera 'to rescue' versus Dutch de redding, German die Rettung.

-keit or -heit (after -ig)

Deadjectival. It forms feminine abstract and eventive nouns. Productive. It seems to be a Germanism.

-ung

Mostly high register words and borrowings from High German to form eventive and abstract feminine nouns: hofnung 'hope', forgiftung 'intoxication', formischung 'mixture'; forsamlung 'collection', oierswerwemung 'inundation'; forsicherung 'insurance', stärkungs(mittel) 'fortificant', etc. In this function, mostly -en is used in Pomeranian. See above.

-tum / -schaft

Nominal suffix. Frozen borrowings from High German.

-nis

Deverbal suffix forming neuter nouns, like in HG: dai forkiülis 'refreshment', gräwnis 'funeral'; beduurnis 'compassion'. Not really productive. In Dutch -nis and Frisian -ens form nonneuters nouns.

-er

Derivational suffix from verb to noun (agentive): slachta > dai slachter, måka > dai måker. Productive. Masculine.

-ling

Nominal suffix. Not productive. Twiling 'twin' and some animals: smeterling 'butterfly', sparling 'tico-tico'. It is an old diminutive or patronymic morpheme (Wrede 1908b).

-ster

Noun to noun. This suffix forms professions: schauster 'shoemaker'. Disconnected is formation oiwerster 'superior' which is built up stepwise: oiwer-st + er.
-\((e)\)rig  
Stress-bearing suffix, \(<-\text{rij}<\text{ from Romance -rie}\), with glide velarization. A binding schwa, \(<e>\), is inserted between two stressed syllables.

It produces repetitive eventive nominalizations: \textit{reererig} [\textipa{\textipa{rɛ:re}'rɪs}] 'talking all the time', \textit{gnüglerig} 'talking rubbish', \textit{strijrerig} 'discussing all the time', \textit{srijverig} 'writing all the time', \textit{fikerg} 'copulation'; \textit{hanelrig} 'trade', \textit{hexerig} 'witchcraft', \textit{pukerig} 'hard working', \textit{håckerig} 'problems'.

or locations where these repetitive activities are carried out: \textit{bakery}, \textit{bascherig} 'baker', \textit{bascherig} 'butcher', \textit{planterig} 'plantation'.

-sch  
Forms feminine nouns from masculine nouns that refer to professions: e.g. \textit{praistersch} \(<\text{ praister }\) \textit{priest'}. See section 5.1.1.2.

5.1.1.1 Deadjectival suffix -\text{-t/\text{-d}}\text{ as underlying -d(e)\text{\textcircled{o}}}\text{.}
The deadjectival nominalizer -\text{-t/\text{-d}}, occasionally with vowel change, creates abstract feminine nouns and is to be compared with English -\text{-th}, Dutch -\text{-te}, German -\text{-e}, e.g. \textit{krum} 'curved' \(\rightarrow\) \textit{dai krümd} 'the curve'. There are arguments that the suffix is underlingly Umlaut + d(e)\text{\textcircled{o}}\text{ in Pomeranian (see below).}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>Adj</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>\textit{hait}</td>
<td>\textit{hit} \textsuperscript{179}</td>
<td>'hot - heat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>\textit{dröig}</td>
<td>\textit{dröigt}</td>
<td>'dry - drought'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>\textit{lang}</td>
<td>\textit{längt}</td>
<td>'long - length'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>\textit{groud}\textsuperscript{[t]}</td>
<td>\textit{gröid} \textsuperscript{[t]}</td>
<td>'big - size'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>\textit{daip}</td>
<td>\textit{daipt}</td>
<td>'deep - depth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>\textit{houg}</td>
<td>\textit{höigt}</td>
<td>'high - height'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>\textit{krum}</td>
<td>\textit{krümd} \textsuperscript{[t/d]}</td>
<td>'curved - curve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>\textit{kuld}</td>
<td>\textit{kül} \textsuperscript{180}</td>
<td>'cold - cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>\textit{frou}</td>
<td>\textit{fröir}</td>
<td>'glad - joy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j.</td>
<td>\textit{gruin}</td>
<td>\textit{gruin}</td>
<td>'green - vegetables'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.</td>
<td>\textit{slim}</td>
<td>\textit{slimd} \textsuperscript{181}</td>
<td>'bad' – 'badness', 'wound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.</td>
<td>\textit{halw}</td>
<td>\textit{hälwt}</td>
<td>'half - the half'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>\textit{braid}</td>
<td>\textit{bräid} \textsuperscript{182}</td>
<td>'broad - broadness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

European Pomeranian had a morpheme -\text{-d} that did not undergo final devoicing (Mahnke 1931:59-60). In Brazilian Pomeranian, the suffix -\text{-d} undergoes final devoicing. This morpheme

\textsuperscript{178} Tressmann’s dictionary has \textit{hälwt} as a neuter noun. This must be an error.
\textsuperscript{179} Also: \textit{hits} \(<\text{ HG Hitze})\text{. The -ts might also be the realization of a geminate -tt. Cf. section 2.3.10.}
\textsuperscript{180} Tressmann’s dictionary writes \textit{kul}.
\textsuperscript{181} This noun seems to be neuter.
\textsuperscript{182} Tressmann’s spelling has <\textit{breid}>.
should probably be analyzed as \(d(e)\) with catalexis of the final schwa, i.e. \(-d(e)\). 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 substracts final \(d\) in order to form the nominalization: kuld 'cold' - dai küil '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 kul + \(d(e)\), with intervocalic cluster reduction and catalexis of the schwa. Evidence for rhoticism 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).\(^{183}\) In Brazilian Pomeranian, the backward assimilation rule is reversed to forward assimilation, i.e. (obsolete) set + de \(\rightarrow\) sett \(\rightarrow\) 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 gröer of groud also points in this direction. If we assume grout + |I| + \(d(e)\), with forward assimilation, we correctly predict dai gröit 'the size'. A final prediction is the invariant case gruin in (2)j. If we add gruin + \(d(e)\), 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 \(\rightarrow\) schaulleirersch 'schoolteacher', tauhöirer \(\rightarrow\) tauhöirersch 'attendee/person in the audience', graaw 'duke' \(\rightarrow\) graawsch 'countess'. Also in kinship terms, e.g. swääger 'brother in law' \(\rightarrow\) 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 \(-d(e)\), 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'. 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.

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. In modern use, praistersch (praister + sch) is only 'female Lutheran priest'. Koiksche means 'female cook'. The masculine counterpart *koik does not exist. Some people use dai koch from High German Koch. The -sch in ain Pomersch 'Pomeranian woman' is ambiguous between this -sch suffix attached to Pomer 'male Pomeranian' and the adjectival suffix -(i)sch. See section 5.1.2.

5.1.1.3 -in
The suffix -in is not used to derive female nouns, apart from näigerin 'female tailor'.

5.1.2 Adjectivizers
The following 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.

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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).
Adjectivizers

-**lous**
Privative suffix that forms adjectives from nouns, to be compared with English -less. Examples include: godlous 'immoral, atheistic', språklous 'speechless'. With secondary stress.

-ig
Adjectivizer to be compared with Eng -y, Germ /Du / Fri -ig. May cause intervocalic rhotacism: doud → dourig 'death/dead'.
1. from nouns: regnig 'rainy', drekig 'dirty', draikantig 'with three sides', eeklig 'bad, ugly, glouwig 'religious', lustig 'happy'.
2. from verbs: dröimig 'dreamy',
3. from adjectives: grijsig 'gray like'
4. root derivation: düchtig 'extremely', eewig 'eternal', mijrig 'small'.
5. < HG: kräftig 'forceful'

-**lig** (+umlaut)
< HG -lisch. To be compared with Du -lijk. Old Saxon -lik has been lost. This suffix may cause intervocalic rhotacism: juud → juurisch 'Jew/Jewish'.
1. from nouns: eirlig 'honest', festlig 'festive'.
2. from adjectives forming adverbs: gewijslig 'certainly'.
3. root derivation: argalich 'angry, annoyed, getlig 'halfway', doimlig 'crazy'.
The Old Saxon suffix -lik, Du -lijk, has been lost.

-**tschig**
Root derivation. Pejorative adjectivizer.
luulatschig 'lazy, sloppy', klijtschig 'unsufficiently leavened', matschig 'swompy, wet'.

-**isch**:
Productive suffix forming adjectives from nouns, especially nationalities.
- Holändisch 'Dutch', Poulnisch 'Polish', Wendisch 'Sorbian'
- reeknerisch 'arithmatic'
- teknisch 'technical', melodisch 'melodic'

-sch:
Variant of -isch.
1. Forming adjectives to nations: only Pomersch 'Pomeranian', Düütsch 'German'.
2. Root derivation: narsch 'crazy', frisch 'fresh', früüsch 'early', hübsch 'elegant', fenijnsch 'poisonous'.

The non-syllablic 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
-**soin / -tochter/**…
These two kinship nouns has been lost but survive as the second part of compounds: swijgersoin 'son in law'.

-wards / wärds
Directional suffix.
This suffix avoids ante-suffixal stress; when added adjacent to the stress there is dummy mora insertion: -enwijs (denominal):
* kilo 'kilo' → kilowijs 'per kilo'
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meiter 'meter' → meterwijs 'by the meter'
stük 'piece' → stükenwijs 'piecewise'
duts 'dozen' → dutsenwijs 'per dozen'

But there are exceptions in the domain of time: tijd 'time' → tijdwijs 'sometimes', klokwijs 'clockwise', stoutwise 'accidentally'.

-stükwijs 'piecewise'
dutsenwijs 'per dozen'

This suffix forms discourse adverbs from adjectives:
gelükig 'happy' → gelükigerwijs 'happily'

5.2 Prefixes

5.2.1 Verbal prefixes

(5) un-
    Negative and pejorative prefix.
    with A: unsicher, ungesund; with N: unsin, unglück, 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 doctor examined in vain
b. Dai sün geit hijner dem barg uuner
    the sun goes behind the mountain under
    'The sun sets behind the mountain.'

I did not find any verb with inseparable doir 'through', to be compared with Du. 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: doirsniuira → 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: sunâwend. As to phonology and morphosyntax, on the other hand, Pomeranian is much more oriented to the coastal areas, for instance, the n-drop before spirants discussed in section 1.1, the prefix bi- to form heavy prepositions such as English above, Du. boven, Frisian boppe, Pom.
boowa versus German form über without bi-prefix. This shows that Pomeranian might be characterized having a Coastal Germanic substrate and 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Frisian</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sijr</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>leech</td>
<td>laag</td>
<td>niedrig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dail</td>
<td>thing</td>
<td>ding</td>
<td>ding</td>
<td>Ding</td>
<td>as dummy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waidog/pijinch</td>
<td>pain/ache</td>
<td>pine</td>
<td>pijn</td>
<td>Weh, Schmerzen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- sonâwend</td>
<td>saturday</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>saterdei sneon</td>
<td>zaterdag</td>
<td>- Sonnabend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rad</td>
<td>wheel</td>
<td>tsjel/rêd</td>
<td>wiel</td>
<td>Rad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wijd(af)</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>fier</td>
<td>ver</td>
<td>weit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nijder</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>del</td>
<td>neer</td>
<td>nieder</td>
<td>as a particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loupa</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>rinne</td>
<td>rennen</td>
<td>laufen</td>
<td>'walk fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bet</td>
<td>till</td>
<td>oant</td>
<td>tot</td>
<td>bis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krank</td>
<td>sick/ill</td>
<td>siik</td>
<td>ziek</td>
<td>krank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koina</td>
<td>can</td>
<td>kinne</td>
<td>kunnen</td>
<td>mögen</td>
<td>CAN-reading</td>
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<td>schåla</td>
<td>shall</td>
<td>sille</td>
<td>zullen</td>
<td>werden</td>
<td>future auxiliary</td>
</tr>
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<td>waara</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boowa</td>
<td>above</td>
<td>hoppe</td>
<td>boven</td>
<td>über</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiiw</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>fiif</td>
<td>vijf</td>
<td>fünf</td>
<td>± n-drop</td>
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<td>hiner</td>
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<td>behind</td>
<td>efter</td>
<td>achter</td>
<td>hinter</td>
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<td>treka</td>
<td>pull</td>
<td>tsjen/lûke</td>
<td>trekken</td>
<td>ziehen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuus</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>kies</td>
<td>kies</td>
<td>Zahn</td>
<td>'molar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muul</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>mule</td>
<td>mond</td>
<td>Mund</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2 Locations
There are a few names of locations (in ES) and locational expressions that have a special designation in Pomeranian.

(2)  (nam/im) Bout - (to/in) Santa Leopoldina (Porto de Cachoeira)
nåna stad - to Vitoria
Buuten - in Espirito Santo (the state outside the Pomeranian area)
nå Santa Marij - to Santa Maria de Jetibá
nåna kirch - to church
nåna vend - to the stockhouse, esp. on the road to Santa Leopoldina
Swarda Felsen - Pedra Preta (lit. Swarda Stair 'black stone')
Ponta - Rio Ponte
Kampijn - Domingo Martins
Melgás - Melgaço

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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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Official</th>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Gaede</td>
<td>= Jöir</td>
<td>Jöira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Strey</td>
<td>= Streig [ç]</td>
<td>Streige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Schultz</td>
<td>= Schult</td>
<td>Schulde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Goerl</td>
<td>= Joil</td>
<td>Joila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Braun</td>
<td>= Br[œ:]n</td>
<td>Bruna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Haese</td>
<td>= H[œ:]s</td>
<td>Heesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Gehrke</td>
<td>= Jeik</td>
<td>Jeika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Krause</td>
<td>= Kraus</td>
<td>Krausa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Schwanz</td>
<td>= Swants</td>
<td>Swantse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Batke</td>
<td>= Bâtke</td>
<td>Bâtké’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. Hamer</td>
<td>= Hâma</td>
<td>Hâmar’s [hɔməs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. Grôner</td>
<td>= Gr[u]na</td>
<td>Gruina’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Polnath</td>
<td>= Paunat</td>
<td>Paunat’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. Döring</td>
<td>= Dorink</td>
<td>Dorink’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. Januth</td>
<td>= Jouat</td>
<td>Jouat’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. Plaster</td>
<td>= Plåster</td>
<td>Plåster’s [pɔlstɔs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. Schröder</td>
<td>= Srörer</td>
<td>Srörer’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. Kempin</td>
<td>= Kampin</td>
<td>Kampin’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. Föger 186</td>
<td>= Fäiet</td>
<td>Fäiet’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t. Kiefer</td>
<td>= Kifet</td>
<td>Kifet’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u. Müntchow</td>
<td>= Möntche [mœntçə]</td>
<td>Möntche’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. Jastrow</td>
<td>= Joster</td>
<td>Joster’s [jostes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w. Stabenow</td>
<td>= Ståwan</td>
<td>Ståwan’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. Bienow</td>
<td>= Bijna</td>
<td>Bijna’s [biːnəs]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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* 

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186 This and the next name are not originally Pomeranian, but Austrian and Hessian, respectively.
[ʒenirasãu] '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. orkijd < 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). 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 Willems (1947:281ff) for the "Teuto-Brazilian speech" in RS give similar lists. These lists do not seem to represent Pomeranian but Hunsrück-based speech, though some words are shared by Pomeranian: *fum* 'tabaco', *bijsch* 'animal'. Systematic schwa apocope is absent in these German-based dialects.
List of borrowings from Portuguese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. prijm</td>
<td>&lt; prima</td>
<td>'cousin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. abakât</td>
<td>&lt; abacate</td>
<td>'avocado'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. soubrijn</td>
<td>&lt; sobrinha</td>
<td>'niece'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. tióub</td>
<td>&lt; tiouba</td>
<td>'tiúba'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. koiâb</td>
<td>&lt; goiaba</td>
<td>'guave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. kansêl</td>
<td>&lt; cansela</td>
<td>'gate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. mandjuk</td>
<td>&lt; mandioca</td>
<td>'casave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. bataad</td>
<td>&lt; batata</td>
<td>'potato'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. alkéîr</td>
<td>&lt; alquíera</td>
<td>'surface measure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. karék</td>
<td>&lt; careca</td>
<td>'bold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. pak</td>
<td>&lt; paca</td>
<td>'low land paca (animal)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. poléînt</td>
<td>&lt; polenta</td>
<td>'polenta'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. ant&lt;188</td>
<td>&lt; anta</td>
<td>'tapir'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. farîjn</td>
<td>&lt; farinha de manioca</td>
<td>'casave moal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. ranj</td>
<td>&lt; laranja</td>
<td>'orange'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. kanék</td>
<td>&lt; caneca</td>
<td>'cup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. mour</td>
<td>&lt; moda</td>
<td>'fashion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. kui</td>
<td>&lt; cuia</td>
<td>'gourd'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. lat</td>
<td>&lt; lata</td>
<td>'can'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t. karnesék</td>
<td>&lt; carne seca</td>
<td>'dried meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u. vend</td>
<td>&lt; venda</td>
<td>'shop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. rosk</td>
<td>&lt; rosca</td>
<td>'type of sweet bread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w. penk</td>
<td>&lt; penca (de banana)</td>
<td>'piece of a bunch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. bijsch</td>
<td>&lt; bicho</td>
<td>'small animal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y. fum</td>
<td>&lt; fumo</td>
<td>'tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z. deputáad</td>
<td>&lt; deputado</td>
<td>'deputy, member of parliament'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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      < aipîm 'casava'  
sîppa     < cîpô 'liana'

b. rouba    < arróûba 'weight of 15 kg'
            ranj      < larânja 'orange'

c. konîst   < HG Kolonist (Pomeranian) colonist, small farmer'
            konîj     < HG Kolonie 'piece of land of 25 ha'
            kaweera  < Port capoeîra 'woods in recuperation'

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

(7) a. biskuida  < biscotto 'biscuit'  (but Tressmann’s dictionary has biskuit)

b. ligra     < ligar 'to phone'

c. usra      < usar 'to use'

<sup>188</sup> 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 tüüt-tüüt to allure chickens, mijs to allure pet cats, sik to allure a goat (seeg), lijtscha to allure pigs, wira-wira to allure ducks, and touch to allure a horse (cf. Tressmann s.v. loka). We will not go into these. In the communication with other humans, we may mention the exclamative type utterances in (8).

(8) a. Huch! – 'hey!'
b. Atshei – 'goodbye' < French adieu
c. Gun dag! – 'good morning/afternoon/evening'
d. Ach! – 'Ah' e.g. Nei, ach nei!
e. Kijk! – 'look' (cf. ó < olha! in Port.)
f. Maine Sait! – Dear heaven' (< HG. Meine Zeit)
g. Duu laiw tijd! (lit. ‘you dear time’)
h. Meisteskind! (lit. ‘child of man’)
i. Drek! – 'shit!'.
j. Schijt! – 'shit!'.
k. jà – 'for that reason'. Reason-giving intercalation.
l. wäts – 'you know' (tag + intercalation). A calque from Port. sabe '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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(9)</th>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>High German</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>expected form</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hofnung</td>
<td>hofnung.</td>
<td>'hope'</td>
<td>*houp</td>
<td>hoop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauwa</td>
<td>taufen.</td>
<td>'baptize'</td>
<td>*doupa</td>
<td>dopen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saicha</td>
<td>Zeichen.</td>
<td>'symbol'</td>
<td>*taika</td>
<td>teken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirch</td>
<td>Kirche</td>
<td>'church'</td>
<td>*kark</td>
<td>kerk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hochtijd</td>
<td>hoch</td>
<td>'high'</td>
<td>*hougtijd</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pom. tijd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) (grous)fäter
(grous)muter
(grous)ülrer
jaung/jonges
määka(s)
unkel(s)
tante(s)
swäger(s)
swäägersch
prijm(a)
swijgersoin/tochter
swijgernute/fäter

'grandfather'
'grandmother'
'grandparents'
'son(s)'
'daughter(s)'
'uncle(s)'
'aunt(s)'
'brother(s) in law'
'sister in law'
'cousin(s)'
"son/daughter/
'mother/father-in-law'

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

But see also note 179.
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

*sündag, måndag, dinsdag, mirwek, dunerdag, frijdag, sunawend* 'saturday', lit. 'sun(day)-eve'.

Months

*januar, februar, märts, abril, mai, jüni, jüli, agüst, 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', *fruchtijd* '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’ bakbläär, fijw spits’ piipköp
    three good broad baking sheets, five sharp pipe heads

It seems to me that the phonetic string in (11) is not difficult to pronounce in itself, but it is difficult for a Pomeranian to pronounce, as it necessarily involves complex phonological processes, such as catalexis of schwa, intervocalic d-rhotacism, compensatory lengthening, as represented in (12).

(12) a.  [drai gaur brair bakbleːr, fiːf spits pɪpkoːp]
    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 underling word final catalectic schwa, with all the consequences of it. For instance, it should be noted that the adjective spits cannot be used predicatively, which seems to be due to an underlying catalectic schwa as part of the root spits, i.e. /spits(e)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 text\(^{191}\) 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 Hartuwig (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 vastôh. 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 vastôh wi alla. Wenn dat ous sprock is, wowichan schoilas wi ni binutra? Natürllich, dat schriewan is gona so einfach, weichhen wi hewa kein grammatik. Weck mol we'tma ni wo'ma weck Wor schiwa schall. Owa dat wichtigest is, mein ik, dat wi ous vastôh, wenn't ouk weekmol meia krümme ruta kümm. 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 vastôh. So as dat haiata deit: we kaina hunt het, jacht mit ein Katt.

Owa, iowa ji mi, wenn ma sich richtig oiwalecht, is dat go ni richtig, dat wi ous sprock as ’quebra-galho’ vastôh! Ick wa ma’s secha wowechan: ous sprock het gra so seina Weit as ırchans ein anat sprock. Jera volk het sin sprock. Un wi pommersch volk hewa dat recht tam ous sprock bhuullan. Do is ka, wat ouk 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 waita of ji dit ouk vastôh hewa. Süsta lohnt jo gana wira schriewan. Secht juch am preista of dit tam vastohn west is. Un vasoikt ji ouk un 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.

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Mij häwa 's forteld dat fel fon ous luër dai saitung ni leesa. Un dat schal där an leiga, dat fel dai Pomersch spräk ni eindig forståa. Wek haara al meint, då müüst wat up Pomersch spräk sreewa waara. Äwer 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 srija? Dat já, dat is ous spräk, dat forståa wij ala. Wen dat ous spräk is, wouweega schoila's wij ni benutsa? Natürlich, dat srijaun is gär ni sou einfach, weegen wij häwa kain gramatik. Wekmål wet man ni wek wöir srija schal. Äwer dat wichtigst is, mein ik, dat wij ous forståa, wen 't ouk wekmålmeir krum ruuter kümt. Am forståën, där schal 't ni an leiga. Ik wait dat vel luër sich up Pladdüütsch braiws srija, tüscha hijr um Rondonia. Ik häw al sou gär souna braiws lest un dat wäir gaud taum forståën. Dat is air saichen dat dai luër sich dreigen forståa. Sou as dat hatita däit: wer kaine hund hät, jacht mit ein kat.

Äwer bet anerd mäl mücht ik ais geern waita of jij dit uk forståa häwa. Süsta loont já gär ni, wijjer srijaun. Segt jugeom praister of dit taum forståën 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 groudauen**
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 klar awer häw aina groud kop. Jij beid neema aina stok ina snabel. Jij bijta an jeira kant roier un ik bijt ina mir roier, den koam ik uk mit. Dun fluiga dai guisa lous un dat güng seir gaud. Dun kaima sai oïwer ain klain stad roier un dai lüür wäira nijdlig un keika houg un frouga:
- Wem hät sich dat uutgrüüwelt?
Dun wul sich dai porch já groudaua un säga dat. Darbij maik sai eer muul up un säär:
-Dat häw ik mij uutgrüüwelt. Darbij fai sai ruuner un wäir doud.

Arciléia Neimog, Melgaço, Domingos Martins/ES,
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 Ülígerün 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ik un mijn uldsch</th>
<th>I and my wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wij dansa beid pulsch.</td>
<td>we both dance the polka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaie ka beeter</td>
<td>no one is more apt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as ik un mijn uldsch.</td>
<td>than I and my wife.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unkel sijn fruug</th>
<th>Uncle his wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanta eer keirl.</td>
<td>Aunty her husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaie ka beeter</td>
<td>no one is more apt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As unkel sijn fruug</td>
<td>than uncle his wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.2 Marij marak

Marij, marak, wat håst im sak? - Apel, beera un snuuwståbak.
- Apel, nine berries and snuff tobacco
neegen beera un nog ain bak.
- nine berries and another bakery.

7.2.3 Wedding song

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuu is dat glijk fiwj.</th>
<th>Now it is just five o’clock</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>un dai bal is gliik uut.</td>
<td>and the party is just over.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wij beid, wij tuuscha nuu rasch
mit dai bruid.
Wij gåa mit dai määkes.
soulang dat nog geit,
sou mäka 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 haw ik nog,
den geew ik den glijk djí
Määka, wen duu frijga wist,
den frijg duu mit mij.

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.

ik bün dai gaura Kristián,
un hää ain gaur konij.\(^{193}\)

I am the good one, Christian
and have a good colony.

7.3 Dai Muter eira hochtijd

This song, taken from Kuhn (2014), is from the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. I give this Pomeranian song in Tressmann’s spelling.\(^{194}\) 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 hochtijd,
2. giwt dat kair swijnflaisch meir. (2x)
3. Aind, twai, drai fair, jijf, söss, sòiwa,
4. wou is mijn fruug doch bleewa.
5. is ni hijr, is ni dår
6. is fon Nord-Amerika.
7. Fidal, fidal fumbalstair,\(^{195}\)
8. häst duu doch min brued ni saia
9. Gistern sait’s im braira-stair\(^{196}\),
10.Hüüt hää (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

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\(^{193}\) *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/jìft dat kaina schwinflaisch mëia/Ain, tuai, drai, faia, fiiv, zes, zuovan/ voua is min brut doa blëva/Is nich hia, is nich doa/is fon Nort Amerika/Fidal, fidal fumbal schtai/a häst duu doch min brut ni zaia?/Jìstan zait’s im braira schtai/*hit* hëf ni mëia 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.\textsuperscript{197} The last two lines 9-10 are clearly a later extension with another rhythm.

1. Berend Botje\textsuperscript{198} ging uit varen
2. met zijn scheepje naar Zuidlaren\textsuperscript{199}
3. de weg was recht, de weg was krom
5. Een, twee, drie, vier, vijf, zes, seven
6. waar is Berend Botje gebleven?
7. Hij is niet hier, hij is niet daar
8. hij is naar Amerika.
9. (Amerika, Amerika, Amerika)
10. driemaal in de rondte van je hopsasa).

Thus far, nobody has identified this mysterious Berend Botje, but Kuhn's emigration hypothesis leads us, irresistibly, to the \textit{Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis}, the Sea Trip of Saint Brendan (Irish: \textit{Brenaind}), written in the 11th century, which describes how the Irish abbot receives an order from God to travel past the tropics (the \textit{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".\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{naar Zuidlaren} or its variant \textit{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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{197} http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoekveld=berend+botje&submit=zoek&enof=EN&zoekop=allewoordenlied&sorteer=jaar&lan=nl&wc=true
\textsuperscript{198} Neither Berend nor Botje 'little bone' makes any sense. One might amend this to bootje 'little boat', but it remains without ground.
\textsuperscript{199} Village south of the city of Groningen.
\textsuperscript{200} "Pater ascende in navim et navigemus contra occidentalem plagam ad insulam quae dicitur terra repromissionis sanctorum quam daturus est Deus successoribus nostris in novissimo tempore."
emigration song to the Americas, while it has become uninterpretable for a present-day Dutch hearer.

The Dutch text clearly lacks the adulterous reference. However, the lines 5-8 also occur in another Dutch song that does show an adulterous purport similar to the Pomeranian song.

Een, twee, drie, vier, vijf, zes, zeven,  One, two, three, four, five, six, seven
Waar is Jan met de meid gebleven.  Where can we find John with the maid?
Jan is niet hier, Jan is niet daar.  John is not here, John is not there.
Jan is met de meid naar Amerika.  John went with the maid to 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 descendence 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. /oː/, [o̞] 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 verlarization):
    houga 'hew', cf. Ger/Du/Fri hauen, etc.
  → Pom. /oi/ before i:
    flöich 'flea' (umlauted form like Frisian flie).

• PGmc /ai/ (< PIE /ai/ and /oi/)
  → WGmc /ai/ → Pom. /eː/ [e̞] 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/ [a̞] before all other, including before -h or in open syllables:
    aiger 'own', flaisch 'flesh', stain 'stone', klain 'little'.
    saia 'to see', wai 'pain'.

• PGmc /eu/ < PIE /eu/
  before /aː/ (i.e. with |A| umlaut)
  → WGmc /io, eo/ → Pom. /ai/ [a̞]  
    baira 'to bid', laiw 'dear', daip 'deep', bedraiga 'to cheat', gaita 'to pour'
    schaiata 'to shoot', fordaina 'to earn, gain'
    saia 'to see', (a)schait(lig) 'horrible', knai 'knee',
    fai 'cattle' joined this class (< *fehu).
  → Pom. before /r/
    knijra 'knee'.

elsewhere (i.e. including the |I| umlaut context)
  → WGmc /iu/ → Pom. /yː/  
    ĭuër 'people', dăüra 'to indicate', üürer 'udder', fiüër 'fire'
    schüüg 'shy' (umlauted form of /schai-/)
  → Pom. /y/ (before clusters)
    bedrêügst 'cheat.2sg', güütst 'pour.2sg', schüüst 'cheat.2sg', lücht 'shine',
    süüst 'see.2sg', süüt 'see.3sg'.

194
→ Pom. /i/ (with shortening)

\textit{licht} 'light'

→ Pom. /iːɡ/ [iːç] in open syllable closed by glide velarization:

\textit{niig} 'new', \textit{sniigga} 'snow'.

→ WGmc /ju/ → Pom. /uug/ [u:x] (before \textit{w})

\textit{truuug} 'true', \textit{Du trouw}; \textit{juuch} 'you', cf. Fri \textit{jou}, Du \textit{jou(w)}.

- PGmc /ei/ → WGmc /iː/ → Pom. /iː/: \textit{frīja} 'to marry', \textit{sniigga} 'to snow'

8.1.2 Long vowels

- Proto Germ /ō/ (< PIE \textit{e}+\textit{h}23)
  → WGmc /ō/ → Pom. /aʊ/ (closed syllables)

  \textit{braura} 'brother', \textit{bauk} 'book', \textit{daʊk} 'cloth' \textit{gau}d 'good',
  \textit{hau}d 'hat', \textit{naug} 'enough', \textit{raupa} 'to call', \textit{rauts} 'soot',
  \textit{klaʊk} 'smart', \textit{snau}r 'string'

  → Pom. /aʊ/ (open syllables)

  \textit{daua} 'do', \textit{kau} 'cow', \textit{schau} 'shoe', \textit{tau} 'to'
  preterit of \textit{drāga}: \textit{draug} (or \textit{drug}, an unumlauted optative form)

  → Pom. /uː/ (before /i/) (also Pom /oi/)\textit{suika} 'seek' (next to \textit{söika}), \textit{suira} 'tie', \textit{muir} 'tired', \textit{fuita} 'feet'

  → Pom. /oiː/ (before /i/ + glide) (also Pom. /ui/)\textit{köich} 'cows', \textit{blöiga} 'to bloom'

- PGmc /ē/ (/ē/ < PIE /e/)
  → WGmc /ē/ → Pom. /ā/ [ɔː]

  \textit{sād} 'seed', \textit{lāta} 'to let', \textit{slāpa} 'to sleep', \textit{nādel} 'needle'

  → Pom. /ai/ before /i/ (in the preterites of class 4 and 5 < optative)

  \textit{kaim(a)} 'came', \textit{aɪt(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 /i/ (< PIE i:)
  → WGmc /iː/ → Pom. /iː/: \textit{stįja} 'to rise', \textit{wiįsa} 'to point', \textit{riĮra} 'to drive'

- PGmc /a/ (nasalised?)
  → WGmc /â/ → Pom. /aː/ \textit{dacht} 'thought', (with analogical change to /ō/ in \textit{bröchte} 'brought'.

  → Pom. /ɛː/ (before i)\textit{pāåt} 'godfather' < Lat. patrinus

- PGmc /eː/ Mostly functional morphemes and borrowings from Latin /e/, /eː/
  → Pom. /iː/
POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR

- *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*, *prēsberit*)
  - *Pom. /e:/*
- *speigel* 'mirror' < Lat. *spēculum*
  - *Pom. /i:/*
- *spīis* '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 /u/ʃ/ə/) /u/ /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. *dauw-.*). That might be so, were it not that it is also present in Westphalian Low German, which is geographically disconnected to Sleswig Danish. Moreover, Dutch, Frisian, and English incidentally participate in this change (see the remarks below the table). In the table below, we give a complete contrastive inventory. The process only happens after long vowels (and homorganic diphthongs, which are underlyingly long). See section 2.2.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GLIDE VEULARIZATION</strong></th>
<th><strong>Pom</strong></th>
<th><strong>Eng / gloss</strong></th>
<th><strong>Du</strong></th>
<th><strong>Frisian</strong></th>
<th><strong>Ger</strong></th>
<th><strong>Swedish</strong></th>
<th><strong>Remarks</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bäkerig</td>
<td>bakery</td>
<td>bakkerij</td>
<td>bakkerij</td>
<td>Bäckerei</td>
<td>bageri</td>
<td>Only the English word has no final stress.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blåg</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>blauw</td>
<td>blau</td>
<td>blau</td>
<td>blå</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blöjg</td>
<td>'lead (metal)'</td>
<td>bli (mDu)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Blei</td>
<td>bly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blöiga</td>
<td>to blow</td>
<td>bloeien</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>blüten</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borga</td>
<td>to borrow</td>
<td>borgen</td>
<td>boargie</td>
<td>borgen</td>
<td>borga</td>
<td>(reverse path in English)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bröiga</td>
<td>to build</td>
<td>broei bloeden</td>
<td>briere</td>
<td>brühen</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brauga</td>
<td>(BP)</td>
<td>haw</td>
<td>dooien</td>
<td>tauen</td>
<td>tōa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bruuga</td>
<td>(EP)</td>
<td>ấuw</td>
<td>dauwe</td>
<td>dauwe</td>
<td>Tau</td>
<td>dagg</td>
<td>HG confuses these two lemmas. German tauen &lt; *dauen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- doúg (BP) / döiga (EP)</td>
<td>döiga</td>
<td>teie</td>
<td>tauen</td>
<td>tōa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>douch</td>
<td>deaf</td>
<td>doof</td>
<td>deaf</td>
<td>taub</td>
<td>döv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dreiga 1</td>
<td>'turn'</td>
<td>draaien</td>
<td>drijven</td>
<td>drehen</td>
<td>treiben</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>drive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dreiga 2</td>
<td>drive</td>
<td>draaien</td>
<td>drijven</td>
<td>drehen</td>
<td>treiben</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egerlig</td>
<td>'marital'</td>
<td>echtelijk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ehelich</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eig</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>aai</td>
<td>Ei</td>
<td>ägg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fluch</td>
<td>flea</td>
<td>vlo</td>
<td>flie</td>
<td>Floh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>fló (Icel.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friig (EP)</td>
<td>free</td>
<td>vrij</td>
<td>frie</td>
<td>frei</td>
<td>fri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friiga</td>
<td>'to marry'</td>
<td>vrijen</td>
<td>frie</td>
<td>frei</td>
<td>fri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frug</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
<td>vrouw</td>
<td>frou</td>
<td>Frau</td>
<td>fru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grüüglig</td>
<td>'horrendous'</td>
<td>grawelijk</td>
<td>grawe</td>
<td>grausam</td>
<td>gruva sig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>houga</td>
<td>to hew</td>
<td>houwen</td>
<td>houwe</td>
<td>hauen</td>
<td>hugga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huich (EP) / hui (BP)</td>
<td>hay</td>
<td>hooi</td>
<td>hea</td>
<td>Heu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juuch</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>jou</td>
<td>jow</td>
<td>euer</td>
<td>eder/er</td>
<td>(in Low Prussian and Groningen: juun)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köich</td>
<td>cows</td>
<td>koeien</td>
<td>kij</td>
<td>Kühe</td>
<td>kor</td>
<td>(var: kuich)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kouga</td>
<td>to chew</td>
<td>kauwen</td>
<td>kōgje</td>
<td>kauen</td>
<td>tugga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pomeranian Contrastive Grammar</td>
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<td>-------------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kräig</strong></td>
<td>crow</td>
<td>kraai</td>
<td>Krähe</td>
<td>kråka</td>
<td>&lt; Lat. lege 'law'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lįjg</strong> (EP)</td>
<td>'sort, kind'</td>
<td>-lei</td>
<td>-lei</td>
<td>-lei</td>
<td>law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lįga</strong></td>
<td>'borrow, lend'</td>
<td>tenen</td>
<td>liene</td>
<td>leihen</td>
<td>lån</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>māiga</strong> (EP)</td>
<td>to mow</td>
<td>maaien</td>
<td>meane</td>
<td>mählen</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>meige</strong></td>
<td>more</td>
<td>meer</td>
<td>meer</td>
<td>mehr</td>
<td>mer</td>
<td>Also monosyllabic meir [me:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mōićh</strong></td>
<td>'trouble'</td>
<td>moeite</td>
<td>muoite</td>
<td>Mühe</td>
<td>mo 'tired' (Norw)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mouch</strong></td>
<td>'sleeve'</td>
<td>mouw</td>
<td>mouwe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nāig</strong></td>
<td>next</td>
<td>na / naast</td>
<td>nei / neist</td>
<td>nah</td>
<td>nāsta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nāiga</strong></td>
<td>'to nit'</td>
<td>nāaien</td>
<td>nīzje</td>
<td>nāhen</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>neegen</strong></td>
<td>nine</td>
<td>negen</td>
<td>njogen</td>
<td>neun</td>
<td>nio</td>
<td>~ Lat. novem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>niįg</strong></td>
<td>new</td>
<td>nij</td>
<td>neu</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>raich</strong></td>
<td>row</td>
<td>rij / reeks</td>
<td>rige</td>
<td>Reihe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>raekken (Danish)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>roįga</strong> ('to steer')</td>
<td>to row</td>
<td>roei</td>
<td>roeje</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>roįga</strong> ('to stir up')</td>
<td>to row</td>
<td>roeien</td>
<td>roeije</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rōig</strong></td>
<td>OE row 'rest'</td>
<td>(rust)</td>
<td>(rêst)</td>
<td>Ruhe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ON ró</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>saich</strong></td>
<td>(he) saw</td>
<td>zag</td>
<td>seach</td>
<td>sah</td>
<td>ság</td>
<td>3sg. preterite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sāiga</strong></td>
<td>to sow</td>
<td>zaaien</td>
<td>saaije</td>
<td>sāen</td>
<td>sugga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>schüuğ</strong></td>
<td>shy</td>
<td>schuW</td>
<td>skou</td>
<td>scheu</td>
<td>skygg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>snįįge (EP)</strong></td>
<td>to snow</td>
<td>sneeuwen</td>
<td>snįje</td>
<td>schneien</td>
<td>snő</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>soig</strong></td>
<td>'sow' (pig)</td>
<td>zeug</td>
<td>sųg</td>
<td>Sau</td>
<td>sugga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>spįįga</strong></td>
<td>'to spit'</td>
<td>spuwen</td>
<td>spugen</td>
<td>spije</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sriįga</strong></td>
<td>'to cry'</td>
<td>schreeuwen</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>schreien</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(an)įįțoįga</strong></td>
<td>stow</td>
<td>stuwen</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>stauen</td>
<td>stava</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>strįoįga</strong></td>
<td>strew</td>
<td>stroien</td>
<td>struie</td>
<td>streuen</td>
<td>strő</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>swalk</strong></td>
<td>swallow (the bird)</td>
<td>zwaluw</td>
<td>sweltsje (pseudodiminutive &lt; *swelke)</td>
<td>Swalbe</td>
<td>svelge (Norw.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>teech (BP) / tąg (EP)</strong></td>
<td>tough</td>
<td>taai</td>
<td>taai</td>
<td>zäh</td>
<td>tuff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>teigen</strong></td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>tien</td>
<td>tsien</td>
<td>zehn</td>
<td>tio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>trūg</strong></td>
<td>true</td>
<td>trouw</td>
<td>trou</td>
<td>treu</td>
<td>trogen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>waidog</strong></td>
<td>'pain'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>wehtun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>&lt; wat + dawa 'to do pain'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

202 It is also possible that the velar [j] is original ~ Lat. maior, cf. Grimm s.v. mehr < mag-.
203 Tressmann’s dictionary has möich.
204 The sound laws (cf. also next section) predict nūügen. 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 dāg 'day'. Note that the vowel [ɔ] is different from the pair [dax]-[dɔ:x] 'day(s)'. Tressmann writes waidāg.

198
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.\(^\text{206}\) 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 velization in other West-Germanic languages. In a few cases, the Pomeranian velar may also derive from contact with Slavic, e.g. in sni\(g\)a 'to snow' (cf. Polish śnieg 'snow').

### List of incidental cases of glide velarization in West Germanic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glide</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pagel (EP)</td>
<td>nij</td>
<td>'news'</td>
<td>The Frisian word niget is probably a borrowing from LG in view of the epenthetic neuter ending -et.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oog</td>
<td>eiland (Fr)</td>
<td>'island'</td>
<td>Suffix in toponyms, e.g. (Schiermonnik)oog, Zuideroori / Suthrachi in Frisia. EP had aag 'isle'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vreugd(e)</td>
<td>vrolijk (Du)</td>
<td>'happy(ness)'</td>
<td>Cf. HG fröhlich 'happy'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vroeg</td>
<td>vroe</td>
<td>'early'</td>
<td>HG früh 'early'. Cf. discussion in Philippa et al. (2003) s.v. vroeg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reeks</td>
<td>rij (Du)</td>
<td>'row'</td>
<td>relations are not clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skâgje</td>
<td>schauen (HG)</td>
<td>'contemplate'</td>
<td>Cf. Eng to show.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schichtig</td>
<td>schuw (Du)</td>
<td>'skittish'</td>
<td>Cf. scheu - schüchtern in HG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lôgje</td>
<td>laaien (Du)</td>
<td>'to flame'</td>
<td>without corresponding lemma in Pomeranian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graag</td>
<td>grau (VorPom)</td>
<td>'gray'</td>
<td>Note that Pom grüüg- , Du gruwen 'disgust' is an other root, cf. the list above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gnâga</td>
<td>knauwen (Pom)</td>
<td>'to gnaw'</td>
<td>Also Du knagen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3 Pomeranian long /yː/, [yː] (in closed syllables)

In section 2.7, we reported that the umlauted WGmc *ü (i.e. [yː] = U+I) is realized in the 'broken' form [ui] in Pomeranian. Nevertheless, the long [yː] 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 *fiuûr versus Fri fjûr 'fire'. In the next scheme, we list some examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PGmc eo/</th>
<th>Pomeranian ai/y:</th>
<th>Frisian i:ju</th>
<th>Flemish i:diester</th>
<th>Dutch i:y/x</th>
<th>Old Norse jô/y</th>
<th>English i:/ai</th>
<th>NHG ie [oi]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*deuri</td>
<td>düûr</td>
<td>düûr</td>
<td>dier</td>
<td>dûur</td>
<td>dyrr</td>
<td>deer</td>
<td>teuer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*deusti</td>
<td>düûster</td>
<td>tsjuster</td>
<td>deester/diester</td>
<td>dûster</td>
<td></td>
<td>OE dîestre 'darkness'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*eudira-</td>
<td>üûr</td>
<td>jaar</td>
<td>uder</td>
<td>uier</td>
<td>jûgr</td>
<td>udder</td>
<td>HG Euter LG jeder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*jeuri</td>
<td>fûûr</td>
<td>fûûr</td>
<td>vier</td>
<td>vuur</td>
<td>fûûr, fûûr</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>Feuer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*heudi</td>
<td>hûût</td>
<td>hjoed</td>
<td>heden</td>
<td>hûûd</td>
<td></td>
<td>'today'</td>
<td>heute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*keuk-</td>
<td>kûûka</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>kieken</td>
<td>kûûken</td>
<td>kjûklûng</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*keul-</td>
<td>kûûl</td>
<td>'thigh'</td>
<td>'ship'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kjûl</td>
<td>'curvature'</td>
<td>Keule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*leudi</td>
<td>lûûr</td>
<td>lju</td>
<td>liden</td>
<td>lûûd(len)</td>
<td>ljûr</td>
<td>OE leûd 'people'</td>
<td>Leute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*(ga)-teugi</td>
<td>rûûka</td>
<td>rûûka (OF)</td>
<td>riken</td>
<td>rûûken</td>
<td>rjûka</td>
<td>reek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*fleug+it</td>
<td>fjûûg</td>
<td>fjûûcht</td>
<td>vliegt</td>
<td>vliegt</td>
<td></td>
<td>fleug/fly</td>
<td>fleug (NHG)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*seuh+it</td>
<td>sûûst</td>
<td>sjucht</td>
<td>ziet</td>
<td>ziet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*steurjan</td>
<td>stûûr</td>
<td>stûûre</td>
<td>stieren</td>
<td>stûûren</td>
<td>stûûr</td>
<td>steer</td>
<td>Steuer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*(bi)-peuhjan</td>
<td>bedûûra</td>
<td>bitsjate</td>
<td>bededen</td>
<td>bedûûden</td>
<td>fûûda</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'to mean'</td>
<td>bedeuten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The systematic connection between Frisian [ju/jœ]210 and Pomeranian [y:]211 shows that the merger of |l| and |U| has two realizations: unumlauted u, which is Pom. [ui] < |U|+|l|, and *iu, which is Pom [y:] written <üü>, from original |l|+|U|. Admittedly, in the Pomeranian alternation üü ~ ai, üü is synchronically the 23 sg unumlauted 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

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207 Wangeroog East-Frisian. The root is absent in Frisian.
208 HG riechen 'to smell' is from a related verb without unumlaut < PGmc *reukan. The 23sg forms MHG are reucht/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 [œa] before /n/: freon 'friend' < PGmc *frium. Pomeranian has a short [y] which lengthens in the plural frûnd - frûün. The other cases of /eo/ are instances of "Jorwert breaking" (Dyk 2007).
211 Apart from this transmission line, there are borrowings: 1. Pom. büûsa < HG büûsen 'pay in the religious sense', Pom. süûn < HG Sûnde 'sin'; 2. Pom. tûûig 'cloth', which corresponds to modern Fri tûûg. Du tuig 'garment'. Here, the vowel setting of modern Frisian is deviant. Sûûd 'south' is culture-historically too complicated to be treated here. I do not have an explanation for Pom. süûg 'saga'. The Frisian - Pomeranian relation njontig ~ nuûnsig 'ninety' contradicts our generalization, which predicts njongtig ~ *nuûntig. Probably, nuûnsig is a re-pomerization 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. *fűür '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 a open vowel position or submitting to existing material.

(13) Root anchoring of a floating element (Competitive Umlaut, section 2.2.6).

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{[fuir]} \\
\end{array}
\]

(14) Submission of onset material to the root vowel

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{[fjur > fy:r]} \\
[I] & [U] & [I] \\
[I] & & \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{[fy:r]} \\
[I] & & \\
\end{array}
\]

(16) Submission of prosodic material under compensatory lengthening

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{[fy:ri]} \\
[I] & & \\
\end{array}
\]

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) (*fűür < [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: *frűnd - frűün 'friend(s)'. Notice that one cannot pursue this etymological argumentation comparing Frisian with Dutch (though Dutch and Pomeranian have the same vowel setting in this realm), since Dutch lacks secondary umlaut. This illustrates the importance of including Pomeranian into the etymological discussion.
Mysteriously, the above parallel between Frisian [ju:] and Pomeranian [y:] only holds in closed syllables. The reason is that Frisian behaves deviantly in open syllables, e.g. in the case of Pom. *schüüg 'shy', where we reconstruct 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 schüül212 'should' predicts Frisian skjulde, instead of the actual Frisian soe [sua]. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EP (Gumtow dialect, ~1880)213</th>
<th>BP (in Tressmann’s spelling elicited through German)214</th>
<th>BP (in IPA, elicited through Portuguese)215</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Im winte fliege dei dröhge Bläre dücht Luft rümme.</td>
<td>Im winta flaige dai dröige blääär doir dai luft rümme.</td>
<td>im winto flaiɡə dai drœiɡə bleːʁ doirdluft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dat höhet glieck up tau schniegen, denn wat dat Wäre wer bete.</td>
<td>Dat hört geliːk up tam issen216, den waard dat wääre wääre beite.</td>
<td>dat høirt dɔr ʔup tau ŋiːən, den waːd waːt veːɾo ʔalbeitə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

202
3. Dau Koahle inne Oawe, dat dei Melk ball anne koaken fängt.
   Dau koole ina oowa, dat dai melk bal ana koken fängt.
   mak ta kəlaʔiʔanaʔoʔoʔa (d)\(^{217}\)
   dei mīrlk deit gilk anfēnə
akonkən

4. Dei gaur ul Mann is mim Peet dochte Is broake u it kul Woate falle.
   Dai gaura ulə\(^{218}\) keel is mit dem peed, doit ɬis brooka u in't kul wāte fala.
   dai gaurə ulaʔiʔiʔinəxtʔiʔinaʔiʔiʔa mi-tədməvaləx u: ʔiʔnt kulfətə fala

5. Hei is va 4 ore 6 Wāke sturve.
   Hai is for fair oder sōss wekke sturwa.\(^{219}\)
   dai hiʔisəfə faiəʔora zəsəvəkə
doulble\-və

6. Dat fāe was toa heiet, dei Kuchen sün ju unen ganz schwat brennt.
   Dat flūr wāir tau hai. Dai kuchen sin ja une gans swart
   dan\ Nombrei təugrount
   dai fyʃəve təugrount daiβbəsikuitə sin \-fala fabriʃnt
   fanʔedən

   Hai ār\(^{220}\) dai eijer one suld u peeper.
   haiəiteɪtʔiʔoədaʔeioθəʔəθəʔedən\\n   ʔoʊnəzəlt\- ʔupepeɾə

8. Dei Fuit dauwe mi weih, ick glōw, ick hews dōchlope.
   Dai füit daue miṣj eir sai, ik lōi, ik hāw’s miʃ doirloupa\(^{221}\)
   daiʃfuit\-daue\-sej̱o\-waiʔiʔmaɪn
   ñikɾəfə tə wholesome 1 gə:

9. Ick bū bi de de Frug wust u hewt e seggt, u sei seggt sei wūtt eï(?) Dochte uck segge.
   Ik būn bij dai fruwig wāst u hāw eir dat segt, u sai sār sai wue dat uck e māeke sāga.
   ikvə:mîtədəɾfrʊx\-θuθəʔu kɾəf\-rət\-dat səθə\-sai\-sə aiʔdət
   ʔer\-mekə\-dat\-uk\-zəɣən

10. Ick wūtt uck ni mehe werre daue.
    Ik wū dat uk ni meir wiəra daug.\(^{222}\)
    ɨgyvɾ\-dat\-nime\-nə\-ais\-məkə

11. Ick sloa die glieck mim Koakleppel ümt Ohre du Oap.
    Ik slāg\(^{223}\) dij glik mit dem kokkleppl\(^{224}\) um dai ora, duu āp!
    ik hːoxu di mit deicem\-hultle\-pələ\-nəʔor\-duʔəp

12. Wa gehst hen, scheuw mit die goahe?
    Wo jœst du hin? Schoile wj mit dij gāʔa?
    wu\-jœst\-hůt\-xuə\-sčjulə\-vi\-t\-dimi\-təgə

13. Dat sūn slecht Tiere!
    Dat sūn slechte tijta.\(^{225}\)
    is\-nɪʃələˈtɪtə

    Mij laif kind, bļiʃ hie unne stā\(^{226}\)\, dai slima jāaše bīta dij doud.
    mi\-laif\-jœŋt\-bliːf\-hiʔuŋə\-dai\-f-myə\-mə\-je\ː\-kʰ\-nədi\-dou\-ptə

15. Du hest hūt mest letet u būst fromm west. du kast eire noa Hus goahe as dei Andre.
    Duu hŭst hūtə am meiət leirə u būst gaud wāst. Duu dōrwst airə nə huus gāʔa as dai andre.
    du hːst\-hοt\-leit\-alain\-du\-kʰ\-ast\-ʔuk\-ʔaʔə\-nəhus\-gə\-as\-də\-ʔandəɾən

\(^{217}\) 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 doudblijwa. 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- 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 dōch, Pomeranian in Brazil patterns with Dutch door and theumlauted Gronings form deur [deor], 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: mïta kəl.
\(^{224}\) Tressmann has tij[ə]-tijə '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.pte') in W25.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Du bst no nie grot naug an Flasch Wien uttaudrinken. Du must noa a En wasse un grötze wara.</td>
<td>Du bst no ni grout nauch tam ain flasch wip utdrinken. Du muus air ein\textsuperscript{229} wassa u grötze waara.</td>
<td>du bst nöni ñutinaux tam ñain flaif vi:n ñutdringi:ñ du must nöx aist ë meinc\textsuperscript{233} vasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Godh\textsuperscript{228}, wes so gaut u segg Diene Schweste, sei schadei Klere fa juch Mutte fag nehge un mit dee Büst rege moake.</td>
<td>Gå, wäss so gaud u säg djohn sweater sai schu/cha dai klera for juuch mutter trecht näige u mit der böörst reigen mäka.</td>
<td>gô ve:st sognaut ñue:ñe dat:ñinifsto sai fà dat tì:ç reicenmaka ñuflikatdim:uto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Hast du en kennt, denn wee’t amnes koame, u ha bete üm em stoahle.\textsuperscript{229}</td>
<td>Hast du em keind, dan wäir dat aners koma u dat däir beta üm em stäa / dat här\textsuperscript{230} beta für em wääst.</td>
<td>wendurc kë:ntentis deidat ñalos ñaners ñu mi ñem geit dat beico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Hei dee so as harre sei em tom Dösgen bistell sei oawe Hewet süwe doahae.</td>
<td>Hai dai so as haare sai em tam kloppen bestellt, sai häwa dat âwê alaine mâkt.</td>
<td>hai hert siç so ñanʧëlt ñas sai ha: 받 dat ñafmëkt ñô:va sai ha:받 dat ñalaina ñafmëkt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Wie muite sehe schriege süste vastete us nie.</td>
<td>Ma muut luur srijge söste forsteit hai ous ni.</td>
<td>wi mïtua fri:ç sïsya deit hai ñous ni hoîro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Wie sün muir u hewe Döist.</td>
<td>Wij sin miur u hâwa dürst.</td>
<td>wi: si ni:mi:ç ñu hewa deoest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Dei Schnei is dis Nacht bie us legen blewe, oawe hût isse schmült/ schmüla(?)</td>
<td>Dai schnee is deis nacht bij ous lejen bleewa, awa hût moije is hai fo:smül:\textsuperscript{231}</td>
<td>dai tîne: laïç ñûpë bôm boiz dëizô naxt (yp) ñin ousa ñtël ñô:va hytmoïja is sai ñal faloupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Hinne usem Hus stoaho drei schmuck Äppelbôme mit rohre Aple.</td>
<td>Hina ousem huus stå drai schôna klaina\textsuperscript{232} âpelbôima\textsuperscript{233} mit roura klina:ä ãpel.</td>
<td>hina:ousem hu: s zin drai klainà masá boif gans ful klainà roure masà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{226}Unusual in this sense and form (\textit{in}) in BP. Probably an influence of the German text.

\textsuperscript{227}meiger 'more', translation of \textit{crescer mais} 'grow more'.

\textsuperscript{228}Probably an imperative plural form. This is strange in view of the singular form \textit{wes}. Alternatively, with enclitic 2sg pronoun \textit{duu}: \textit{go d}, probably without final devoicing.

\textsuperscript{229}Schönlitz has: u ‘t deer bäte üm em stoahle (stüe bäte üm em).

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

\textsuperscript{231}Instead of the expected \textit{fo:smült}. Influence of High-German \textit{smelzen} 'melt' is conceivable, but the vowel is original. Tressmann’s dictionary has \textit{fo:smüla 'melt away' instead of the expected \textit{fo:smüla or}, with intervocalic voicing, \textit{fo:smülda}. Intervocalic cluster reduction to \textit{fo:smüla} is not according to the sound laws as lenition only takes place with underlying \textit{-ld-} not with \textit{-lt-}.

\textsuperscript{232}The informant systematically replaces the German diminutives with periphrases with \textit{klain}. The EP Weden translations usually ignore this feature whenever the dialect lacks morphological diminutives.

\textsuperscript{233}High German form. Tressmann’s dictionary has \textit{bôim}.
27. Keu ji ni a Ogeblick lure
denn goah wie mit jie.

Kiına\textsuperscript{234} jíj nich noch aina
ougeblick\textsuperscript{235} up ous luure, den
gă wij mit juuch.

kʰynají ʔous ni aï bits luʔrə
den ɡəwi ʰ mitju:x

28. Wie dörə nie so unnüt sin.

Jíj dörə nie so ʰ ninerigkeita
drijwa.

jíj mūtə ni zou kintliç zın

29. Us Bag sún nie sehe hoch,
juch sün vel hö̀gphe.

Ous beeg\textsuperscript{236} sin ni seir houg,
juuh sin ʃiəl ʰléeγer

ous bērx sin nizouhough
ju:xsin ŋ:1 hoiŋə

30. Wuvel Pund Wust u Wuvel
Brot wu jì jehwee.

Woufeel kilo wurst u woufeel
broid wüla jì jì hāwa?

woufə: ʰvust ʰystu həvə ʔu
woufə: ʰbrouə

31. Ick vastoah ju ni, ji muite
lure ree.

Ik forstå juuh ni, jìj muita air
[aia] bits luura reera.

ikhoɾjə:x ni ji mītuʔai bits
lura (f)\textsuperscript{237} rə ʰmə

32. Hew ji ni a Stüc̱k wit Seep
up mim Disch funne.

Häwa jìj kílái stüc̱k wirt\textsuperscript{238}
seip för mij up mijn disch
fuuna?

hevəjí ní:ɬ ai ʃjyk wít zeip
fúnə fón mi: ʔín mì:n hu:s\textsuperscript{239}

33. Sie Braure wú sich ṯwe nɪg
Hü̱se in jugem Gaare buge.

Sijna braure\textsuperscript{240} wū\textsuperscript{241} sítch twái
schöïna niɡа hūśa iʃn
juuchem ɡāra buuge.

sinəbraidəɾo vəə twái həŋjə
hə:ʃə bʊxə ʔin ʔəɾəm\textsuperscript{242} ɡəɾə

34. Dat wət kamm em vam
Hertz.

Dat word kaim em fá herza.

dat wọu开发区̱ ʰm̱ fən
hịtən dat wọu开发区 havim
fàn sin hɛts

35. Dat was recht va e.

Dat wārrecht fá eи. (i.e. eles

fən ʔɪəm ʔu t veiə dət ɕeə
gaut

36. Wat sitte doahe va Veugel
boaven uppe Müeθ.

Wat sita də fon klinə fəigə
booven up dai klinə muə?

vətʃəmfojəɾal zin də: up dai
klınə mə:

37. Dei Bure harre 5 Ossen, 9
Köhg u 12 Schoop vat Döp
brocht. Dei wulles vaköpe.

Daï klonista həara fiʃə oussen
u neijən kʊiʃə u twelf klina
ʃəp nə dai stad ʰrəcht, dai
wuləs fərkəiŋə.

daï klonista həvə fiʃə bùlən
ʔun neijə kəiÇ ʔu twelfʃp
bɾəcht təm fəkʰəpoʃina fət

38. Dei Lür sún hùt alle um
Fel\textsuperscript{243} u meheg.

Daï lùùr ʃin ʰhùut ala belut um
Land u fousen.

daï lỳ: hyt sin ʔaɬo ʔupə ɾuəs
pʰutən

39. Goah ma, dei brue\textsuperscript{244}
Hund
det die nist

Kast\textsuperscript{245} ɡəa, daï brunə hund
dàit dij nisch.

ɡədəhın dəibrənəhənt ədiət di
niç

\textsuperscript{234} This seems to be an irrealis form (Konjunktiv-II).
\textsuperscript{235} In BP, ougenblick 'moment' is masculine like in HG, in contrast to EP/Dutch/Frisian, where it is
neutral.
\textsuperscript{236} Possibly, the speaker first wants to say srijkia 'scream'.
\textsuperscript{237} This inserted /r/ coloring is a realization of complex breaking of the short vowel. Already present in
\textsuperscript{238} The informant assumes casa instead of mesə.
\textsuperscript{239} This is an accusative form. The informant explicitly adds the comment that other people say: sij
braure, which is the more common nominative form.
\textsuperscript{240} This is a past tense in optative use.
\textsuperscript{241} The Portuguese text has deles 'of them'.
\textsuperscript{242} 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), + intervocalic cluster reduction.
\textsuperscript{243} 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.
\textsuperscript{244} Instead of diu kast ɡaə. 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.
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 Mannheim\(^{(247)}\), 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wisconsin Pomeranian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Im Winter fleige dei drööge Blär inne Luft ümher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dat hört glik an to schniegen, dann watt dat Wäter wedder bäter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dau Kåhle in dei Åwe, dat de Melk ball an te käken fängt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dei gaur ål Mann is mit dem Peerd dörch’t Iis bråke un in dat käl Wåter falle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hei is ver veier o söss <strong>Wochn</strong> terög schtorwe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dat Füür weer to heit, dei Kuchen sin unne gans schwat brennt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Hei et dei Eger immer on Salt o Pepper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dei Foit daue mi wei, ik denk, ik heff se dörchloope.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ik will dat ook nich weder daue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Wo gehst du her? Schoile wi mit di gåe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Dat sin schlechte Tiere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Du bist noh nit groot <strong>genaug</strong>, um et Glas Wien utdrinken, u musst eiste noch e bits wasse un ook gröter ware.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Wer het mi mine Korf mit Fleisch ståhle?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Were het hei dei nieg <strong>Geschicht</strong> verteilt?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(246)}\) This -\(n\) is usually debuccalized.

\(^{(247)}\) MV-corpus: MV--\_E\_00134\_SE\_01\_A\_01\_DF\_01
Notice that the double infinitive in -e (daue, gãe, wasse, ware, etc.) and in -en (schniegen, utdrinken) is present in this variety. This seems even to occur so in loan translations from English 'make a living' and 'hard to say' such as in (18), taken from Jacob (2008:638).

(18) a. Jeder daler hett holpe to a leven maken.
   every dollar has helped to a life make.inf2
   'Every doller 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German (original)</th>
<th>Portuguese translation (by GJP and GK)</th>
<th>Dutch translation (by P.J. Meertens)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Im Winter fliegen die trocknen Blätter durch die Luft herum.</td>
<td>No inverno as folhas secas voam pelo ar.</td>
<td>In den winter vliegen de droge bladeren door de lucht.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser.

Já vai parar de nevar, então o tempo vai melhorar.

Het houdt dadelijk op met sneeuwen, dan wordt het weer wel weer beter.

3. Thu Kohlen in den Ofen, daß die Milch bald an zu kochen fängt.

O bom velinho afundou no gelo com o cavalo e caiu na água fria.

De goede oude man is met zijn paard door het ijs gezakt en in het koude water gevallen.

4. Der gute alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durch’s Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen.

Ele faleceu quatro ou seis semanas atrás.

Hij is voor vier of zes weken gestorven.

5. Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.

O fogo estava forte/quente, os biscoitos ficaram todos quemados em baixo.

Het vuur was te heet, de koeken zijn van onderen immers heelemaal zwart gebrand.

6. Das Feuer war zu stark/heiß, die Kuchen sind ja unten ganz schwarz gebrannt.

Ele sempre come os ovos sem sal nem pimenta.

Hij eet de eieren altijd zonder peper en zout.

7. Er istt die Eier immer ohne Salz und Pfeffer.

Eu estive com a mulher e falei isso a ela, e ela disse que iria dizer à filha dela também.

Mijn voeten doen mij erg zeer, ik geloof, dat ik ze doorgeloopen heb.


Para onde você esta indo? Quer que nós vamos com você?

Waar ga je heen? Zullen we met je meegaan?

9. Ich bin bei der Frau gewesen und habe es ihr gesagt, und sie sagte, sie wollte es auch ihrer Tochter sagen.

Eu não quero nunca mais fazer isso de novo.

Ik zal het nooit meer doen.

10. Ich will es auch nicht mehr wieder thun!

Eu já te bato já com esta colher de pau na orelha, seu macaco!

Ik sla je dadelijk met den potlepel om je ooren, jou aap.

11. Ich schlage Dich gleich mit dem Kochlöffel um die Ohren, Du Affe!

Para onde você esta indo? Quer que nós vamos com você?

Waar ga je heen? Zullen we met je meegaan?

12. Wo gehst Du hin? Sollen wir mit Dir gehn?

São tempos ruins.

Het zijn slechte tijden!

13. Es sind schlechte Zeiten.

Meu querido filho, fica aqui em baixo, os gansos bravos podem te morder até morrer.

Mijn lieve kind, blijf hier beneden staan, de booze ganzen bijten je dood.


Você estudou bastante e foi bonzinho, você pode ir para casa mais cedo do que os outros.

Jij hebt vandaag het meest(e) geleerd en bent zoet geweest, je moogt eerder naar huis gaan als (dan) de anderen.

15. Du hast heute am meisten gelernt und bist artig gewesen, Du darfst früher nach Hause gehn als die Andern.

Du bist noch nicht groß genug, um eine Flasche Wein auszutrinken, Du mußt erst noch ein Ende/etwas wachsen und größer werden.

Vous êtes encore petit pour boire une bouteille de vin, vous devez attendre encore un peu avant de prendre les moyens de l’âge.

Je bent nog niet groot genoeg om een fles wijn te drinken, je moet eerst nog wat groeien en groter worden.


Vai, seja boazinha e fale para a sua irmã remendar e limpar com escova as ropas para a sua mãe.

(Ga,) wees zo goed, en zeg aan je zuster, dat ze de kleeren (het kleed) voor jullie moeder moet afnaien en met den borstel schoonmaken.

17. Geh, sei so gut und sag Deiner Schwester, sie sollte die Kleider für eure Mutter fertig nähen und mit der Bürste rein machen.
18. Hättest Du ihn gekannt!
dann wäre es anders
gekommen, und es thäte
besser um ihn stehen.

19. Wer hat mir meinen Korb
mit Fleisch gestohlen?

20. Er that so, als hätten sie ihn
zum dreschen bestellt; sie
haben es aber selbst gethan.

21. Wem hat er die neue
Geschichte erzählt?

22. Man muß laut schreien,
sonst versteht er uns nicht.

23. Wir sind müde und haben
Durst.

24. Als wir gestern Abend
zurück kamen, da lagen die
Andern schon zu Bett und
waren fest am schlafen.

25. Der Schnee ist diese Nacht
bei uns liegen geblieben,
aber heute Morgen ist er
geschmolzen.

26. Hinter unserm Hause stehen
drei schöne Apfelbäumchen
mit rothen Aepfelchen.

27. Könnt ihr nicht noch ein
Augenblickchen auf uns
warten, dann gehn wir mit
euch.

28. Ihr dürft nicht solche
Kindereien treiben!

29. Unsere Berge sind nicht sehr
hoch, die euren sind viel
höher.

30. Wieviel Pfund Wurst und
wieviel Brot wollt ihr
haben?

31. Ich verstehe euch nicht, ihr
müsst ein bißchen lauter
sprechen.

32. Habt ihr kein Stückchen
weiße Seife für mich auf
meinem Tische gefunden?

33. Sein Bruder will sich zwei
schöne neue Häuser in
eurem Garten bauen.

34. Das Wort kam ihm von
Herzen!

Se você o tivesse
conhecido! Tudo seria
diferente e estaria melhor
com ele.

Quem roubou a minha cesta
come carne?

Ele fingiu que eles o tinham
mandado debulhar. Mas eles
debulharam sozinhos.

Para quem ele contou essa
nova história?

É preciso gritar, senão ele
não nos ouve.

Nós estamos cansados e
com sede.

Quando nós voltamos
ontem à noite, os outros já
estavam na cama, e num
sono profundo.

A neve ficou no chão esta
noite no nosso bairro, mas
hoje de manhã ela derreteu.

Vocês não podem nos
esperar mais um
instantezinho? Ai, vamos
com vocês.

Vocês não devem ser tão
infantis!

Nossas montanhas não são
tão altas, as suas são muito
mais (altas).

Quantas libras de salsicha e
quanto pão você quer (ter)?

Eu não estou ouvindo
vocês, vocês têm que falar
um pouco mais alto.

Vocês não acharam um
pedaço de sabão branco
para mim na minha mesa?

O irmão dele quer construir
duas casas bonitas no jardim
deles.

A palavra veio do seu
coração/A palavra lhe veio
do coração.

Had je hem gekend, dan was het
anders geloopen en hij zou er
beter aan toe zijn.

Wie heeft mijn mand met
vleesch gestolen?

Hij deed alsof ze hem besteld
hadden om te komen dorschen,
maar ze hebben het zelf gedaan.

Aan wien heeft hij dat nieuwe
verhaal verteld?

Je (men) moet hard schreeuwen,
anders verstaat hij ons niet.

Wij zijn moe en hebben dorst.

Toen wij gisteravond
terugkwamen, (toen) lagen de
anderen al in bed en waren vast
in slaap.

De sneeuw is vannacht bij ons
bliven liggen, maar vanmorgen
is ze gesmolten.

Achter ons huis staan drie
mooie appelboompjes met
roode appeljes.

Kunnen jullie nog niet een
ogenblikje op ons wachten?
dan gaan wij met je mee.

Onze bergen zijn niet erg hoog,
die van jullie zijn veel hooger.

Hoeveel pond worst en hoeveel
brood willen jullie hebben?

Ik versta jullie niet, jullie
moeten een beetje harder
spreek.

Hebben jullie op mijn tafel geen
stukje witte zeep (voor mij)
gevonden?

Zijn broer wil in jullie tuin twee
mooie nieuwe huizen bouwen.

Dat woord kwam uit zijn hart
(kwam hem uit het hart).

248 The original Wenker sentence has Brod here.
35. Das war recht von ihnen!  
36. Was sitzen da für Vögelchen oben auf dem Mäuerchen?
38. Die Leute sind heute alle draußen auf dem Felde und mähen/hauen.
39. Geh nur, der braune Hund thut Dir nichts.
40. Ich bin mit den Leuten da hinten über die Wiese ins Korn gefahren.

Foi muito bom da parte dele!
Que passarinhos estão lá em cima do murinho?
Os fazendeiros trouxeram cinco bois e nove vacas e doze ovelhinhas para o vilaro para vender.
As pessoas hoje estão todas na roça, carpindo.
Vai aí, o cachorro marrom não te faz nada.
Eu fui com as pessoas para o milharal detrás do campo.

Dat was heel goed van hen!
Wat zitten daar voor vogeltjes boven op het muurtje?
De boeren hadden vijf ossen en negen koeien en twaalf schaapjes naar het dorp gebracht, die wilden ze verkoopen.
De lui zijn vandaag allemaal buiten op het land aan het maaien.
Ga maar door, de bruine hond doet je niets.
Ik ben met de mensen (daar achter) over de weide naar den akker gereden.
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 Chistian 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).\footnote{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. (...)} 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 wyllen, de uns anlygende syn, van de stichtes wegen, tho Cammyn hebben vesetted tho dem meystere unde dem Orden van Prüszen, vor two dusent prüszenche Marck, de wij dem süluigen Meystere unde Orden bynnen vyff yaren, negest thokamende un mitsaften ouer eyn yar, tho heuende, betoden unde betalen
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 supra-regional standard, though some local features are present, most notably the rendering of the town name itself. To distinguish it from the older "Freienwalde in Brandenburg" near the Oder river, it was called either "Freienwalde in Pomerania" or "New Freienwalde". Accidentally, the two roots 'new' and 'free' are subject to glide velarisation, which gives rise to niig for 'new' and vriig for 'free'. Vriig starts out in 1418, niig shows up from 1494 onwards. It does not mean that niig is later than vriig, since before 1494 'new' was rendered in Latin, as can be seen from our text (noue). It must be noted that in modern Brazilian Pomeranian 'free' is not friig, but frai < HG frei. Modern Brazilian Pomeranian 'new' is niig.

Linguistic characteristics of the text:
- passive participle (sometimes) has GE-prefix: ghemaket 'made'.
- perfect participle (sometimes ) lacks GE-prefix: daan 'done'.
- no intervocalic rhotacism: middewekens 'mid + week' ~ BP mirweek; broder 'brother' ~ BP braura.
- no schwa apocope: zone 'contract'.
- no n-drop before spirants: vnses 'our' ~ BP ous.
- glide velarisation: Vrigenwald.

1418, nr 45, p26
Notum est prefecto et scabinis et consulatui noue ciuitatis Vrigenwald, dat dar is ghemaket vnd ghedeghedinghet eyne ewyghie zone, de de hebben ghedeghedinghet de hern van Vrigenwald vnd de rat dersuluen stat; dese zone hebben daen Kune Telzekow, Kune Ertmer, Peter Tribus vnd Mychahel Verwer, Thomas Albrechte, her Nicolaus Horneharde, her Jacobus Glambeke vnd Jacob Albrechte vor eren bruder Symon Albrechte, dem god gnade, vnd de zone is geschen vnd deghedinghet vor boren vnd vneheboren vnd is gheschen des middewekens vor sunte Katherinen in dem jare vnses hern M°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 Ingvaeric feature of n-drop in *vneses* '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.

Characteristics:
- 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 geschicht. 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, sunder menngerleie hymnos, als denne veel guder hymni de tempore, unde van den festen Christi sind gemaket, solcke hymnos schal de scholemeister to tiden interpreteren in der schole, dat de kindere deste groter lust hebben to singende. 

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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].

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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 Kolobrzeg). 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 Adebaehr 'stork'.

| Adebahr, Adebahr, lange Luhcks | Stork, stork, long Lucas |
| Laht dei fuleh Pageh liggeh | let the dirty frogs lay.inf1 |
| Wenn dei Roggeh riep is | when the rye is ripe |
| Wenn dei Vagel pieck is | when the bird is fat |
| Brinck mi einh klainh Breider= Schwester=ke253 | bring me a little brother/sister.DIM |

The word /adeba:x/ '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

\[253 \text{ The layout with } = \text{ and the option between Breiderke and Swesterke is in the original.}\]
were from Farther Pomerania. The dialect of this tale is from the border of Pomerania and Prussia, the so-called Pomerelia\textsuperscript{254}, that stood in strong contact with Slavic (Kashubian), but it has various characteristics of the Pomeranian 'broad' dialect (e.g. \textit{kaim} 'came', \textit{dauk} 'cloth', \textit{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.

\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
[Hochtied in de Unnerwelt] ~

Eine ull Geschicht de vör ulla Tieda gescheine is! Da was hamahl ein Schäper, dei hädd na Dudelsack, up dem hai sick bi de Schaape im Fild wad vördudelet. As hai nu emahl sick wat spähld un blaus, da fund sick vörm 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.

Üm ne klein Wielka fund sick nu ein Unner-eeardschka 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 ding sick so putzig\textsuperscript{257} hädd.

Dat Määnka säd nu tau em: Mi leiw Schäper! wenn hei de Pogg dodt mackt hädd, da hädd hai mi troffe, den de Pogg was ick. — Nu bat dat Mänanka 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.

\hline
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
A Wedding in the Underworld ~

[Translation, GJP]~

An old story that has happened before old times! There was once a shepherd\textsuperscript{255}, who had a bagpipe, on which he played somewhat near the sheep in the field. When he was once playing and blowing, he suddenly saw a frog\textsuperscript{256} in front of him, who jumped as if he was dancing on (the) notes. The shepherd watched it this for a while. And when the frog behaved too crazily, he wanted to push the frog away with his foot, and then it disappeared.

After a short while, an underworld 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.

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.\textsuperscript{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 way.\textsuperscript{259}

\hline
\end{tabular}

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{257} Litt. 'funny, happy'.

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

\textsuperscript{259} Litt. 'that does not go'.
because where would my sheep stay? The little man promised they would be looked after well. The shepherd was convinced and went with him. When they had gone a little stretch, the earth opened itself for them and they went down a staircase, and came into an ornamented room.

There were all guests together, it swarmed fully. One brought him lots of food and drinks on a table, and bade him to enjoy it. After the meal, he played the entire night on his bagpipe and all the little beings danced and jumped, until to them the kettles were jumping.260

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 pockets,262 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 dollars.266

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 krege.

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: lüde '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 hâr drei Jungens; dei jinga all drei in dea wilt, un jeera wull eia Hantwark leera. Dei jângst dâvoa, dei dumm Haas, wull Schpitzbuuw waara. Dei Våta wull dat nonnich lira, âwa hei leit em doch trecka.

Nu jing hei imma tau. Tooletzt kaam hei a eia huus, dâ keer hei a un wull då bliwa. Dâ frauch em dei wirt, wo hei heer kaim un wat hei wull? Un hei schettl sik rech duutt un sâcht, hei wüsst nich, wo hei heea kaim. — Nu frauch hei em werra, woo hei t’Huus hart un wo sir Våta heita dää — Hei sâcht, dat wüsst hei nich.


Dat was nuu gaud, hei bleew bî em, Dei Wirt jing uut up sir Schpitzbuuweschtreich (denn hei was jå dei Schpitzbuuw), un dei Jung, dumm Haas, müsst imma thuus bliwa. Dei Wirt hârr âwa veel Bäuka t’Huus in sîne Schtuuuw; un wil dei dumm Haas sâcht hârr, dat hei nich leesa kün, müsst hei imma dei Bäuka reeje mâka, dei Schpenn un dea Schtoof dâruute feega. Dâbi laas hei si dik dat imma uut dei Bäuka ruute, alles, wat då in’n schtunn; denn då schtunne all dei Schpitzbawuwschtreich in.

Dat dûrt gâa nicht lang, då wüsst hei voa allem Bescheit. As nuu soon ganz Tiid üm was, dâ sää hei eis tau sím Meista, of hei nich eis mitkâuma schull, dat hei dat doch ok leeat. "Jâ" sâcht dei Wirt, "mitneema kann ik di nich; du müsst gîk dir proow mâuka. Ik warr di sägga: Hîa kümmt eia Schlácta mit eim Kalf. Wenn du dem dat Kalf wech krichst, denn schasst du mía best Schpitzbuuw weesa."

Dei Leeabursch müsst nu allein tauseia, woo hei dem Schlácta dat Kalf’ wech krich. Hei treckt sik fin Kleera an, bûnn sik na Sâbel üm, jing hen anne Wech, hâng sik anna Boom uu düa 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.

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
Schläghta dà voabî kaam, sach hei em hängen un dacht: "Kik, dei hat sik uphängt, dei hat noch na schöna Säbel üm."

As hei nu a en wîra kaam, sach hei noch eia hänga, denn dis Schpîtsbuuw härr sik voo disem Boom looslata un was dea Schläghta vâbî loopa un härr sik dà uok werra anna Boom hängt. Dei Schläghta härr dat âwa nich seià; denn dat was dicht am Hult, un dà waera noch Räubes in. As hei disa nu hänga sach, dacht hei, dei Räubes wâra dà west un hærâr diss uphängt, un dat dei Räubes nu doch wechgâa weera un em nu nischta daua kümna.

Nu dacht hei: "Dà hinna hängt ook all eia, un dei härr na schoina Säbel üm. Du schasst hen gää un dì dea Säbel neema; denn hast du na schöna Säbel". As hei âwa hen jing, leet dà dei Schpitzbuuw voo disem Boom loos un naam dem Schläghta dat Kalf wech. Dea Schwanz schneed hei dem Kalf af un schtäk em in dei Murr, denn dà was so a Wätaloche am Wech

As nu dei Schläghta dà hen kaam, was, dei sik dà uphängt härr, mit sìm Säbel wech. Nu müsst hei werra tröch gää, na sìm Kalf hen. As hei dà kaam, was sìa Kalf ook wech. Nu keek hei ümheea, wo dat Kalf bleewa wäa, un dà sacchi hei dae Schwanz in dae Murr schtecka un dacht, dat Kalf wëa dà rinna loopa un härr sik vorsöpt.


Nu jing hei nà Huus to sìm Våta un sàa em, dat hei dat Schpitzbuuwehantwark ändlich leat härr. Dà kreeja dei Luer alla Angst. Dei Herr âwa sìa, he wull em uutprobîra, o hei oik eia ändlich Schpitzbuuw wäa. Hein müsst nà dem Herra henkauma, un dà frauch em dei Herr, o hei dat Schpitzbuuwehantwark ändlich leeat härr. Hein sächt: "Jà, seea gaud." — Dà sàa dei Herr, hei wull mit em werra. Wenn hei sìm Kutsche un all sìna Dachlönes sìna Hingst wechkrîja dàa, 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 passed 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’
den schult sad så weesa un schult hee ook no huuin Dâula häwwa. Wenn hee dat āwa nicht  t’recht krîja däa, denn schult hee dem Herr  huuin Dâula geewa.

As dat nu Auwed was, münsta all dei  Dachlōnes bëm dem Kutscha im Peedschtafl  wāuka, dat dei Schpitzbuwu dea Hingst nich  wechkiäja schult. Dei Kutscha müsßt sik up dea  Hingst arupp setta.

As dat nu duesta was, hârr sik dei  Schpitzbuwu Frauweskleera antrecht un kaam dâ  ant’gāa as so a òll Wîf. Nu kaam hee òk ak dea  Peedschtafl un sâch, dat dei Luer alla dâ wära.  Hei frauch nu eiste, of hee då nich wōoa Nacht  bliwa kûn; em wull kei Meeasch Nacht  behulla. Nuu wäa dat all schpår, un dei Luer  schleipa alla, un sei wüst nich, wo sei bliwa  schult — Jā, sāara dei Dachloenes, sei känn dâ  bliwa im Schtall; annetweeje kûnna sei eea nich  henbringa un Bescheit sägga.

Mit dea Tîd frauch sei denn ook, wârum sei  alla dâ wära im Peedschtafl; wat dat up sik hârr?  — Jā seera dei Dachhenes, "hīa is eia  Schpitzbuwu int Dorp kăuma; nu häwwa dei  Luer alla Angst kreeja. Oos Herr āwa hârr eia  Werr mit em māukt: Wenn hee diise Hingst oos  wech kricht, denn schall hee huuin Dâula häwwa; wenn hee dat nich t’recht kricht, denn  schall bei dem Herra huuin Dâula geewa."

"Jā", sāa sei, "dat is doch recht schlimm, dat  dei Luer so ungerecht sint un jönna sik eia dem  annre nischt. — Dit is kult! Hīa meut jī doch ook  recht bī freisa! Mi früöst ok all! Häwwj ī keina  Schluck bī juw?"

"Nee", sāra sei, "wi häwwa keina, un wechghā  dōrr wī ook nich. Denn kūn grāur ī deu  Schpitzbuwu ankăuma un neema oos dea Hingst  wech; denn kreej wī alla wat voa dem Herra."

"Jā", sächt sei. "ik häwwe noch eia Bummka bī  mī; ik wull juw dat woll anbeira, dat loont sik  nekkall on. No dea Tīd frauch dei on dea  Schpitzbuwu dea Hingst nich wechkiäja. Dei  Herr was seea ärgalik un jing hen nā dem Peedschtafl. Dā sâch  hee dea Kutscha un dem Ruumboom anbunna  sitta, un dai annre schleipa ook noo alla. Dā,  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 couch 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
Nuu műst dei Herr dem Schpitzenwuren dei huinet Dûala geewa, un dea Hëngst behëll hei ooh. Da sää dei Herr, eia Werr wull hei noch mit em mäukka. Wenn hei sîna Fruu dat Berrlûaka un dea Fingerine weckkrija daa, denn schull hei ook huinet Dûala hîwwa; wenn hei dat nich trecht krîa daa, denn mûst dei hei em huinet Dûala geewa.

Dä jing dei Schpitzenwuren hen nà dea Kirch in dat Gewöllf un naam da eina Doora ruute un jing daamit hen unna dem Herra sà Feestra, schellt da eia Lerra ant Feester un schellt da deera Doora aruppa. As dei Herr dat too sein krîch, dacht dënn hei dat was dei Schpitzenwuren, un hei keek dürcht Fenster, dat hei sei a wull, wat in dea Schtuuw passiert. Dâ sächt dei Herr tau sîna Fruu: ["Mutter, sieh mal, da sieht er durch's Fenster. Weisst du, ich schiess' ihn tot; dann sind wir vor ihm sichert."]

"Jä", sää sei.


"Jä", sää sei.

Nu jing hei rute un wull dea Doora âwa Sîr bringa. Uunades jing dei Schpitzenwuren rasch arinna (denn hei hërr imma uppasst) un vorschellt sik so, as wenn hei dei Herr wäa, un sää tau dem Herra sîna Fruu: ["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", sää sei.

["Aber"], sächt hei, ["wo hast du denn das Laken und den Ring?"] — ["Das hast du doch soeben geholt."] sää sei. — ["Ach was?"], sächt hei, ["ich habe das nicht gethan."] — ["Ja"], sää sei, "dú sagtst 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 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 sía Berrlăuka un dea Fingering un jing däämit na
dem Herra hen un sàa em, dat hei em dat doch
wechkreeja häär. Dà müsst hei Herr em werra
huuent Dàula geewa.

Nu sächt dei Herr âwa "eia Wark wulla sei no
mäuka". — "Na jà", sächt dai Schpitzuwu. —
Wenn hei dem Preista all sía Jeld wechkreeja
daà, denn schull hei werra huuent Dàula hëwwa
un dem Preista sía Jeld schull hei denn ook
beulla.

Dà jing dei Schpitzuwu hen un köft sik
Kreefta un beschtreckt dei mit Wass. As’t nu
Auwend was, dunn jing hei däämit uppa
Kirchhof un schickt all dei Kreefta an un leit sei
da umheea krûupa. Dunn jeet hei hen un lätt mit
dea Klocka.

Nu käuma all dei Luer an, as sei dat
Luerent hòra, un seia nu, dat uppem Kirchhof so
vell Lichta sint un dat dei nich up eim Flach
schitt schtáa un imma wira gàa. Inne Kirch is
äwa ook Licht. Dà gää sia ook int Kirch un willa
seia, wat då loos is. Ook dei Preista jeet hen un
will seia, wat dat up sik hät.

As nu dei Preista in’t Kirch kümmt,
schteet dei Schpitzuwu up dea Kanzel, fin
antreckt, un prerich tu: ["Ich bin der Engel
Gabriel, von Gott gesandt. Ich soll dem Prediger
sagen: Wenn er mir all sein Geld giebt, was er in
seinem Hause hat, dann soll er lebendig in den
Himmel kommen."]

In dea Himmel wull dei Preista doch
gean. Hei jing also hen un hæuelt all sía Jeld, wat
in sím Huus was, un bröcht dat hen näura Kirch.
Dà frauch dei Schpitzuwu, of dat sía Jeld alles
wåa?

— "Ja," sächt dei Preista, "bloss einen Dreier
habe ich zu Hause gelassen. Dafür soll meine
Frau dem kleinen Kinde noch ein Milchbrot
kaufen." — [,,Nein,"] sàa Gabriel, ["das geht
nicht; dann ist das ja nicht all dein Geld. auch der
eine Dreier muss dabei sein."] Un dei Preista jing
nà Huus un häuelt dea eine Dreeja ook noch un
bröcht dea då hen un gaf em dea.

Nu frauch dei Preista, wenn dei Kösta
ook sía Jeld alles bringa daà, of hei denn ook
læwentsch inna Himmel kàuma daà. — "Jà" sächt
dei Schpitzuwu, ["gewiss doch! Wenn der
Küster auch sein Gold zu mir bringt, dann kann
er gleich mitkommen."] Dà gæt dei Kösta oök
hen un hæuelt all sía 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,
his will to heaven alive."

The priest did want to go to heaven. Therefore
hes 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 de Nacht, denn dei Lichta up dem Kirchhof wära uutbreent. Nu schull dei Preista un dei Küsta inna Himmel. Dä hauelt sik dei Schpitzbuuw na Sack, dä müssta dei beira rinna kruupa, un dunn schlleet hei mit eea los un treckt mit eea umheea.

As hei nu so a Een wech is, dä treckt hei mit eea däur a Oodelpaul. ["Ach."] sächt dei Preista tau dem Kösta, ["nun sind wir auch schon in den Wolken."] "Ja," sää dei Kösta.

As nu werra soon Tid lang hen is, treckt hei mit eea up dem Preiesta sîn Gänsschtall. As sei da dei Gääs höra schnaut är, sacht dei Preista tau dem Kosta: ["Ach, Küstenchen, jetzt sind wir auch schon bei den lieben Engeln im Himmel. Wir können sie schon hören."]

"Ja", sää dei Kösta.

Dä leit hei sei nu dei Nacht åwa ligga. Sei wära natt woora, un dat froos eea ook ändlich. Mooejens nu in alle Tid kümmt dem Preiesta sîa Maika un will dei Gääs 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 wüst nich, wo dei Preista was. Näuheea sîn ach sei åwa, dat dei Preista mit dem Kösta, im Sack taubunna, up dem Gänsschtall leïa. Dä 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 anfåuet.


Nu was dei Schpitzbuuw eia rîk Mann woora. Hei häärr dreihuunet Dâula voa dem Herra un dem Herra sînä Hingst un dat Berllâuka un dea Fingaring, dâtau dem Preiesta un dem Küsta un sîa Jeld. So häärr em sîa Schpitzbuuwehandwerk veel inbröcht in körte Tid. Hei hat dat also gaud verschtea.

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 goose 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 goose stable. Then she went and untied the bag. Then she saw the priest and the clerk both laying on his goose 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 rhetacism + schwa deletion (häärr < hadde 'had', Lüüër < Lüüd 'people', Werr < wedde 'bet')
- n-drop before spirants (Haas ~ HG Hans, oos ~ Du ons, Gääs ~ 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 (gāa - jeet - jing 'to go - goes - went')
• No evidence for synchronic schwa deletion, i.e. schwa catalexis, but this might be due to the briefness of the text, apart from Kirch < High German Kirche 'church'.

3. Morphosyntax
• Infinitive 1 in -e (wull eia Hantwark leera, litt. 'want a profession learn', sei (...) willa seia 'they will see')
• Infinitive 2 in -n (sach hei em hängen 'saw him hang', too sein kriich 'got to see')
• Complete absence of üim-... tau-infinitival clauses. Possibly one tau-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 (gāa wāa 'gone was', sächt härr 'said had')
• (Some) do-support in embedded clauses (heita dāa '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', Sābel '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).


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). 226
[Translation, GJP]
In name of the holy and undividable Trinity. We, Bugislaus and our brother Casimir, princes of Pomerania by God’s grace, together with our venerable mother Anastasia, decided for now and in the future, that the brothers of Mariëngaarde could come to our land in the place near Treptow, near the site of the castle formerly called Belbuc 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, Lensin, 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 Nifloze and the adjacent fishermen’s villages. To the Church, we grant the church in Treptow with all its rights and twenty mark from the tavern in Kolberg, paid annually, as well as the continuous free use of the six salt evaporation ponds at that place. To the before-settled monks, 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.

10.2 Settlement of Frisian premonstratensian sisters at the new convent Marienbusch (rubus sancte marie) and duchess Anastasia’s decision to settle in that convent. (1224). (Pomeranian Charter Book, nr. 148).

Anastasia, Dei miseratione Ducissa Pomeranorum, omnibus hanc paginam inspecturis, tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem et obsequii exhibitionem.

Quoniam, teste Apostolo, Nudi sumus ingressi hunc mundum, nichil inde preter operum merita reportantes, Necesse est vt, si quis spe tendit ad patriam supercoelestem, agros cordis sui, duritie peccatorum infertiles, Eleemosinis et bonis operibus insudando, non nodigat sic sulcare, vt in die extremi examinis ad aream Domini manipulos deferat iusticie ibi cum ceteris sanctis perhenniter regnaturus. Sane quia ad illam summi patris familium summo studio desidero, quantum sua elementia permiserit, peruenire, sed, meis sceleribus uiam michi

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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 indigo, dignum duxi de auxilio et consilio domini abbatis in Belbog et fratrum ibidem fideliter domini seruentium, non sum ira mei prohibit, 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.

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[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

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275 T + ribus = preposition + rubus 'bush'. The monastery is to be called rubus 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”).
GERTJAN POSTMA

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 servitute of a [new] housing of Sisters of Christ; [the dowry] that I happily received from my husband and which after his and my sons’ death was granted to me, and which I retained to their and my benefit as an eternal heritage. I thus grant to above-mentioned [sisters] full legal residence in the Treptow castle, and [also grant them], among my other possessions yet to be acquired, the very castle with its yields, as well as the villages that belong to it, with permission of its owners, 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, Baldekov, Gerwin, Drosedow, Jarchow, Scrilowe (?), Darsow, Suckow, Molstrow, Belkov, Klötikow, Wefelow, Bornitin, 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; Pripslaus, provost; and Floris, dean of the church at Cammin; Roger, lord of Demmin; Roswarus, lord of Stettin; Wargina, butler; and Jacob, lord of Cammin; Barnota, lord Jaromar of Rügen’s son; Henry of Chmez. Enacted in the year of our Lord’s incarnation 1224.

Anastasia’s donation is confirmed by the next vita (saint’s story) from the Low Countries.

VITA SIBRANDI
Quod domna Anastasia duo cenobia, unum canonicitc fratribus, aliud sororibus, construxerit nobiliterque dotaverit, abbate Sibrando sorores de Bethlehem eidem assignante. Cap. X. (After a 15th century copy (Brussels KB 6717-6721) of a 13th century original, cf. Mon. Germ. Hist. XXIII, ...)

In diebas eciam istius abbatis reverendissima domna Anastasia, Pomeranorum ducissa, [com] bone memorie domno Ottone, abbate de Belboech, quod alio nomine Castrura Sancti Petri appellatur, cuuis ipsa fundatrix extiterat, tractatum habere cepit de cenobio sororum construendo; silvas lignorum, villas cum decimis, terras ad colendom cum possessionibus et piscacionibus, necessariis ad usus sororum — dummodo prior ydonesus et provisor utilis eisdem sororibus per abbatem assignaretur — liberaliter assignans. Quod audienza abbas gavisus est

279 These are Anastasia’s two dauthers 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 effec tum, omnem se operam adhibitum efficaciter pollicetur. In brevi igitur sororum mansionibus constructis, cum litteris petitorii ducisse se preparans ad iter, transiens vias invias, aequas scilicet et inaquas, quaram quotlibet laborem itinerantibus generant et gravamen, venit in Friesiam de negocio et voluntate ducisse cum abbate Sibrando ad quem ecclesia Belbocensis immediate spectabat, tractatus.

A quo honorifice suscepit, cognitoque pro quo venerat, et ipse gaudio repletus est, exultans spiritu ultra quam credi potest, et gratias agentis eo quod cultum nominis divini per structuram novi cenobii suis in diebus sic contiugaret 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. Intunctis autem orationibus in conventu fratrum, in presencia coabatuis sui abbas Sibrandus prehabet sermo his exhortacionibus usus est: "Licet, dilectissime Deo mihique sorores, relictis seculi vanitatiis illecebrisque pretis et contemplis, Deo soli in hac sacra religione sub obediencia militare decreverimus, ut pro terrenis que reliquimus celestia, pro transitoriis que contempsimus eterna premia nobis promissa pericpiumus: vera tamen et perfecta non erit hoc virtus, si non ex tota anima, ex omni meute, ex omnibus viribus, ex toto denique corde, quod Deo est placitum et nostre salutii proficium affectuosissime faciarnus, quatinus Eins voluntas fiat in celo et in terra."" Voluntati aiquidem certissime probatur concordare divine, si, sicut Pater clarificavit Filium suum secundum formam servorum, resuscitans eum a mortuis et collocans in celestibus, ut ait beatissimus Augustinus, secundum formam seruirae, resulata eum a mortuis et collocans in celestibus, ut ait beatus Pater. Annuntiatum est, dicitis, in universa terra; predicatio fiet verbo et opere, ita eciam confirmacio predicacionis non solum spirituali verbo, sed etiam boni operum exemplo. Predicatio itaque verbi sicut solis viris litteratis, ne errorem generetur, cum necesse est, committitura, ita etiam predicatio boni exempli et sancti operis non solam viris, sed et religiosis feminis commendatur." Valde: erat enim multo tempore cupiens audire que tune audiebat. Et ut domne ipsius voluntas haberet effec tum, omnem se operam adhibitum efficaciter pollicetur. In brevi igitur sororum mansionibus constructis, cum litteris petitorii ducisse se preparans ad iter, transiens vias invias, aequas scilicet et inaquas, quaram quotlibet laborem itinerantibus generant et gravamen, venit in Friesiam de negocio et voluntate ducisse cum abbate Sibrando ad quem ecclesia Belbocensis immediate spectabat, tractatus.

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preparator, ventus prosperatur, navis aditur, anchora tollitur, vela panduntur, prospero cursu citius in Hamborch et sic ulterius versus Belboch in Sclaviam pervenitur. Audito autem abbatum adventu ac sororum, conventus letatur, ducissa pre ceteris gaudet et ad recipiendas diu desideratas personas totam se affectuose preparate immensas gratias referens Deo, qui iter prosperaverat, abbatu Ottoni, quod suis laboribus et expensi sorores adduxerat, abbatu Sibrando, quod peticionem suam admiserat et cum sororibus suis se visitaverat. Omnibus autem et liis et ipsis pro laboribus et expensi 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 pigiet scribere, te quoque non pigiet legere vel audire. Factum siquidem quod dignum est referre, dignum est audire; et quod dignum est audire, 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 percepi.

Cap. X. De sororibus que sese pro Dei amore ad exterhas naciones tradiderunt perpetua moraturas.


[Vita Sibrandi, Iarici et Ethelgeri]
13th century. Low Countries. Monastic chronicle of ca 22 double-columned manuscript pages in Latin prose, describing the lives and deeds of three abbots of Ortus Sanctae 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 Sibardi. (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. Belbuck, GJP], she (now) requests, with every insistence as her letter shows, to create a convent of sisters for her (salvation), so that, by the sisters’ warnings and examples, and after her renouncing from the worldly pomp and vanity, together with these Christ-devoted virgins who adhere to Christ as their only husband, she can be presented without spot or wrinkle before Christ, her bridegroom. (…)".

Thus spoken, the religious sisters told him [i.e. Sibrand] that they would follow his admonitions: he could select and appoint who he wanted from the convent. Without delay, he selected them, appointed the selected ones, and had the appointed ones strengthen in the infirmary. He gave permission that friends visited the cloister to say goodbye, albeit under strict guardianship. The abbot prepared for the travel, and when the wind was favourable, they embarked, lifted the anchor, unfolded the seals, and had a prosperous voyage to the city of Hamburg, and from there, they reached Belbuk in Slavia. There, when one heard of the arrival of the abbot and the 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.
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.
A Associação Central de Colonização no Rio de Janeiro, por intermédio do seu Agente Geral Dr. E. Schwabach, enviou um comitê com o objectivo de encaminhar as medidas adotadas para a colonização.

Art. 1.º A Associação Central de Colonização no Rio de Janeiro, devidamente autorizada pelo Governo de São Magoestão, O Imperador do Brasil, e depois de sua responsabilidade, autoriza o

...
§ 2. O Colono e sua família declaro devor ao Governo Imperial do Brasil por aliamento para as viagens de Hamburgo para o Rio de Janeiro e assegura, que:
1. Auxiliará, na chegada, qualquer lhe ser oferecido ou requerido por homens do mesmo cargo;
2. Enviarão, durante a viagem, os objetos pertencentes ao Colono e sua família;
3. Cumprirá, no território, as leis e regulamentos que lhe forem impostos;
4. Manter-se-á em Hamburgo sem violência ou molestias de qualquer natureza;
5. Enviarão, no término do seu período, todos os objetos pertencentes ao Colono e sua família no estado em que receberam.

Cláudio, 23 de abril de 1859.

Carl F. Schmidt
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13 Maps

Some important settlements in the Pomeranian 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 elicitated 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 descendence, 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:
Initial 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 ə). 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..

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lemma</th>
<th>ES</th>
<th>HB</th>
<th>LB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abacate (avocado)</td>
<td>abakatʰ</td>
<td>abakat</td>
<td>abakatʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abacaxi (ananas)</td>
<td>bakaʃi</td>
<td>abakashĩ</td>
<td>ananas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abelha (bee)</td>
<td>ɪm</td>
<td>ɪm</td>
<td>ɪm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abóbora (pumpkin)</td>
<td>kʰəns</td>
<td>kʰəns</td>
<td>kʰəns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraçar (to embrace)</td>
<td>ʋmʃtʃe</td>
<td>ʋmʃtʃe</td>
<td>ʋmʃtʃe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cabeça é redonda  (the head is round)</td>
<td>daɾ kʰot (sic) ist runk / runt</td>
<td>daɾ kʰop ist runt</td>
<td>daɾ kʰop is runt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A terra é seca (The soil is dry)</td>
<td>ɗa ɪɾ is drʊɾɾɛ</td>
<td>dai eːɾ ist drʊɾɾɛ</td>
<td>dai eːɾ is drʊɾɾɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acordar (to wake up)</td>
<td>upvœkɐ</td>
<td>upvœkɐ</td>
<td>upvaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acúcar (sugar)</td>
<td>s:ukɐ</td>
<td>sukə</td>
<td>suka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aipim (casave)</td>
<td>ɛːpi</td>
<td>ɛːpi</td>
<td>ɛːpi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

248
Agora (now)
Agua (water)
Ajudar (to help)
Alho (garlic)
Ali (over there)
Alimentar (to nourish)
Alimento (food)
Alma (soul)
Alto (high)
Altura (height)
Amanhã (tomorrow)
Amarelo (yellow)
Amarrar (to tie)
Andar (to walk)
Animal (animal)
Anjo (angel)
Ano (year)
Anta (tapir, kind of animal)
Antena (antenna)
Antecontem
Antúrio (kind of flower)
Anzol (fish hook)
Apertar (tighten)
Aquele (that one)
Aqui (here)
Areaia (sand)
Arroz (rice)
Arvore (tree)
Asa (wing)
Assado (frango)
Assar (to bake)
Assobiar (to wizzle)
Aula (class)
Avó (grandmother)
Avô (grandfather)
Azedo (sour)
Azul (blue)
Bairro (pack of cards)
Barba (beard)
Barranco (ravine)
Barriga (belly)

280 The two were given in reversed order.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barrigudo</td>
<td>gro'dbuk</td>
<td>dikbukiç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(with a big belly)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batata doce (sweet potato)</td>
<td>bat'a:da</td>
<td>su'te pat'hata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batata inglesa (potato)</td>
<td>pat'yfle</td>
<td>pat'yfle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bater (to beat)</td>
<td>ho'xe</td>
<td>klope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bébado (drunk)</td>
<td>bis'o:pa</td>
<td>bis'o:pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beber (to drink)</td>
<td>drintʃe</td>
<td>drintʃe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bebo (l drink)</td>
<td>drintkt</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijo (kiss)</td>
<td>pus</td>
<td>pus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biblia (bible)</td>
<td>bi:bal</td>
<td>bi:bal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biscoito (cooky)</td>
<td>bisku'te</td>
<td>bisko't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blusa (shirt)</td>
<td>jak</td>
<td>jak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boca (mouth)</td>
<td>mu::l</td>
<td>munt²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bode (coat)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>buk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boi (ox)</td>
<td>bule</td>
<td>bule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolo (cake)</td>
<td>kux:o:n</td>
<td>kux:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bola (bag)</td>
<td>taf'h</td>
<td>taf'h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bom (good)</td>
<td>qa'dt</td>
<td>qa'd:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boné (cap)</td>
<td>my:o:ts</td>
<td>my:o:ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braço (arm)</td>
<td>a:m</td>
<td>a:m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branco (white)</td>
<td>vi:o:t</td>
<td>vi:o:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruxo/feiticeiro (witch)</td>
<td>hjeks</td>
<td>hjeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bule (teapot)</td>
<td>kʰan</td>
<td>kʰan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buraco (hole)</td>
<td>l{o:x}</td>
<td>l{o:x}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burro (donkey)</td>
<td>e:zal</td>
<td>e:zal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cà (here (directional))</td>
<td>hi::</td>
<td>hi::o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabeça (head)</td>
<td>kʊɾp</td>
<td>kʊɾp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabelo (hair)</td>
<td>ho:ɾu</td>
<td>ho:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabelo branco (white hair)</td>
<td>vɪtʰ ho:ɾe (pl)</td>
<td>vɪta ho:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabide/gancho (hook)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>həkə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabrita (goat)</td>
<td>se'ɾːç</td>
<td>se'ɾːç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caçar/procurar (to seek)</td>
<td>jaxta</td>
<td>jaxta / zɔika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cachaça (liquor)</td>
<td>ʃnaps</td>
<td>ʃnaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cacho (de banana) (bunch)</td>
<td>bangana:kʃ</td>
<td>kaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cachorro (dog)</td>
<td>hunːd</td>
<td>hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadeira (chair)</td>
<td>ʃta:l</td>
<td>ʃta:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caderno (note book)</td>
<td>ʃieft</td>
<td>ʃieft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Café (coffee)</td>
<td>kʰaf'</td>
<td>kafe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cair (to fall)</td>
<td>fale</td>
<td>fale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calça (trousers)</td>
<td>ho'ss</td>
<td>ho'ss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcanhar (heel)</td>
<td>ʃo:dʃuɪtʰ</td>
<td>hək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calor (heat)</td>
<td>wə:m ora ฬ'a:t</td>
<td>hı:lts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caminha (road)</td>
<td>br:ɔ</td>
<td>br:ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caminho (road/way)</td>
<td>ve'ɾːç</td>
<td>ve'ɾːç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camisola (nightdress)</td>
<td>unəɾʊʃɔk</td>
<td>ʃlɔpkleið</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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Cana  (sugar cane)  s:ukɛrɔu  suker:ou  sukarou
Cantar (to sing)  ziŋ:`ɔ  ziŋə  ziŋɔn
Capacete (helmet)  kapasɛtʰ  kapasɛtʰ  kapasɛtʰ
Capim  (grass)  gras  gras  gras
Capinar  (to weed)  putse  putse  putse
Careca  (bald)  kariekt  kɔ:lkɔp  kɔ:lkɔp
Carne  (meat, flesh)  flaɻj  flaɻj  flaɻj
Carne de boi  (beef)  bulɛflaiʃ  bulɛflaiʃ  bulafəlaiʃ
Carne de porco  (porc)  svjːnflaiʃ  svjːnflaiʃ  svjːnflaiʃ
Carro  (car)  vɔːj:ŋe  vɔːj:e  vɔːj:e
Carvão  (charcoal)  kɔ:ɪ  kɔ:ɻ
Casa  (house)  huːs  huːs  huːs
Casar  (to marry, wed)  [uː] = 260ms  friːɻa  friːɻa  friːɻa
Casamento  (wedding)  hɔɔgɛtiːt  hiŋɡɔxtiːt  hiŋɡɔxtiːt
Casca  (peal)  jɛɻ  jɛɻ / jɔːɻ  jɛɻp
Cavalo  (horse)  valax  valax  valax
Cavar  (to dig)  lɔɔməkə  hake  nake
Caverna  (cave)  kawɛŋna  -
Cebola  (onion)  pɡaːl (pl)  pɔl  pɔl
Cego  (blind)  bлина  bliːtʰ  bliːtʰ  bliːtʰ
Cerca  (fence)  tʰuːn  tʰuːːn  tʰuːːn
Cerveja  (beer)  biːɻ  biːɻ  biːɻ
Cesta  (basket)  kɔɻf  kɔɻf  kɔɻf
Céu  (sky)  himal  himal  himal
Chá  (tea)  tʰeː  tʰeː  tʰeː
chão  (soil)  iːr  iːr  eːr
Chapéu  (hat)  fiauɛ  həd  həd
Chave  (key)  jɦɔdɻ  jɦɔdɻ  jɦɔdɻ
Chegar  (to arrive)  kʰome  kʰome  kʰome
Cheio  (full)  fuːɻ  fuːɻ  fuːɻ
Cheirar  (to smell)  ryka  ryka  ryka
Chicote  (whip)  pitʃ  pitʃ  pitʃ
Chifre  (horn)  hɔːn  (pl)  hɔːn  (sg)  hɔːn  (sg)
Choca  (galinha choca)  kluːk  kluːk  kluːk
(pluck)  
Chuva  (rain)  rɛ:jɔ  rɛ:jɔn  rɛ:jɔn
Cidade  (city)  ʃtat  ʃtat  ʃtat
Cinco  (five)  fiːf  fiːf  fiːf
Cinza  (gray, ash)  gris  aʃ  aʃə
Claro  (luminoso)  (clear)  klɔːɻ  hiel  hiel
Cobertor  (blanket)  dıek  dıek  dıek
Cobra  (snake)  ʃlan  ʃlan  ʃlan
Coçar  (to itch)  ʃoːɡɛ  rake  ʃoːɡɔn
Côcegas  (tickling)  kiɻdə  kiɻdə  kiɻdə
Colchão  (mattress)  strouzak  strouzak  strouzak
Com (with)  miːt  miːt  miːt
Comer  (to eat)  eːu  eːu  eːu
Comprido  (long)  laŋk  laŋk  laŋk
Comprimido (pill)  jdrykt / pʰil  pʰil  pil
Como? como assim?  wo硩sóʔ  wou / wouso硩  wou / wo硩sóʔ
( how? )
Concha (ladle)  ˈkɛl  ˈkɛl  ˈkɛl
Contar (to tell)  tʰelɛ  tʰelɛ  tʰelɛ
Coração (heart)  heʔts  heʔts  heʔts
Corda (rope)  jtrɪak  jtrɪak  jtrɪak
Coroa de flores  blaːmstruts  bləˈmkrants  bləˈmkrants
Correr (run)  loʔpɛ  loʔpɛ  loʔpɛ
Cortar (to cut off)  faʃniːrɛ  sniːrɛ  sniːrɛ
Coruja (owl)  uːl  uːl  uːl
Costas (back)  rəˈɭo  rəˈɭo  rəˈɭo
Costurar (to sew/nit)  neˈɭo  neˈɭo  neˈɭo
Cotovelos (elbow)  elˈbɔːvɛ  elˈbɔːvɛ  elˈbɔːvɛ
Coxa (de galinha) (thigh)  hɪnɛkylː  ˈkɪnɛkylː  ˈkɪnɛkylː
costa
Coxinha (kitchen)  kəˈkæn  koˈkæn  koˈkæn
Coxinhar (to cook)  kʰəkɛ  kəˈkɛ  kʰəkəˈka
Crescer (to grow)  ˈgroθdˈvaːrɛ / vast  ˈvaθɛ  ˈvaθɛ
(3sg pres)
Criança (child)  kʰɪnð  kʰɪnð  kʰɪnð
Curto (short)  kʊt  kʊt  kʊt
Dançar (to dance)  danza  danza  danza
Dar (to give)  jeːvɛ  jeːvɛ  jeːvɛ
De dia (at daytime)  bida.x  bida.x  bida.x
De manhã  moʔns  moʔns  moʔns
(in the morning)
De noite (at night)  ˈɔvms  ˈɔvnts  ˈɔvnts
De pé (standing up)  bim ˈʃon  ˈʃon  bim ˈʃon
De tarde (in the afternoon)  ˈnɔmiθdaks  ˈnɔmiθdaks  ˈnɔmiθdaks
Dedo (finger)  ˈfɪnə  ˈfɪnə  ˈfɪnə
dedo
Dedo grande (big finger)  ɡroθdˈɛnə  ɡroθˈɛnə  ɡroθˈɛnə
ejeto (laying)  leˈkɛnt  leˈkɛnt  leˈkɛnt
Deitar (to lay)  leˈkɛnt  ˈhɪnleθ  leˈkɛnt
Dente (tooth)  tʰɛːn  tʰɛːn  tʰɛːn
deitado (laying)  leˈkɛnt  ˈhɪnleθ  leˈkɛnt
Depois de amanhã  ˈdəvɔmoˈjoθa  ˈdəvɔmoˈjoθa  ˈdəvɔmoˈjoθa
(day after tomorrow)
Deslizar (to slide)  rʊtsˈfe / ˈvɛxrutʃu  rʊtsˈfe  rʊtsˈfe
deslizar
Deus (god)  ɡrʊd  ɡrʊt  ɡrʊd
diário
Diabo (deavil)  dyːˈfɔl  dyːˈfɔl  dyːˈfɔl
diabo
Dinheiro (money)  jilɛ  jilɛ  jilɛ
dinheiro
Direito (right-hand)  riɛks  riɛks  riɛks
Dizer (to say)  zɛjɛ  zɛjɛ  zɛjɛ
dizer
Doce (sweet)  zuˈt  zuˈt  zuˈt
doce
Dor (pain)  vaˈdɔx  vaˈdɔx  vaˈdɔx
dor
Dois (two)  twaˈ  twaˈ  twaˈ
dois
Dormir (to sleep)  ˈʃʃpu  ˈʃʃpu  ˈʃʃpu
dormir
Égua (mare)  eˈzɔl  eˈzɔl  eˈzɔl
El (she)  zəl  zəl  zəl
el
Ele (he)  haˈ  haˈ  haˈ
Ele é bom (he is good)         ha‘ ʔis gau’d    ha‘ ʔis gau’t     ha‘ ʔis gau’d
Ele está coçando a perna       ha‘ de: daba:ˑ jo’ɡé     ha‘ de: daibai     ha‘ de: daiba:ˑ jo’ɡé
(he is scratching his leg)     rake               rake
Ela furou a orelha              za‘i het da o:ra (pl)     za‘i het dat?o:ɾ     za‘i het der o:ra
doɾʃtɔˑ kɛ         doɾʃtɔˑ kɛ
Esas (they.fem)                 za‘i               sa’         za‘i
Eles (they.masc)                za’               sa’         ha’ (sic!)
Em casa (at home)              im hu:s               tu:s           tu:s
[ u: ] = 300ms        [ u: ] = 260ms     [ u: ] = 300ms
Em cima (above)                boˑvɔ              up              boˑvanʔup
Embaixo (downstairs)           uˑnɛ            uˑne           uˑnedem
Empurrar (to push)             juˑpse          juˑvɛ           juˑvɛ
Entender (to understand)       forʃtɔ•          forʃtɔ•         forʃtɔ•
Enxada (hoes)                  hak                hak            hak
Errado (wrong)                 fakeˑt            foˑket          forkeˑt
Erva (herb)                    -                 krut           kruːd
Escola (school)                fa:ˑl             faˑl’          faˑl’
Esouro (dark)                  dyˑstɔ          dyˑstɔ         dyˑstɔ
Estudar (to listen)            hoˑrɛ               hoˑrɛ          horge
Esmagar (to bruise)             -                 fokwetʃɛ        fokwetʃɛ
Esposa (wife)                  frux            frux            frux
Esquedo (left)                 liˑŋs            liˑŋs           liˑŋs
Está chovendo                 dat reˑjɔnt         deit reˑːγnɔ     deit reˑːγnɔ
(it is raining)
Esta/esta pasta/essa menina   deˑs / deˑs kiŋɔ     deˑɔ taf /     deˑs / deis past /
(de.This/this bag/this girl)   dit mɛkɔ          dit mɛ kɛ       dit mɛkɛ
Este/este armario)             dat fpinˑt         dit fpinˑt       deis / dit fpin (or
(de.This/this cupboard)        foˑzɔiɑ          foˑzɔiɑ         foˑzɔiɑ
Estômago (stomach)             mɔˑx            mɔˑx           mɔˑx
Estragar/apodrecer (to        fuˑːlɔ               fofuˑle /     foduɾve / fuˑl
foul up)
Estreito (narrow)              eŋk              ʃmɑl           ʃmɑˑl
Estrela (star)                 ʃtɛˑnə          ʃtɛˑn          ʃtɛˑn (or ʃtɛˑn?)
Estudar (to study)             ʃtudˑɾɛ          ʃtudˑɾɛ        ʃtudˑɾɛ
Eu (I)                         ʃtɑˑk            ʃtɑˑk          ʃtɑˑk
Eu digo (I say)                ʃtɑˑkSEX         ʃtɑˑkSEX        ʃtɑˑkSEX
Faça (knife)                   mɛˑtʃɔ          mɛˑtʃɔ         mɛˑtʃɔ
Facão (machete)               fakoˑu                groˑɑmɛˑtʃɔ           fakoˑu
Falar (to tell/speak)          fɑˑtɛlɔ           fɛˑtɛlɔ         fɛˑtɛlɔ
Farinha de mandioca           fɑˑɾiˑnˑn          fɑˑɾiˑnˑn        fɑˑɾiˑnˑn
(Fasava flour)
Farmácia (farmacy)            fɑmɑˑs           fɑmɑˑs         fɑmɑˑs
Fazer (to make)                moˑkɛ            moˑkɛ          moˑkɛ
Fazer comida (make food)       ɛtʃmɔˑkɛ          ɛtʃmɔˑkɛ        ɛtʃmɔˑkɛ
(Fasava flour)
Fechado (closed)              tɔˑu            tɔˑu’t          tɔˑu’t
Feijão (beans)                 boˑnɛ            boˑnɛ           boˑnɛ
Ferrugem (rust)                ruˑst            ruˑst           ruˑst
Festa (feast)                  fiˑst            fiˑst           fiˑst
Figado (liver)                 leˑf             leˑf            leˑf
Filha (daughter)               meˑkɛ            meˑkɛ           meˑkɛ
Filho (son) jaũⁿga
Fino (fine) j mâl / fiː salmon
Firme (strong, firm) haːt / hândfast hântfast -
Flauta (flute) - flô't flô't
Flor (flower) blaːm bla'm blâm
Fogo (fire, bonfire) fyː fyçô fyː r
Folha (leaf) blat blat
Fome (hunger) huŋo huŋo huŋo
Formiga (ant) ama's ama's ama's
Forno (oven) bakɔ̃ ve bakɔ̃ ve bakɔ̃ ve
Fruite de burro (break) - kándar briems
Frigideira (frying pan) pʰ an bɾɔːrpʰ an pʰ an
Frio (cold) kult bʱ kul bʱ
Fruta (fruits) fruxt fruxt apel / fruxt
Fubá (corn meal) meːl miçemeːl meːl
Fumaça (smoke) ro'k ro'k ro'k
Fumado (smoking) ro'kve / is bim ro'kve ro'kve
Fuso (tabacco) - tʰ ɡ̥ buhak
Furadeira (drilling machine) boːre bɔːrmajːn bɔːr-majːn
Furar (to drill) dqɾcdbːre boːre boːre
Furo (hole) lútx lôtx
Gaiola (cage) gajol fyzelsgajola burge
Galho (branch) - terçʃ (sic) tielç
Galinha d'angola (guinea fowl) pʰ edlǐʃin pədliʃin pədliʃin
Galo (cock) hɔnɔ hɔnɔ hɔn
Garagem (garage) garagːza garaːzɡa garaːzɡa
Garfo (fork) gɔ bɔl gɔ bɔl gɔ bɔl
Garganta (throat) hals fluk fâls
Garrote (young bull) kla'na bule bule / kla'na bule kla' bule
Gato (cat) kʰ a t (sic) kʰ a t / kote
Gavião (hawk) hoʃkə hoʃkə hoʃkə
Gelo (ice) i's i's
Gengibre (ginger) ʒinɔz dʒinɔzbiŋ tʃinɔzbiːr
Gente/pessoa (people) lyː r / meːʃ lyː r lyː r
Goia (guava) kʊjaːp kʊjaːp kʊjaːp
Gordo (fat.adj) fiɛt fiɛt fiɛt
Gordura (fat.noun) fiɛt fiɛt -
Grande (big) groːd groːt groːt
Grosso (thick) diːk diːk diːk
Hoje (today) hyː t hy ɗ hy ɗ
Homem (man) meʃ keː l keː l
Homem velho (old man) ul meʃ ul keː l ul keː l
Horta (garden) goː re goː re goː re
Idosos muitos idosos (old people) ulɔ lyː ult / sejə ult ul lyː r / seː ɯ l
Igreja (church) kirç kirç kirç
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ilha (island)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>inzəl</td>
<td>inzəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inchar (swell up)</td>
<td>upʃwaɪtə</td>
<td>dikvaa:ɾɐ/</td>
<td>upʃi:ʒəɾe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferno (hell)</td>
<td>hœel</td>
<td>hœel</td>
<td>hœel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhame (yam/kind of edible root)</td>
<td>jama:s</td>
<td>jame:s</td>
<td>jama:s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inteligente (smart)</td>
<td>klaɪk</td>
<td>klaɪk</td>
<td>klaɪk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irmã (sister)</td>
<td>ʃwestə</td>
<td>ʃwestə</td>
<td>ʃwestə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irmã maior (oldest sister)</td>
<td>grœst/ylst ʃwestə</td>
<td>grout ʃwestə</td>
<td>ylst / grœst ʃwestə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irmã menor (youngest sister)</td>
<td>klɛnʃ/ʒʏŋʃ ʃwestə</td>
<td>klain ʃwestə</td>
<td>klɛnʃ ʃwestə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irmão (brother)</td>
<td>braɪɾe</td>
<td>braɪɾe</td>
<td>braɪɾe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irmão maior (oldest brother)</td>
<td>ylst braɪɾe</td>
<td>groɪɾɾ ɾbraɪɾe</td>
<td>ylst braɪɾe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irmão menor (youngest brother)</td>
<td>jyŋʃ braɪɾe</td>
<td>klaɪne braɪɾe</td>
<td>klɛnʃ braɪɾe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaca (jaca/kind of fruit)</td>
<td>ʒaka</td>
<td>ʃaka</td>
<td>ʒaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacaré (aligator)</td>
<td>ʒakaɾe</td>
<td>ʃakaɾe</td>
<td>ʃakaɾe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jambo (jambos/kind of fruit)</td>
<td>ʒaβma</td>
<td>ʃambo</td>
<td>ʃambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janeiro (January)</td>
<td>janaʔa:</td>
<td>januʔar</td>
<td>janaʔar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janela de madeira (wooden shutter)</td>
<td>ɦulɖluɾk</td>
<td>ɦulɖluɾk</td>
<td>ɦulɖluɾk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasmim (jasmin)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>jasmim:n</td>
<td>jasmim:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus (Jesus)</td>
<td>jɛʒus</td>
<td>jezus</td>
<td>jezus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joelho (knee)</td>
<td>ɲnaʔ</td>
<td>ɲna</td>
<td>ɲna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jogar/atimar (to throw)</td>
<td>jɪmɪtə</td>
<td>jɪmɪtə</td>
<td>jɪmɪtə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junho (June)</td>
<td>ɬu:ni</td>
<td>ɬu:ni</td>
<td>ɬu:ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julho (July)</td>
<td>ɬu:li</td>
<td>ɬu:li</td>
<td>ɬu:li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lá (there)</td>
<td>dəɾ</td>
<td>doː</td>
<td>doː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lábio (lip)</td>
<td>lip</td>
<td>lip (pl)</td>
<td>lip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laço/lacinho (knot)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ʃloɾf</td>
<td>ʃloɾf / kla'n ʃloɾf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lago (pond)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ɯtɛɾku:l</td>
<td>ɗi k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagoa (pond)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ɯtɛɾku:l</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lâmpada (lamp)</td>
<td>ɬamp</td>
<td>lamp</td>
<td>lamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laranja (orange)</td>
<td>ɾandʒə</td>
<td>ɾantʃ</td>
<td>ɾantʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Largo (broad)</td>
<td>braɪɾd</td>
<td>braɪɾd</td>
<td>braɪɾd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavagem / comida de animais</td>
<td>thoɾpvalʃən</td>
<td>ʃəfvalʃədɔ</td>
<td>ʈɾank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sewing thread)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liso (smooth)</td>
<td>ɣla ɬ̊</td>
<td>ɣlaθ</td>
<td>ɣlaθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livro (book)</td>
<td>baɪɾk</td>
<td>baɪɾk</td>
<td>baɪɾk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longe (far)</td>
<td>viðʒaf</td>
<td>viːd</td>
<td>viːd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lua (moon)</td>
<td>mɔ:n</td>
<td>mɔ:n</td>
<td>mɔ:n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- The table contains basic vocabulary terms in Portuguese with their English and Dutch equivalents.
- The terms are grouped by category, such as food, animals, and clothing.
- Some terms are marked with diacritical marks specific to Brazilian Portuguese.
- The table also includes words for body parts, months, and other common phrases.
Lua cheia (full moon) | fu:l mɔ:n | fu:l mɔ:n | fu:l mɔ:n
Lua nova (new moon) | nị ç mɔ:n | nị ç mɔ:n | nị ç mɔ:n
Macaco (monkey) | ẹp | ẹp | ẹp
Macaco grande (big monkey/ape) | ọg°d?ọp | ọg°d?ọp | ọg°d?ọp
Macarrão (pasta) | nu:dlo | nu:dlo | nu:dlo
Machado (axe) | iɛks | ɛks | ɛks
Madeira (wood) | huld | huld | huld
Maduro (ripe) | rip | rip | rip
Mãe (mother) | mama / mute | mute | mute
Magro (meagre) | mɔ:ye | mɔ:ye | mɔ:ye
Mais (more) | me: | me: | me:
Mais curto (more short/shorter) | k̥aerdo | bits k̥aerdo | bits k̥aerdo
Mais velho (more old/older) | ylo / ylst | meje ?uld | ylo
Mandioca (cassave) | manjuk | manjuk | manjuk
Manga (mango resp. sleeve) | mɔŋga ('mango') | mɔŋka ('mango') | mɔ'x ('sleeve')
Manteiga (butter) | bɔsto | bɔsto | bɔsto
Mão (hand) | hand | hand | hand
Mar (sea) | ze: | me: | ze:
Marido (husband) | ke:l | ke:l | ke:l
Mata/floresta (wood/forest) | valt | valt | valt
Matar (kill) | do°d’mokə | do°d’mokə | do°d’mokə
Mau (bad) | ʃlɛxt | ʃlɛxt | ʃlɛxt
Meio (half) | half | half | half
Melancia (watermelon) | wɔtemilo’n | wɔtemilo’n | wɔtemilo’n
Menina (girl) | mekə | mekə | mekə
Menino (boy) | ja’n | ja’n | ja’n
Mentir (to lie) | laije | laije | laije
Mês (month) | mɔ’nat | mɔ’nat | mɔ’nat
Mesa (table) | diʃ | diʃ | diʃ
Meu nariz (my nose) | mi:n nɛ:s | mi:n nɛ:s | mi:n nɛ:s
Meu pai (my father) | mi p’apa | mi p’apa | mi p’apa
Miado (meow) | - | kat de’t bla:ɾən | bla:ɾən
Milho (corn) | mi:Ça | milja | milja
Milho verde (green corn) | gru’n ɛ miʃ | gru’n ɛ miʃ | gru’n ɛ miʃ
Minha boca (my mouth) | mi: mu:n | mi: mu:n | mi: mu:n
Moça (girl) | meka | meka | meka
Moça velha (old spinster) | ʊlmekə | ʊlmekə | ʊlmekə
Moço (boy) | ja’n | ja’n | ja’n
Mole (soft) | wa’k | wa’k | wa’k
Molhado (wet) | nat’h | nat’h | nat’h
Morango (strawberry) | moraŋgu | moraŋgu | moraŋgu
Morar (to live) | wɔ:me | wɔ:me | wɔ:me
somewhere | Morder (to bite) | bite | bitən
Morrer (to die) | dɔ’mpli:ʃe | dɔ’mpli:ʃe | dɔ’mpli:ʃe
Morto (dead, a dead) dó re ('a dead') dó dr ('dead') -
Mostrar (point/show) viː se viː se viː se
Muitas crianças (many children) feː l kína feː l kína feː l kína
Muito (many) feː l feː l feː l
Mulher (woman) frux fruˈ x frux
Mulher idosa (old woman) ulfrux ˈ ulfrux ˈ ulfrux
Nadar (swim) fwiː m έ fwiː m fwiː m
Não (no) neː neː / ni neː
Nariz (nose) neː s neː s neː s
Nascente (de água) (water source) vɔtəkwel vɔtəkwel kwel
Nascer (to be born) jiboː re jiboː re jiboː re waː re
Neta (granddaughter) ɬnəlkinŋ niː tə ɬnəlkiŋ ɬnəlʃiŋ
Neto (grandson) ɬnəlkinŋ netiː k̑ ... ɬnəlʃiŋ ɬnəlʃiŋ
Noite (night) naxtʰ naxtʰ naxtʰ avt̑nt
Noite clara (clear night) klobː naxtʰ hɛlnaxtʰ hɛlnaxtʰ
Noite sem luar (night without moon) dystrənaxtʰ dystrənaxtʰ naxt onə məː naʃiːn
Nome (name) nɔˈ me nɔˈ me nɔˈ me
Nós (we) viː vi vi
Nosso (our) oˈ sə oˈ se ə oˈ sə
Nossos narizes (our noses) oˈ s neː ɬxe oˈ s neː ɬxe ə oˈ s neː ɬxe
Novo (new) niː ç niː s niː ç ɬnəs
Nuca (neck) ɡənək ɡimək ɡimək
Número (number) nʊme nume nume
Nu vem (cloud) vɔlək volk voː l̑k
O cabelo é preto (the hair is black) daˈ hɔː re ɕin swaː t daɪ ɦɔː ç ʔiː swaː ɬ daɪ ɦɔː ç ʔiː swaː ɬ
O pe scoço é comprido (the neck is long) daˈ iː ɡɫs ʔiː laŋk daɪ ɡɫs ʔiː laŋk daɪ ɡɫs ʔiː laŋk
O sol está quente (the sun is hot) daˈ ʃiː ʔiː haː t daɪ ʃiː ʔiː haː t daɪ ʃiː ʔiː haː t
Oco/vazio (empty) liː ɕiː (2 syll) liː rə ɕiː hɔl
Oito (eight) axt axt axt
Óleo (oil) ɬoː l ɬoː l ɬoː l
Olho (eye) oˈ k ɬoː k ɬoː k ɬoː k
Onça (jaguar) tɕaː tɕaː tɕaː ɬtɕaː
Onde (where) woː ɬwə ɬwə ɬwə
Ónibus (buss) oˈ nɪbus ɬunəbus ɬupə
Ontem (yesterday) jiasː ɡən ɬjiasː ɡən ɬjiasː ɡən
Orelha (ear) ɬoˈ ra (pl) ɬoˈ ra ɬoˈ ra
Orquídea (kind of flower) braː m paraʃiː t ɔɾkɪː t
Osso (bone) knoː ɬ ɡənˈ ɬɪː kə kə noː ka kə
Ouro (gold) gult gult gult
Outro (other) dere ɬandaː r dere ɬandaː r anət
Ouvir (to hear) hɔː rə hɔː rə hɔː rə
Ovo (egg) eː ɕ eː ɕ ɕ eː ɕ ɕ eː ɕ ɕ eː ɕ
Ovo de Páscoa oˈ stəʔeː ɕ oˈ stəʔeː ɕ oˈ stəʔeː ɕ oˈ stəʔeː ɕ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pomeranian Word</th>
<th>Portuguese Word</th>
<th>Albanian Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peca (kind of animal)</td>
<td>pak</td>
<td>p^b^ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padaria (bakery)</td>
<td>padariç</td>
<td>bëkëriç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pai (father)</td>
<td>fëta</td>
<td>fë'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palavra (word)</td>
<td>wo^d</td>
<td>wo^d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palhaço (clown)</td>
<td>këtëd</td>
<td>këdël</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panela (pan)</td>
<td>lëpa^h</td>
<td>lëpëh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pango (bread)</td>
<td>bro^d</td>
<td>bro^d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papagaio (parrot)</td>
<td>papaga^i</td>
<td>papaga^i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para lá (direção) (to there)</td>
<td>do:_hin/ do:_hën tau</td>
<td>do:_hin/ do:_hën tau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parafuso (screw)</td>
<td>jëru:f</td>
<td>jëru:f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parede (wall)</td>
<td>want</td>
<td>want^h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasto (pasture)</td>
<td>we:</td>
<td>we:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pato (duck)</td>
<td>ëntë</td>
<td>ëntë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pau (wood, stick)</td>
<td>jëtyk hulëd</td>
<td>strëk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pé (foot)</td>
<td>fa^t</td>
<td>fa^t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecado (sin)</td>
<td>zë'n</td>
<td>zë'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedra (stone)</td>
<td>ëtë</td>
<td>ëtë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedra amarela (yellow)</td>
<td>jë:le ëtë'</td>
<td>jë:le ëtë'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedra branca (white stone)</td>
<td>wi:te ëtë'</td>
<td>wi'të ëtë'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedra furada</td>
<td>doirjëbëntënao</td>
<td>doirjëtëkenëo ëtë'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedra preta (black stone)</td>
<td>swardë ëfëzn /</td>
<td>swardë ëtë /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(stone with holes)</td>
<td>ëtë</td>
<td>ëtë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peito (breast)</td>
<td>bëcst</td>
<td>bëcst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peixe (fish)</td>
<td>ëf'</td>
<td>ëf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelado (nude)</td>
<td>nakkënt</td>
<td>nakkënt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelado (sem pêlos) (without hair)</td>
<td>ënkë hërë</td>
<td>kë:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(inf. is not sure)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pele (skin)</td>
<td>ëfël</td>
<td>ëfël</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pêlo (hair)</td>
<td>hë:ro</td>
<td>hë:ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pêludo (hairy)</td>
<td>hë:ric</td>
<td>hë:ric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pêncar (to come)</td>
<td>ëkëma</td>
<td>ëkëma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pêpino (cucumber)</td>
<td>jërjë/jërk</td>
<td>gërk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pequena lagoa (small pond)</td>
<td>kla'në dik</td>
<td>kla'në ëtëku:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pêqueno (small)</td>
<td>kla'në</td>
<td>kla'në</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pêra (pear)</td>
<td>përa</td>
<td>pë'ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Péguntar (to ask)</td>
<td>fë:oë</td>
<td>fë:oën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pêna (leg)</td>
<td>bë:na</td>
<td>bë:na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pêrna fina (fine leg)</td>
<td>fina bain (pl) /</td>
<td>fina bain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f'in bë: (sg)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perto (close by)</td>
<td>ë:nt</td>
<td>ë:nt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

POMERANIAN CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR
Pesado (heavy) jwɔː
Pescar (to fish) fiʃe
Pescoco (neck) haːls
Pessoa (person) meʃ
Pessoa ruim (bad person) fлект meʃ
Pessoa suja (dirty person) dрикiци meʃ
Pimenta (pepper) пepə
Pimentão (paprika) -
Pintinho (chick) kʰyka
Piolho (louse) lyːs
Pisar (to step) пeːɾɐ
Podre (dirty) fuːl
Poeira (dust) сторф
Polenta (corn meal) полiɛnt
Pomba (pigeon/dove) -
Porco (male pig) beːɾə
Porco capado (castrated pig) boax
Porta (door) doː'
Portão (gate) порtəu / гроʊ'd:ojo / kansel
[‘kænsəl]
(Portuguese) barrier
Poucos (few) венiç
Poucos piolhos (few lice) пɔː lyːs
Prego (spike/nail) нiçəl
Prima (cousin) priːmo
Primeiro (the first) аʃta
Problema (problem) вiːˈɾiɾkeːt
Pronto (ready) тɾiɛt
Quando (when) вɛn
Quarto (room) кəme
Quatro (four) faʃɔː
Queijo (cheese) кэʃː
Queimar (to burn) фэвиːɾə
Quem (who) вɛː
Quente (hot) haːt
Quieto (quiet) fɪl
Raiz (root) fʊəɾdəl
Rabo (tail) fɔwnts
Vento (wind) вɛnt
Ralar (to grind)  riːve  riːve  riːve
Rapaz (boy)  jaʊn  joʊn  jaʊn
Raposa (fox)  -  valthunt  fuʊs
Raspar (grate)  afriːve  jrobe  -
Rastelo (rake)  haːk  haːrk  haːk
Rede (net)  -  niets  -
Rédea (horse tack, rein)  -  -  toicł
Redondo (round)  runk  rund  rund
Relógio (clock)  uː  kloʊk  kloʊk
Remédio (medicine)  melasiːn  milasiːn  milasiːn
Repolho (cabbage)  koːl  koːl  koːl
Reo (straight)  grəː  grəː  grəː
Rezar (to pray)  beːre  beːre  beːre
Rio (river)  fluus  fluus  flus
Rio cheio (full river)  fuła fluus  oˈvaʃˈmunk  ful
Rir (laugh)  laxe  laxe  laxon
Roçar (brush)  foʊˈze  foʊˈze  foʊˈsa
Roda (wheel)  raːt  raːt  raːt
Rodo (rake)  -  kryk  kryk
Sabão (soap)  zip  seˈp  zeˈp
Saber (to know)  vaːte  vaːte  vaːtə
Saia (skirt)  ruʊk  ruʊk  ruʊk
Sal (salt)  ruʊk  ruʊk  ruʊk
Saliva (spit)  wote ina muːl  ʃpiç  ʃpiç
Saliva (spit)  spiç
Seu nariz (de você) (your nose)  din neːs  min neːs
Seu nariz (dele) (his nose)  õem sin neːs  õem sin neːs
Senhor/dono/patrão (mister) (you, honorific)  em / mit  em / mit  patrâ
Sentado (seated)  ziot  siot / ziiɪnt  ziot (‘sitting’)
Sentar (to sit)  hjɔnζɛtɔ  hjɔnζɛtɔ  ziot
Sepultura (grave)  graf  graf  graf
Serra (mountain)  baːx  baːx  baːx
Segundo (second)  swaːd  swaːt  twaːd
Segurar pegar (grasp)  fasthula  fasthula  fasthula
Semente (seed)  zɔt  zɔt  zɔt
Sobrancelhas (eyebrows)  oˈvɔbrɔn  oˈvɔbrɔn  oˈvɔbrɔn
Sobrinha (niece)  -  sobriːn  soˈbrin
Sobrinho (nephew)  -  -  -
Sofrer (suffer)  uθule  uθule  uθule
Sol (son)  zɔn  zyn  zyn
Solo (soil) e: e:r e:r
Sopa (soup) zup zu:p zu:p
Soprar (to blow) p'ustê p'ustê p'usta
Sorvete (ice cream) - i:s j:sklu:t

Veneno (poison) [is] 'ice'

Sujo (dirty) drê:kiç drê:kiç mê-siç
Taioba (kind of vegetable) tio:ba tio:ba tio:p
Tapete (carpet) tapê:t tapê:t tapê:t
Televiçã (TV) televiçã televiçã televiçã
Telhado (roof) da:k da:k da:k
Terceiro (third) da dryr dryr dryr
Terra (land) land / e: e:r e:r
Terreiro/pádio - plats plats
(yard/square)

Vassoura (broom) jift jift jift

(1 syll)

Tia (aunt) tandô t'andô tandô
Tigela (bowl) k'b:um k'b:um k'b:um
Tio (uncle) ungôl ungôl ungôl
Tirar leite (to milk) mélga mélka mélka
Todos (all) alte alte alte
Tomate (tomato) tumada tamâte t'umât
Touro (bull) bulê bulê bulê
Trabalhar (work) a:be:ro a:be:ro a:be:ro
Trânsito (tress) dî flêçt flêct flêct
Tratar (to treat) - futre uppasen

(2 syll)

Trazer (to bring) briôga briôga mitbrôga
Travesseiro (cushion) kyô-sô kyô-sô kyô-sô
Tremer (tremble) sitre sitre sitre
Três (three) drai drai drai

(3 syll)

Trigo (wheat) me:t me:t me:t

(4 syll)

Triâpos (guts) [da:ma] da:me da:ma
Tu/você (you.sg) du du: du:

(5 syll)

Vucano (toucan) tuka:n tuka:n tuka:n
Vúmulo (tomb) graf graf graf

(6 syll)

Vamsa para casa (let's go home) vi:mu nô hu:s go: vilâni no hu:s go:
[ u' ] = 170ms
[ u' ] = 180ms
[ s' ] = 350ms

Vassoura (broom) bie:sm bie:sm bie:sm
Vazio (empty) li:ç (2 syll) li:ç (1 syll) li:ç (2 syll)
Veado (dear) - re: re:
Velho (old) ul/ult ult ulď
Vem câ (come here) kom he kom he kom he

GERTJAN POSTMA

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<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Pomeranian</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vento (wind)</td>
<td>vinḋ</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ver (to see)</td>
<td>za:</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verde (green)</td>
<td>grũ'n</td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verme/larva</td>
<td>woam</td>
<td>earthworm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermelho (red)</td>
<td>roũɖ</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viagem (trip)</td>
<td>re:s</td>
<td>trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viajar (to travel)</td>
<td>re:zɔ</td>
<td>travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vir (come)</td>
<td>kome</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitar (to visit)</td>
<td>bizi'ɡe</td>
<td>visit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Viver (to live)</td>
<td>le:ve</td>
<td>live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vivo / ele esta</td>
<td>ha₁ le:ft</td>
<td>he is alive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(he is alive)</td>
<td>le:ven / ha₁ de:t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voar (to fly)</td>
<td>fla'jɔ</td>
<td>fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocês são bons</td>
<td>ji: zin gaᵗ</td>
<td>you are good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(you are good)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vomitar (to vomit)</td>
<td>kʊɔtsɛ</td>
<td>vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vós/vocês (you.pl)</td>
<td>ji:</td>
<td>you.pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xícara (cup)</td>
<td>kanɪɛk</td>
<td>cup</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xixi (piss)</td>
<td>ɡe'ç</td>
<td>piss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caldeirão (cauldron)</td>
<td>i:s-ketl/swi-ketl</td>
<td>cauldron</td>
</tr>
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