

Sealtermysk *die-deer*

Ynlleding

- (1) (a) *Hie spitsede de Ore as 'n Kat, die deer grummeljen heert.*
‘He raised his ears like a cat which hears lightning bolts.’
- (b) *Die deer ätter Amerika uutwoandert, mout Ängelsk lere.*
‘Whoever migrates to the States has to learn English.’

1 Eigenskippen

1.1. Distribúsje (*plak, tiid*)

Utende: sentence [13] (SVL) etc.

Ramsloh: sentence [8] (GG) etc.

Scharrel: sentence [17] (SFS) etc.

1.2. Distribúsje, grammaticaal

- (2) (a) *Wie häbe joa jüüst so'n Hone, die deer so lät.* (KA)
‘We have a similar rooster which looks alike.’
- (b) *Wie häbe uk 'n Hone, die jüüst so lät.* (SFS)¹
‘We too have a rooster which looks alike.’
- (c) * *Wie häbe (...) 'n Hone, deer (...) so lät.* (Ungrammatical.)
- (d) * *Wie häbe 'n Hone, wäkke deer (...) so lät.* (Ungrammatical.)
- (e) * *Wie häbe 'n Hone, die so deer lät.* (Ungrammatical.)

Gjin beheiningen op type relatysin:

- (3) (a) (= Restrictive RC, indefinite antecedent)
Hie spitsede de Ore as 'n Kat, die deer grummeljen heert.
‘He raised his ears like a cat which hears lightning bolts.’
- (b) (= Restrictive RC, definite antecedent)
Fon dän Königssuun, die deer fljogen leerd hiede.
‘About the king’s son who had learned to fly.’
- (c) (= Restrictive RC with prop antecedent)
Un (do Monljude) hoalje dän, die deer et fergeen Jier Königich wezen is, mäd de Spilljude uut et Huus.
‘And the men take the one who had been last year’s king out of the house, along with the musicians.’
- (d) (= Appositive RC)

*Sunt düsse Ljude, do deer juust bale, nit uut Galiläa?*²
'Aren't these people, who are talking right now, from Galilea?'

- (e) (= Free RC)
Die deer ätter Amerika uutwoandert, mout Ängelsk lere.
'Whoever migrates to the States has to learn English.'
- (f) (= Free RC, plural)
Do deer in 't Huus blieuwe, do fodderje smäidens dät Fäi.
'Those who remain at home feed the animals in the morning.'

It ilémint *deer* is altyd **opsjoneel**.

- (4) (a) (= Restrictive RC, indefinite antecedent)
Wie häbe uk 'n Hone, die jüüst so lät. (SFS)³
'We too have a rooster which looks alike.'
- (b) (= Restrictive RC, definite antecedent)
Die Wai, die min Ferkier häd, biwoakst mäd Gäärs. (LB)
'The road which has little traffic is covered with grass.'
- (c) (= Restrictive RC with prop antecedent)
Wan Du fon uurs wäl wät moaked hääbe wolt, dan fräige dän, die al ful uume Oore häd. (GG)
'When you want something done by someone else, then ask the one who already has a lot to do.'
- (d) (= Appositive RC)
Toni, die mäd sien Moanske deer an 't Juden waas. (GG)
'Toni, who was weeding with his wife.'
- (e) (= Free RC)
Die hilkje wol, die wät in 't ganse Tärp biboald. (LB)
'Whoever wants to marry will be talked about in the whole village.'
- (f) (= Free RC, plural)
Man uk do, do nit aaltied bie 't Paad sunt. (GG)
'But also those who are not always on a journey.'

Der binne in pear beheiningen **binnen de relatyfsin**.

- It betreklik omnamwurd is altyd nominatyf subjekt (5a-d).
- **Definite objekten binne net tastien.**

- (5) (a) *Hie spitsede de Ore as 'n Kat, die deer grummeljen heert.*
'He raised his ears like a cat which hears lightning bolts.'
- (b) *Hie spitsede de Ore as 'n Kat, dän man heert.*
'(He raised his ears like a cat which one hears')
- (c) * *Hie spitsede de Ore as 'n Kat, dän deer man heert.* (Ungrammatical.)
- (d) * *Hie spitsede de Ore as 'n Kat, dän man deer heert.* (Ungrammatical, unless *deer* is interpreted as a normal locative adverb.)

Sjoch foarbylden yn (6).

- (6) (a) *Die deer* [_{INDEF}uungjuchte Mäiten un Wächten] *hiede, die moaste en Moatjen Bjoor as Stroafe oureke.*
‘Whoever had deviating and weights had to pay a ‘malter’ of beer as a punishment.’
- (b) *Die* [_{DEF}sik] *in ju Gefoar berakt, kumt der ook oan ume.*
‘Whoever puts himself in danger will also perish from it.’
- (c) * *Die deer* [_{DEF}sik] *in ju Gefoar berakt, kumt der ook oan ume.* (Ungrammatical.)
- (d) *Die* [_{DEF}] *t aal] häbe wol, kricht niks.*
‘Whoever wants to have it all gets nothing.’
- (e) * *Die deer* [_{DEF}] *t aal] häbe wol, kricht niks.*
‘Whoever wants to have it all gets nothing.’ (Ungrammatical.)
- (f) *Die deer* 'n Huund smiete wol, die fint ook säft 'n Steen. (Minssen/Kramer)
‘Whoever wants to hit a dog, has no trouble finding a stone.’
- (g) *Un die d'n (= deer 'n) masse Jield hiede, die kreech en gouldene Kätte.* (KA)
‘And the one who had a lot of money, got a golden necklace.’

Der is gjin beheining op typen tiidwurden/predikaten:

- (7) (a) *Sun Soarte, ju deer ... woakst.*
‘The kind which grows ...’
- (b) *'n Springpogge, dät deer ... hüpje mout.*
‘A frog which has to hop.’
- (c) *Do deer in 't Huus blieuwe.*
‘Those who remain at home.’)

2. Syntaktsk probleem

Komplekse relatyf-konstruksje. Partikel (yn CP) of ‘gewoan’ ilement (yn IP)?
Partikels yn Beiersk/Swabysk, Belgysk-Nederlânsk etc.

- (8) *Wie alt war dn der, der wo Pfarrer worre isch.*
‘How old was he then, he who became [a] preacher.’

Relatyf **partikel** kin omnamwurd ferfange (9b, cf. 9a) or beselskipje (9c) or beide (9c-d). ‘Zer-partikels’ besteane ek (9e). (See de Vries 2002: 62, 155ff, Smits 1989: 59f).

- (9) (a) *The man whom I saw.*
- (b) *The man that I saw.*
- (c) *De stoelen di da kapot zijn.* (Aarschot Dutch [Belgium])
‘The chairs which are broken.’
- (d) *De stoelen di kapot zijn.*
- (e) *The man I saw.*

- (11) (a) Hypoteze (A): *Deer* is in ‘gewoan’ ilemeint.
(b) Hypoteze (B): *Deer* is in *relatyf-partikel* (11'b).

(11')

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|--|
| (a) | $[\text{DP} \ 'n \ \text{Kat}]$ | $[\text{CP} \ \text{die}]$ | $[\text{IP} \ \text{deer grummeljen heert}]]$ |
| (b) | $[\text{DP} \ 'n \ \text{Kat}]$ | $[\text{CP} \ \text{die deer}]$ | $[\text{IP} \ \text{grummeljen heert}]]$ |
| (c) | $= \text{head } NP$ | $= CP \ (\text{relative clause introducer})$ | $= IP \ (\text{content of relative clause})$ |

3. Analyze

3.1. A preliminary exploration

Der is *gjin a priori reden* om Hypotheze B ôf te wizen.

- Sealterfrysk hat wol ‘doubly-filled Comp’ (resinter?)

- (12) *Jee nachdeem, wo tjuk dät se do dan maakjen dieden.* (KA)
‘Depending on how thick [that] they made them.’

Der is ek *gjin reden* om Hypotheze B (fuortendaliks) oan te nimmen

- Sealterfrysk hat *gjin stand-alone partikel*.

- (13) (a) *Dea Mo (dea) wo seine Schu verlora hot.*
‘The man who lost his shoes.’ (Bavarian; Brandner & Bräuning 2013)
(b) *Das de vent dase geroopen en.*
‘That is the guy they have called.’ (Southern Dutch, Brugge; DynaSand.)

- Sealterfrysk hat *gjin bûgde bynwurden*.

- (14) (a) *De boeken dy'tst kwyt wolst*
‘The books you want to get rid of.’ (West Frisian.)
(b) *Dat is de man die danze geroopen en.*
‘That is the guy they have called.’ (Southern Dutch, Lokeren; DynaSand.)

3.2. *Understelling: deer is ‘gewoan’ dêre, gjin (C--)partikel.*

Fariant 1: *de(e)r* is in ‘Flicksilbe’ (Niedersächsisches Wörterbuch).

- Foardiel: ferklearret wurdfolchoarder.
- Probleem: wêrom beheiningen (subject-only pronomens, *gjin* definjet objekt)? Kin net suver fonologysk wêze (*die deer en Huund ... ; * die deer dän Huund*).
⇒ It moat mear as allinnich in ‘Silbe’ wêze: bywurdlik of eksistinsjeel *deer*?

Fariant 2: *de(e)r* is ‘bywurdlik’ en swak.

(15)

(a)	<i>De klant dy't</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>in boek kocht</i>
(b)	<i>De klant dy't</i>	? <i>der</i>	<i>dat boek kocht</i>
(b')	<i>De klant dy't</i>	<i>dat boek</i>	<i>der kocht</i>
(c)	<i>De klant dy't</i>	* <i>der</i>	<i>wy seagen</i>
(c')	<i>De klant dy't</i>	<i>wy</i>	<i>der seagen</i>

Ferklearret wol aardich syntaktske beheiningen, mar:

- typen (b) en (b') lykje hielendal net foar te kommen.
- it ûnderstelt in 'swak' *de(e)r*; adverbiaal *deer* is faak net swak.

Fariant 3: *deer* is 'expletive er' (*der wie ris in âld wyfke*).

- Foardiel: ferklearret wol: ferbining mei nominatyf subjekt (i.c. pronomen); gjin beheining op type tiidwurd (*der kocht nimmen grouwe bôle*).
- Neidiel: (spoar fan) relatyf pronomen is ornaris net yndefinýt.

Foarbylden fan 'expletive' *deer*:

- (16) (a) *Deer waas insen en Kening, die hiede træin Sune un een Dochter.* (Strackerjan)
 'Once there was a king. He had three sons and a daughter.'
- (b) *Deer waas 'n Buur in Hollen, die hied al oafers ap de Äi säiwens 'n Lucht badenjen blouked.* (LB)
 'There was a farmer in Hollen. He had seen a light burning on the Sater Ems river at night several times before.'
- (c) *Der fierde in Seelterlound noch neen lersenboan.* (LB)
 [EXPL drove in Saterland still no train]
 'Trains didn't drive in Saterland yet.'
- (d) *Deer truurje nit alle, do swote Rokke drege.* (KA)
 [EXPL mourn not all who wear black robes]
 'Not all of them who wear black robes are mourning.'
- (e) *Un do rate dät uk Ljude, do kuden dät truch de Mure ruke, wan deer wäl een Swien bie de Ore kreech.* (KA)
 [And then gave it also people, they could it smell through the walls, when EXPL one a swine at the ears grabbed]
 'There were also people who could smell it through the walls when somebody grabbed a swine by the ears.'
- (f) *Deer wudden bie dän Trouchmarsch so fuul Huze inne bround sketen un deelbadend.* (Strackerjan)
 [EXPL became at the march so many houses put-on-fire and burned down.]
 'So many houses were burned down during the march.'

Hoe kin it oerbleaune probleem (= subjekt moat yndefinýt wêze) oplost wurde?

- Ad-hoc regel (fl. Mikkelsen oer Deensk, ferskil *wie/wa* J. Hoekstra)
- Parallelfoarbylden (oertsjûgje net)

- (17) (a) *Ik héb me daar toch een vis gevangen!*
(b) *Lummel die je d'r bent*
(c) *Daar vraag je me wat!*
(d) *The water that there was in the bucket*
(Degree relative: ‘the amount of water’)

⇒ *De(e)r* is nei alle gedachten sels gjin ‘suver’ expletive er. Mooglik wol nei it foarbyld fan expletive deer foarme of dêrtroch ‘stipe’. (Sjoch Leechdútsk, hjiirunder.)

4. Twa âlde relatyfkonstruksjes

Sealterfrysk wurdt yn Dútslân praat (fl. Dútsk *der-da*)

Sealterfrysk is in dochter fan Âldfrysk (fl. AF *thér*).

4.1. Dútslân: *Lutherdútsk, Middelheechdútsk, Leechdútsk*

Lutherdútsk. Foarbylden:

- (19) (a) *Selig sind die da geistlich arm sind. Denn das Himmelreich ist jr.* (Luther Bible 1545, Mt. 5:3.)
‘Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.’
- (b) *Auch bin ich nicht allein, noch der erste, der da sagt, Allein der Glaube macht gerecht.* (Luther, *Sendbrief*.)
‘Nor am I the only one, or the first one to say that only faith justifies people.’ [Literally: ‘... the first one who-there says ...’]
- (c) *Selig sind die da hungert vnd dürstet nach der Gerechtigkeit, denn sie sollen sat werden.* (Luther Bible 1545, Mt 5:6.)
‘Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they will be filled.’
(Fl. *Vulgaat*: *Beati qui esurunt et sitiunt justitiam: quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.*)
- (d) *Und es waren viele Weiber da, die von ferne zusahen, die da Jesus waren nachgefolgt aus Galiläa und hatten ihm gedient.* (Luther Bibel 1545, Matthew 27:55-56)
‘Many women were there, watching from a distance. They [had followed Jesus from Galilee to care for his needs.]’ [Literally: who-there had followed Jesus.]
- (e) *Wer da gläubet und getauft wird, der wird selig werden.* (Mk 16, 16.)
‘Whoever has believed and has been baptized shall be saved.’
- (f) *Wen da dürstet, der komme zu mir und trinke.* (Joh. 7, 37)
‘Whoever (acc.) is thirsty, come to me and drink.’
- (g) *Du, der da bist der herr des himelreichs und erdreichs.* (DWDS, sv *da*)
‘Thou, who art the lord of heaven and earth.’

- ⇒ Oare syntaksis as Sealterfrysk.
- ⇒ Frijwat keunstmjittich (verb-second, Vulgaat)
- ⇒ Oare skiednis en tradysje (protestanten, heech register: b.g. Thomas Mann, *Joseph und seine Brüder* (1933-1943): *Wer da träumt, der deutet auch, und wer da deuten will, der muß geträumt haben.*
- ⇒ Âldmoadrich. It Âld- en Mid-heechdútske *der da(z)* wie yn Luther syn tiid al yn it neigean.

Middelheechdútsk: (demonstratyf) pronomēn + ûnderskikker, letter relatyfpronomēn + ‘oerstallich’ *da*.

- (20) (a) *Der heilige Christ, der der heizzet lewe von dem Davidis chunne.*
‘The holy Christ, whose name is Lion from the tribe of David.’ (*Wiener Physiologus* 14. Middle High German)
- (b) *Man scol miden die lere, die der zalte (A)rrius.*
‘One should avoid the doctrine that [the fourth century heretic] Arius taught’. (*Wiener Physiologus* xvii.12, Early Middle High German).⁴
- (c) *Ditze buoch dihte ein meister der hiez Bartholomäus.*
‘This book was composed by a master named Bartholomeus.’ (Bartholomäus 127.11. Middle High German, ab. 1200)
- (d) *Vater unsir, der da bist in den himelen.*
‘Our father, who art in heaven.’ (Evangelienbuch Beheim 17, Mt 6:9.)

- ⇒ Oare syntaksis.
- ⇒ *Deer* is hjir (relikt fan) partikel.

Leechdútsk

Der-da-konstruksje is ‘heute ... in der Volkssprache’ noch gewoan (DWDS, sv *da*).

(Let) **Mid-leechdútsk** (foarbylden út Plattdeutsch-niederdeutsch.net):

- (21) (a) *Vnde ok de historien sigimu(n)de der vrouwen de dar was ene dochder des vorsten tauccedi van salernia.* (Aesopus, about 1492)
‘And also the history of Sigismund, the lady who was a daughter of king Tancredi of Salernia.’
- (b) (...) *vynt men in deme drudden boke disser croniken, de dar anheft Anno Domini M CCCCLXXXIII.*” (Detmar-Chronik, 1489.)
‘(...) one finds in the third book of this chronicle, which sets off in the year 1483.’

Nij-leechdútsk: Westfaalsk. (Foarbylden út Jellinghaus 1912.)

- Westfaalsk (en Leechedútsk algemien) hat expletive *da(r)* yn (22e)

- (22) (a) *De dar wat häwt, de kümt uppe'n Düwel, man de dar niks häwt, de kümt up dusend Düwel.*

'He who has something meets the devil, but he who has nothing meets a thousand devils.'

- (b) *De dar hauge stigt, de fällt auch hauge.*
'He who rises high will fall steeply.'
- (c) *Et möste ne arme Mus sin, de dar man een Lak hätde.*
'It must have been a poor mouse, which had only one hole (i.e.: there is always an alternative solution).'
- (d) *De sine Niäse afsnit, de schennet sin Angesichte.*
'He who cuts his nose spites his face.'
- (e) *Dar is nin Pott sau scheefe oder et passet eene Stülpe darup.*
'No pot is too heavily contorted to fit a lid (i.e. anyone could marry someone).'

⇒ Sealterfrysk *die-deer* is 'Leechdútsk' *de-da(r)*.
⇒ (Nij!) Leechdútsk hat sawol *de-dar* as expletive *dar*. Binne der tsjinfoarbylden yn it Dútske taalgebiet?

4.2. Old Frisian thi ther

Âldfrysk *thér* is in stand-alone relatyfpartikel (fl *that, som*). Antesedint is altyd oanwêzich, yn (23 e) is dat in prop-antecedent.

- (23) (a) *Di grewa deer an freslande grewa wessa schel.*
'The count who is to be count [i.e. is to hold office] in Frisia.' (Skeltana Riucht 1.1; cited in E. Hoekstra 2015: (10).)
- (b) *Dat gued naemna der hi seka wil.*
'Name the goods which he wants to look for.' (Cited in Bor 1971: 34)
- (c) *Di aesgha deer dat stryd mede bitinget is.*
'The judge with whom the combat has been agreed upon.' (Cited in Bor 1971:35.)
- (d) *Tha brochte Magnus, ther Fresena foner was, sinne fona vppa thene allerhagesta turn ther binna Rome was.*
'At that moment Magnus, who was the standard-bearer of the Frisians, put his banner on the highest tower that was in Rome.' (Thet Freske Riim.)
- (e) (...) *thi ther is aller sibbest fon ther feiders sida thi scel weise hire formunder.*
'... and the one who is nearest related on the father's side he shall be her guardian.' (Cited in Bor 1987a.)
- (f) *Hia skilun helpa alla tham ther hiam seluon nauwet helpa ne mugu.* 'They should help all those who cannot help themselves.' (Rüstringen I, 17 kerren. Cited in Bor 1987b.)
- (g) *Sa hwasa enne prestere mith feste sleith ieftha mith steue sleith ieftha sine clatha tosplits, sa hach hi him to betande mith sextich skillington (...).*
('Whoever hits a priest with his fist or a club or tears up the priest's clothes, will have to pay sixty shillings.' (Synodal Law Rüstringen, cited in Bor 1987a.)

Dit partikel hat nei de midsiuwen noch lang bestien.

⇒ Sealterfrysk *die-deer* is nei alle gedachten gjin oerbliuwsel fan Âldfrysk.

- (24) (a) *Dâ fauner, dêr ik blauket häb.*
‘The girls that I have seen.’ ([Wangerooge](#); Aden (2022: 97¹)
- (b) *Bétter dan fúugel, deer duu in de haun häst as dan deer der flíucht.*
‘The bird that you hold in your hand is to be preferred to the one that’s flying [over there?].’ (Wangerooge; Menno Aden, p.c.)
- (c) *Use Foar, deer du bást in 'n Heemel.*
‘Our father, who art in heaven.’ ([Saterland Frisian](#), hapax. Kramer & Janssen 1964.)
- (d) *Ik hab nou, der ik nooit erer hân hab.*
‘Now I possess what I never possessed before.’ (West Frisian. E. Meinerts, ‘Aagtje IJsbrands’ (1779), TDB; cf. E. Hoekstra 2015, J. Hoekstra 2002, Versloot 2004.)
- (e) *Mar dy minsch, 't ielste dier der ik wit toa fynnen.*
‘But man, the most noble animal I can find.’ (West Frisian. J. Althuyzen, 1755, TDB.)
- (f) *Rakkert dêr'tst biste.*
‘Villain! That’s what you are.’ (Frisian; De Rooij 1966:117, cited in Corver 2016.)
- (g) *De man deer me eslegen het.*
‘The man who beat me.’ (Marken, province of Noord-Holland, Netherlands; cited in . E. Hoekstra 2015.)

5. Konklúzjes

- Sealterfrysk *die-deer* hat in ‘gewoan’ *deer* yn, gjin partikel.
- Sealterfrysk *die-deer* heart ta it Leechdútske type.
- Expletive deer kin dit type ‘stipe’ ha.
- Der is gjin tradysje dy’t *die-deer* streekrjocht mei Lutherdútsk ferbynt.
- Sealterfrysk *die-deer* is gjin oerbliuwsel út it Âldfrysk.
- reinterpreted as (some sort of) expletive ‘there’. Saterland Frisian and Low German feature expletive ‘there’ overwhelmingly (e.g. in existential contexts), like Dutch, and in contrast to High German.

It remains, however, unclear, how and why the trace of the relative pronoun counts as indefinite. This Saterland Frisian construction was borrowed from Low German in the modern period, in my view. It is fundamentally different from ‘Luther German’ *der-da* relatives and their literary successors, which allow (for example) definite objects. It is also different from Old Frisian, which usually featured a stand-alone particle *thér*. This type of relative clauses survived a long time in modern Frisian dialects, among which Saterland Frisian.

Appendix III: a selection of Saterland Frisian *die-deer* sentences

[1] *Ünner do Seelter wieren je aleer fuul Honnelsmonljüde, do deer wäil uk Kultuurgoud as Tälstere fon Seelterlound ätter bute un fon bute ätter Seelterlound wäi broacht hieden.* (Strackerjan-wiki)

¹ *Dâ fauner, dêr ik blauket häb.* (and: *Da Fauner, deer iek blauket häb.*) From: H.G. Ehrentraut, *Friesisches Archiv* 1 (1849), 252. Cited in Aden 2022: 97)

- [2] *Un deerunner hieden ze träi of ook wul fjauer uur Rokke, do deer rood of strieped wieren.* (KA, Kramer 1996)
- [3] *Do deer in 't Huus blieuwe, do fodderje smäidens dät Fäi.* (KA, Sitten und Gebräuche der Saterländer.)
- [4] *Die deer ätter Amerika uutwoandert, mout Ängelsk lere.* (LB)
- [5] *Die der stäärt, wärt [= wädt] reemd, die der hilkje wol, die wärt feroachte.* (KA, Sprüchwörter, Minssen/Kramer 141)
- [6] *Die deer buppe uus woont, die betoalt dät aal.* (KA, Sprüchwörter)
- [7] *Die deer luustert, hät neen skeen Gewieten.* (KA, Sprüchwörter)
- [8] *Dat was wäil wäl, die deer mäd 'n Taaskenlucht wankede.* (GG 2009)
- [9] *Beekmans Wille waas 'n gjucht groten un stäärken Mon, die der uum 1800 lieuwed hääbe skäl in Wräis ap'n Hümling.* (Strackerjan/Heinz)
- [10] *Hie spitsede de Ore as 'n Kat, die deer grummeljen heert.* (LB)
- [11] *Niemöller kuud uus tälle, wo smoals die Fugel hiet, die deer juust soang.* (GG)
- [12] *Hie stat dän unglukkelke Biskop deel, die deer mäd dät Misbouk staant (= stoant).* (KA; adverbium?)
- [13] *Die deer nit tou dän Tjoonst keem, die kreech 'n goude Loage Hause in de Skoule.* (SVL 106)
- [14] (...) rakt et Ljude, do deer bale (...). (Lechte-Siemer 1977)
- [15] *Dän Kunstdunger, die der koom.* ('Der Kunstdüngerverkäufer, der kam'.) (Kramer 1996)
- [16] (Q:) *Man Jie kwieden Tuuthone (= Tüüthanne).* (A:) *Dät is ju der kräit.* (KA)
- [17] *Sun Soarte, ju der bolde buppe de Gruund uut woakst?* (KA)
- [18] *Die deer nit dönsje wüül, dän sluuch aan mädde Ääskepüüt [Aschenbeutel].* (SFS 96)
- [19] *Die deer ädder hoart ('die Sense dengelt'), die der ädder mäint.* (Proverbs; Minssen-Kramer 144)
- [20] *Die deer uungjuchte Mäiten un Wächten hiede, die moaste en Moatjen Bjoor* (eine Tonne Bier) as Stroafe oureke. (SFS 76, Griep/Hämken)
- [21] *Die der wät woget, die der wät wint.* (KA Sprüchwörter)
- [22] *Die deer skrift, die deer blift.* (LB)
- [23] *Die deer nit kumt tou de gjuchte Tied, die is sien Mäiltied kwiet.* (LB)
- [24] *Fon dän Königssuun die deer fljogen leerd hiede.* (Minssen/Kramer ii.46)
- [25] *Die der dood is, die läze, hiede die Skoumaker kweden.* (Minssen-Kramer ii, 159, nr. 369)
- [26] *Me mout dän Huund, die der släpt, nit opwoakje, hiede aan kweden, die wiel dän Tol foarbiesmukkelje.* (KA Sprüchwörter, nr. 373)
- [27] *Klouk sünder Ferstound, riek sünder Jeeld, stäärk sünder Kraft, is een die der dronken is.* (KA Sprüchwörter, nr 489)
- [28] *Älk die deer Skäipe hät, hät ook en Kowe.* (Minssen-Kramer ii.138)
- [29] *Alle Früünde, do deer nit mee ätter de Säärke wezen wierne.* (SFS 147)
- [30] *Dan hieden ze en Houd ap, die deer ap bee Siede aptoomd was.* (SFS 97)
- [31] *Die Moansk is 'n Springpogge, dät der aaltied hüpje mout.* (Minssen/Kramer 158)
- [32] *Do deer 'n Sundai (...) nit ätter Huus geen wierene.* (Minssen/Kramer 102)
- [33] *In Romelse deer woondene 'n poor oolde Ljude, do der froamd boaldene un do Bäidene seeltersk.* (Minssen-Kramer 136)
- [34] *Ju Sehnsucht fon Mäme ätter hieren Ooldsten, die deer in Saarbrücken Diskler leerde, waas so uremäite groot.* [GG, Tuun 9]
- [35] *Du Huze, do deer nu aal ferannerd un nit moor epen sunt.* (KA)
- [36] *Man sent tjukke trietich Jiere wädt dät ni(ch)t moor däin, uumdat die Pastoor, die deer do in Skäddel was, et ferbeden hiede.* (Minssen/Kramer 105)
- [37] *Sunt düsse Ljude, do deer juust bale, nit uit Galiläa?* (GG Tuun 39)
- [38] *Twäin Runge, do der bruukt wäide, dät do Laddere Stöän häbe.* (Minssen/Kramer 118)

- [39] *Un (do Monljude) hoalje dän, die deer et fergeen Jier König wezen is, mäd de Spilljude uut et Huus.* (Minssen/Kramer 107)
- [40] *Foar aal do Suurgendege, do deer waifjooge - fuuls tou gau.* (KA)
- [41] *Die der A kwädt, mout ook B kwede.* (Minssen/Kramer)
- [42] *Wie häbe joa jüüst so'n Hone, die deer so lät.* (KA)
- [43] *Wie häbe uk 'n Hone, die jüüst so lät.* (SFS 57)
- [44] *un (do Monljude) hoalje dän, die deer et fergeen Jier König wezen is, mäd de Spilljude uut et Huus.* (Minssen-Kramer 107, SFS)

SOURCES

Fort 2015 = Fort, Marron C. (2015): *Saterfriesisches Wörterbuch. Mit einer phonologischen und grammatischen Übersicht.* Hamburg: Buske

GG = Gretchen Grosser

KA = Kramer Archive. An extensive collection of dialogues and other texts, recorded by the Frisian scholar Pyt Kramer.

LB = Janssen, Hermann: *Lesebouk foar Seelterlound.* (1953-1965).

Minssen-Kramer = Minssen, Johann F. (1970): *Mittheilungen aus dem Saterlande. Im Jahre 1846 gesammelt. 3. Beend. Dät sunt Märchen (Anhang 1), Rätsel (2), uut ju Gesichte (3), Gebruuke (4) un Spräkwoude (5).* Ed. by Pyt Kramer. Leeuwarden/Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

SFS = Fort, Marron C. 1990. *Saterfriesische Stimmen.* Rhauderfehn, Ostendorp.

SVL = Fort, Marron C. 1985. *Saterfriesisches Volksleben.* Rhauderfehn, Ostendorp.

REFERENCES

- Aden, Menno Ehme. 2022. *Über die Sprache des osterlauwersfriesischen / ostfriesischen Kulturräumes. Grammatikalische Zusammenfassungen, Dialektvergleiche und rekonstruktive Annäherungen.* Oldenburg: Isensee Verlag, Oldenburgische Landschaft.
- ANS: see: e-ANS
- Axel-Tober, Katrin. 2012. *(Nicht-)kanonische Nebensätze im Deutschen: Synchrone und diachrone Aspekte.* (Linguistische Arbeiten 542). De Gruyter.
- Baldauf, Kunibert. 1983. *Untersuchungen zur Relativsatz in der Luthersprache.* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. Germanistische Reihe Band 19.) Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik.
- Beaman, Karen. 2021. Swabian relatives: variation in the use of the wo-relativiser = 2021. Swabian relatives: variation in the use of the wo-relativiser. In: K. V. Beaman, I. Buchstaller, S. Fox, and J. A. Walker (eds.). *Socio-grammatical Variation and Change: In Honour of Jenny Cheshire.* New York: Routledge.
- Behaghel, Otto. 1923-1928. *Deutsche Syntax*, 3 volumes. (@@)
- Bennis, Hans. *Gaps and Dummies.* 1986. Diss. Univ. Tilburg.
- Bobaljik, J & Jonas, D. 1996. Subject position and the role of TP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27: 195-236
- Bor, A. 1971. *Word-groups in the language of Skeltana Riucht. A Syntactic Analysis with occasional lexicological observations; followed by an inquiry into its punctuation and the possibility of the influence on the text of spoken language.* Dissertation, University of Amsterdam. Wageningen: H. Veenman.
- Bor, A. 1986. Relative Markers in Old Frisian. *Us Wurk* 35, 57-74.
- Bor, A. 1987a. Relative markers in Old East Frisian. *Us Wurk* 36, 21-48.
- Bor, A. 1987b. A vexed question in Old East Frisian relative clauses. *Us Wurk* 36, 49-54.
- Brandner, Ellen & Iris Bräuning. 2013. The particle *wo* in Alemannic: Only a complementizer? *Linguistische Berichte* 234, 131–169.

- Bremmer, Rolf. H. 2009. *An introduction to Old Frisian*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Broekhuis, Hans. 2007. Subject shift and object shift. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 10, 109-141
- Corpus Oudfries = [<https://corpora.ato.ivdnt.org/corpus-frontend/OFR/search/>] (Rita van de Poel)
- Corver, Norbert. 2016. Exclamative relatives in vocative noun phrases. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 21, 379 - 393
- Duden = *Duden – Die Grammatik: Struktur und Verwendung der deutschen Sprache*. (Volume 4, ninth edition, 2016.)
- DWDS = Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften: *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1965-2018). Revised edition of *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*. [<https://woerterbuchnetz.de>].
- e-ANS: Algemene Nederlandse spraakkunst. [<https://e-ans.ivdnt.org/>]
- Engdahl, Elisabeth & and Laanemets, Anu. 2015. Prepositional passives in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish: A corpus study. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 38, 285-337.
[doi:10.1017/S033258651500023]
- Evers, Johanna. 2011. *Saterfriesischer Sprachkurs*. Ramsloh.
- Fleischer, Jürg (2004): A typology of relative clauses in German dialects. In: Kortmann, Bernd (ed.): *Dialectology meets typology: Dialect grammar from a cross-linguistic perspective*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter: 211–243.
- Fleischer, Jürg (2005): Relativsätze in den Dialekten des Deutschen: Vergleich und Typologie. *Linguistik Online* 3/24: 171–186.
- Fort, Marron C. 2015. *Saterfriesisches Wörterbuch. Mit einer phonologischen und grammatischen Übersicht*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch. [<https://fwb-online.de/>]
- Gregersen, Sune. 2023. *A syntactic sketch of Wangerooge Frisian*. (Version 1.1., 27 March 2023.) [zenodo.org/record/775494]
- Hoekstra, Eric. 1994. Overtollige voegwoorden en de volgorde *of* + interrogativum/relativum. *De nieuwe taalgids* 87, 314-321.
- Hoekstra, Eric. (2002) Frisian Relicts in the Dutch dialects. In H.H. Munske in collaboration with N. Århammar, V. Faltings, J. Hoekstra, O. Vries, A. Walker and O. Wilts (eds). *Handbook of Frisian Studies*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 138-142.
- Hoekstra, Eric. 2015. A historical note on the (in)declinable relative pronoun and its syntactic functions. *It Beaken* 77, 165-174
- Hoekstra, Jarich. 1991. Expletive *der* and resumptive *pro* in Frisian. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 80, 61-80.
- Hoekstra, Jarich. (2002) Relativisation in Frisian, in: Patricia Poussa (eds) *Relativisation on the North Sea Littoral. Lincom Studies in Language Typology* 07. München: Lincom Europa, 63-76.
- Horst, J. van der (2008) *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse syntax*. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven.
- Jellinghaus, H. (1912.) Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Nordwestfalen. Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch 38, 155-164.
- Kramer, Pyt. 1996. *Kute Seelter Sproakleere*. (Third, revised edition.) Mildaam/Rhauderfehn.
[<https://www.seeltersk.de/wp-content/uploads/seelgra3.htm>]
- Kramer, Pyt & Janssen, Hermann. 1964. *Dät Ooldenhuis*. Westrauderfehn: Ostendorp.
- Laker, Stephan & Kramer, Pyt (to appear). Relativsätze im Saterfriesischen.@@
- Lindow e.a. 1998 = Wolfgang Lindow, Dieter Möhn, Herann Niebaum, Dieter Stellmacher, Hans Taubken and Jan Wirrer: *Niederdeutsche Grammatik*. Leer: Schuster, 1998.
- Mikkelsen, L. 2002. Expletive subjects in subject relative clauses. In W. Abraham and J.-W. Zwart (eds.), *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*, pp 71–93, Amsterdam: John Benjamins

- Minssen/Kramer (1970) = Minssen, Johann Friedrich (1970). *Mittheilungen aus dem Saterlande. Im Jahre 1846 gesammelt. 3. Beend, Anhang*. Leeuwarden/Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy Nr. 372.
(Edition of Minssen's original unpublished work from 1846 by Pyt Kramer.)
- Müller, Stefan & and Bjarne Ørsnes, Bjarne. 2011. Positional Expletives in Danish, German, and Yiddish @@@@ In: Stefan Müller (ed): *Proceedings of the 18th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, University of Washington, Stanford: CSLI Publications, pages 167–187.
- Pauwels, J.L., 1958. *Het dialect van Aarschot en omstreken*. (Part I. Tongeren), 1958.
- Pittner, K. 1995. The case of German relatives. *The Linguistic Review* 12 (1995), 197-231.
- Plattdeutsch-niederdeutsch.net. Digital collection of old and new Low German texts. [plattdeutsch-niederdeutsch.net.]
- Pots, Cora. 2016. Object definiteness effects in Dutch subject wh-extraction. (Talk Tabu-dag 2016 Groningen.) URL: <https://www.crissp.be/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/cora-tabu.pdf>
- Remmers, Ingeborg & Sassen, Edith. 2022. *Seeltersk lopt*. (Elementary school books, four volumes.) Scharrel (?).
- Richthofen, Karl von. 1840. *Friesische Rechtsquellen*. Berlin: Nicolai. (Volume 1.)
- de Rooy, J. 1966. Lummel dat je bent. In: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 83, 108-121.
- SASS = SASS Plattdeutsche Grammatik. (Wachholz Verlag.) [<https://sass-platt.de/plattdeutsche-grammatik>]
- Slofstra, Bouke & Hoekstra, Eric. 2023. *Sprachlehre des Saterfriesischen 2022-2023. Mit Unterstützung von Pyt Kramer, Tessa Leppers ud Henk Wolf*. URL: <https://www.seeltersk.de/wp-content/uploads/2023-01-Seeltersk-Sprachlehre-des-Saterfriesischen.pdf>
- Smits, Rik. 1989. *Eurogrammar 1: The Relative and Cleft Constructions of the Germanic and Romance Language*. (Dissertation.) Schiedam: Foris/Walter de Gruyter, 1989
- Taalportaal. [<https://taalportaal.org/taalportaal>]
- Taalprof = taalprof.blogspot. Blog: 'Alleen voor taalkundigen: help!', 31-05-2013.
- TDB: Taaldatabank Fryske Akademy. [<https://tdb.fryske-akademy.eu/tdb/>]
- Versloot, A. P. (2004). *Why Old Frisian is Still Quite Old*. *Folia Linguistica*, 25(1-2), 253-298.
- de Vries, Mark. 2002. *The syntax of relativization*. Dissertation University of Amsterdam. (LOT Diss. Series 53.)
- Vikner, Sten. 1991. Relative *der* and other C⁰ elements in Danish. *Lingua* 84, 109-136.
- van der Wal, Marijke J. 2002. Relativisation in the history of Dutch: Major Shift or Lexical Change? In: Patricia Poussa (ed.): *Relativisation on the North Sea Littoral* (pp. 27-35). München: Lincom Europa.
- Wolf, Henk. 2023. Warum dass sie das getan haben? (Blog Seeltersk.de, 7-2-2023.) URL: <https://www.seeltersk.de/archiv/warum-dass-sie-das-getan-haben/>
- van Zonneveld, Ron. (2005). Bijzinnen en hun (optionele) inleiders: Over onderschikkende voegwoorden en hun projecties in het Nederlands. *Tabu* 34, 99-127.

¹ The first sentence is from Kramer Archiv, *Knäppele uut'n Säk*. The second sentence is from SFS (Fort 1990: 57), *Geskaank fon dän Düwel*. (The same fairy-tale, told by a different narrator.)

² Sentences 12, 34, 35 and 37 contain appositive *die-deer* relative clauses, although *deer* might perhaps be interpreted as a normal local adverb in some cases. A reliable native speaker informant told me that appositive *die-deer* relative clauses are fine in Saterland Frisian.

³ The first sentence is from Kramer Archiv, *Knäppele uut'n Säk*. The second sentence is from SFS (Fort 1990: 57), *Geskaank fon dän Düwel*. (The same fairy-tale, told by a different narrator.)

⁴ Also cited in Axel Tober 2012: 212.