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## Prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions in Sater Frisian

Sater Frisian (Kramer 1996, Fort 2015) features an interesting system of prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions (henceforth, of adpositions), which is related to, but differs from that of, High German.

First, we encounter some pairs of etymologically related double forms, one originating from Old Frisian (*wai* 'away from here, off'), the other borrowed from Low German (*wäg* 'away, gone'). These (originally) rival forms developed different meanings. A similar half-synonymous pair is *umetou* and *herume* (the latter a calque from German, containing the 'German' prefix *her*-). We will analyse the meaning differentiation that has taken place for these etymologically related prepositions, and relate the phenomenon to the existence of a Sater Frisian / (Low) German Sprachbund (see below).

Second, a different type of doubling is found in the phenomenon of 'Dehnung', the lengthening of certain adpositions. Lengthening is systematic with a certain set of adpositions. A minimal pair is given below:

## Paaske is noch fieuw Mounde wai.Ostern ist noch fünf Monate hinWier sund jie dan waie wezen?Wo seid ihr denn hin gewesen?

Other adpositions showing this phenomenon include: *in/inne, ou/ove, truch/truge, um/ume, uut/ute, wäg/wäge*. One apposition even shows three variants: *an/oun/oane*. We will show that the distribution of these forms is systematic, and relates to the distinction between internal and external realisation of the argument of the adposition. In the same vein, we will describe how pre-, post- and circumpositions coexist in a non-trivial way.

We will explore these and other phenomena in comparative context. After all, speakers of Sater Frisian are trilingual: they also speak High and Low German. When investigating the influence of German, Modern West Frisian and Old Frisian are taken into account as a kind of control, as West Frisian has not been influenced by German (but by Dutch). This helps us to isolate areas in the Sater Frisian lexicon and grammar which have been affected by Low or High German. The existence of a Sprachbund is relevant to understanding the historic origin of these linguistic phenomena, though it still begs the question of how these phenomena are accounted for descriptively and formally. This leads us to reflect on the difference between prepositions and postpositions, which do not show symmetrical behaviour neither with respect to the type of arguments which they select nor with respect to the range of meanings which they are used to express.

## (Selected) References

 Fort, Marron C. (2015). Saterfriesisches Wörterbuch. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
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