

# **Microvariation in Southern Dutch Dialects**

Diachronic and Synchronic Research into the 2<sup>nd</sup> Person in Inversion

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## 0. Abstract

In this master thesis, the second person in the southern dialects of Dutch is investigated. In the dialect continuum of Brabantic and Flemish dialects, the element *de* is attested following verbs, complementizers and comparatives, in sentences with a 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun as its subject. This is illustrated in (1), a sentence in which *de* follows the complementizer *als* ‘if’, realized as *a* in this dialect, and in which *de* follows the verb *leef* ‘live’.

- (1) A-de gezond leeft leef-de veel langer  
If-2SG healthy live live-2SG much longer  
‘If you live healthy, you’ll live much longer.’ *Koewacht Dutch*

The character of this element *de* has been widely discussed throughout the literature, without yielding any consensus on an analysis. I will discuss the behavior and the character of *de* in the dialects, examining the differences in the dialect continuum. The microvariation will be described on the basis of existing literature, complemented by an online questionnaire and interviews with dialect speakers. This variation in the behavior of *de* in the dialect continuum combined with diachronic research into *de* will lead to my analyses of *de*, an analysis for the diachronic stages of *de* and an analysis for the synchronic variation of *de*.

I will show that the behavior of *de* in the Flemish dialect in East Flanders differs from the behavior of *de* in the dialects of North Brabant, Antwerp, Flemish Brabant and parts of Belgian Limburg. In the East Flemish dialects, combinations with *de* must be analyzed together with the East and West Flemish combinations *ge gij* and *je gij*. These combinations are instances of subject doubling that occurs in the base order, following the verb and following the complementizer. Moreover, doubling following the comparative is also attested in the East Flemish dialects. However, in the Brabantic dialects *de* need to be analyzed as inflection. In the Belgian Brabantic dialects, this inflection *de* only occurs following the verb and can either be followed by the strong pronoun *gij* or it can occur with a null-subject. In the Netherlandic Brabantic dialects, *de* following a complementizer is attested, albeit marginally. In the dialects of Netherlandic Brabant, *de* can be followed by *gij*, a null-subject or *ge*. This indicates that the inflection *de* in Belgian Brabant allows for pro-drop, while in Netherlandic Brabant *de* sometimes allows pro-drop and sometimes behaves like a normal inflection that doesn’t allow pro-drop.

## 1. Introduction

In this chapter I will introduce my research topic, explaining the phenomenon and the area in which it occurs, followed by an overview of the content of the following chapters.

In southern dialects of Dutch, the dialect groups Brabantic and Flemish, the second person singular (henceforth 2SG) behaves differently in the inverted sentence order than in the base order. The base order is the order in which the subject precedes the verb, while the subject follows the verb in the inverted order. The sentences in (1) and (2) have a base order, the sentences in (3) and (4) an inverted order. The inverted order occurs in cases of a non-subject topic taking the preverbal position, *wh*-questions that are headed by a *wh*-element (i.e. *what*, *who* or *when*), or yes/no-questions in which nothing precedes the verb. In the base order these southern Dutch dialects behave like Standard Dutch, exemplified by Tilburg Dutch:

- (1) a. Jij vindt dat stom  
*you.STR find that stupid*  
 'You (stressed) find that to be stupid'
- b. Je vindt dat stom  
*you.WEAK find that stupid*  
 'You (unstressed) find that to be stupid'
- c. \*Vindt dat stom  
*Find that stupid*  
 'You find that to be stupid' Standard Dutch
- 
- (2) a. Gij vènt dè  
*You.STR find-2SG that stupid*  
 'You (stressed) find that to be stupid'
- b. Ge vènt dè stom  
*you-WEAK think-2SG that stupid*  
 'You (unstressed) find that to be stupid'
- c. \*Vènt dè stom  
*think-2SG that stupid*  
 'You find that to be stupid' Tilburg Dutch

Examples (1) and (2) show that the finite verbs *vindt* and *vènt* have to be preceded by a subject in the base order, in both Standard Dutch and Tilburg Dutch. In the examples above I have shown that a subject pronoun could either be strong, illustrated by the a-sentences, or weak, illustrated by the b-sentences. In the c-sentences either a covert subject is present, better known as *pro*, or any type of subject pronoun is absent. Either way, the c-sentences are ungrammatical in both Standard Dutch and Tilburg Dutch. In the inverted order, the 2SG in Standard Dutch and in the group of southern dialects no longer behave alike:

- (3) a. Loop jij met me mee?  
*Walk you.STR with me with*  
 'Will you (stressed) walk with me?'

- b. Loop je met me mee?  
*Walk you.WEAK with me with*  
'Will you (unstressed) walk with me?'
- c. \*Loop met me mee?  
*Walk with me with*  
'Will you walk with me?' Standard Dutch
- (4) a. Lop-de jij meej mèn meej?  
*Walk-2SG you-STR with me with*  
'Will you (stressed) walk with me?'
- b. ?Lop-de ge meej mèn meej?  
*Walk-2SG you-WEAK with me with*  
'Will you walk with me?'
- c. Lop-de meej mèn meej?  
*Walk-2SG with me with*  
'Will you (unstressed) walk with me?' Tilburg Dutch

The sentences in (3) show that in Standard Dutch a strong or a weak subject pronoun can follow the finite verb. The absence of a pronoun, or the covert presence of a pronoun, leads to ungrammaticality. In the southern dialects, however, a covert pronoun or the absence of a pronoun is grammatical, illustrated by the Tilburg example in (4c). The presence of the strong pronoun *jij* is also allowed, as is shown in (4a). However, the grammaticality of (4b) is questionable, showing the co-occurrence of *lopde* with the weak pronoun *ge*, and will be discussed further in Chapter 2. Where the *t*-suffix in the base order is a clear case of inflection, the character of the *de*-morpheme is unclear and has led to discussion in the literature.

In this thesis, I will look into the element *de*, displaying its behavior throughout the dialect continuum in which it occurs, and analyzing the microvariation, both diachronic and synchronic. The empirical background of this thesis will be discussed in Chapter 2. This dialect continuum consists of the Flemish dialects spoken in the provinces West Flanders and East Flanders, the Belgian Brabant dialects of Antwerp and Flemish Brabant (including Brussels) and the Netherlandic Brabant dialects of North Brabant. These last three provinces together are simply referred to as the Brabant dialects. The dialect groups are not equally distributed over the provinces; one could argue that some of the dialects in Flemish Brabant are Flemish, the same goes for dialects spoken in the south of Zeeland. Brabant dialects are not only spoken in the provinces North Brabant, Antwerp and Flemish Brabant, but also in the border areas with Gelderland and the Limburg area, which consists of Netherlandic Limburg and Belgium Limburg. In this thesis the dialect continuum will prove to be more complex than described here, but this description is a necessary base for interpreting and analyzing the attested microvariation.

In the theoretical background described in Chapter 3, I will show that *de* is analyzed in different ways. POSTMA (2011) analyzes *de* as inflection that allows pro-drop in the entire dialect continuum. Contrary BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) analyze *de* equally to *ge* that can both be doubled by the strong pronoun *jij*, for the entire dialect continuum. BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) however do differentiate within the process of subject doubling, between the Flemish, Belgian Brabant and Netherlandic Brabant dialects.

In this thesis, I will investigate whether the dialect continuum should be considered as a homogenous group, and whether *de* can be analyzed in terms of pro-drop or subject doubling. I will do so by closely inspecting and comparing the diachronic and synchronic variation. The structure of my research will be further explained in Chapter 4. The existing synchronic data will be supplemented by data from an online questionnaire and interviews and the diachronic data by a literature research, discussed in Chapter 5.

In Chapter 6, I will discuss and analyze the data, showing that *de* in all dialects has the same diachronic background. In the main part of Belgian Brabant, no changes have occurred since 1600, and therefore *de* must be analyzed as verbal inflection. However, in Netherlandic Brabant *de* can, since recent times, co-occur with the weak pronoun *ge*. This change shows that the *de* is changing from an inflection that allows pro-drop, to an inflection that doesn't allow pro-drop. Moreover, in some Brabantic dialects, *de* is found following the complementizer, showing that in these dialects *de* has become a more general inflection that is also used in complementizer agreement. In the Flemish dialects, *de* should be analyzed as a clitic pronoun that can be doubled by the strong pronoun *gij*. In these dialects, a doubling paradigm came about, that led to a reanalysis of *de*. The conclusion and discussion are presented in Chapter 7.

## 2. Empirical Background

In this chapter, I will discuss the data that is already available from reference works such as the synchronic resources *Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects* (*SAND*<sup>1</sup>) and its online version *DynaSAND* by BARBIERS, L.C.J., H.J. BENNIS, G. DE VOGELAER, M. DEVOS, M.H. VAN DER HAM (2005, 2006), henceforth referred to as BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006). The synchronic data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) is supplemented by work from DEVOS (1986) and DE VOGELAER (2008). The *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Syntaxis* ('History of Dutch Syntax') by VAN DER HORST (2008) is a resource used to describe the history of *de* following the verb in Brabantic by VAN ENGELAND (2013).

### 2.1 Synchronic Background

In the following sections, *de* is discussed synchronically. In 2.1, the geographical distribution of *de* and the different syntactic contexts in which *de* occur will be discussed. In 2.2 and 2.3, the form and morphosyntactic status of *de* will be discussed respectively. In 2.4, I will focus on the attested variation. In 2.4.1, I will discuss the variation attested in West Flanders and East Flanders and in 2.4.2 the attested divergent data in the border areas of the Brabantic dialects.

#### 2.1.1 The distribution of *de*

The *de*-element can attach to the verb in the inverted sentence order as was shown in example (4) in the introduction, repeated below. This [*verb*]-*de* structure is mostly attested in the Brabantic language area.

- (1) a.   Lop-de       gij           meej mèn meej?  
           Walk-2SG you-STRONG with me with  
           'Will you (stressed) walk with me?'

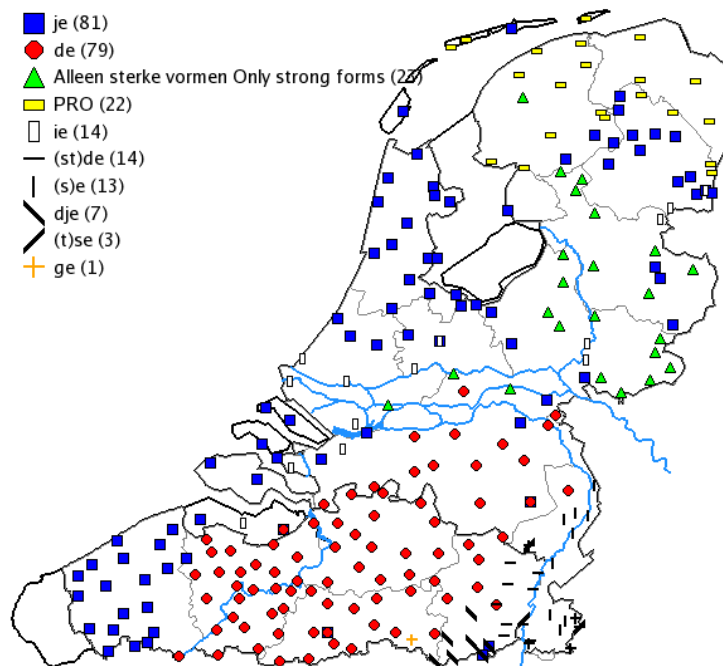
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<sup>1</sup> Acronym based on its Dutch title: *Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten*.

- b. ?Lop-de ge meej mèn meej?  
*Walk-2SG you-WEAK with me with*  
'Will you walk with me?'
- c. Lop-de meej mèn meej?  
*Walk-2SG with me with*  
'Will you (unstressed) walk with me?'

Tilburg Dutch - REPEATED

The occurrence of *de* in this structure is shown below in Map 1, which shows its distribution with the verb *leven* 'to live'.



Map 1: Elements following *leef* 'to live' in inversion with a non-stressed second person pronoun subject (BARBIERS ET AL. 2006).<sup>2</sup>

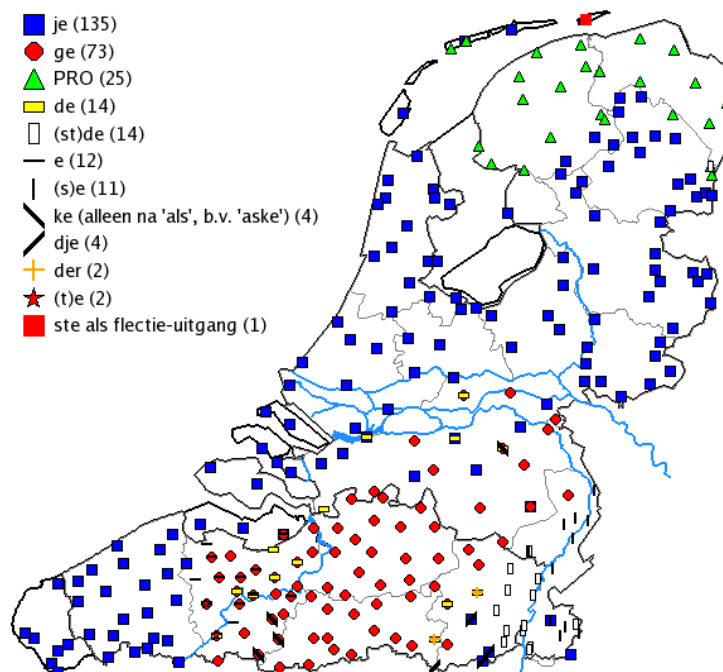
This map shows that *de* following a verb occurs in the Brabantic area, which consists of the Dutch province of North Brabant and the Belgian provinces of Antwerp and Flemish Brabant, including the Brussels-Capital Region. Another province in which *de* is widely attested is the Belgian province of East Flanders. The element also occurs in adjacent regions, most notably in the Belgian province of Limburg.

The dialect area in which *de* is attested seems to be homogeneous in this map, however, some differences can be observed. In the outskirts of the dialect area the element *de* can also follow a complementizer, for example in the dialect of Koewacht, in the border area of Zeeland and East Flanders and in the dialect of Geldermalsen, in the southwest of Gelderland, close to the border between Gelderland and North Brabant (BARBIERS ET AL 2006):

<sup>2</sup> Map 1 corresponds with Map 39b (BARBIERS ET AL. 2005: 39). The participants were asked to translate *als je gezond leeft, dan leef je langer* 'when you live healthy, you'll live longer'.

- (2) a. A-de gezond leeft leef-de veel langer  
*If-2SG healthy live live-2SG much longer*  
 'If you live healthy, you'll live much longer.'  
 Koewacht Dutch
- b. Zij gelooft da-de gij eerder thuis zij als ik  
*She believe that-2SG you-STRONG sooner home be than I*  
 'She believes that you will arrive home before me.'  
 Geldermalsen Dutch

Map 2 below displays all cases in which *de* following a complementizer is attested, mostly in the border areas of the dialect continuum as mentioned above: in dialects of North Brabant and Gelderland in the north and northwest, Belgian Limburg in the east and East Flanders in the west. The southern border forms the boundary between the Dutch and the French language area.<sup>3</sup>



Map 2: The element following a complementizer in sentences with a non-stressed 2SG subject (BARBIERS ET AL. 2006).<sup>4</sup>

The claimed uniformity of the dialect area that displays *de* is further disproved: the element that follows the verb in inverted sentences also changes in different contexts. This can be shown by linking the Maps 1 and 2 to the map that displays the elements that follows *gaan* 'to go' in inverted sentences. The maps below show the distribution of the element following *gaan* in inverted sentences with a non-stressed 2SG in Map 3, combining the discussed maps in Map 4.

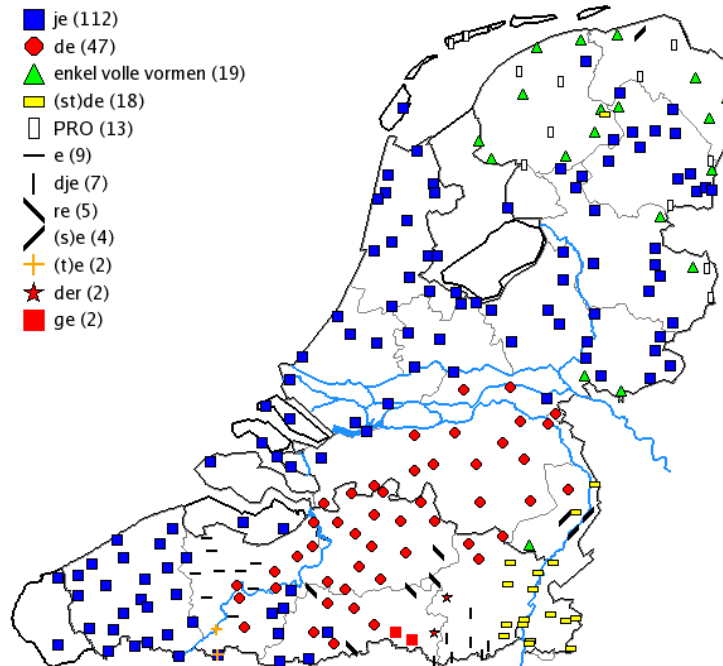
<sup>3</sup> Dialects on opposite sides of the border haven't been compared in a transboundary dialect research.

<sup>4</sup> In the legend, some phenomena are explained in Dutch, for completeness:

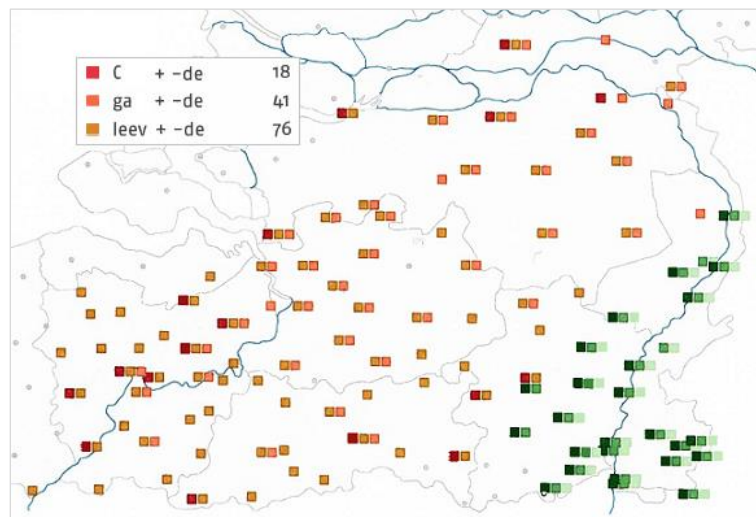
- "alleen na 'als', b.v. 'aske'" --> only after the complementizer *als* 'when', f.e. *aske*
- "ste als flectie-uitgang" --> *ste* as inflection

Map 2 corresponds with Map 40b of BARBIERS ET AL. (2005). The map contains data from different translation questions; see *Commentary*, section 2.3.2.2.4 of BARBIERS ET AL. (2005).

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Map 3: The element following *ga* 'to go' in inverted sentences with a non-stressed 2SG pronoun subject (BARBIERS ET AL. 2006).<sup>5</sup>



Map 4: The findings from Maps 1, 2 and 3 combined (BARBIERS ET AL. 2005: 25).

As Maps 3 and 4 above show, the distribution of *de* following the verb *gaan* 'to go' differs from the distribution following *leven* 'to live'. Some dialects in East Flanders and Flemish Brabant that have *de* following 'to live', have another element following 'to go' in the same context. This is most notably *e* and *je* in East Flanders and *je* and *re* in Flemish Brabant.<sup>6</sup> Map 4 shows that in

<sup>5</sup> Map 3 corresponds with Map 40a of BARBIERS ET AL. (2005). The participants were asked to translate *als je gaat, dan ga je* 'when you're leaving, you're leaving'. See *Commentary* 2.3.2.2.3 of BARBIERS ET AL. (2005) for more information.

<sup>6</sup> In Flemish Brabant the dialects of Halle and Herne use *de* following *leef* 'to live' and *je* following *ga* 'to go'. In Brussels *de* and *je* are attested following *leef* and only *je* following *ga*. In Overijse, Malderen and Wolfsdonk *de* after *leef* is attested and *re* after *ga*. In East Flanders *leefde* and *gaje* are attested in Ninove, Mere, Aalst, Sint-Gillis-Bij-Dendermonde and Ronse. *Leefde* and *gae* in Meilegem, Deinze, Aalter, Lovendegem, Laarne, Zaffelare, Oostakker, Eeklo and Sint Laureins. In Bevere and Ronse the element *(t)e* is attested following *ga*, and *de* following *leef*.

the dialects of North Brabant and Antwerp that have *de*, the element following the verb always is *de*, regardless of the form of the verb. In the next paragraph I will discuss the different forms of the element that follows the verb in inverted sentences with a 2SG pronoun subject.

### 2.1.2 *de* compared to other forms

As discussed above, the dialects with *de* also have different elements in different contexts. The Table below gives an overview of the attestations of the non-stressed 2SG in different inverted contexts:

	<i>leef</i> ‘to live’	<i>ga</i> ‘to go’	<i>a(l)s</i> ‘when’	<i>da(t)</i> ‘that’
<b>North Brabant</b> <sup>7,8</sup>	<i>de, je</i> (3x) <sup>9</sup>	<i>de, je</i> (1x)	<i>ge</i> (14x), <i>je</i> (5x), <i>ke</i> (1x), <i>de</i> (1x)	<i>ge</i> (12x), <i>je</i> (5x), <i>de</i> (4x)
<b>Antwerp</b>	<i>de</i>	<i>de, re</i> (1x)	<i>ge</i>	<i>ge</i>
<b>Flemish Brabant</b> <sup>10</sup>	<i>de, ge</i> (1x), <i>je</i> (1x) <sup>11</sup>	<i>de</i> (5x), <i>je</i> (3x), <i>re</i> (3x), <i>ge</i> (2x), <i>der</i> (1x)	<i>ge, der</i> (1x)	<i>ge, de</i> (1x)
<b>East Flanders</b> <sup>12</sup>	<i>de</i>	<i>e</i> (9x), <i>de</i> (8x), <i>je</i> (5x), <i>(t)e</i> (2x) <sup>13</sup>	<i>ge</i> (13x), <i>e</i> (4x), <i>ke</i> (3x), <i>de</i> (1x), <i>te</i> (1x)	<i>ge</i> (11x), <i>de</i> (5x), <i>e</i> (3x), <i>te</i> (1x)
<b>West Flanders</b> <sup>14</sup>	<i>je, de</i> (1x)	<i>je</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>je</i>
<b>T, L &amp; H</b> <sup>15</sup> (Belg. Limburg)	<i>de</i> (T, L, H)	<i>re</i> (T), <i>der</i> (L), ? (H)	<i>ge</i> (T, L), <i>der</i> (H)	<i>ge</i> (T), <i>de</i> (L, H)
<b>Hulst</b> (Zeeland)	<i>de, je</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>ge, e, je</i>	?

Table 1: *The element following leef ‘to live’, ga ‘to go’, als ‘when’ and dat ‘that’ in the dialect continuum.*

Table 1 contains all dialects that have at least one attestation of *de*, in at least one of the contexts. The only exception to this rule is the dialects of West Flanders that have *je* instead of *de*. These two elements are often analyzed together. A question mark in the Table indicates that no data was available. As shown from the maps and the table above, the dialect area with *de* following a verb and *ge* following a complementizer forms the heart of the continuum, with the provinces Antwerp at its core together with the adjacent areas in North Brabant and Flemish Brabant. This combination of *de* following a verb and *ge* following a complementizer is scattered throughout the North Brabantic dialect area north of this core.

In Antwerp, only one exception to the rule is attested, namely in the dialect of Mol, in which the element *re* is found, following the verb ‘to go’. All other dialects use the element *de* after a

<sup>7</sup> North Brabant is everywhere where *de* is attested in the Netherlands, all in or near North Brabant: Zundert, Gilze, Waspik, Tilburg, Vlijmen, Liempde, Veldhoven, Vorstenbosch, Geldermalsen, Druten, Reek, Cuijk, Groesbeek, Gemert, Asten, Meterik and Moerdijk. Fijnaart en Steenberghe are excluded dialects that are spoken in North Brabant, because *de* is never attested here.

<sup>8</sup> The Belgian Limburg dialects of Eksel, Lommel & Hamont are included in the North Brabant data, since they behave the same as the North Brabant dialects considering the 2SG after verbs and complementizers.

<sup>9</sup> In Asten *de* and *je*. In Druten only strong forms.

<sup>10</sup> The dialect of Walshoutem is excluded from the Flemish Brabant dialects, since *de* is never attested. The village of Walshoutem borders Belgian Limburg and its dialect data accords with Limburgian dialects.

<sup>11</sup> In Brussels Dutch both *je* and *de* are attested.

<sup>12</sup> The within elements following *als* ‘when’ and *dat* ‘that’ is as follows for the dialects of East Flanders: *ge, ge* (7x), *e, e* (3x), *de, de* (1x), *ge, de* (3x), *ke, ge* (3x), *ge/e, de* (1x), *ge/te, ge* (1x), *ge, te* (1x). So for 7 dialects in both situations *ge* is attested, for 3 in both *e* for 1 in both *de*, for 3, *ge* with *als* ‘when’ and *de* with *dat* ‘that’ etc.

<sup>13</sup> In Ronse both *(t)e* and *je* are attested after ‘to go’.

<sup>14</sup> The data from West Flanders isn’t totally complete. I will discuss this further in section 2.4.1.

<sup>15</sup> Tessenderlo, Lummen, Houthalen (Belgian Limburg).



verb and *ge* after a complementizer. In North Brabant, *de* following the verb is widely attested, while the element following the complementizer is more varied throughout the province: *de* is attested once following *als* and 4 times following *dat*. In Flemish Brabant, *de* is widely attested following the verb ‘to live’ and *ge* following the complementizers, with only some exceptions. Variation in the dialects of this province is found in the element that follows ‘to go’, as Table 1 shows. The dialects of the province East Flanders allow for different elements following the complementizer. Consider for example the following data from the adjacent dialects of Sint Niklaas and Lokeren (BARBIERS ET AL 2006):

- (3) a. As-ge gij                      gezond leeft zul-de      langer leven  
       *If-2SG 2SG-STRONG healthy live shall-2SG longer live*  
       ‘If you live healthy, you will live much longer.’Sint Niklaas Dutch
- b. Zij gelooft da-de      gij              eerder thuis    waart azze ‘k-ikke  
       *She believe that-2SG you-STR sooner home were than I-DOUBLED*  
       ‘She believes that you will arrive home before me.’Lokeren Dutch

As the examples in (3) illustrate, *ge* follows the complementizer *als*, whereas *de* follows *dat* in these East Flemish dialects. This trend was also attested in the dialects of Netherlandic Brabant, as described above: the dialects in Netherlandic Brabant, in which *de* follows the complementizer *dat*, have the pronoun *ge* following the complementizer *als*. The combination of *dat-de* and *als-ge* is attested in Ossendrecht, Moerdijk, Vlijmen and Geldermalsen.

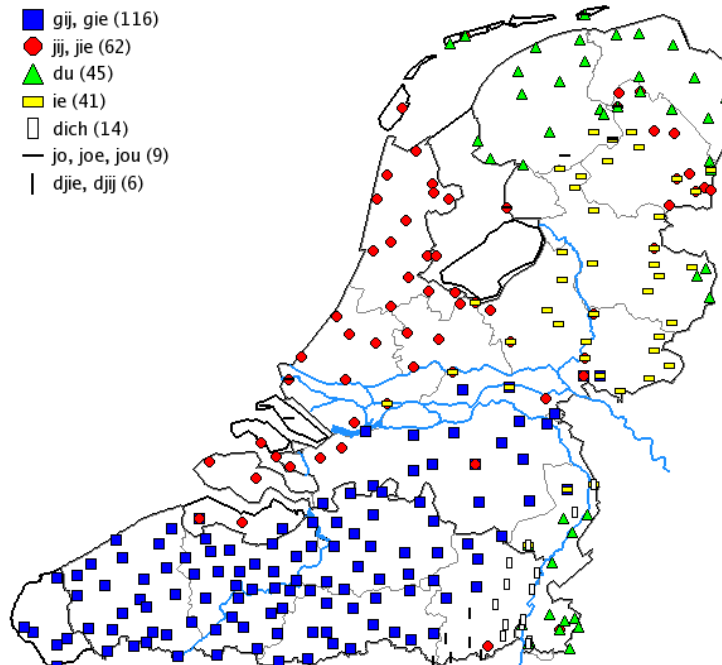
The dialects of West Flanders behave uniformly: the element *je* is used in all dialects in all contexts. The only exception is the dialect of Kooigem, a dialect on the border area between West Flanders and East Flanders, in which the form *de* is attested following ‘to live’. Data from the dialects around Kooigem is unavailable in the context of ‘to live’.

Taking this information into consideration, some general observations can be made:

- In the dialect continuum, the element following *leef* ‘to live’ is *je* in the dialects of West Flanders and *de* in all other dialects, with only a few exceptions. Following the verb *ga* ‘to go’, more variation is found, especially in East Flanders and Flemish Brabant.
  - o Even though a big array of elements is attested following the verbs *ga* ‘to go’ and *leef* ‘to live’, predominantly *de*, *je* and *e*, the non-stressed pronoun *ge* is marginally attested, only in two of the dialects, indicated on Map 3 and in Table 1.
- *de* following the complementizer is marginally attested, indicated by the comparison between this number of attestations after the complementizer and the amount of attestations of *de* after a verb. After *als*, *de* is attested twice and the possibly related *der* and *te* are related thrice in total. After the complementizer *dat*, *de* is attested 11 times, *te* once and *der* not at all. These attestations of *de* and related elements following the complementizer are predominantly attested in East Flanders and North Brabant. For comparison: *de* following the verb ‘to go’ is attested 79 times.
- Two factors show complete overlap. The dialects that use *gij* as the strong pronoun, shown in Map 5 below, overlap with the dialects discussed until now. The discussed dialects all have the element *de* or, in the case of the dialects of West Flanders, have the element *je*, that can be complemented with the strong pronoun *gij*. Comparing the dialects that have the strong pronoun *gij* to the discussed dialects, it becomes apparent that there is complete

overlap between these two groups. There are two exceptions to this overlap: in the most northern attestations of *gij* in Kilder and Didam, both in Gelderland, *de* is not attested. In these dialects *gij* is not the only possible strong pronoun, in Kilder *ie* and *gij* are attested and in Didam *jij* and *gij*. Only in a few other dialects a second form next to *gij* is attested, for example in the dialect of the North Brabant Liempde in which *gij* en *jij* are attested.

These observations have to be included into my analysis, since they disclose the structure of the synchronic microvariation.



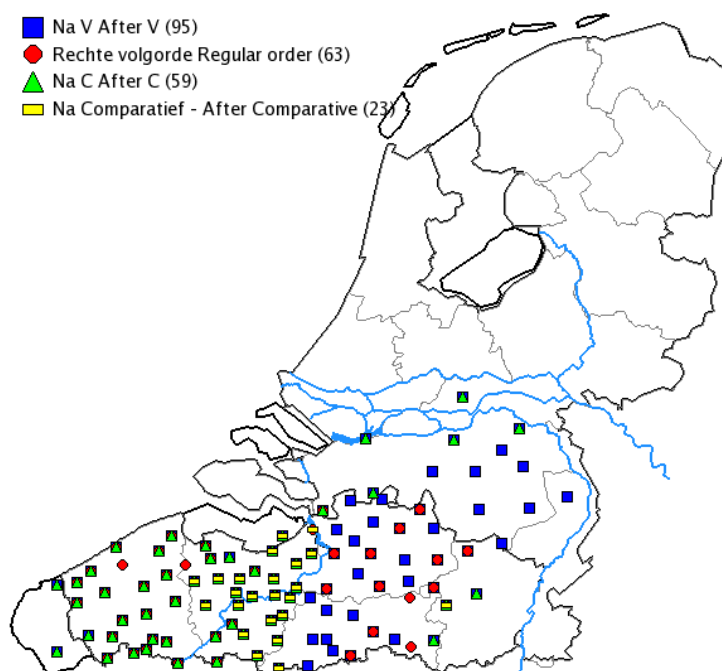
Map 5: The strong 2SG pronoun in the dialects of Dutch (BARBIERS ET AL. 2006).<sup>16</sup>

### 2.1.3 The morphosyntactic status of *de*

Another complicating factor is the nature of *de*. As is shown in the examples above, *de* is used in cases in which Standard Dutch would use the weak subject pronoun *je* ('you-WEAK'). In translations for sentences with the strong pronoun (*jij*), the strong pronoun *gij* is added to the suffix *de*. As illustrated above in (3), the weak pronoun *ge* can also be complemented by the strong pronoun *gij* in some of the dialects. This combination of a weak subject pronoun and a strong subject pronoun is widely attested in all person and number combinations in the dialects in Belgium (marginally in Belgian Limburg), but not in the Netherlandic dialects. In BARBIERS ET AL. (2006) the combination *de gij* is also analyzed as a weak pronoun (*de*) combined with the strong pronoun (*gij*). This analysis needs to be clarified. As we have seen from the data, *de* occurs mostly following a verb, and occurs exceptionally following a complementizer, attested only in border areas (north and east) and in the transitional zone from *je* to *de*: the province of East Flanders. The element *de* therefore seems to be more of a verbal element, like a verbal

<sup>16</sup> Map 5 corresponds with Map 38b of BARBIERS ET AL. 2005, also see the corresponding *Commentary* in section 2.2.2.1, of BARBIERS ET AL. 2005.

agreement, than a (free) weak pronoun. That being said, the following map will show all dialects in which two 2SG subject elements are attested, most notably *ge gij*, *je gij* and *de gij*. These combinations of two 2SG subject elements are arranged by context: base order, following the verb, following the complementizer and following the comparative.



Map 6: The dialects in which two 2SG elements can occur in different contexts (BARBIERS ET AL. 2006).<sup>17</sup>

	Base order	Inverted order: After verb	Inverted order: After complem.	Inverted Order: After comparat.
<b>North Brabant</b>	X	<i>de gij</i>	X <i>de gij</i>	X
<b>Antwerp</b>	<i>ge gij</i>	<i>de gij</i>	X	X
<b>Flemish Brabant</b>	<i>ge gij</i>	<i>de gij</i> <i>je gij, re gij</i>	X	X
<b>East Flanders</b>	<i>ge gij</i>	<i>e gij, de gij</i> <i>je gij</i>	<i>ge gij</i> <i>e gij, ke gij, de gij</i>	<i>ge gij</i> <i>de gij, e gij</i>
<b>West Flanders</b>	<i>je gij</i>	<i>je gij</i>	<i>je gij</i>	X

Table 2: The occurrence of two consecutive 2SG elements in the dialects, sorted by province and context.<sup>18</sup>

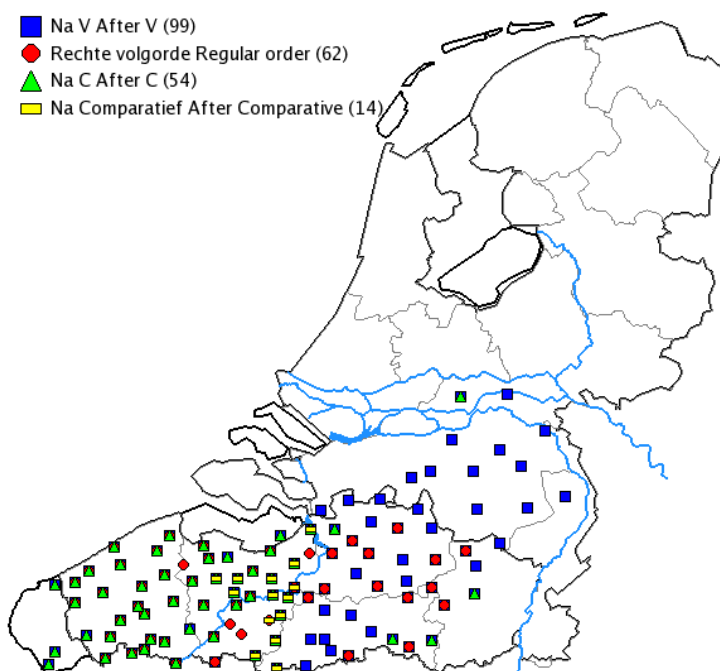
Map 6 shows what is described above, but doesn't specify which elements follow each other. In Table 2 the exact structure of the elements is arranged per context and per province. In North Brabant, *de gij* is attested following a verb and in some cases following the complementizer. In Antwerp and Flemish Brabant *de gij* is attested following a verb and *ge gij* is attested in the base order. In West Flanders, *je gij* is attested in the base order, following a verb and following a complementizer and in East Flanders different combinations of elements are found following the

<sup>17</sup> Corresponds to map 54a of Barbières et al. (2005). For more information, check *Commentary* 3.1.3.3.1 of BARBIERS ET AL. (2005).

<sup>18</sup> The items on the second row, displayed in a smaller font, are attested marginally

complementizer and the comparative, *de gij*, *je gij* and *e gij* are found following the verb and *ge gij* is found in the base order.

I have not discussed yet another function of *de*. The element *de* is discussed in different contexts and in different dialects as an element that is related to the 2SG, but *de* is also widely attested in contexts with the second person plural subject pronoun (henceforth *2PL*). The data of the element following the verb with a 2PL subject is not researched as thoroughly as the data with the 2SG, but the map that show the attestations of subject doubling of the 2PL pronoun, Map 7 below, shows highly similar behavior. Please note that in this map different constructions are combined, most notably *ge gullie*, *je gullie* and *de gullie*. In the entire Brabantic area, *de gullie* is attested in inverted contexts following the verb, while *ge gullie* is only attested in Belgian Brabant, and only in the base order. In West Flanders *je gullie* is attested in all contexts and in East Flanders *e gullie*, *de gullie* and *je gullie* are attested following the verb, *ge gullie* is attested in the base order. The constructions *ge gullie*, *e gullie*, *ke gullie* and *de gullie* are attested following the complementizer and comparative. This data is displayed below in Table 3.



Map 7: Subject doubling of the 2PL pronoun in the Dutch dialects (BARBIERS ET AL. 2006).<sup>19</sup>

	Base order	Inverted order: After verb	Inverted order: After complem.	Inverted Order: After comparat.
<b>Netherlandic Brabant</b>	X	<i>de gullie</i>	X	X
<b>Antwerp</b>	<i>ge gullie</i>	<i>de gullie</i>	X	X
<b>Flemish Brabant</b>	<i>ge gullie</i>	<i>de gullie</i>	X	X

<sup>19</sup> Corresponds to map 55a of BARBIERS ET AL. (2005). For more, check *Commentary* 3.1.3.4.1 of BARBIERS ET AL. (2005).

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<b>East Flanders</b>	<i>ge gullie</i>	<i>e gullie, de gullie</i> <i>je gullie</i>	<i>ge gullie</i> <i>e, ke &amp; de gullie</i>	<i>ge gullie</i> <i>de gullie, e gullie</i>
<b>West Flanders</b>	<i>je gullie</i>	<i>je gullie</i>	<i>je gullie</i>	X

Table 3: The occurrence of two consecutive 2PL elements in the dialects, sorted by province and context.<sup>20</sup>

The spread of *de* and *je* is equal in 2SG and 2PL. However, the option of these elements occurring without the strong pronoun might not. This precognition is illustrated by one of the dialect speakers, interviewed for the *SAND*-project.

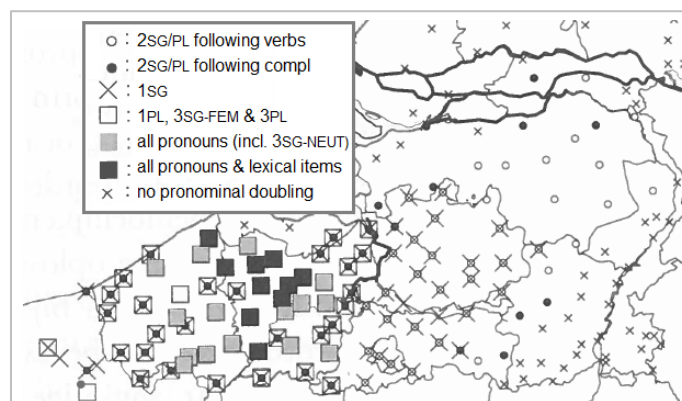
- (4) a. As gullie zo losbandig leeft leef-de nooit zo lang az-ikke  
*If you.PL that licentious live, live-2PL never as long as-I*  
 'If you (all) live that licentious, you will never long as long as I do.' Tilburg Dutch

The informant later revises his statement, as following:

- b. Leef-de gullie. Ja da is beter ja  
*Live-2PL you.pl Yes that is better yeah*  
 'Leefde gullie. Yes, that's better [red: than what I said before].' Tilburg Dutch

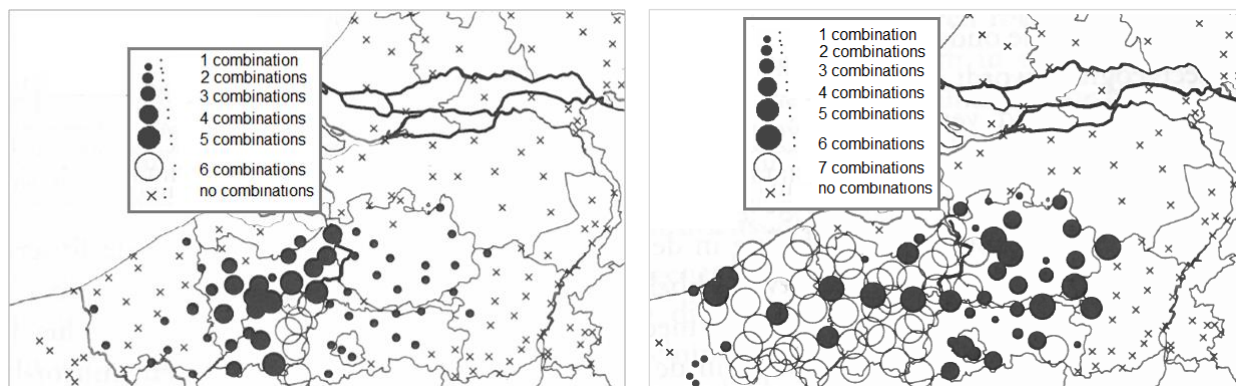
Initially the informant uses just the element *de*, which he later revises to *de gullie*. This suggests that for the second person plural the full pronoun *gullie* is necessary, or at least more acceptable, in inverted contexts in which *de* follows the verb. Since in (4) the subject is already introduced, focus is not required.

BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) have investigated doubling phenomena for all person and number combinations. Since *de* and *de gij* are often analyzed within the framework of pronominal doubling, I will give an overview of doubling in the pronominal system. DE VOGELAER (2008) has organized the data in three maps, discussing pronominal doubling in the base order, following the verb and the complementizer and following the comparative.



Map 8: Pronominal subject doubling following the verb and the complementizer (DE VOGELAER 2008: 281).

<sup>20</sup> The items on the second row, displayed in a smaller font, are attested marginally.



Maps 9 & 10: The amount of person and number combinations that allow subject doubling in the base order (Map 9) and after the comparative (Map 10) (DE VOGELAER 2008: 283, 296).

#### 2.1.4 Divergent data: Netherlandic Brabant & East Flanders

As I have shown, two consistent dialect groups have been distinguished in the dialect continuum. The dialects of West Flanders form a unity in their behavior, albeit with the element *je* instead of the widely attested *de* that is attested in every context. The dialects in Brabant also form a consistent group, with a coherent core of dialects in Antwerp and the adjacent areas: the biggest part of Netherlandic Brabant and the north of Flemish Brabant. The area of East Flanders and the north of Netherlandic Brabant seem to display certain border phenomena, in which *de* following a complementizer is attested. In East Flanders different elements are attested, predominantly *de*, *ge*, *e* and *ke*. In Netherlandic Brabant the character of *de* seems to differ from the rest of the dialect area, since it can be followed by the weak pronoun *ge*, as I will discuss below.

##### 2.1.4.1 Netherlandic Brabant

The Tilburg Dutch examples from the introductory chapter, repeated below, show that in Tilburg Dutch *de* can either be followed by *gij*, or it can occur in a context without a visible 2SG subject pronoun. This is in accordance with the possibilities discussed above. In this dialect however, another option occurs: *de* can be followed by the non-stressed pronoun *ge*.

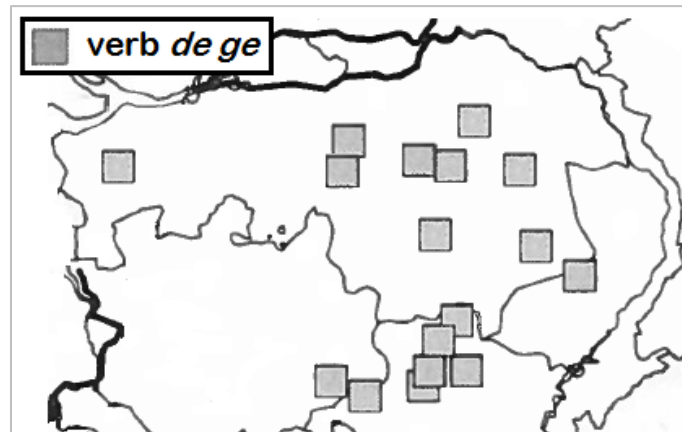
- (5) a. Lop-de    *gij*            meej mèn meej?  
       *Walk-2SG you-STRONG with me with*  
       ‘Will you (stressed) walk with me?’
- b. ?Lop-de    *ge*            meej mèn meej?  
       *Walk-2SG you-WEAK with me with*  
       ‘Will you walk with me?’
- c. Lop-de    meej mèn meej?  
       *Walk-2SG with me with*  
       ‘Will you (unstressed) walk with me?’

Tilburg Dutch - REPEATED

Sentence (5b) shows a sentence in which *de* is combined with the weak 2SG subject pronoun *ge*. For some dialects, the structure in which the verb is followed by *de ge* is widely attested, especially in the east of North Brabant, for example in the adjacent dialects of Asten and Gemert (BARBIERS ET AL. 2006):

- (6) a. Nou da ge klaar bent moe-de ge ga  
Now that you.WEAK ready are have.to-2SG you.WEAK go  
'Since you're ready, you can go.' Asten Dutch
- b. Woon-de ge hier al lang  
Live-2SG you.WEAK here since long  
'Since when do you live here?' Gemert Dutch

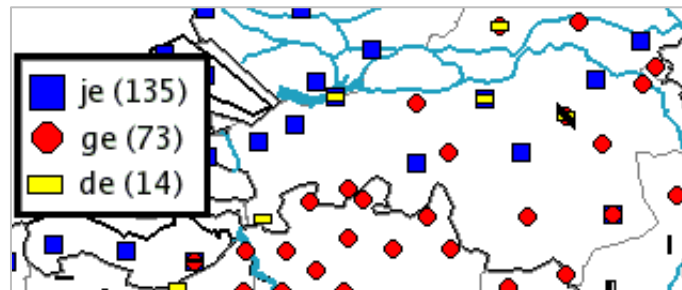
BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) focuses on the element following the verb, complementizer and comparative, and does not display the dialects in which *de ge* is attested. However, the data is available on *DynaSAND* data. DE VOGELAER (2008) combines the data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) and DE SCHUTTER (2005), giving an overview of the dialects in which *de ge* is attested.



Map 11: Dialects in which "[verb]-de ge" is attested (DE VOGELAER 2008: 256).

DE VOGELAER (2008) shows that *de ge* is common in the eastern part of the Brabantic area, with attestations between the middle of North Brabant and the east of Antwerp and the eastern border area of Brabant.

In some of the dialects of Netherlandic Brabant, as I have shown before, *de* is also attested following the complementizer. In *DynaSAND* the element *de* is attested following the complementizer, displayed below in Map 12.



Map 12: The element following the complementizer in North Brabant (BARBIERS ET AL. 2006).<sup>21</sup>

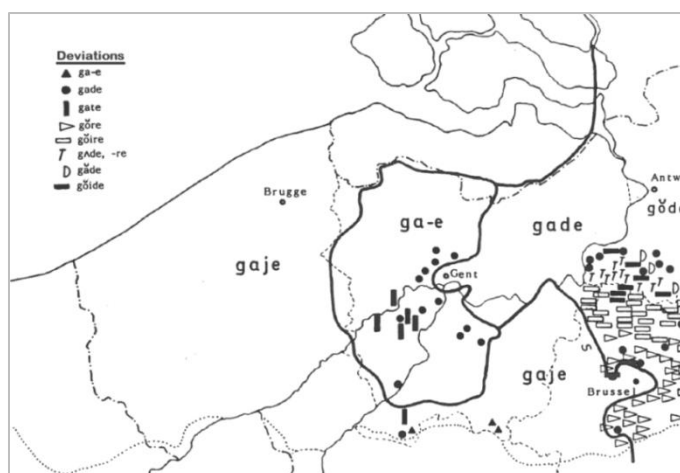
<sup>21</sup> Map 12 corresponds with Map 40b of BARBIERS ET AL. 2005. The map contains data from different translation questions; see *Commentary*, section 2.3.2.2.4 of BARBIERS ET AL. 2005.



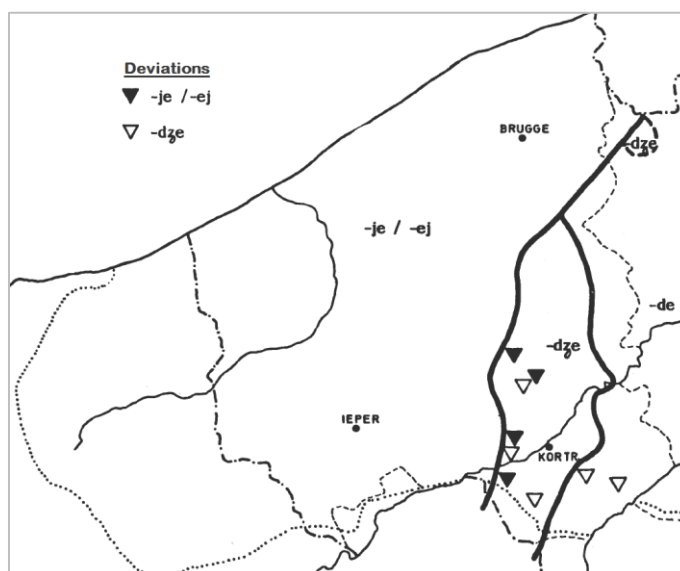
### 2.1.4.2 West and East Flanders

The element *je* in West Flanders occurs in every context, following the verb, the complementizer and in the base order. East Flanders does not display such consistency: different elements occur in different contexts. In this section, I will focus on the different elements that are closely examined by DEVOS (1986) in the base order and the inverted context following a verb. The maps below show that the variation in East Flanders might not be consistent, but nevertheless structured. The maps display that the borders between the elements vary between contexts, showing their structure.

Map 13 and 14 show the element that follows the verb. In Map 13 the distribution of the elements following *ga* ‘to go’ is displayed, on Map 14 the distribution following *durf* ‘to dare’.



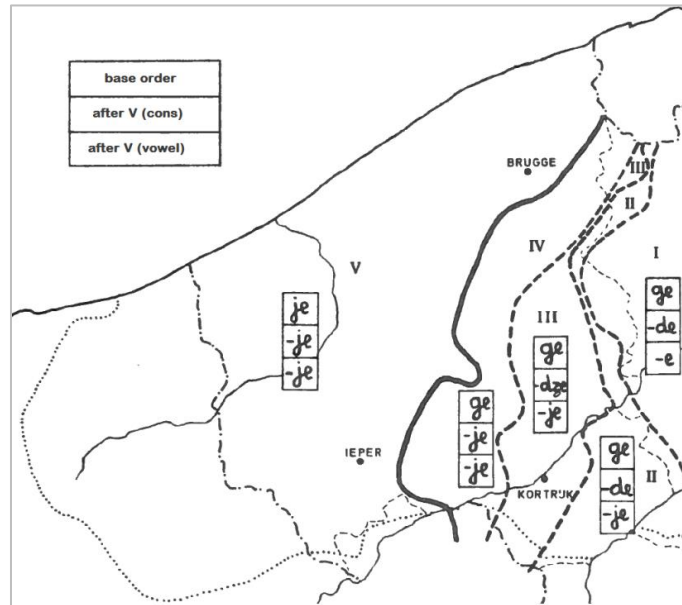
Map 13: Translation of *ga je* (DEVOS 1986: 174)



Map 14: Translation of *durf je* (DEVOS 1986: 175)

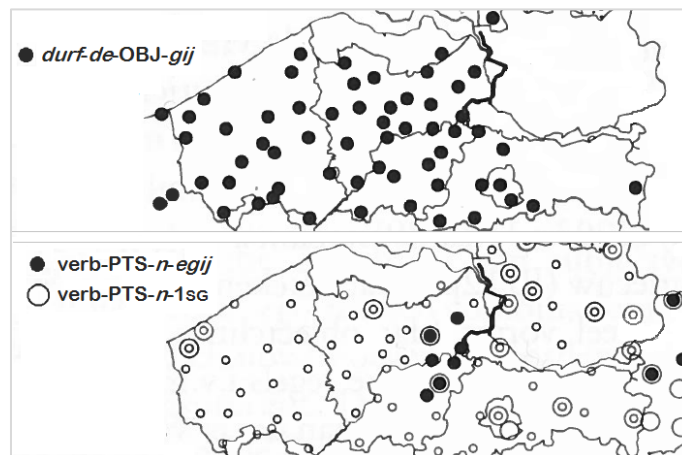
Maps 13 and 14 are combined in the map below; Map 15 shows the element in the base order that can be doubled by the strong pronoun *gij* and the elements that follow the verb in the inverted order.





Map 15: The element in West and East Flanders in different contexts (Devos 1986: 185).

The maps show the opposite sides of the border: *je* in all contexts in West Flanders and *ge* in the base order, *de* following a verb that ends with a consonant and *e* following a verb that ends with a vowel in the western part of East Flanders. Map 13 shows that east from the area of Map 15 *ge* is found in the base order and *de* in inverted orders following the verb. Map 15 displays the zones in between West Flanders that consistently uses *je* west of the transitional area and the Antwerp and Flemish Brabant that consistently use *ge* in the base order and *de* following the verb east of the transitional area.



Map 16: Other deviant attestations in the Flemish area (DE VOGELAER 2008: 256).

In the work of DE VOGELAER (2008) other deviant behavior of West and East Flanders is displayed. The Flemish dialects have the possibility to add a pronominal element between the two elements *de* and *gij* as is shown in Map 16a. Map 16b shows the dialects in which *e* *gij* follows the past tense *leefden*. According to DE VOGELAER (2008) this proves that these dialects have a pronoun *egij*, instead of the elements *e* and *gij*.

Taken together, this empirical data shows the structure of the second person subjects in the dialect continuum. This data needs to be accounted for in my analysis.

I have found that in Brabant *de* follows the verb and *ge* the complementizer. However, in some of the Netherlandic Brabantic dialects, *de* is attested following the complementizer *dat* ‘that’. In Netherlandic Brabant, in contrast to Belgian Brabant, *de* construction *de ge* is often attested (see Map 11). In Belgian Brabant, in contrast to Netherlandic Brabant, *gij* can follow the pronoun *ge* after a complementizer. In Brabant *ge* and *gij* are the pronouns attested in the base order.

In East Flanders, the elements *de*, *ge*, *je*, *e* are attested, both following the verb and the complementizer, while *ke* is only attested following the complementizer *als*. In every context these elements can be followed by the strong pronoun *gij*. In West Flanders, the element *je* is attested in each context, including the base order, always with the option to be followed by the strong pronoun *gij*. In East Flanders, *ge* is the weak pronoun in the base order. In all Flemish dialects *gij* is attested as the strong pronoun.

In East and West Flanders, doubling of pronominal material is attested in each person and number combination, and in each context. For Brabant this is far more limited, with only the second person and the first person singular in Belgian Brabant and only the construction *de gij* in Netherlandic Brabant.

For the second person plural, highly similar data needs to be accounted for. In Netherlandic Brabant, the element *de* after the verb can be followed by the plural pronoun *gullie*, while *ge gullie* is attested in Belgian Brabant, following the complementizer. In the Flemish dialects, the elements *je*, *de*, *ge*, *e* and *ke* can all be followed by the pronoun *gullie*, in each context.

## 2.2 Diachronic Background

The history of *de* has been thoroughly described by VAN ENGELAND (2013). This work describes the changes in the element *de* following a verb, starting from the first Brabantic sources from the 13<sup>th</sup> century until the time being. However, VAN ENGELAND (2013) only researched the element *de*, and only in the Brabantic dialects.

First, the historical grammars were investigated, which describe the phenomenon of *de gij* extensively, most prominently by VAN DER HORST (2008) and WEIJNEN (1960, 1968). The extensiveness of the secondary work is due to the number of attestations of *de* and its predecessors. In poems and other literary work from the south, which include second person pronouns, *de* is always attested following the verb. In transcripts of courts, the second person forms are completely avoided, since proper names are continually used, without referrals with *gij* and related forms. Therefore, the research of primary texts is based on mostly poetic sources, starting from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, with the poems of Hadewijch up to recent dialectal text, written by the Tilburg based, local cult figure, Ferry van de Zaande. Table 4 below shows the researched texts.

	Sources
1200-1350	<i>Sente Lutgart</i> , handschrift Kopenhagen; <i>Perchevae</i> ; <i>Sente Lutgart</i> handschrift Amsterdam; <i>Sinte Kerstine</i> ; <i>Wisselau</i> ; en Hadewijch: <i>Brieven &amp; Visioenen</i>
1350-1500	Jan van Ruusbroec: <i>Vanden seven sloten &amp; Van seven trappen in den graed der gheesteleker minnen</i> ; <i>Wisen raet van Vrouwen</i> ; en <i>Spiegel der volcomenheit</i>
1500-1600	<i>Van Nyeuvont, Loosheit ende Practike: Hoe sij Vrou Lortse verheffen</i> ; <i>Hanneken Leckertant</i> ; <i>Tspel van sinne van Bergen-op-Zoom</i> ; <i>Na: Tpoëtelijs punt van sHertogenbosch</i> ; en <i>Duer den slangen bedriegelyc onbesneden saet</i>

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<b>1600-1700</b>	Poirters: <i>Het masker van de wereltd afgetrocken &amp; Den Spiegel van Philagie</i> ; A.A. Weijnen: <i>Zeventiende-eeuwse taal</i>
<b>1700-1800</b>	-
<b>1800-1900</b>	'Wat is Brabant'; 'De katteduik'; 'Breeë wile'; 'Begraoven. 'n Waor vertelselke'; 'n Bezuuk bai ons ouwe baoker'; 'Gesprek tusschen twee schippers'; 'En now kunde mè gleuven aste ge wilt'; 'Mooi truike'; 'Bai 't herdvuur'; 'Geldrup'; 'De heks in den braauwketel'; 'De Friesche sappeur'; 'Op de bruleft van Kiske en Annemie'; 'Wouter de geldwolf'; 'Een roestpraatie'; 'Dartien bagge en mar twèllef tippels'
<b>1900-now</b>	'Lustrumdikteej Grôot Dikteej van de Tilburgse Taol 1998'; 'Er zijn twee soorten mensen'

Table 4: *The researched texts* (VAN ENGELAND 2013: 29).

This constructed corpus exists of different texts, retrieved from libraries and online. The earliest texts are poems from the mystic poet Hadewijch and from corpus Gysseling. For the 16<sup>th</sup> century Brabantic texts are retrieved from anthologies of 16<sup>th</sup> century texts from all over the Dutch language area. Data from the 18<sup>th</sup> century is missing and data from the 17<sup>th</sup> century is scarce, which not only poses a gap for my historical research of dialects, but for all structural research into the history of dialects. This problem has previously been indicated inter alia by, DE VOOYS (1931: 129-132) and VAN DER SIJS (2004).<sup>22</sup> In these centuries, standardization of Dutch influenced the written language greatly. Whereas until the 16<sup>th</sup> century poetical texts were mostly written in dialect, from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and on, dialect is replaced by (more) standardized Dutch. The work of Poitiers illustrates this nicely. Poitiers, a Brabant native, wrote all his texts in a standardized spelling. The only attestations with *de* and related forms are from sections in which Poitiers describes scenes between locals, and quotes the characters directly, and therefore uses local spoken language or dialect.

	<b>Base order</b>	<b>Inverted order</b>
<b>1200-1350</b>	<i>gi</i> + [V]- <i>t</i> (only as honorific and plural)	[V]- <i>di</i> (only as honorific and plural)
<b>1350-1500</b>	<i>gi</i> + [V]- <i>t</i>	[V]- <i>di</i>
<b>1500-1600</b>	<i>gij</i> + [V]- <i>t</i>	[V]- <i>dij</i> [V]- <i>t</i> <i>gij</i>
<b>1600-1700</b>	<i>gij</i> + [V]- <i>t</i> <i>ge</i> + [V]- <i>t</i>	[V]- <i>dij</i> [V]- <i>de</i> [V]- <i>de</i> <i>gij</i> [V]- <i>t</i> <i>gij</i>
<b>1700-1800</b>	-	-
<b>1800-now</b>	<i>gij</i> + [V]- <i>t</i> <i>ge</i> + [V]- <i>t</i>	[V]- <i>de</i> [V]- <i>de</i> <i>ge</i> [V]- <i>de</i> <i>gij</i>

Table 5: *The history of de in Brabantic* (VAN ENGELAND 2013: 33).

Table 5 shows that the element *de*, originates from *di*. Between 1200 and 1600, the element *di* changed to *dij*, but could not co-occur with the strong pronoun *gij*. Only from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and

<sup>22</sup> VAN DER SIJS (2004) discusses the absence of dialectal sources from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> throughout the book, for example on 29-52.

on the construction *de gij* is found. Please note that *di gij* or *dij gij* is never attested, indicating that only the phonological weakened *de* can be followed by the strong pronoun.

Another important observation is that *de* in the researched texts is only attested directly following the verb, so not following the complementizer, nor independently of a verb or complementizer, for example in the base order. The table also shows the origination of the weak pronoun *ge*, that is attested from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and on. VAN ENGELAND (2013) explains that the newly established division between the weak and strong pronouns *ge* and *gij* have led to a division following in the verb, with the options *de* and *de gij*.

### 3. Theoretical Background

In this chapter, I will describe the theoretical framework. First, I will discuss the suggested analyses for *de*, by DE SCHUTTER (1994), ZWART (1997), VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002a, 2002b, 2008), VAN KOPPEN (2010), DE VOGELAER (2008, 2010), POSTMA (2011), BARBIERS (2013) and BARBIERS, L.C.J., J.M. VAN KOPPEN, H.J. BENNIS & N.F.M. CORVER (to appear), henceforth referred to as BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear).

The literature about *de* is roughly divided into two camps. The first camp, most recently represented by BARBIERS (2013) and BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear), analyzes *de* as a clitic pronoun that is attached to the verb. The other camp represented by ZWART (1997) and POSTMA (2011), analyzes *de* as an inflection that allows for *pro-drop*. VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002b) analyze *de* as a verbal inflection in the dialect of Asten. I will further discuss these camps in sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2. In 3.1.3 I will briefly touch upon a third proposed analysis for *de*, suggested by DE SCHUTTER (1994).

#### 3.1 *de* as a clitic pronoun

As stated above, BARBIERS (2013) and BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) analyze *de* as a clitic pronoun that can be doubled. BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) focusses on the second person singular in inverted contexts and describes the attested variation. This work bases itself on the data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) and DiDDD<sup>23</sup>, two reference works that can be consulted by the MIMORE search tool.<sup>24</sup> BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) extend the analysis of BARBIERS (2013). Previous work that analyzes *de* as a clitic pronoun is done by STROOP (1987) and VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2000, 2002a, 2008).

BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) analyze the construction *de gij* in the dialect continuum of the Flemish and the Brabant dialects. The theory does not contain an analysis of *de* without a strong pronoun, or of *de* in a plural context. These follow from the analysis of *de gij*.

In their paper, *de gij* is analyzed together with the other structures that are attested in the southern dialects, namely the widely attested *ge gij*, the Flemish *je gij* and the moderately attested *e gij* and the marginally attested *ke gij* and *te gij*. All these constructions are considered to be cases of pronominal doubling. Therefore, in this section 3.1.1, all these constructions are referred to as cases of pronominal doubling.

The two doubling elements are analyzed within the same maximal projection, which contains both elements. The structure of subject doubling, directly follows VAN CRAENENBROECK &

<sup>23</sup> Diversity in Dutch DP Design

<sup>24</sup> MIMORE combines the data from *DynaSAND*, DiDDD and GTRP, the Goeman, Taeldeman Van Reenen Project.

VAN KOPPEN (2008), who have studied and analyzed pronominal doubling in all person and number combinations. Consider for example the structure of *de gij* below:

- (1) [CnP [Cn [DP *gij* [D [φP [φ *de*]]]]]]

BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) adopt this structure. The CnP<sup>25</sup>-layer follows from analyses of DPs. In the literature, the structure of the nominal domain and the sentential domain are said to be parallel, albeit on different levels. This claim is posed inter alia by SZABOLCSI (1983), CHOMSKY (1986) and CARDIALETTI & STARKE (1999), as explained by BERNSTEIN (2001). Following this analysis, the maximal projection of both the nominal domain and the clausal domain should be equal. The function of the CnP-layer is equal to the function of the CP-layer: it is used for focus, topic and ellipsis. The element in the lowest layer, in this example *de*, will move out of the CnP to the CP-domain. The exact movement differs throughout the dialect continuum.

BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) divide the dialect continuum into three large groups: Flanders, Belgian Brabant and Netherlandic Brabant. The division between Flanders and Brabant is based on the difference in doubling of pronominal material. In Flanders, pronominal doubling occurs in most person and number combinations; in Brabant, according to this paper, pronominal doubling only occurs in the second person. Another reason for the division is the contexts in which doubling with the 2SG occurs. In Flanders, doubling occurs in the inverted order following a verb and following a complementizer; in Brabantic only following a verb, not following a complementizer. The attested difference between East Flanders that also has *de gij* following a comparative and West Flanders that does not, is not discussed. The Netherlandic Brabantic dialects that have *de gij* following the complementizer are not included in the analysis (see Map 2 and Table 1 in Chapter 2, pages 13 and 15).

The division between Netherlandic Brabant and Belgian Brabant is based on the behavior of the imperative, described by BARBIERS (2013). In some of the Netherlandic dialects, among others the Netherlandic Brabantic dialects, fronting is possible in imperatives (BARBIERS ET AL to appear: 24, example 25):

- |        |   |                        |
|--------|---|------------------------|
| (2) a. | Dat /*Dat boek lees maar!<br><i>That/That book read PART</i><br>'Read that (book).'                             | Netherlandic Brabantic |
| b.     | *Dat/*Dat boek lees maar!<br><i>That/ That book read PART</i><br>'Read that (book).'                            | Standard Dutch         |
| c.     | Das/ Das Buch lies besser nicht!<br><i>That/That book read better not</i><br>'You better not read that (book).' | German                 |

In the Belgian Brabantic dialects, fronting in imperatives is not attested. This forms the base for the differentiation between the Netherlandic and the Belgian Brabantic dialects.

The analysis for fronting in imperatives is built on basic concepts about imperatives. In imperatives the second person singular needs to be present. This can be shown by anaphor

<sup>25</sup> The term *CnP* is used to differentiate between the clausal CP and the nominal CP. The *n* refers to *nominal*.

binding. Anaphors such as *jezelf* ‘yourself’ require an antecedent. However, *jezelf* can occur in an imperative, as is shown below in (3).

- (3) Geef jezelf een boek  
 give-imp yourself a book  
 ‘Give yourself a book.’

Standard Dutch (BARBIERS 2013: 279)

Since an antecedent is required, a *pro*, a covert second person pronoun must be present (PORTNER 2004). In German, the verbal inflection is already marked with person and distal features. The German imperative inflection (-Ø) is unique, and carries both the person and distal features. Since the person and distal features in German already are present in C, no further movement of *pro* is needed, to mark C. Therefore, distal pronouns and DPs can be fronted in German. In Standard Dutch, the imperative inflection (-Ø) is also used for the first person singular and the second person singular in the inverted order. Therefore, the covert pronoun has to move from SpecIP to SpecCP, to mark C with the second person and distal features it requires. Hereby, the SpecCP-position is obligatorily filled by *pro* in Standard Dutch imperatives. Therefore, no fronting is allowed. The fronting possibilities in Standard Dutch and German are shown in (4), retrieved from BARBIERS (2013: 283).

(4)	SpecCP	C	SpecIP	I
<b>Standard Dutch</b>	<i>pro</i> <sub>[distal, person]</sub>	V	<del><i>pro</i></del> <sub>[distal, person]</sub>	∇
<b>German</b>		V <sub>[distal, person]</sub>	<i>pro</i> <sub>[distal, person]</sub>	∇ <sub>[distal, person]</sub>
<b>Neth. Brabantic</b>	[distal]	V + [person]	<i>pro</i> <sub>[distal, person]</sub>	∇
	<i>pro</i> <sub>[distal, person]</sub>	V + [person]	<del><i>pro</i></del> <sub>[distal, person]</sub>	∇

BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) explain fronting in imperatives in Netherlandic Brabant by claiming that C in these dialects contains second person features. These person features originate from the element *de* that attach to the verb in C. This element is covertly incorporated into the imperative verb. Since the C is already marked with person features, a distal pronoun can be fronted. In Belgian Brabantic, fronting in imperatives is not allowed, other movements occur. The differences between the three groups are summarized below:

*Flemish:*

- The maximal projection  $\phi$ P moves, via SpecCnP to the CP-domain
- The general Probe in the CP-domain allows for movement when the C-position is filled by a complementizer

*Belgian Brabant:*

- The maximal projection  $\phi$ P moves, via SpecCnP to the CP-domain.
- No general Probe in the CP-domain, so no movement to the CP domain when the C-position is filled by a complementizer.

*Netherlandic Brabantic:*

- The head  $\phi$  moves, which will attach to the verb in C, this movement takes place via Cn.
- Only movement to C when it's filled by a verb, since the verb has an uninterpretable person feature that needs to be checked by  $\phi$ .

BARBIERS' (2013) theory only involves Netherlandic Brabant, claiming that the *de*-suffix is incorporated into the verb when it is in the C-position. In imperatives, this element is covertly present, explaining fronting in imperatives in the dialects of North Brabant.

### 3.2 *de* as verbal inflection

ZWART (1997) and POSTMA (2011) have analyzed *de* as an agreement suffix. While ZWART (1997) only briefly mentions his analysis of *de* in a footnote, POSTMA (2011) presents a full analysis. Van CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002b) also analyze *de* as a verbal suffix, but only for the dialect of Asten.

ZWART's (1997: 139) argument for his analysis of *de* as a suffix is that *de* cannot occur in subject initial main clauses, neither independently, nor in a doubling construction with *gij*. The empirical data has shown that *ge* and *je* are able to head a subject initial main clause in the Flemish and Belgian Brabantic dialects. This analysis of *de* raises the question of the analysis of similar elements that are analyzed as clitic pronouns. The Standard Dutch clitic *ie* for the masculine third person singular, should in this light also not be analyzed as a pronoun.

POSTMA (2011) elaborates more on the analysis of *de*. His analysis is based on the discrepancy between the verb in the base order and the verb in the inverted order, illustrated by the Tilburg Dutch example below.

- (5) a. Gij vèn-t dè stom '   
 You.STR find-2SG that stupid   
 'You (stressed) find that to be stupid'   
 b. Ge vèn-t dè stom   
 you-WEAK think-2SG that stupid   
 'You (unstressed) find that to be stupid'   
 c. Lop-de gij meej mèn meej?   
 Walk-2SG you-STR with me with   
 'Will you (stressed) walk with me?'   
 d. Lop-de meej mèn meej?   
 Walk-2SG with me with   
 'Will you (unstressed) walk with me?'

Tilburg Dutch - REPEATED

The verb's place in the syntactical structure is directly related to the element following the verb, as can be seen in (6).

(6)	SpecCP	C	SpecIP	I	rest
Before movement		-de		-t	
Base order			<i>gij</i>	<i>vèn-t</i>	<i>dè stom.</i>
Inverted order		<i>lop-de</i>	<i>gij</i>		<i>meej mèn meej?</i>

POSTMA (2011) analyzes Brabantic as a dialect in which the subject, in this case *gij*, moves to SpecIP and never to SpecCP. The finite verb moves to I in the base order and to C in the inverted order. In this case, the verb will either connect to *t* in I or to *de* in C. The tree therefore contains two possible agreements; the selected agreement is dependent of the final position of the verb. If the verb remains in its base order, *t* will be its inflection, in the inverted order *de* will be its inflection. This phenomenon of two possible verbal agreements, dependent of sentence order, is referred to as *double agreement*. The structure for Dutch in which the subject remains situated in SpecIP, while the verb can either be situated in C or in I is referred to by POSTMA as a *Zwart Structure*, named after ZWART (1997).

Crucial for POSTMA's (2011) analysis is the character of the verbal suffix *de*. This suffix *de* can occur with both the strong pronoun *gij*, but also without a pronoun, a phenomenon called *pro-drop*. Languages like Italian, Spanish and Greek have a full pro-drop pattern, illustrated in (7) for Greek. Pro-drop in Greek is not restricted to the inverted order, neither to the second person pronoun. In sentences 7a and c the full pronoun is included, in 7b and d the full pronoun is absent.

- (7) a. Εσύ το βρίσκ-εις ηλίθιο  
*You the find-2SG stupid*  
 'You (stressed) find that to be stupid'
- b. Το βρίσκ-εις ηλίθιο  
*The think-2SG stupid*  
 'You (unstressed) find that to be stupid'
- c. Θα περπατήσ-εις εσύ μαζί μου;  
*Will walk-2SG you with me*  
 'Will you (stressed) walk with me?'
- d. Θα περπατήσ-εις μαζί μου;  
*Will walk-2SG with me*  
 'Will you (unstressed) walk with me?'
- Greek

POSTMA (2011) states that only pronouns that carry focus are spelled-out if a verbal suffix has the feature pro-drop. I will elaborate more on pro-drop in my analysis in Chapter 6.

VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002b) also analyze *de* as a verbal suffix, but in contrast to POSTMA (2011), they do not analyze *de* for the entire dialect continuum. They only consider *de* in the dialect of Asten, a dialect in the southeast of North Brabant. In the dialect of Asten, according to the data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006), *de* can only be combined with either *gij* or *ge*. VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002b) analyze *de gij*, in the same way as POSTMA (2011), that is, in the context of double agreement. According to VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002b), in double agreement, the relation between the verb and the subject pronoun needs to be local. They have shown that in Standard Dutch and the dialects of Dutch, in cases of double agreement, no elements can occur between the inflection and the pronoun. VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002b: 73-74) illustrate this by examples from Standard Dutch, Hellendoorn Dutch and Asten Dutch, included in respectively (8), (9) and (10).



- (8) a. Jij loop-t  
you-SG walk  
'You are walking.'
- b. Loop jij?  
walk you-SG  
'Are you walking?'
- c. Volgens mij \*loop-t/loop jij naar het park  
*According.to me walk you-2SG to the park*  
'According to me, you will walk to the park.'
- d. Volgens mij \*loop-t/\*loop op de warmste dag ook jij naar het park  
*According.to me walk on the hottest day also you-2SG to the park*  
'According to me, you will also walk to the park on the hottest day.' Standard Dutch
- (9) a. Wiej loop-t  
we walk  
'We are walking.'
- b. Lop-e wiej?  
walk we  
'Are we walking?'
- c. Volgens mij \*loop-t/lop-e wiej naar 't park  
*According.to me walk we to the park*  
'According to me, we will walk to the park.'
- d. Volgens mij loop-t/\*lop-e op den wärmste dag ook wiej naar 't park  
*According.to me walk on the hottest day also we to the park*  
'According to me, we will also walk to the park on the hottest day.' Hellendoorn Dutch
- (10) a. Volgens mij lop-t/lop-te gullie nor ut park  
*According.to me walk you-2PL to the park*  
'According to me, you will walk to the park.'
- b. Volgens mij lop-t/lop-te op de wermste dag ook gullie nor ut park  
*According.to me walk on the hottest day also you-2PL to the park*  
'According to me, you will also walk to the park on the hottest day.' Asten Dutch

Standard Dutch and the dialects of Hellendoorn and Asten, all have double agreement. When the relation between the inflection in C and the subject pronoun is no longer local, the utterance becomes ungrammatical. In (8), (9) and (10) an adverbial adjunct is added between the inflection in C and the subject pronoun, leading to ungrammaticality. In these sentences, the relation between the inflection and the pronoun is not local. In the inverted order in which the verb precedes the subject pronoun, interjections between the verb and the subject pronoun lead to ungrammaticality. In cases of single agreement, the relationship between the verb and the subject pronoun does not need to be local in contexts like (8), (9) and (10), illustrated by (11).

- (11) Volgens mij lopen op de warmste dag ook wij naar het park  
*According.to me walk on the hottest day also we to the park*  
'According to me, we will also walk to the park on the hottest day.' Standard Dutch

### 3.3 Other theories about *de*

In the literature, some other theories about *de* are available. Of these theories, DE SCHUTTER (1994) is often cited as an alternative analysis. His theory is based on the idea that *de* exists of two elements, namely *d* and *e*, for structures without *gij* or *gullie*. In structures with *gij* or *gullie* DE SCHUTTER (1994: 123-124) claims that the inflection *d* is followed by the pronoun *egij* or *egullie*. However, the pronouns *gij* and *gullie* also occur, according to DE SCHUTTER. This analysis is partly disproven by the data from DE VOGELAER (2008), see Map 16 on page 24, that shows that only in a few dialects *egij* is a pronominal element, which probably originated out of analogy with the pronoun *ekik*.

In this chapter the two main analyses for *de* are given. In Paragraph 6.2 I will connect these analyses to my structural analysis.

## 4. Structure of the Research

As was shown in Chapter 2, the behavior of *de* differs throughout the dialect continuum. In most dialects *de* is attested after the verb, while in some *de* is also attested attached to the complementizer. Furthermore, there is variation in the type of pronoun occurring with *de*. For the majority of dialects, *de* has to be either followed by the full pronoun *gij* or *de* has to occur in the absence of an overt subject pronoun. However, in some dialects *de* can occur with the weak pronoun *ge*. Moreover, the exact relation between the widely attested *de* and the forms *ge*, *je*, *e* and other forms is not clear, neither is the relation between the behavior of the 2SG and the 2PL forms. For both the singular and the plural, the element *de* is attested in similar contexts, distributed similarly.

In this chapter, I will discuss the empirical and theoretical research: the empirical gaps will be discussed in 4.1, the analytic and structural questions in 4.2.

### 4.1 Empirical Research

The aim of this study is to bridge the gaps in the empirical data. I will investigate, in dialects in which *de* is attested, the types of patterns in inversion contexts with 2SG subjects, and how these patterns came about. In order to do this, I will create an overview of the elements that are attested and link them to the contexts they're attested in (after a verb, after a complementizer or after a comparative; also in what phonological context). I will also look at the behavior they display (occurrence with *gij*, with *ge* and/or with  $\emptyset$ ). Two further important factors are the possibility of pronominal doubling in all person and number combinations in the dialects and the occurrence and character of *de* with the 2PL in the dialects.

The goal of my data is to complete the missing data. To do so, it is necessary to examine the diachronic and synchronic variation concerning *de*. BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) and DE VOGELAER (2008) have provided synchronic data, in which empirical gaps and ambiguities need to be filled and resolved. VAN ENGELAND (2013) has done some diachronic research into the development of *de*, with the sole focus on the 2SG in Brabant in inverted contexts following the verb. In the following sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, I will give a detailed overview of what still needs to be investigated to explain the discrepancies.

#### 4.1.1 Synchronic Data

Synchronically, the data of the dialects in which *de* is attested has to be investigated precisely. As described above, different factors should be taken into account. The following is the most prominent:

- Which elements occur in each dialect, and in what contexts?
  - o *After verbs*
  - o *After complementizers*
  - o *After comparative complementizers*
  - o *The form of the weak and the strong pronoun*
  - o *Pronominal doubling in the base order (optional)*
- What pronouns co-occur with these elements, and in what contexts?
  - o 2SG: *gij, ø and/or ge*
  - o 2PL: *gullie and ø*
- How do other factors affect the element?
  - o *After 'to live' de is attested more than after 'to go'. The same goes for the complementizers als 'when' and dat 'that', after als, de is attested twice, after dat eleven times.*

According to the available data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006), the dialect continuum is centered around a big homogeneous group, consisting of the dialects of North Brabant, Antwerp and Flemish Brabant. In this group, *de* follows the verb and *ge* and *gij* follow the complementizer. At the borders of this homogenous group, heterogeneous dialect groups are found. Some dialects in the north of North Brabant also use *de* following the complementizer and in some cases have the weak pronoun *ge* following *de*. At the western border, the composite group of dialects in East Flanders has attestations with *je* and *ge* following the verb. The dialects of West Flanders form a consistent, but different, group, in which *je* is attested in base order, following the verb and following the complementizer.

The data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) is based on a limited number of test sentences from a limited number of dialects. For each dialect, dialect speakers were interviewed selected on strict requirements. They had to be 55 years or older and had to live in the same village or city for most of their lives. The data of by BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006), therefore, is restricted, it displays a limited number of dialects, based on elderly speakers.

In this study, I have investigated the empirical data in two ways. First, data has been collected through an online questionnaire distributed to dialect speakers from the entire dialect continuum. In this study, the group of participants is bigger and more diverse than the group of interviewees from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006). Therefore, more variation is expected. The only restriction was that the participant had to indicate the dialect he or she spoke, which had to be the dialect of a village or city. Not only the number of participants is higher, so is the number of the presented questions, and the different contexts in which the 2SG is queried. The data collected from this online questionnaire will complement the extensive data assembled by BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006), and will be analyzed in light of their work. Methodological issues and the results will be discussed in 5.1.

The results of the questionnaire were complemented with interviews with dialect speakers. The data from the online questionnaire indicated which dialects needed to be further investigated, judging from that data I have arranged the interviews. The choices, methodology and results will be discussed in 5.2.

#### 4.1.2 Diachronic Data

From a diachronic perspective, crucial information is missing. VAN ENGELAND (2013) described the history of *de* following a verb in the Brabantic dialects, but did not study *de* in other contexts. Data from the Flemish dialects is missing, more specifically data of *de* following the complementizer, the comparative and the verb. Research into the history of *de* in East Flanders after the verb, the comparative and the complementizer in the entire research area is essential for a fitting analysis of *de*. The development pattern of (general) pronominal doubling, linked to the diachronic data of *de* is also needed to place *de* in context. Furthermore, the history of pronominal doubling in West Flemish should be studied in more depth. The historical development of the *je*-element that is attested in every context in West Flemish dialects and attested in some contexts in some of the East Flemish dialects might be a crucial addition for the analysis (see section 2.1.4.2 about West and East Flanders).

### 4.2 Analytical & Structural Research

I will analyze the empirical data according to the research into the new data, as described above in 4.1. The synchronic and diachronic data as discussed in Chapter 2 will be complemented by the data of the current study. For the analysis of the syntactic nature and structural position of *de*, I will build from the data from Chapter 2 and the theories and analyses of Chapter 3. My analysis also needs to account for the data from the previously described empirical study. In Chapter 2, in which I have given the empirical background to this research, I started out with a single phenomenon, the element following the verb *leef* ‘to live’. The seemingly homogeneous areas of West Flanders with *je* and Brabant and East Flanders with *de* became less and less solid. Later in that chapter, I linked the attested variation to pronominal doubling and the history of *de*. The main goal of my research is to disentangle the different factors, closely describing the data and, more importantly, explain the data. This disentanglement will lead to a suitable and complete analysis that will account for each factor.

My analysis, therefore, needs to account for a number of elements and factors. The attested variation in the Flemish and Brabantic dialects will be the focal point, by giving overviews and schematic representations of the attested variation, before addressing it. These overviews will contain the combined data from my empirical background and from the data study. After exposing and explaining the different factors, the structural analysis will follow. This structural analysis will be based on the theories provided in Chapter 3, completed with other theories, disclosed in the analytical framework provided in Chapter 6. To sum up, my analysis must contain explanations for the following:

- The attested variation in the Flemish and Brabantic dialect continuum, in the 2sg
  - o The variation between *de*, *ge*, *ke*, *e* and *je*.
  - o Doubling following the verb.
    - The variation between *de gij* and *de ge*.
  - o The doubling possibility following the complementizer.

- The variation between *de gij*, *ge gij*, *ke gij*, *e gij* and *je gij*.
- The variation in the possibility of doubling following the complementizer.
- The doubling possibility following the comparative.
  - The variation between *de gij*, *ge gij*, *ke gij*, *e gij* and *je gij*.
  - The variation in the possibility of doubling following the complementizer.
- The relation between the 2SG and the 2PL.
- The relation between *de gij* and pronominal subject doubling in other person and number combinations.
- The diachronic data of *de*.
  - The developments that *de* has been through.
  - Diachronic background of the differences between Brabantic and Flemish dialects.
    - Details about when and how Brabantic and Flemish dialects started to differ.
    - The background of the differentiation between Brabantic and Flemish dialects.

This data will show precisely which differences exist in the dialect continuum, and how these differences came about. In my analysis, I will closely examine the data, explaining how *de* needs to be analyzed throughout the dialect continuum. This data will show whether *de* can be analyzed in terms of subject doubling, inflection and pro-drop.

## 5. Data

The goal of my data collection is to complement the empirical data of Chapter 2. In Chapter 4, I have discussed what empirical research was needed to be able to analyze the dialect continuum. I have distributed questionnaires and conducted interviews. In 5.1, I will discuss the methodology of the questionnaire as well as the results. In 5.2, the interviews will be discussed.

### 5.1 Online Questionnaire

To form a clear overview of the behavior of *de* and related elements, I have decided to distribute online questionnaires. The results of the questionnaire show what elements occur where, validated by the high number of participants.

#### 5.1.1 Methodology

In the questionnaire, the 2SG and 2PL have been queried in different inverted contexts to establish the distribution of the different elements, as there are *de*, *ge*, *gij* and *je*. In the questionnaires, the participants were asked to translate some Standard Dutch sentences into their dialect. To get a full overview of the behavior of the second person in inversion, some of the sentences required a translation with the stressed form of the pronoun, while in other sentences the unstressed form would be more appropriate. In the translation assignments, all different contexts were queried: the inverted order following the verb, following the complementizer and following the comparative. These questions were preceded by questions about the background of the participant. First, the participant filled out their name and current place of residence, followed by gender and year of birth. After that, the participant indicated to which village or city

their dialect belonged to, and which dialects his/her parent(s) spoke. Finally, the participant was asked to indicate where she/he had lived between birth and their 21<sup>st</sup> birthday. The exact form of the questionnaire is given in Appendix I.

In CORNIPS & JONGENBURGER (2001), task effects of written questionnaires are discussed. The three main effects are (i) the repetition effect, (ii) the judging of syntactic constructions as ungrammatical simply on the basis of lexical items or ‘knowledge of the world’ and (iii) the fact that written forms are unduly influenced by prescriptive educational practices. Since my questionnaire asked the participants to translate Standard Dutch sentences to dialect, (ii) can be excluded. The participants did not judge the Standard Dutch sentences to be ungrammatical, since that is not the task at hand. (iii) can be excluded to a great extent. Even if the participants follow the local spelling conventions, this will not affect my results, since I am not analyzing the phonological content of the data.

However, for the task at hand, the repetition effect might be problematic. In the questionnaire, the participants were asked to translate Standard Dutch sentences to their dialects, and therefore could simply follow the order of the Standard Dutch sentence and translate the words one per one. CORNIPS (1997) examines the validity of a particular dialect questionnaire.<sup>26</sup> In this research, she discusses the repetition effect in the dialect questionnaire. She concludes that for syntactic constructions, the repetition effect could affect the results, since the same kind of sentential construction is presented to the participant over and over. For my questionnaire, the grammaticality of the utterance is at best a subordinate role, the dialectal morphosyntax has the main focus. For my research, the combination of a verb, complementizer or comparative with a subject pronoun is investigated, in the dialects. In these dialects, the form of the pronoun differs from Standard Dutch, so the effect of repetition or reproduction is excluded. Even in cases wherein the participants translate the utterances word per word, I only focus on the relation between the subject pronoun and what precedes it. Furthermore, CORNIPS (1997) explains that the spread of the different attestations, can indicate whether or not the questionnaire is reliable, if it is affected by different kind of effects. If the distribution shows variation in homogeneous areas, this indicates that the questionnaire results are reliable.

I distributed two questionnaires: one for the Netherlandic dialects and one for the dialects in Belgium, included in Appendix I. These questionnaires differ slightly: the main difference is that the Belgian questionnaire contains one more question than the Netherlandic, regarding fronting in imperatives. Fronting in imperatives is a major component in the theory of BARBIERS (2013) and BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear), which was discussed above in Chapter 3. Another difference between the questionnaires is the used first names and surnames. This difference will be discussed in the section about the questions and test items following.

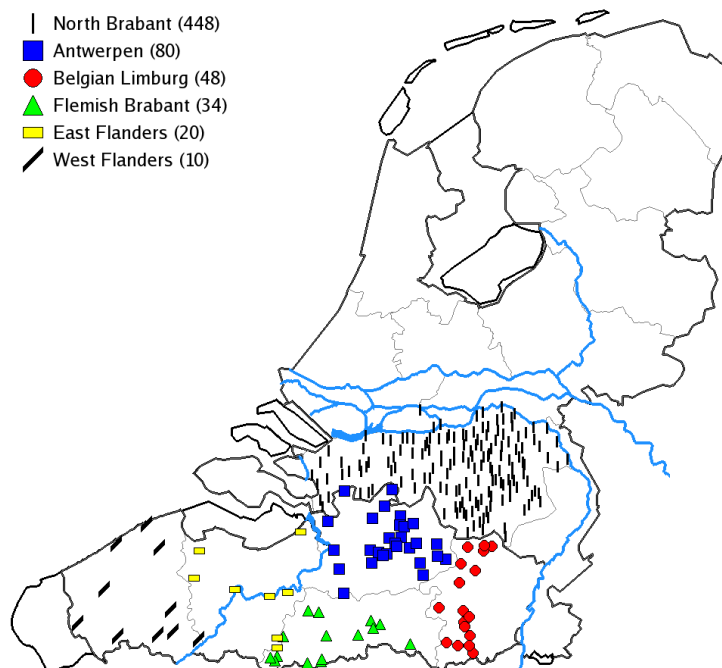
The Netherlandic questionnaire is distributed in light of a bigger Dutch dialect research, called *Vraag & Antwoord* (‘Question & Answer’), headed by the University of Groningen. In this project, questionnaires are being distributed in different dialect areas: Groningen (province), Drenthe, Zeeland and North Brabant that are each headed by a local researcher. My questions were included in the questionnaire for North Brabant, in which general questions for the entire project are complemented by questions for just North Brabant. This questionnaire is headed by

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<sup>26</sup> Dialect questionnaire Willems (1885), an questionnaire into Limburgian adjectives.

Professor Doctor Jos Swanenberg of Tilburg University, who also holds the position of regional language functionary, appointed by the provincial government of North Brabant.

The questionnaire for the Dutch speaking part of Belgium was distributed by me. In all provinces in this area, one or more of the forms *de*, *je* and *ge* are attested. Therefore, no restriction for an area were indicated. However, in the eastern part of Belgian Limburg, dialects are spoken in which *de* is not attested. I have chosen to exclude participants from this area afterwards. I have only excluded the participants from East Limburg afterwards, since a preselection could lead to uncertainty about who can participate. Now, I have asked anyone who spoke a Dutch dialect to participate, instead of everyone except participants that speak a dialect from the eastern part of Limburg. However, I have not actively distributed the questionnaire in the eastern area of Belgian Limburg. The initial distribution of the questionnaire was carried out by emailing the link to people associated with dialect organizations and local history societies.



Map 1: The participants ordered by province.

In total 716 participants filled out the questionnaire from start to finish. Before analyzing the data, some of the participants were excluded, for two main reasons. The first reason concerned the answer to the question that asked the participants to name the city or village that their dialect belongs to. Some people filled out multiple cities or villages or more general answers, like *boxtel/oosterhout/breda/bladel* or *East Flemish*. This resulted in the exclusion of 47 participants. However, if the participant indicated that he or she spoke the dialect of two neighboring villages or cities, I have selected the dialect that was related to the most factors. For example, a male participant has indicated that he speaks the dialects of Goirle and Tilburg. Goirle is a village, just south from the city Tilburg. Furthermore, the participant indicated that both of his parents speak the Goirle dialect and that he lived in Goirle until his 20<sup>th</sup>. This participant is included for the Goirle dialect. As mentioned above, the area I research roughly contains the provinces West Flanders, East Flanders, Flemish Brabant (including Brussels), Antwerp and North Brabant and

border areas in Belgian Limburg, Dutch Limburg, Zeeland and Gelderland. For the Belgian questionnaire, participants from certain parts of Belgian Limburg were excluded, since *de* is was not attested in this area. This resulted in the exclusion of 26 participants.<sup>27</sup> The final three data points that were excluded, was data from participants that filled out the Belgian questionnaire, while they spoke a dialect from Dutch Limburg, irrelevant for my research. The resulting 640 participants are divided over the provinces as follows: 448 from North Brabant and 192 from Belgium. The Belgian participants are distributed over the provinces as following: 80 from Antwerp, 48 from Belgian Limburg, 34 from Flemish Brabant, 20 from East Flanders and 10 from West Flanders. Map 1 above shows this distribution and Table 1 below the distribution of the age groups.

	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	75+	x	Total	Mean
<b>Netherl.</b>	2	12	27	74	150	141	38	4	448	61.7
<b>Belgium</b>	35	37	18	22	33	37	10		192	47.7
<b>Total</b>	37	49	45	96	183	178	48	4	640	57.5

Table 1: *The age groups and average age of the participants, ordered per country.*

The maps in this chapter are created through an online application, created by the Meertens Institute. This application creates maps by linking the so-called Kloeke codes<sup>28</sup> to locations on a map. For the creation of the maps I have converted the given dialects to these codes, which were then used to create the maps.<sup>29</sup>

### 5.1.2 Questions & Test Items

In the questionnaire, the second personal singular and plural are queried in different contexts, following verbs, complementizers and comparatives. The participants were asked to translate the Standard Dutch sentence to their dialect. Below my test items are given, in Standard Dutch:

- Following the verb
  - o *moet je* 'must you-DEF': 1b
  - o *heb je* 'have you-DEF': 3a
  - o *wil jij* 'want you-STR': 4a
  - o *kunnen jullie* 'can you-PL': 5a<sup>30</sup>
- Following the complementizer
  - o *dat je* 'that you- DEF': 1a, 3b
  - o *dat jij* 'that you- STR': 2b
  - o *als je* 'if you- DEF': 1c, 3c

<sup>27</sup> The dialect area of Belgian Limburg is divided in smaller groups in traditional dialect research, applied by the Limburgian Dictionary (see: <http://dialect.ruhosting.nl/wld/>). The participants from Demerkempen, Dommelland, Geteland, Lommel, Lonerland, Noorderkempen and Truierland were included; the participants from Bilzerland, Centraal Maasland, Geulland, Horn, Maaskempen and Tongerland were excluded.

<sup>28</sup> Kloeke codes are created by G.G. Kloeke since 1920, and are still expanded, in order to link each dialect to its own specific code. More about Kloeke codes on the website of the Meertens Institute: <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/kloeke/>

<sup>29</sup> The application is freely accessible through <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/kaart/>

<sup>30</sup> The non-auxiliary verb *bedoel* 'mean' is excluded, since the context led to translations in the past tense. Therefore, only auxiliaries are left.



- *als jij* 'if you- STR': 2d, 4b
  - *als jullie* 'if you-PL': 5b
  - *dat jullie* 'that you-PL': 5c
- Following the comparative
- *als jij* 'as you- STRONG': 1d
  - *dan jij* 'than you- STRONG': 2b, 4c

In comparatives, only the strong variant is tested, since the contrast that a comparative clause bears, requires a focalized, strong pronoun following the comparative.

Questions 6-10 query demonstrative doubling, questions 2a and 11 (only in Belgium) query fronting in imperatives. Demonstrative doubling and fronting in imperatives are main components of the analysis of BARBIERS (2013) and BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear). The data from these questions will be discussed in Chapter 6.

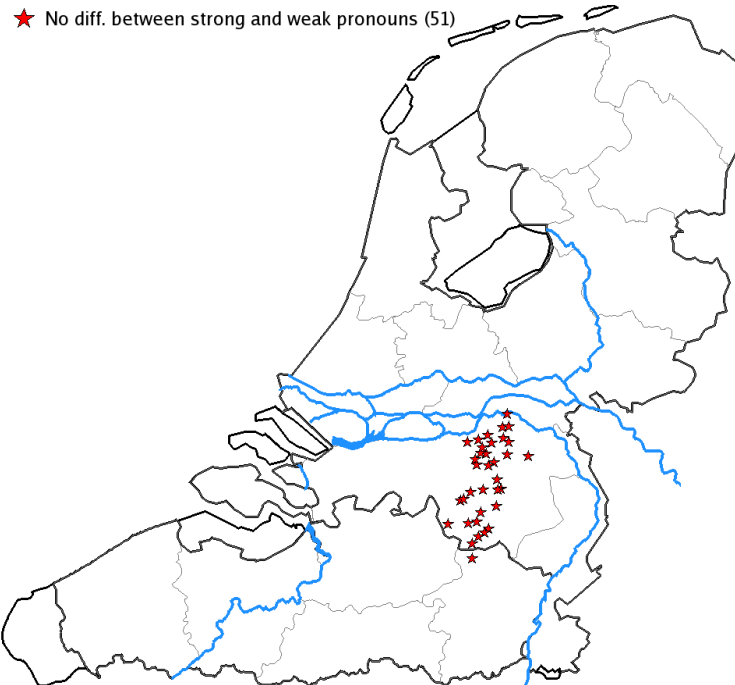
As indicated above, the two questionnaires differ in the used names. In the questionnaires the questions were embedded in contexts with couples and families. For the questionnaire, I have used names that are common for both areas, in different age groups. For question groups 1 until 4, I introduced two elderly couples, in group 5 a family was introduced and in 6 until 9 a young couple was introduced. In question group 11, which was only included in the Belgium questionnaire a new elderly couple was introduced. The names in the questionnaire for North Brabant are conceived from my experience, being a North Brabant native. The used names for the elderly are the names of my four grandparents, *Riet*, *Henk*, *Sjan* and *Piet*, the names for the young people are thought up by using the first names of two famous people from North Brabant, *Guus Meeuwis* and *Yvon Jaspers*. The used family name is a popular last name in North Brabant, *Van den Boogaart*. The names in the Belgian questionnaire are found in two databases that show the distribution of first names and surnames in Belgium, with a division between names from the Dutch speaking part and the French speaking part of Belgium. The used names for the elderly people are *Anna*, *Marcel*, *Paula*, *Frans*, *Marie* and *Willy*, the young couple consists of *Hilde* and *Johan* and the family is called *Peeters*.<sup>31</sup>

### 5.1.3 Results

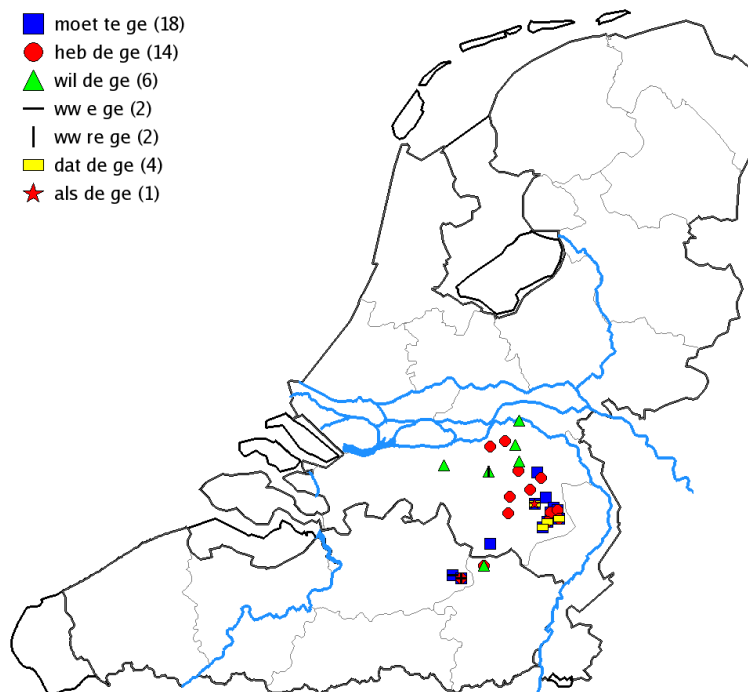
Analyzing the data, I have focused on deviations from the empirical data, as described in paragraph 2.1. First, I focused on the construction *de ge* following the verb. However, while processing this data, I was confronted with a different issue. 51 of the participants did not make a distinction, or made an incoherent distinction, between the strong pronoun *gij* and the weak pronoun *ge*. 35 participants always spelled *ge*, even in contexts where the strong pronoun is required. In the sentences in which the pronoun followed the comparative, a strong pronoun is required, since it is a contrasting element which requires focus. The remaining 16 participants used both the strong pronoun *gij* as the weak pronoun *ge*, but used the weak pronoun *ge* following comparatives. In Map 2 below, the dialects in which this non-distinction was attested are displayed.

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<sup>31</sup> This data is accessible through <http://statbel.fgov.be/nl/statistieken/cijfers/bevolking/namen/>



Map 2: *Dialect speakers that do not distinguish between the weak and the strong pronoun for 2SG.*<sup>32</sup>



Map 3: *The dialects in which de ge is attested with the 2SG.*<sup>33</sup>

The considerable number of attestations in a specific area point out to structural issues concerning the distinction between the strong and the weak 2SG pronoun in this dialect area. Two possible explanations are at hand. The first option is that there is no distinction between the

<sup>32</sup> Based on the attestation of *ge* following a comparative, questions 1d, 2c and 4c.

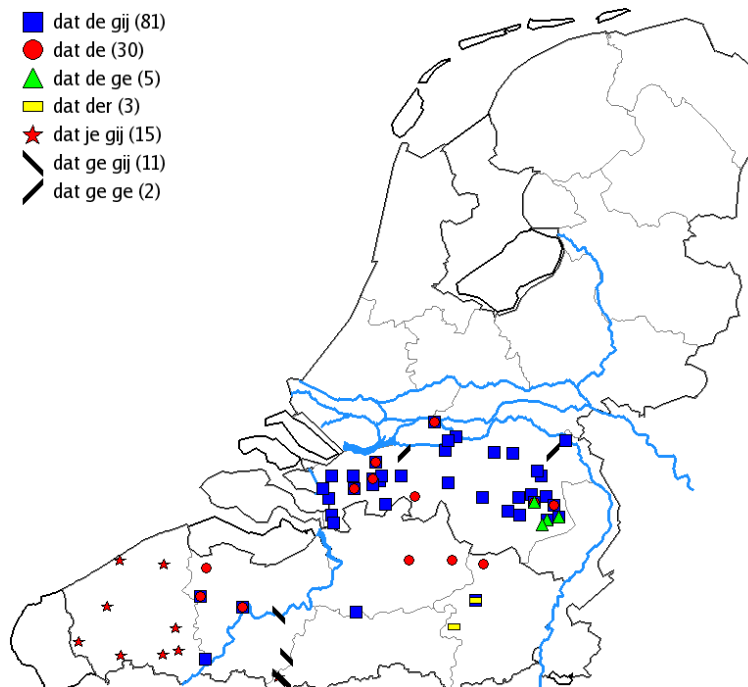
<sup>33</sup> Based on questions 1a-d, 2b-d, 3a-c and 4a-c.

weak and the strong pronoun is this area. The second option is that the distinction is present in the dialects, but somehow lost in written form. In the dialect area indicated on Map 2, the pronunciation of strong pronoun *gij* ends in the vowel *e*, while the weak pronoun ends in a schwa, often indicated with an *e*. This can explain the 35 participants that did not differentiate between the weak and the strong pronoun, but not the 16 who did differentiate between *ge* and *gij*. These participants used the weak pronoun *ge* in contexts that required *gij*.

Map 3 above shows the attestation of *de ge* following verbs and complementizers, the data from the dialect speakers that didn't distinguished the strong and the weak form are excluded, since it is not clear if the weak *ge* or the strong *gij* is used.

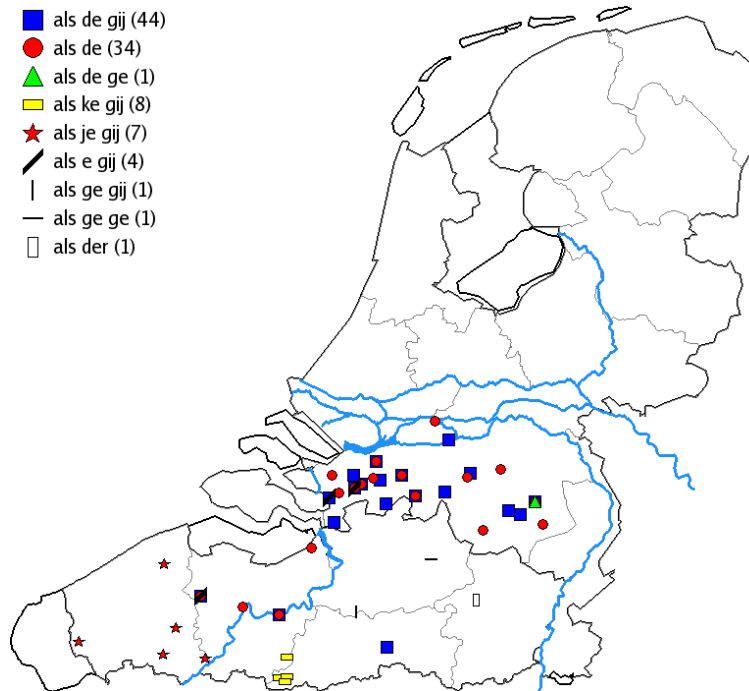
The distribution of *de ge* largely follows the distribution recorded by DE VOGELAER (2008: 256) (see Map 11, section 2.1.4.1). The attested distribution differs with respect to the western area of Netherlandic Brabant, in which DE SCHUTTER (2005) has recorded an attestation, while BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) and my data have not.

Maps 4 and 5 below display the elements following the complementizer. As is described in the empirical background, *de* following a complementizer is not widely attested, apart from the northern area of Netherlandic Brabant and some dialects in East Flanders. However, the data from the online questionnaire shows a wider distribution. Maps 4 and 5 not only show the distribution of *de* and the similar *der*, but also the distribution of other doubling constructions, like *je gij*, *ge gij* and *ke gij*.



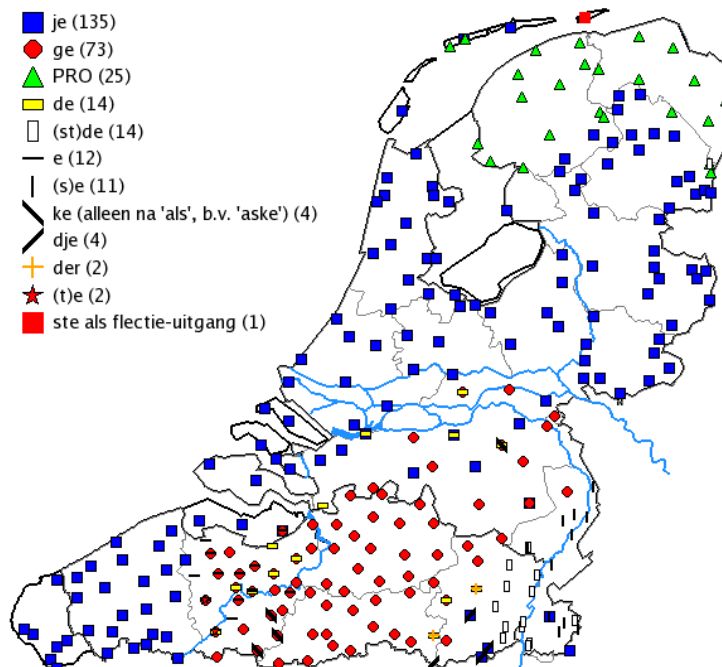
Map 4: The element *de* and the doubling constructions following the complementizer *dat* 'that' with the 2SG.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Data for *dat* from questions 1a, 2b and 3a.



Map 5: The element *de* and the doubling constructions following the complementizer *als* 'when' with the 2SG.<sup>35</sup>

Comparing the attested elements following the complementizer to the data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2006), some substantial dissimilarities emerge. For convenience, the map that shows the distribution of the elements following the complementizer from BARBIERS ET AL. (2006) is repeated below in Map 6.



Map 6: The element following a complementizer in sentences with a non-stressed 2SG subject (BARBIERS ET AL. 2006) – REPEATED.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Data for *als* from questions 1a, 2d, 3c and 4b.

The main dissimilarity between the data from the online question and the data displayed in Map 6 above is the distribution of *de* in the Netherlandic Brabantic area. According to the data, *de* following the complementizer is attested throughout North Brabant. The combination *dat de* is attested more frequently than *als de* and *dat de* is also attested in a more sizable area than *als de*. Where *dat de* is attested throughout the province of North Brabant, *als de* is not attested in the northeastern area of the province and is less attested in the rest of the area.

Since multiple questions are combined, the number of attestations does not accord with the number of (unique) participants that use *dat de* or *als de*. In North Brabant, 58 participants have, at least once, used *dat de* and 34, at least once, used *als de*. In total, 71 participants have used a complementizer followed by *de*, at least once. Including the attestations in Belgian Limburg and Antwerp, the number of participants that have used the complementizer followed by *de* at least once is 75.<sup>37</sup> As the Tables 2 and 3 below show, the mean age of the participants that use a complementizer followed by *de* does not differ from the mean age of all participants. The data therefore needs to be analyzed as a marginal phenomenon that is found in a cross-section of 71 Netherlandic Brabantic participants. The 71 participants together form 15.8% of the Netherlandic Brabantic participants, and therefore cannot be dismissed. However, because of the distribution over the different age groups, a complementizer followed by *de* can't be analyzed as a recent change or development. Because of its distribution, the phenomenon must be analyzed as a structure that is present in a lesser extent than the commonly used *dat ge* and *als ge*.

	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	75+	Total	Mean
<b>Antwerpen</b>	1	1				1		3	
<b>Belg. Limb.</b>			1	1				2	
<b>Neth. Brab.</b>		1	7	7	26	12	5	58	
<b>Total</b>	1	2	8	8	26	13	5	63	59.4

Table 2: The participants, divided by age group, that use *dat-de*.

	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	75+	Total	Mean
<b>Neth. Brab.</b>		1	3	5	13	9	3	34	61.2

Table 3: The participants, divided by age group, that use *als-de*.

For the Belgian part of the dialect continuum, no extensive dissimilarities are found. In the Belgian Brabantic dialects, the element *de* following a complementizer is attested four times and doubling of the weak pronoun *ge* is attested twice.<sup>38</sup> The data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) displays one attestation of *de* in Flemish Brabant and one attestation of a doubling construction, like *ge gij*, following the complementizer. No discrepancies are found between the two datasets regarding the Flemish dialects and Belgian Limburg.

In the following map, Map 7, the distribution of two elements following the comparative is given. The data mostly concurs with the data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006), since doubling following a comparative is only attested in East Flanders (including the border area between

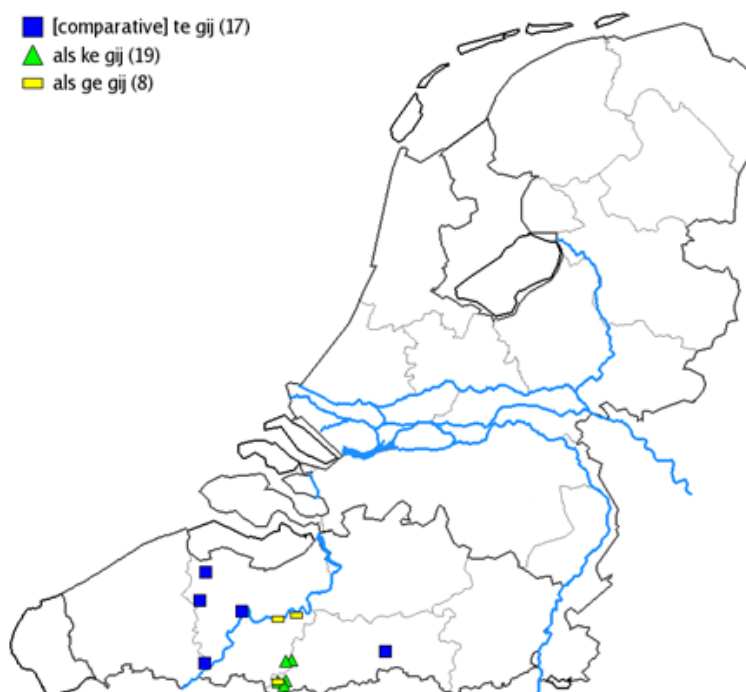
<sup>36</sup> In the legend, some phenomena are explained in Dutch, for completeness:

- "alleen na 'als', b.v. 'aske'" --> only after the complementizer *als* 'when', f.e. *aske*
- "ste als flectie-uitgang" --> *ste* as inflection

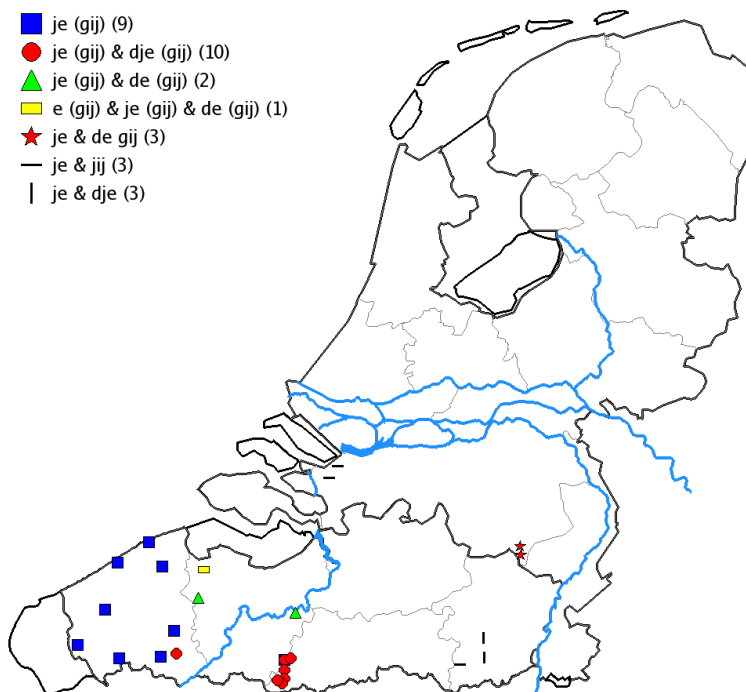
<sup>37</sup> Please note that all these participants also use *de* following a verb.

<sup>38</sup> The attestations of *dat ge gij* and *als ke gij* on the border between Flemish Brabant and East Flanders are classified as Flemish.

East Flanders and Flemish Brabant). One participant from Leuven formulated constructions with doubling following the comparative, leading to the single, isolated discrepancy between the data of the online questionnaire and the data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006).



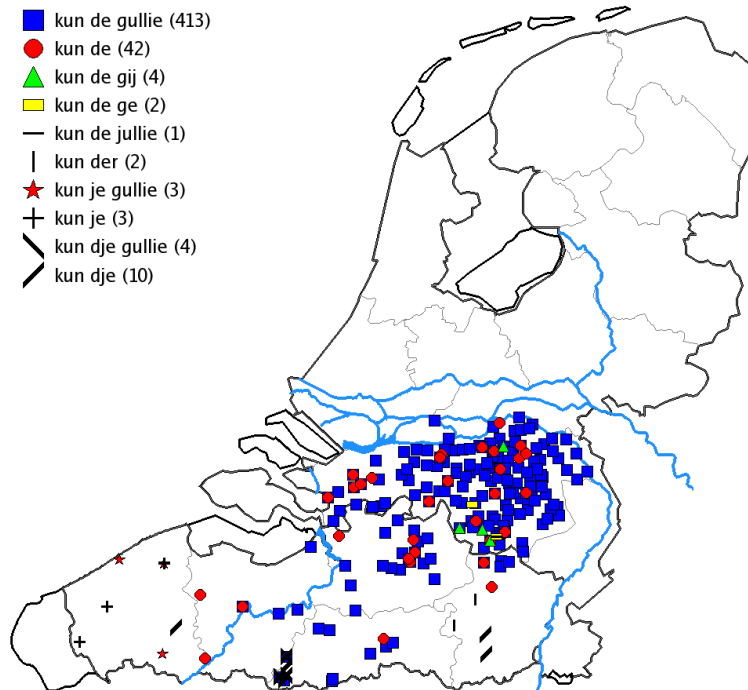
Map 7: The dialects in which two elements follow a comparative with the 2SG.<sup>39</sup>



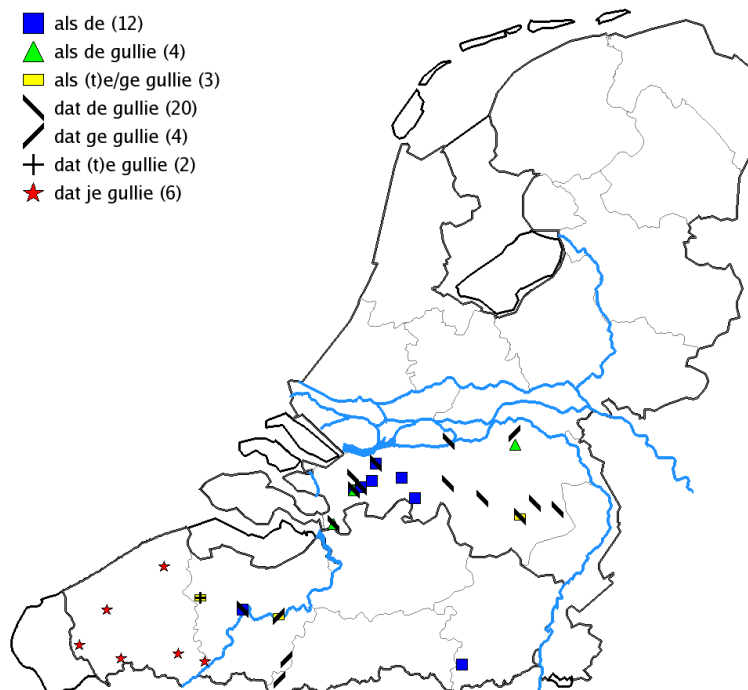
Map 8: The verbal patterns in the dialects in which je is attested with the 2SG.

<sup>39</sup> Based on questions 1d, 2c and 4c. The comparatives in [comparative] te gij are *dan*, *als*, *of* and *gelijk*.

Map 8 above shows the attestations of the pronoun for the dialects in which *je* is attested. The dialects with the blue square always have *je* following the verb, while the other symbols show variation in the element following the verb. The data matches the data provided by DEVOS (1986), as discussed in section 2.1.4.2, and illustrated in Maps 13-15, pages 23-24.



Map 9: The 2PL elements following the verb *kunnen* 'to can'.<sup>40</sup>



Map 10: The element *de* and the doubling constructions following the complementizers *dat* and *als* with the 2PL.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Data from the answers to question 5a.

For the second person plural, I have investigated the element(s) following the verb *kunnen* ‘to can’ and following the complementizers *dat* ‘that’ and *als* ‘when’. Map 9 above shows the elements following the verb. The attested distribution coincides with the data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) and DEVOS (1986). The Map 10 above shows *de* following the complementizer, as well as the doubling constructions, like *ge gullie* and *je gullie*.

## 5.2 Interviews

To complement the data from the online questionnaire, I have conducted three interviews. The dialects investigated have been chosen meticulously: three different border areas have been researched. The chosen dialect areas display certain border phenomena. In the dialect continuum of Brabantic and Flemish, homogenous dialect areas can be recognized. From the available data, a big part of East Flanders seems to be a transitional zone between Brabantic and (West) Flemish. This area starts in the west of the seemingly consistent Brabantic area, starting in Brussels. My first interview is held west of Brussels, with speakers of the Galmaarden dialect. The second interview is held in Bergen op Zoom that also seems to be in this border area, only in the northern part. Bergen op Zoom is also on the northwestern border of the dialect continuum between Brabantic and Hollandic, in which *de* is not attested. The final interview is held in Vlijmen, on the northeastern border area between Brabantic and Gelders, in which *de* is not attested. The data from these interviews will help in defining the borders of the different areas. The speakers were found through (amateur) heritage associations in the case of Galmaarden, a local history association in the case of Vlijmen and through personal connections of Professor Doctor Jos Swanenberg in the case of Bergen op Zoom.

### 5.2.1 Methodology

The structural component of the interviews I have taken with dialect speakers is largely based on the *SAND* (*Syntactical Atlas of Dutch Dialects*, BARBIERS ET AL. 2005) requirements and methodology. The questions and the test items are included in Appendix I.

#### 5.2.1.1 Informants

The participating informants had to satisfy the criteria, listed below:

The informant

- (i) speaks the dialect of its place of residence
- (ii) is raised and lives in the current place of residence
- (iii) is raised by (a) speaker(s) of the concerning dialect
- (iv) uses dialect at home and in (at least) one public domain

In the interviews, the participants were first asked to introduce themselves, and answer questions regarding these criteria. In the open discussion that followed, some of the aforementioned criteria were discussed more thoroughly. Other topics in the open discussion regarded the stance of the participants towards the dialect, standard language and the place of residence.

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<sup>41</sup> Data for *dat* from question 5b. Data for *als* from question 5c.



### 5.2.1.2 *The Fieldworker*

For the interviews, some factors needed to be taken into account, especially the possible influence of the fieldworker. The fieldworker, the author of this thesis, is raised in Den Bosch, in the northeast of Netherlandic Brabant, his parents and grandparents being Tilburg natives, in the middle of Netherlandic Brabant. To minimize the influence of the language of the fieldworker<sup>42</sup>, the fieldworker remained in the background, with the possibility to intervene in case needed. The fieldworker welcomed the participants, and the interviewer explained the structure of the interview, telling that his role in the interview would be marginal. The fieldworker explained that the participants firstly had to introduce themselves and that he would afterwards ask them some questions as a group, as mentioned above. During this introduction the interviewer used a regional language, a general (Netherlandic) Brabantic. After these two phases test sentences were presented, discussed below under *elicitation tasks*.

### 5.2.1.3 *Elicitation Tasks*

In the interviews, the participants had to execute two different elicitation tasks. In these tasks, the test sentences were presented in two different ways.

- (i) Presenting a test sentence in the concerning dialect, asking if this sentence occurs in their dialect. If it occurs, asking how conventional the sentence is.
- (ii) Presenting a Standard Dutch sentence, asking to translate the sentence into the dialect.

For (i), sentences from the questionnaire were presented. The dialectal sentences were retrieved from the responses on the online questionnaire that was distributed in the dialect continuum, guaranteeing its authenticity; (variations of) translations of the test sentences from the online questionnaire given by the speakers from the concerning dialect were used. One of the participants was asked to read the sentences out loud, after which all participants would discuss its occurrence and validity. After each set of sentences, it was asked of the participants to indicate which sentences occurred in their dialect and of those, which sentences were conventional. This follows the methodology of the *SAND*-project.

For (ii), the second person subject pronouns were embedded in different contexts in Standard Dutch, following a range of verbs, complementizers and comparatives. The participants were asked to translate these Standard Dutch sentences.

Other elicitation tasks, like judging a Standard Dutch sentence on its conventionality in the dialect and finishing sentences using pictures were not used, since these types of tasks are not deemed successful for querying the dialectal pronominal system and agreement paradigm.

### 5.2.2 Questions & Test Items

In the interviews, I have systematically queried the 2SG and the 2PL in inverted contexts. I will firstly discuss the Standard Dutch sentences I have asked the participants to translate. The main questions were the same for all three interviews. Below, I have listed the test items in Standard Dutch I have asked the participants to translate, presented out of their context. The number following refers to the sentence, enclosed in Appendix II.

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<sup>42</sup> The participants could be inclined to speak a more formalized or regionalized dialect or a standard language, because of the language of the fieldworker, referred to as *accommodation*, see Barbiers et al. (2005: 'Commentaar' 6-8).

- Following the verb
  - *denk je* 'do you-DEF' 1-4h
  - *denk jij* 'think you-STRONG' 1-6a\*
  - *doe je* 'do you- DEF' 1-1b
  - *doe jij* 'do you-STRONG' 1-1a
  - *drink je* 'drink you- DEF' 1-3a
  - *drink jij* 'drink you-STRONG' 1-3b
  - *ga je* 'go you- DEF' 1-6c
  - *ga jij* 'go you-STRONG' 1-3d
  - *gaan jullie* 'go you-PLURAL-FOC-' 1-1f
  - *gaan jullie* 'go you-PLURAL-FOC+' 1-4d
  - *leef je* 'live you- DEF' 1-2e
  - *leef jij* 'live you-STRONG' 1-5g
  - *leven jullie* 'live you-PLURAL-FOC-' 1-5d
  - *leven jullie* 'live you-PLURAL-FOC+' 1-5f
  - *lees je* 'read you- DEF' 1-2b
  - *lees jij* 'read you-STRONG' 1-5a
  
- Following the complementizer
  - *dat + je* 1-1c
  - *dat + jij* 1-2c
  - *dat + jullie-* 1-3c
  - *dat + jullie+* 1-4c
  - *als + je* 1-4b & 1-3a
  - *als + jij* 1-4g & 1-2f\*
  - *als + jullie-* 1-3e & 1-5a\*
  - *als + jullie+* 1-1e & 1-4e\*
  - *of + je* 1-4a & 1-5c\*
  - *of + jij* 1-2d & 1-6b\*
  - *of + jullie-* 1-3g
  - *of + jullie+* 1-1d
  
- Following the comparative
  - *als[comp]+jij* 1-6c
  - *als[comp]+jullie+* 1-4h
  - *dan + jij* 1-5b
  - *dan + jullie+* 1-6d

The elements indicated with an asterisk (\*) are not included in the questionnaire for Galmaarden. Per interview, different questions were added. For the interview in Galmaarden questions with all person and number combinations were added, to study pronominal doubling in this dialect. In Galmaarden, I have also queried the element following a verb with a past tense, in light of the existence of a pronoun *egij* (see section 2.1.4.2). For the interviews in Bergen op Zoom and

Vlijmen, more questions with the 2SG in inverted contexts were added, since in these dialects *de ge* is attested following a verb and *de gij* following the complementizer (see section 5.1.3).

In part 2 of the interview, in which participants had to judge dialect sentences, more specific elements were tested. Generally the elements that could follow verbs and complementizers were presented, together with items that were found in neighboring dialects. For the Galmaarden interview, the possibility of the presence of a clitic between *de* and *gij* or *gullie* was queried (see 2.1.4.2). For Bergen op Zoom and Vlijmen, the availability of *de ge* following a verb and *de gij* following a complementizer was queried.

Part 3 of the interview consisted in translating of some Standard Dutch word pares, consisting of a verb and a subject pronoun. These items served as control items.

### 5.2.3 Results

In this section, I will discuss the results from each interview separately, starting with Galmaarden, followed by Bergen op Zoom and Vlijmen.

#### 5.2.3.1 Galmaarden

In the Galmaarden interview, the translation sentences were mostly querying the pronominal elements that occur in inverted sentences. Pronominal doubling in general was widely attested, in accordance with BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006). In this section, I will discuss the occurrence of the second person subjects following verbs, complementizers and comparatives. In the table below, interesting and deviating data is indicated by bold font.

	Test Item	Question	Result
<b>Following the Complementizer</b>	dat + je	1-1c	<i>da ge</i>
	dat + jij	1-2c	<i>da ge gij</i>
	dat + jullie-	1-3c	<i>da ge</i>
	dat + jullie+	1-4c	<i>da gullie</i>
	als + je	1-4b	<i>as ke</i>
	als + je	1-3a	<i>as ke</i>
	als + jij	1-4g	<i>as ke gij</i>
	als + jullie-	1-3e	<i>as ke gullie</i>
	als + jullie+	1-1e	<i>as ke gullie</i>
	of + je	1-4a	<i>of da gij / of da ge</i>
<b>Following the Comparative</b>	of + jij	1-2d	<i>da gij</i>
	of + jullie-	1-3g	<i>of da ge gullie</i>
	of + jullie+	1-1d	<i>of (da) gullie</i>
	als + jij	1-6c	<i>as ke gij</i>
	als + jullie+	1-4h	<i>as ke gullie</i>
<b>Following the Present Tense Finite Verb</b>	dan + jij	1-5b	<i>as ke gij</i>
	dan + jullie+	1-6d	<i>as ke gullie</i>
	denk + je	1-4h	<i>peis de</i>
	denken + jullie-	1-3f	<i>peis de (gullie)</i>
	doe + je	1-1b	<b><i>doe je gij</i></b>
	doe + jij	1-1a	<b><i>doe dje / doe je (gij)</i></b>
	drink + je	1-3a	<i>drink de</i>
	drink + jij	1-3b	<i>x</i>
	ga + je	1-6c	<i>ga je</i>
	ga + jij	1-3d	<i>ga je gij / ga je</i>

	gaan + jullie-	1-1f	<i>ga je gullie</i>
	gaan + jullie+	1-4d	<i>ga j(e) gullie</i>
	leef + je	1-2e	<i>leef de</i>
	leef + jij	1-5g	<i>leef de gij</i>
	leven + jullie-	1-5d	<i>leef de gullie</i>
	leven + jullie+	1-5f	<i>leef de gullie</i>
	lees + je	1-2b	<i>lees de (gij)</i>
	lees + jij	1-2a	<i>lees de gij</i>
<b>Following the Past Tense Finite Verb</b>	leefde + je	1-2f	<i>leef de</i>
	leefde + jij	1-5a	<i>leef de gullie</i>
	leefden + jullie-	1-5e	<i>leefden ge gullie / woonde ge gullie / woerder gullie</i>
	leefden + jullie+	1-5c	<i>gullie leefden</i>

Table 4: Test Items and Results Interview Galmaarden – Part 1.

In part 2, the participants had to indicate if certain sentences were existent in their dialect and which of those are commonly used and which are not.

Results Part 2<sup>43</sup>:

1. *wil dje gij - wil dje 't gij - wil dje gij dat - wil dje dat gij*
2. Fronting in imperatives: not allowed
3. ***moe je - mœe de - moe je gij - mœe de gij***
4. ***kun dje gullie da - kun dje gullie 't - kun dje dat gullie - kun dje 't gullie***
5. ***dat ge - dat gij - dat ge gij - dat de - dat de gij - dat je - dat je gij***
6. *lees dje - lees de - lees je - lees ke*

### 5.2.3.2 Bergen op Zoom

In the interview in Bergen op Zoom the second person subject was queried more extensively. The results from Bergen op Zoom form new data, since Bergen op Zoom was not queried in BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006). It does resemble the data from the more southern Ossendrecht to some extent.

In part 2, the participants had to indicate if certain sentences were existent in their dialect and which of those are commonly used and which are not.

Results Part 2<sup>44</sup>:

1. ~~*bedoel e - bedoel e ge - bedoel e gij - bedoel de - bedoel de ge - bedoel de gij*~~
2. Fronting in imperatives: not allowed
3. ~~*wil de 't gij - wilde da gij - wilde gij 't - wil de gij dat*~~
4. ***dat ge - dat gij - dat ge gij - dat de - dat de ge - dat de gij***

<sup>43</sup> The items with a black font color occur in Galmaarden Dutch, the bold faced items are conventional. The items with a strikethrough do not occur.

<sup>44</sup> The items with a black font color occur in Bergen op Zoom Dutch, the bold faced items are conventional. The items with a strikethrough do not occur.

5. **kunnen jullie** - ~~kunnen gullie~~ - ~~kun de gullie~~ - ~~kun de~~ - ~~ken de gullie~~ - ~~ken de~~<sup>45</sup>  
6. **wil de** - **wilde gij** - ~~wil je~~ - ~~wil jij~~ - ~~wil e~~ - **wil e gij**

In the table below, interesting and deviating data is indicated by bold font.

	Test Item	Question	Result
Following the Complementizer	dat + je	1-1c	<i>da gij</i>
	dat + jij	1-2c	<i>da gij</i>
	dat + jullie-	1-3c	<i>da jullie</i>
	dat + jullie+	1-4c	<i>as ge / as jullie</i>
	als + je	1-4b 1-3a 1-4g	<i>as ge</i> <i>as ge</i> <i>as gij</i>
	als + jij	1-2f 1-5e	<b><i>as e gij</i></b> <b><i>as g(e) jij</i></b>
	als + jullie-	1-3e	<i>as jullie</i>
		1-5a	<i>as jullie</i>
	als + jullie+	1-1e	<i>as jullie</i>
		1-4e	<i>as jullie</i>
	of + je	1-4a 1-5c	<i>of gij / kom e gij / kom de gij</i> <i>of gij</i>
	of + jij	1-2d 1-6b	<i>of gij</i> <i>of da gij</i>
Following the Comparative	of + jullie-	1-3g	<i>of jullie</i>
	of + jullie+	1-1d	<i>of jullie</i>
	als + jij	1-6c	<i>as jij</i>
	als + jullie+	1-4h	<i>as jullie</i>
Following the Verb	dan + jij	1-5b	<i>dan gij / as gij</i>
	dan + jullie+	1-6d	<i>as jullie</i>
	denk + je	1-4h	<i>denk te gij</i>
	denk + jij	1-6a	<i>denk te gij</i>
	doe + je	1-1b	<i>doe de gij</i>
	doe + jij	1-1a	<i>doe de gij</i>
	drink + je	1-3a	<i>drink de</i>
	drink + jij	1-3b	<i>drink te gij</i>
	ga + je	1-6c	<i>ga de gij</i>
	ga + jij	1-3d	<i>ga de gij</i>
	gaan + jullie-	1-1f	<i>gaan jullie / ga de</i>
	gaan + jullie+	1-4d	<i>gaan jullie</i>
	leef + je	1-2e	<i>leef de gij</i>
	leef + jij	1-5g	<i>leef de</i>
	leven + jullie-	1-5d	<i>leven jullie</i>
	leven + jullie+	1-5f	<i>zij je / zij de / leef de gij</i>
	lees + je	1-2b	<i>lees de gij</i>
	lees + jij	1-2a	<i>lees de gij</i>
	moet + je	1-5e	<i>moet te</i>
	moet + jij	1-4f	<i>moet te</i>

Table 5: Test Items and Results Interview Bergen op Zoom – Part 1.

<sup>45</sup> The participants consider *kun de* and *ken de* more as a singular form.

5.2.3.3 *Vlijmen*

The test items from the interview in *Vlijmen* closely resemble the items from the Bergen op Zoom interview. In the table below, interesting and deviating data is indicated by bold font.

	Test Item	Question	Result
Following the Complementizer	dat + je	1-1c	<i>da ge</i>
	dat + jij	1-2c	<i>da gij</i>
	dat + jullie-	1-3c	<i>da jullie / da gullie</i>
	dat + jullie+	1-4c	<b>da de gullie</b>
	als + je	1-4b	<i>as ge</i>
		1-3a	<i>as ge</i>
		1-4g	<i>as gij</i>
	als + jij	1-2f	<i>as gij</i>
		1-5e	<i>as gij</i>
	als + jullie-	1-3e	<i>as gullie</i>
		1-5a	<i>as gullie / as ge</i>
	als + jullie+	1-1e	<i>as gullie</i>
Following the Comparative		1-4e	<i>as gullie</i>
	of + je	1-4a	<i>of de jullie</i>
		1-5c	X
	of + jij	1-2d	<b>of da de gij</b>
Following the Verb		1-6b	<i>of da gij</i>
	of + jullie-	1-3g	<b>of da de gullie</b>
	of + jullie+	1-1d	<b>of da de gullie / da gullie / as jullie</b>
	als + jij	1-4h	<i>as gij</i>
	als + jullie+	1-4h	<b>as de gullie / as gullie</b>
	dan + jij	1-5b	<i>as gij</i>
	dan + jullie+	1-6d	<i>as gullie / as jullie</i>
	denk + je	1-4h	<i>denk te gij</i>
	denk + jij	1-6a	<i>denk te gij</i>
	doe + je	1-1b	<i>doe de gij</i>
	doe + jij	1-1a	<i>doe de gij</i>
	drink + je	1-3a	<i>drink te</i>
	drink + jij	1-3b	X
Following the Verb	ga + je	1-6c	<i>ga de gij</i>
	ga + jij	1-3d	<i>ga de gij</i>
	gaan + jullie-	1-1f	<i>gaan jullie</i>
	gaan + jullie+	1-4d	<i>ga de gullie</i>
	leef + je	1-2e	<i>leef de gij</i>
	leef + jij	1-5g	<i>leef de gij / wor re gij</i>
	leven + jullie-	1-5d	X
	leven + jullie+	1-5f	<i>leef de gullie / zij de gullie</i>
	lees + je	1-2b	<i>lees de gij</i>
	lees + jij	1-2a	<i>lees de gij</i>
	moet + je	1-5e	<i>moet te</i>
	moet + jij	1-4f	<i>moet te gij / moet te</i>

Table 6: *Test Items and Results Interview Vlijmen – part 1.*

In part 2 the participants had to indicate if certain sentences were existent in their dialect and which of those are commonly used and which are not.

#### Results Part 2<sup>46</sup>:

1. *dat de gij* - ***dat gij*** - ***dat ge*** - *dat de* - ~~*dat je*~~ - ~~*dat jij*~~
2. Fronting in imperatives: not allowed
3. ***als gij*** - ~~*als jij*~~ - ~~*als te gij*~~
4. ~~*wil de 't gij*~~ - ~~*wil de dat gij*~~ - ~~*wil de gij 't*~~ - ***wil de gij dat***
5. ~~*dat ge*~~ - ***dat gij*** - ~~*dat ge gij*~~ - ~~*dat de*~~ - ~~*dat de ge*~~ - ~~*dat de gij*~~
6. ***kunde gullie*** - *kun de* - ~~*kun de jullie*~~ - *kunnen jullie* - ~~*kunnen gullie*~~ - ~~*kunne*~~
7. *wil de* - ***wilde gij*** - ~~*wilde ge*~~ - ~~*wil je*~~ - ~~*wil jij*~~ - ~~*wil je gij*~~
8. *als ge* - ***als gij*** - ~~*als e*~~ - ~~*als te*~~ - ~~*als e gij*~~ - ~~*als te gij*~~

### 5.3 Diachronic Research

As stated in section 4.1.2, some essential diachronic data is missing. VAN ENGELAND (2013) has described the history of the element *de* in the Brabantic dialects, which leaves a gap in the Flemish data. The history of the 2SG element following the verb in Flemish needs to be described, as well as the element *de* following the complementizer and the comparative. The attested variation, *je* in West Flanders and *je*, *e*, *ge*, *ke* and *de* in East Flanders needs to be clarified diachronically. In 4.1.2, I have also indicated that this microvariation needs to be linked to the history of doubling following the complementizer. To find this missing data, I will proceed the same way as I did for VAN ENGELAND (2013). First, I will check the secondary sources, that describe the history of pronominal doubling and the different elements. In accordance to what these sources show, I will look into the primary sources.

Pronominal doubling following the complementizer is rarely attested in historical works, while complementizer agreement is found in historiographies about Dutch and its dialects. Attestations of complementizer agreement are found by COSIJN (1872: 272) and VAN HELTEN (1887: 433-434). In these historical grammars, complementizer agreement is attested in the east of the Netherlands, with the element *stu* following complementizer. DE VOGELAER (2008: 141) found early attestations of complementizer agreement in Brugge (West Flanders). However, these attestations also involve the element *stu*, related to the older second person singular pronoun *du*, and the third person plural.

VAN DER HORST's (2008: 1378) earliest findings of doubling following the complementizer stem from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, these attestations are of pronominal doubling of the first person plural and the third person plural. VAN DER HORST's (2008: 1663) first attestations of the second person doubling following a complementizer are recent. They consist of modern examples from the Flemish dialects, which are not traced to a textual source. VAN DER HORST (2008: 1662-1663) states that doubling following a complementizer is not attested in any of the historical grammars he has studied, that discuss Middle Dutch. WEIJNEN (1971: 72) shows some attestations of *de gij* and pronominal doubling with the first person singular. VANACKER (1963: 320-321) describes the language from Aalst between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century. He bases his findings on the proceedings of the court of Aalst that display the spoken language in the court. In the study two attestations of the doubling of the first person singular are found. Moreover, 10 sentences with *de gij* and 1 with *de gullie* are attested. In none of these examples *de* follows the complementizer. However, attestations are found that consists of *dj(e) gij* and *dij gij*. These

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<sup>46</sup> The items in black font color occur in Vlijmen Dutch, the bold faced items are conventional. The items with a strikethrough do not occur and the presence of the underlined items is disputed: the participants did not agree on the status of these items..

attestations are displayed in (1) below, followed by the district (all in the Aalst area) and the year of attestation.

- |     |    |  |                    |
|-----|----|--|--------------------|
| (1) | a. | Ja, wettj <b>ghyre</b> af te sprekene?                           | Aalst 1498         |
|     | b. | Wat wildy <b>ghij</b> seggen van mijn labeur?                    | Lede 1597          |
|     | c. | ... daer ziedy <b>ghij</b> dat...                                | Nieuwerkerken 1603 |
|     | d. | ... so suldy <b>ghy</b> ende ick u beesten daerop bringhen om... | Liederkerke 1608   |

This data fits the analysis of DEVOS (1986). She explains the history of *je* as a development of *de* or an older form of *de*. For the element *je*, that is attested in West Flanders and East Flanders, DEVOS (1986) indicates that it originated from the element *dij*. The element *je* originated in the context following a finite verb ending in a vowel. Following VERDENIUS' (1924: 99), who has indicated the intermediate steps in the change from *dij* to *je*. This chain of changes is displayed below, albeit simplified.

- (2)  $dij \rightarrow djij \rightarrow zjij \rightarrow jij \rightarrow je$   
 $\rightarrow dje \rightarrow zje \rightarrow je$

The change from *djij* to *je* could have occurred in two different ways, both indicated in (2). VAN GINNEKEN (1923: 27) also discusses the direct link between *de* and *je*. These changes also indicate that the Flemish dialects have the same history as the Brabantian dialects. In both dialect groups *de* and older forms used to follow the verb, while *ge* and *gij* followed the complementizer. In the Flemish dialects, the element *de* underwent changes towards the present day *je*. In some of the dialects, *je* is now used in all contexts, while in others, a greater variation is attested, between the elements *je*, *de* and *ge*. The alternative hypothesis of GYSSELING (1966) that suggests that the inflectional affix *t* together with the strong pronoun *gij* changed to *ie* and to *je* is not supported by the diachronic data.

DEVOS (1986) explains the attested variation attested in Flanders. In the dialects in West Flanders that use the element *je* in each order, *je* has been disengaged from its enclitic verbal position and became the generally used weak pronoun. However, the dialects in East Flanders have only started the change to a system with *je*. Adjacent to the dialects that have *je* in each context, dialects occur that have *je* in inversion and *ge* in the base order. In these dialects, *je* has remained a clitic. The clitic *je* in these dialects has spread to all inverted contexts: it follows verbs and complementizer. In the eastern part of the Flemish area, dialects occur that only differ from the Brabantic dialects in some respects. In these dialects, *ge* is attested following complementizers and *de* is attested following the verb with a consonant-ending. Only following the verbs that end on a vowel *je* is attested. All other dialects are somewhere inbetween, in some dialects the element *dje* is attested. The element *dje* is analyzed as an intermediate step in the transition from *dij* to *je*.

Subordinately, DEVOS (1986) explains the attested forms *e* and *ke*. In her analysis of the element *e*, she explains that it should be analyzed as *je*. In the dialects in which *e* is attested, glides between a strong vowel and a schwa are not allowed. For example, the finite verb *ga* followed by *je* will lead to *gaje*. In these dialects, a glide, like *j* and *w*, is not allowed between a long vowel, like *a* and a schwa, like the *e* in *je*. In these dialects, the phonetic realization of *gaje*



is *ga-e*. The element *ke* occurs in contexts in which the consonants *s* and *g* follow each other. In the dialects in which *ke* occurs, the phonetic realization of *sg* is *sk*. Therefore, the element *ke* in these dialects is attested following the complementizer *als* 'when'.

In this section, I have shown that there is little data from the Flemish dialects that show changes towards the system now in play. However, the scarce data has been explained by DEVOS (1986), who has connected the diachronic data of the Flemish dialects to the synchronic variation. In her analysis, DEVOS has shown that in the Flemish dialects, *de* and its predecessors only used to occur following the verb, after which *de* started to change to(wards) *je*. In this change, the element *je* started to occur in all inversion contexts, so also following complementizers and comparatives, and in some dialects even disengaged from its enclitic position, now also occurring in the base order.

## 6. Analysis

As explained in Chapter 4, the data first needs to be disentangled, before a structural analysis can be provided. In Paragraph 6.1 I will discuss the various factors that play a role in the structure of *de* by reviewing the data. In 6.2 I will structurally analyze *de* throughout the dialect continuum.

### 6.1 Data Review

As mentioned throughout this thesis, the analysis of *de* is often connected to the general possibility of pronominal subject doubling in the dialect continuum. Other factors that need to be accounted for are:

- The attested variation in the Flemish and Brabantic dialect continuum, in the 2SG
  - o The variation between *de*, *ge*, *ke*, *e* and *je*.
  - o Doubling following the verb.
    - The variation between *de gij* and *de ge*.
  - o The doubling possibility following the complementizer.
    - The variation between *de gij*, *ge gij*, *ke gij*, *e gij*, *je gij* and the non-doubled *ge* and *gij*.
    - The variation in the possibility of doubling following the complementizer.
  - o The doubling possibility following the comparative.
    - The variation between *de gij*, *ge gij*, *ke gij*, *e gij*, *je gij* and the non-doubled *gij*.
    - The variation in the possibility of doubling following the complementizer.
- The relation between the 2SG and the 2PL.
- The relation between *de gij* and pronominal subject doubling in other person and number combinations.
- The diachronic data of *de*.
  - o The developments that *de* has been through.
  - o Diachronic background of the differences between Brabantic and Flemish dialects.

- Details about when and how Brabantic and Flemish dialects started to differ.
- The background of the differentiation between Brabantic and Flemish dialects.

In this chapter, I will discuss the different factors per region. First, I will describe Netherlandic Brabant in Section 6.1.1, followed by West Flanders & East Flanders in 6.1.2. In Section 6.1.3, I will describe Belgian Brabant.

### 6.1.1 Netherlandic Brabant

In this section, I will discuss the data from Netherlandic Brabant. The data obtained in this study deviates in some respects from the data found in BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) and DE VOGELAER (2008), discussed in more detail later. The dialects in North Brabant generally follow the pattern of *de* following a verb and *ge* and *gij* in all other contexts. The element *de* following the verb cannot be replaced by the strong pronoun *gij*, while the weak pronoun *ge* can be replaced by *gij*. The pattern of *de* following the verb and *ge* and *gij* in other contexts is attested throughout the Brabantic language area. However, in the Brabantic dialects in the Netherlands the strong pronouns *gij* and *gullie* can only follow the element *de*, doubling in sorts of *ge gij* and *ge gullie* is out. Furthermore, in Netherlandic Brabant subject doubling is not attested in any of the other person and number combinations, in either of the contexts. Subject doubling is neither attested in base order nor in the inverted order following the verb, the complementizer or the comparative. Therefore, the element *de* in North Brabant will not be analyzed in terms of subject doubling.

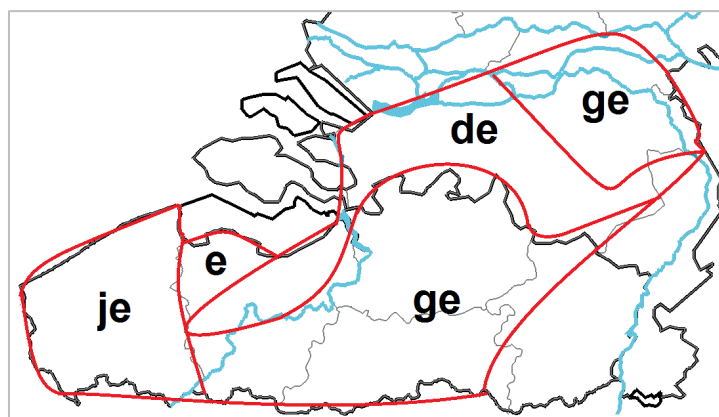
My analysis of *de* in the Netherlandic Brabant follows the theories of VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002b) and POSTMA (2011). The element *de* is incorporated in C, where it can attach to the verb. Analyzing *de* as an element in C accords with the diachronic and synchronic data. Diachronically, *de* in Brabantic is only attested following the verb, shown in the repeated table from section 2.2 below.

	Inverted order
<b>1200-1350</b>	[V]- <i>di</i> (only as honorific and plural)
<b>1350-1500</b>	[V]- <i>di</i>
<b>1500-1600</b>	[V]- <i>dij</i> [V]- <i>t gij</i>
<b>1600-1700</b>	[V]- <i>dij</i> [V]- <i>de</i> [V]- <i>de gij</i> [V]- <i>t gij</i>
<b>1700-1800</b>	-
<b>1800-now</b>	[V]- <i>de</i> [V]- <i>de ge</i> [V]- <i>de gij</i>

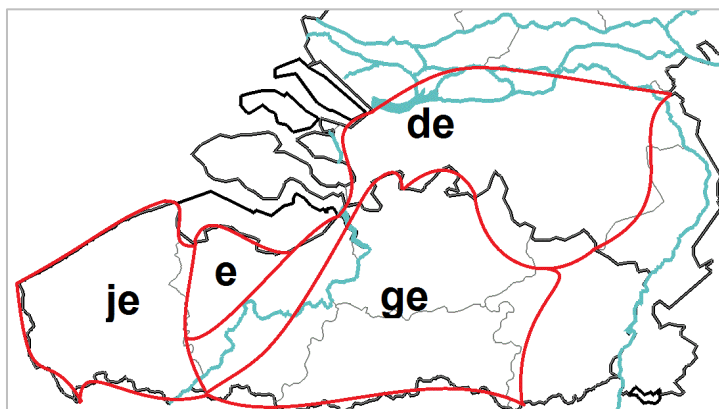
Table 1: *The history of de in Brabantic* (VAN ENGELAND 2013: 33) - REPEATED.

This history shows that, diachronically, the element *de* has been related to the verb in the inverted order. The element *de* is placed in C, in which it can be attached to a finite verb. The synchronic data supports this view. The data of my study shows that dialects in the eastern half of North Brabant have attestations with *de ge* following the verb. This data supports my analysis, since the suffix *de* in these dialects can occur with the weak pronoun *ge* and the strong pronoun *gij*. The element *de* in these dialects is reanalyzed as a regular verbal inflection that can occur with both the weak and the strong pronoun. The history of *de* shows that the reduction from *dij* to *de* led to a change in its behavior.

Moreover, the attestations with *de* following the complementizer also support the analysis of *de* as a suffix, situated in the structural C-position. These attestations are presented schematically in Maps 1 and 2. In the Netherlandic dialects in the *de*-area, *ge* and *gij* are also attested following the complementizer, even to a greater extent than *de*. However, *de* is attested throughout the indicated area, divergent from the data from the empirical background, and therefore presented as such. In these dialects, the complementizer that fills the C-position can also be attached to *de* that is present in the C-position. The data from the Vlijmen interview supports this data. In the interview, *de* is used following the complementizer *dat*, but not following the complementizer *als*, which needs to be accounted for. The participants did not use or allow the structure *de ge* following the verb. In Paragraph 6.2, I will discuss these findings in my structural and analytical framework.



Map 1: The 2SG-element following the complementizer *als* 'when'.<sup>33</sup>



Map 2: The 2SG-element following the complementizer *dat* 'that'.<sup>47</sup>

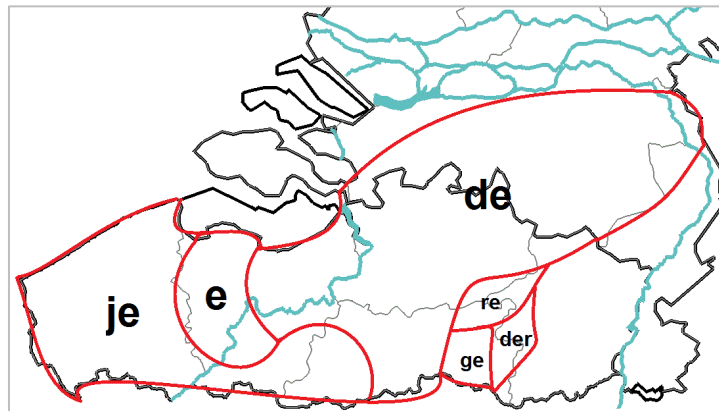
<sup>47</sup> In North Brabant *ge* is attested more frequently than *de*. However, *de* is attested throughout the indicated area in North Brabant.

### 6.1.2 West Flanders & East Flanders

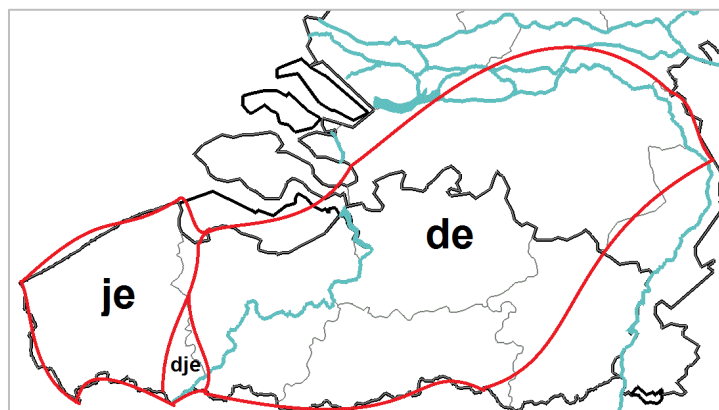
In this section, I will discuss the data from West and East Flanders. In the dialects in these provinces, pronominal subject doubling is widely attested. In each Flemish, dialect subject doubling is attested in each person and number combination, following a verb and following a complementizer.

In West Flanders, pronominal doubling in the second person singular and plural always consists of the element *je* followed by the pronouns *gij* for singular and *gullie* for plural. This subject doubling occurs in the base order and the inverted order. The element *je* is also used as weak pronoun in these dialects. The second person in the dialects of West Flanders cannot be doubled following the comparative, however.

In East Flanders, the element heading the doubling varies per context. Following the complementizer the forms *e*, *de*, *ge* and *ke* are attested. These attestations are distributed similarly for the complementizers *dat* ‘that’ and *als* ‘when’. Following verbs that end with a vowel, the elements *je*, *e* and *de* are attested; following verbs that end in a consonant only the element *de* is attested. The maps above, Maps 1 and 2, together with the maps below, Maps 3 and 4, schematically display this variation in East Flanders.



Map 3: The 2SG-element following a verb ending in a vowel.



Map 4: The 2SG-element following a verb ending in a consonant.

The historical analysis for the microvariation attested in East Flanders of DEVOS (1986) explains why this variation needs to be analyzed homogeneously. As I have explained in 5.3, the element

*je*, which is attested in West Flanders and in some areas in East Flanders and Flemish Brabant, is derived from an older form of *de*. This older form *di* has changed to the modern *je*. The change from *di* to *je* happened gradually, the synchronically attested *dje* is an intermediate step in this change. The shift first occurred in verbs with a vowel-ending. After this, the West Flemish *je* detached from its enclitic position and started behaving as a weak pronoun that could be doubled in different contexts.

The dialects of East Flanders display microvariation that can be analyzed as an intermediate step between the system in West Flanders that homogenously uses *je* and the system in Brabant that uses *de* following a verb and *ge* in the base order and following a complementizer.

In the context that *je* originated, following a verb that ends in a vowel, the dialects in East Flanders use *je*, *e* and *de*. However, the element *e* should be analyzed as *je*, since the dialects in this area do not allow glides like *j* and *w* between a long vowel and a schwa. In this case, the verb *ga* ‘to go’ ends in a long vowel *a*, while *je* ends in a schwa. The dialects in the western area of East Flanders do not allow for a glide, in this case *j* in between these two vowels. Therefore, in the western and southern dialects in East Flanders, *(j)e* follows verbs that ends in a vowel, while in the northeastern part, *de* follows these verbs.

Only in some of the East Flemish dialects the element *(j)e* is also attested following a verb ending in a consonant. These attestations can be explained by adopting *je* as a general element following verbs. In most dialects, the element *de* is maintained following a verb that ends in a consonant.

Following the complementizers, the element *de* is only marginally attested, a range of East Flemish dialects use *ge* following the complementizer, instead of *de*. Another attested element is a variation on *ge*, namely *ke*. In the dialects in which *ke* is attested, the combination of the consonants *s* and *g*, results in *sk*. Since the complementizer *a/s* ends in an *s* and the pronoun *ge* starts with a *g*, the element *ke* is attested in these dialects. Other than that, the attested elements in East Flanders following *dat* ‘that’ and *a/s* ‘when’ are highly analogous, as indicated in Maps 1 and 2.

In West Flanders, a uniform system has come into existence for the second person singular. The entire pronominal paradigm in West Flanders contains this kind of uniformity. In every person and number combination a weak pronoun exists that can be doubled in the base order and the inverted order, following a verb or a complementizer. In the West Flemish dialects, the pronoun that is doubled always is *je*.

In the dialects of East Flanders, changes towards the West Flemish system occurred in order to reach such a homogeneous system, that weren’t carried through. The different attested patterns in East Flanders each show a different phase in the changes to a uniform system. In the most western dialects of East Flanders, *(j)e* is attested following the verb and the complementizer. In the base order *ge* is attested. The dialects in the southeastern part of East Flanders have *ge* following the complementizer and *de* following the verb ending in a consonant. These dialects only differ from the Brabantic structure by the attestation of *je* following a verb ending in a vowel. Until now, I have presented the dialects of West Flanders as a unity, but some of the dialects in the southeastern region of West Flanders also are situated between the Brabantic and the West Flemish pattern. These dialects need to be analyzed as East Flemish

dialects, as do the dialects on the border area between Flemish Brabant and East Flanders in which a full doubling paradigm is attested.

The dialects in West Flanders and East Flanders deviate from the historical data, as described by VAN DER HORST (2008) and VANACKER (1963). This data has shown that diachronically the system of the Flemish dialects was equal to the system of the Brabantic dialects. The element following the verb was *de*, the element following the complementizer *ge*. Moreover, the element *ge* following the complementizer, could not be doubled. Only in the synchronic data, *de gij*, *(j)e gij* and *ge gij* are found following the complementizer. Therefore, these dialects must have undergone changes from the system that is still attested in the Brabantic dialects to a new system, the system that is now in effect in West Flanders, as indicated above. However, the dialects in East Flanders have not been fully transitioned to the West Flemish system. In spite of the variation in the attested elements, the dialects of East Flanders do behave like the dialects of West Flanders. The dialects of West Flanders and East Flanders are dialects with a complete doubling paradigm.

Therefore, the dialects of West and East Flanders can be considered as dialects with subject doubling, regardless of the form of the doubled element. Moreover, doubling in the second person should be considered as one phenomenon, in which a weak pronoun is doubled by a strong pronoun. The form of the weak pronoun varies throughout the area of East Flanders, for independent reasons.

The data from the interview with speakers of the Galmaarden dialect confirms this analysis. For all stressed or focused subject pronouns, subject doubling occurred. This data shows that in this dialect the strong pronoun always follows the weak pronoun.

In adjacent areas in Brabant, some elements have changed similarly as in East Flanders. In Brussels, *je* is attested following the verb ending in a vowel, a dialect that is analyzed as Brabantic. In the interview in Bergen op Zoom, *e* is attested following the complementizer *als*, a seemingly Flemish element in a Brabantic dialect. The exact border between the Brabantic and the Flemish system will be discussed in more detail in 6.2.3.

### 6.1.3 Belgian Brabant

In Belgian Brabant, the element *de* is attested following the verb and the elements *ge* and *gij* in all other contexts: in the base order and the inverted order following a complementizer and a comparative. In the dialects in Belgian Brabant, no deviations are attested, other than a minimal number of dialects in the southern border areas between Flanders and Brabant in the west and between Brabant and Limburg in the east. Dialects in the northeast of Belgian Brabant show behavior that corresponds with the data from Netherlandic Brabant. Therefore, these dialects in the border area between the provinces Antwerp, Belgian Limburg and North Brabant, will be analyzed as Netherlandic Brabant in 6.2.

In Belgian Brabant, pronominal doubling is attested, apart from *de gij* following the verb. In the base order doubling is attested the most often in a full-fledged paradigm, in which doubling is used in every person and number combination. In the base order, different person and number combinations can be doubled, varying over the area. However, in the inverted order, doubling is restricted. The first person singular can be doubled in any context in Belgian Brabant, and even tripled in some contexts. Moreover, the first person singular is the only person and number

combination that can be doubled following a comparative and a complementizer. This doubling data needs to be accounted for independently, beyond the topic of this thesis.<sup>48</sup> The second person constructions *de gij* and *de gullie* are attested in Belgian Brabant following the verb. Since no doubling paradigm for the inverted order is attested in Belgian Brabant, and therefore no changes to a general doubling paradigm are implemented, I will analyze *de* accordingly. The element *de* in Belgian Brabant coincides with *de* in Netherlandic Brabant to a large extent. However, in Netherlandic Brabant *de* has become more generalized, since it can co-occur with the weak pronoun *ge* and, for some dialect speakers, can follow the complementizer. In Belgian Brabant, these changes are not attested; the behavior of *de* in Belgian Brabant is more similar to behavior of *de* as attested from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In my structural analysis, the dialects of Belgian Brabant will be closely related to the analysis of the diachronic data and the analysis of Netherlandic Brabant dialects.

## 6.2 Structural Analysis

In Paragraph 6.1, I have discussed the different areas of the dialect continuum that consists of Flanders and Brabant. I have indicated that constructions like *je gij*, *de gij*, *e gij* and *ke gij* in Flanders all need to be analyzed as cases of subject doubling. Contrary, in Brabant *de gij* should not be analyzed as pronominal doubling, since the Brabant dialects have not transitioned to a full doubling paradigm. Furthermore, I have shown that the Flemish and Brabant dialects shared a paradigm, diachronically. In the Flemish dialects, relative recent developments in this paradigm led to a divergence between the two dialect groups. Historically, in the entire dialect area – in both the Flemish and the Brabant dialects – *de* element *de* only occurred following a verb. The predecessor of *de*, *dij* could not co-occur with a strong pronoun, this possibility only became available after the phonological reduction to *de*. In this paragraph, I will analyze the element *de* in Brabant in Section 6.2.2, but first, I describe, in 6.2.1, the analysis of the synchronic and diachronic variation of pronominal subject doubling in Flemish. Throughout this paragraph, I will explain the exact border between the Brabant and Flemish dialects.

### 6.2.1 West Flanders & East Flanders

In Flanders, a complete subject doubling paradigm is attested, in which all person and number combinations can be doubled. This paradigm deviates from the diachronic data, and therefore must be analyzed as a fairly recent development. This doubling occurs in the base order and the inverted order, following a verb and a complementizer. In East Flanders, doubling following a comparative is attested, in West Flanders the strong pronoun follows the comparative, without doubling. As the data from the interview in Galmaarden has shown, a stressed or focalized subject pronoun can always be doubled following a verb: the weak pronoun is always followed by the strong pronoun. In this transition to a full doubling paradigm, the element *de* is reanalyzed

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<sup>48</sup> The doubling possibilities of the first person singular need to be analyzed more thoroughly. For my analysis I will consider the doubling possibilities of the first person singular as an exception, rather than an indication for a full doubling paradigm in inverted contexts. Diachronically doubling in the first person singular is attested often in Belgium. The diachronic data that has a big number of doubling in the first person, and no attestations of doubling in other person and number combinations, indicate that doubling of the first person singular should be analyzed independently. DE SCHUTTER (1994) and DE VOGELAER (2008) indicate throughout their work that *ekik* should be analyzed as a lexicalization of subject doubling. Two elements (*ek* and *ik*) seem to occur, however this is reanalyzed as the single pronoun *ekik*.

as a weak pronoun. Therefore, the constructions *de gij*, *je gij* and *ge gij*<sup>49</sup> will all be analyzed as cases of pronominal subject doubling. The analysis of this data will be based on existing doubling theories.

VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2000, 2002a, 2008) analyze subject doubling in the Dutch dialects. The most recent of the three is based on data of the dialect of Wambeek, located on the border area between Flemish and Brabant dialects. BARBIERS ET AL.'s (to appear) structural analysis for *de* is mainly based on this account. In VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2008) an extra division within the groups of pronouns is made. In this thesis so far I've discussed strong and weak pronouns. However, the group of weak pronouns is further divided into two groups. The first group consists of weak pronouns; the second group consists of clitic pronouns. From now on the weak pronouns and clitics together are referred to as deficient pronouns. They further indicate that weak pronouns and clitics are often homophonous, which complicates their strict division. For this analysis, the strict division is not necessary, since both groups are analyzed as pro- $\phi$ Ps that can be doubled by strong pronouns. The strong pronouns are analyzed as pro-DPs, combining the theories of CARDINALETTI & STARKE (1999) and DÉCHÂINE & WILTSCHKO (2002). In the construction of a clitic doubled by a strong pronoun, both elements are analyzed within one, so-called, "big" DP. In BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) a CnP-layer is added to this DP, since the sentential and nominal domain are analyzed equally *inter alia* by SZABOLCSI (1983), CHOMSKY (1986) and CARDINALETTI & STARKE (1999), as explained by BERNSTEIN (2001). The structure of this CnP is given below, in (1).

$$(1) \quad [{}_{\text{CnP}} \quad [{}_{\text{Cn}} \quad [{}_{\text{DP}} \quad gij \quad [{}_{\text{D}} \quad [{}_{\phi\text{P}} \quad [{}_{\phi} \quad je/ge/de]]]]]]]$$

In this structure, the maximal projection  $\phi$ P can move out of the nominal CnP to the clausal CP, through SpecCnP, illustrated below in (2).

$$(2) \quad [{}_{\text{CP}} \quad [{}_{\phi\text{P}} \quad je/ge/de] \quad [{}_{\text{TP}} \quad [{}_{\text{VP}} \dots [{}_{\text{CnP}} \quad [{}_{\phi\text{P}} \quad je/ge/de] \quad [{}_{\text{Cn}} \quad [{}_{\text{DP}} \quad gij \quad [{}_{\text{D}} \quad [{}_{\phi\text{P}} \quad [{}_{\phi} \quad je/ge/de]]]]]]]]]]]$$

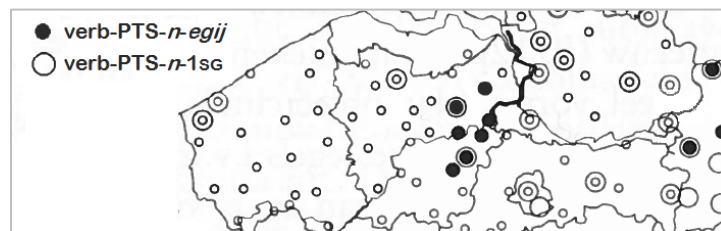
This analysis of subject doubling follows the theories of VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2008) and BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear). The movement from a clitic pronoun to the CP-domain in Flemish dialects is explained in terms of  $\phi$ -features. In the Flemish dialects, the CP-domain must be specified for the  $\phi$ -features of the subject. For Flemish, this theory is explained by a  $\phi$ -Probe in the CP-domain that always attracts a subject clitic. This analysis is in accordance with the data I have found, in which the complementizer and the verb are always followed by a deficient pronoun.

The difference between West Flanders and East Flanders does not follow from any theory. In the East Flemish dialects, subject doubling following the comparative is attested; in the West Flemish dialects this is not attested. A possible explanation is the universality of the  $\phi$ -Probe. In East Flanders, the  $\phi$ -Probe is also active in clauses with a comparative, while in the West Flemish dialects the comparatives do not attract a deficient pronoun. However, this explanation has no power, further than restating the facts.

<sup>49</sup> The structures *e gij* and *ke gij* are also analyzed as such. The elements *e* and *ke* are variations of *je gij* and *ge gij*, set by the local phonological system.



Some data still needs to be accounted for. In Section 2.1.4, data from DE VOGELAER (2008) is discussed. In Map 5 below, the distribution of the elements *e* and *gij* following the past tense verb is repeated. As we have seen, subject doubling in the Flemish dialects occur. Therefore, the data from East Flanders must be analyzed as the clitic pronoun *e* and the strong pronoun *gij* following a finite verb, in this case, in the past tense. The dialects in Belgian Limburg however, have not shown subject doubling. In these dialects, a possible explanation for *e gij* following the past tense verb is a lexicalization of *e* and *gij*. In these dialects, the strong pronoun *egij* could be originated, in analogy with the first singular subject pronoun *ekik*. However, since the Limburgian dialects are not analyzed thoroughly in this thesis, this is just a possible analysis.



Map 5: The elements *e* and *gij* following a past tense finite verb (DE VOGELAER 2008: 256) - REPEATED.

### 6.2.2 Belgian Brabant & Netherlandic Brabant

In Brabant, the element *de* is not used in pronominal doubling. The dialects in Brabant have not transitioned to a full doubling paradigm, like the Flemish dialects have. The element *de* diachronically is connected to the verb, while synchronically attachments to the complementizer are attested in Netherlandic Brabant. The analysis of the Brabantic *de* in a framework of pronominal doubling is problematic. First, the element *de* initially was only attested independently of the strong pronoun *gij*. Since no transition to a full doubling paradigm has occurred in Brabantic, there is no reason for a reanalysis for *de*. This history blocks an analysis of *de* in the same big DP or CnP as *gij*, since changes that have occurred in the Flemish dialects are absent from the Brabantic history. Also the synchronic attestations in Netherlandic Brabant complicate a subject doubling analysis. The attestation *de ge* cannot be explained in terms of subject doubling, since a strong pronoun no longer doubles a deficient pronoun. The weak pronoun *ge* would be doubling the clitic pronoun *de*. In the theory of VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2000, 2002a, 2008) in subject doubling, the doubling element is necessarily a strong pronoun. The first element can either be a clitic in instances of clitic doubling or a weak pronoun, strong pronoun proper name or a definite DP in topic doubling. However, the pronoun *ge* is a weak pronoun, so it can't be analyzed in the (current) framework of subject doubling.

The diachronic data of *de* in Brabantic can best be analyzed in terms of *grammaticalization*. Grammaticalization is the process in which an element changes to a more grammatical element. For the analysis of *de* in the Brabantic dialects, I will focus on an intermediate step on the cline of grammaticality. More accurately, on the intermediate step between the clitic and the inflectional affix.

(3) content word -> grammatical word -> clitic -> inflectional affix

(HOPPER & TRAUGOTT 1993:7)

The diachronic data of *de* show that the element *de* could be followed by the strong pronoun *gij*, after a phonological reduction. Until the 16<sup>th</sup> century *dij* is attested, that could not co-occur with *gij*. Since the 17<sup>th</sup> century *de* is attested, that could co-occur with the strong pronoun *gij*. In the theory of grammaticalization, phonological reduction is an indication for a step on the cline of grammaticality. This phonological reduction therefore indicates the movement from a more clitic element towards the structure of an inflectional affix. Other analyses are problematic. Since *dij* is obligatory attached to the verb in inversion, it needs to be analyzed as a clitic. The clitic *dij* then is phonologically reduced to *de*, after which it can co-occur with the strong pronoun *gij*. Analyzing this change as a clitic that does not allow clitic doubling, to a clitic that mandatorily requires subject doubling is not predicted by any theory about language change.

	Inverted order
1200-1350	[V]- <i>di</i> (only as honorific and plural)
1350-1500	[V]- <i>di</i>
1500-1600	[V]- <i>dij</i> [V]- <i>t gij</i>
1600-1700	[V]- <i>dij</i> [V]- <i>de</i> [V]- <i>de gij</i> [V]- <i>t gij</i>
1700-1800	-
1800-now	[V]- <i>de</i> [V]- <i>de ge</i> [V]- <i>de gij</i>

Table 2: *The history of de in Brabantic* (VAN ENGELAND 2013: 33) - REPEATED.

The analysis of *de* in Brabantic as an inflectional affix is supported by similar findings in related and unrelated languages and dialects. Analyzing *de* as a inflectional suffix can only be explained in terms of pro-drop, since the inflectional affix *de* can occur in absence a pronoun. Therefore, Brabantic will be analyzed as a partial pro-drop language, a language in which pro-drop is attested, but not in all person and number combinations.

In a number of languages, a partial pro-drop system is attested; HOLMBERG & SHEEHAN (2009) describe Brazilian Portuguese, Finnish and Marahati as partial pro-drop languages. ROBERTS (2014) describes Old French as a language with pro-drop for the first person plural, second person singular and second person plural pronouns. Pro-drop in Old French only occurs in contexts in which the verb was raised over the regular position of the pronoun. The Italian dialects of Trento and Florence, as described by BRANDI & CORDIN (1989), are also partial pro-drop languages. FUß (2011) discusses non-standard variations of French and the Mauritian creole in light of partial pro-drop. BARBOSA (1995) explains that null-subjects only occur following the verb. Even in languages that have pro-drop in the base order. She compares cross-linguistic evidence and proposes that XP-V-S-order is connected to the possibility of subject drop.

As I have shown, attestations of pro-drop in contexts, in which the verb precedes the null-subject, are not rare. These attentions are easily explainable, since most theories about pro-drop have in common that the null-subject needs to be c-commanded by the inflection.

While pro-drop was originally only researched for languages with a full paradigm, by researchers as RIZZI (1982, 1986), partial pro-drop has become a more researched topic, as the short introduction into pro-drop above has shown. One of the first, HAIDER (1994), criticizes this initial focus on pro-drop languages with a full paradigm and indicates that pro-drop occurs as the by-product of reanalysis. The reanalysis of pronominal clitics as verbal agreement markers, leads to pro-drop, temporarily or permanently.

FUß (2011), AXEL & WEIß (2011) and FUß & WRATIL (2013) follow HAIDER's (1994) reasoning and discuss pro-drop within this analysis. FUß & WRATIL (2013) explain that we see chains of changes in languages. The most well-known chain is the JESPERSEN (1917) Cycle that describes a chain of negation. Such a chain of changes can also be created for pro-drop. BARBIERS (2014) explains that a language will only lose its pro-drop property if changes in the inflectional paradigm occur. However, in languages with partial pro-drop, analogy and reanalysis of a pro-drop inflection are recognizable strategies that cause changes in the inflectional paradigm. This so-called null-subject cycle contains changes from pronouns to inflection, in which pro-drop occurs. The high number of languages that have (partial) pro-drop is hereby explained: languages move from stage to stage within this cycle.

FUß (2011) and AXEL & WEIß (2011) discuss data from older stages in German and German dialects. This data is highly similar to the data found in this study. FUß (2011) discusses the Bavarian dialects, in which pro-drop is attested. In these dialects, three main changes have occurred, schematically indicated in (4).

- (4) a. V + enclitic (inversion contexts) → V + Agr + *pro*
- b. Bavarian: extension to other C-related elements such as complementizers, relative pronouns etc.
- c. Extension of the new ending to verbs in clause-final positions.

In the Brabantic dialects, the change from a verb followed by a clitic to a verb with agreement has occurred in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. My analysis of pro-drop in the Brabantic dialects follows POSTMA (2011). In the Brabantic dialects, double agreement is available for the second person subject. This is in accordance with Standard Dutch that also double agreement, of which one is null. The two possible inflections are displayed below in Table 3.

	SpecCP	C	SpecIP	I	rest
<b>Before movement</b>		-de		-t	
<b>Base order</b>			<i>gij</i>	<i>vèn-t</i>	<i>dè stom.</i>
<b>Inverted order</b>		<i>lop-de</i>	<i>gij</i>		<i>meej mèn meej?</i>

Table 3: Double Agreement in Brabantic.

The element *de* attaches to the verb in C, which allows for pro-drop. In the abovementioned literature, pro-drop is often attested, when the verb or the verbal agreement c-commands the

null pronoun, *pro*. Since the verbal inflection *de* contains a pronominal feature, the weak pronoun *ge* cannot be spelled-out. Pro-drop is allowed, since the features of the weak pronoun *ge* are a subset of the features of the inflection *de*. The strong pronoun *gij* can be inserted, to indicate focus. The verbal inflection does not contain a focus feature, only a strong pronoun can add this.

#### 6.2.2.1 *Additional Analysis for Netherlandic Brabant*

Netherlandic Brabant consists of all dialects in the Netherlands in which *de* is attested. In this analysis, the dialects in Belgian Limburg and Antwerp that behave similarly are also included in the analysis of the Netherlandic dialects.

In Netherlandic Brabant, two changes, relative to the diachronic data and Belgian Brabant, have occurred. The element *de* has changed from an exclusive verbal suffix to a more general suffix. This change is also attested by FUß (2011), as discussed above. Additionally, the element *de* following the verb is attested in co-occurrence with the deficient pronoun *ge*.

The attestations of *de* following the complementizer, is in accordance with attestations in Bavarian and other German dialects. This development is extensively discussed in the literature about Germanic languages, described in detail by AXEL & WEIß (2011) and FUß (2011). In AXEL & WEIß (2011), the development from Old High German to the modern dialects is explained, with similar attestations. Their theory predicts a chain of developments: the suffix starts out after the verb, when the verb is in the C-position and later can also connect to other elements in C.

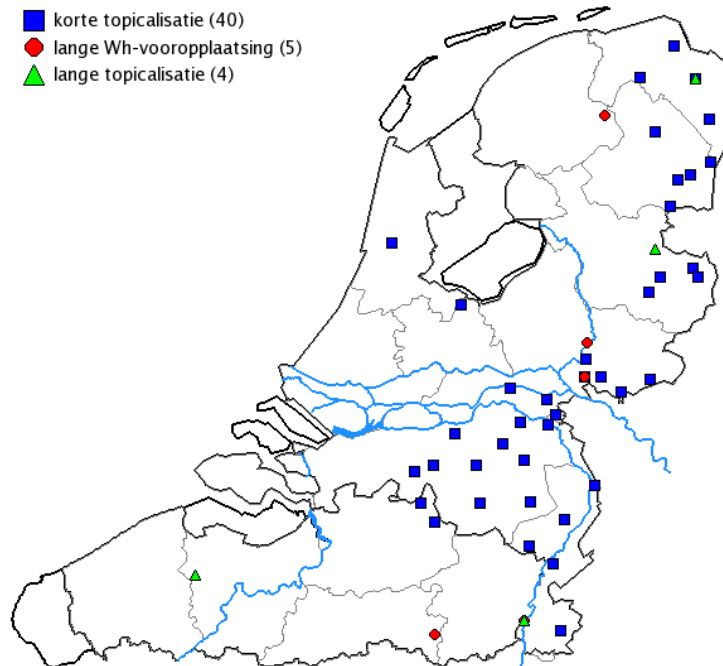
The attestations of *de* followed by the deficient pronoun *ge* is analyzed by VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002b). They indicate that in languages with double agreement, the relation between the verb and the subject pronoun needs to be local. No items can be interjected between the verb and the subject. This local relation follows from the structure of *de*, as described above. So far, no structural analysis for the development to *de* that allows the weak pronoun *ge* has been given. In terms of grammaticalization, the analysis is quite straightforward. The element *de* is moving more towards the character of an inflectional affix, losing its clitic pronoun character more. In losing this pronoun character, the weak pronoun *ge* can no longer be dropped. In losing the pronominal character, the pronouns *ge* and *gij* can co-occur with the inflection suffix. This occurrence of both the weak and the strong pronoun is in accordance with the behavior of other verbal suffixes.

#### 6.2.2.2 *Subordinate Issue: Fronting in Imperatives*

My analysis for *de* in this paragraph leaves a related issue. In BARBIERS (2013) and BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) the possibility of fronting in imperatives is discussed. Fronting in imperatives is attested in the Dutch dialects, as shown in Map 6.

BARBIERS (2013) and BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) discuss the variation in fronting in imperatives. As Map 6 shows, the Brabant area is divided, in the eastern area of Netherlandic Brabant fronting is attested, in the rest of the Brabant area no attestations are found. Imperatives have a covert second person subject that accounts for anaphor building and the C-position has to be marked for iPerson and iDistal features. The *pro* has distal and person features, but in Standard Dutch the imperative verb in the C-position does not bear either iPerson or iDistal. Therefore, *pro* in Standard Dutch moves to SpecCP and will mark – from SpecCP – the C-position with the required iPerson and iDistal features. Standard Dutch does, for this reason, not have the possibility of fronting in imperatives. However, in Standard German,

the form of the imperative differs from the other attested verbal forms and therefore marks C with iPerson and iDistal. The pro in German does not move to SpecCP and fronting in imperatives is allowed. BARBIERS (2013) has found that some Netherlandic Brabantic dialects allow for fronting in imperatives. In these dialects a distal element can be fronted. The analysis for this is that in these Brabantic dialects *de* is covertly attached to the verb in C, resulting in an iPerson-feature in C. C in these dialects is now marked for iPerson, but not for iDistal. By fronting a distal, C will also be marked for iDistal, no longer requiring the pro to move to SpecCP.



Map 6: Fronting in imperatives in the Dutch dialects (BARBIERS ET AL. 2006).<sup>50</sup>

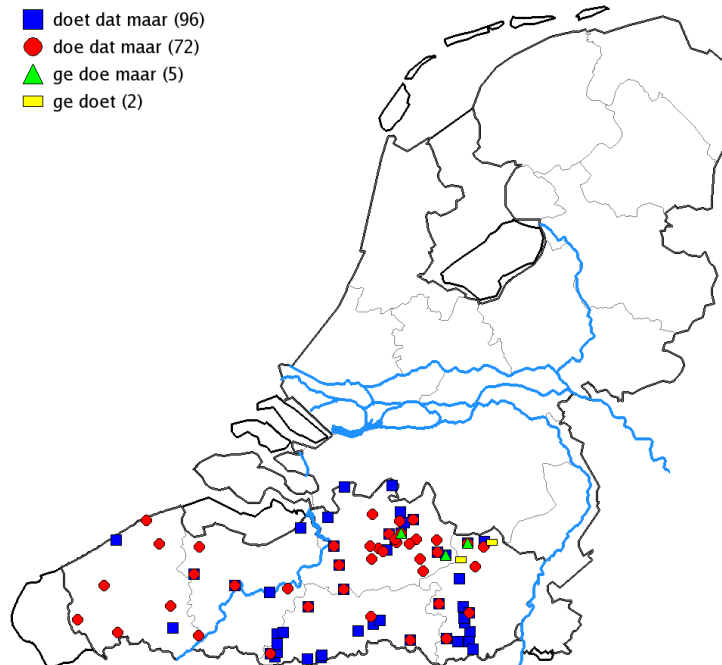
My analysis for the Brabantic dialects supports this view. The suffix *de* carries pronominal features for the second person, as discussed above. My analysis however, does not explain the attested variation. A possible analysis for the variation can be found in my data. The Brabantic dialects that have fronting in imperatives all use a verb without an overt suffix as the imperative. For 'to do', the imperative form in these dialects is *doe*. As mentioned before, in the online questionnaire for Belgium, a question about fronting in imperatives was added. In the results, fronting in imperatives was not attested. However, the form of the imperative was given by the participants. Map 7 below shows the form of the imperative in the Dutch dialects of Belgium.

In the dialects in Belgian Brabant, the imperative form *doet* is widely attested, the non-inflected verb *doe* is combined with the verbal inflection *t*. This form is not a unique verbal form, since the verbal agreement of the second and third person singular also is *t*. My hypothesis is that this *t*-inflection blocks the attachment of *de* to the imperative. This hypothesis is further supported by the data from the interview in Bergen op Zoom. According to Map 6, fronting in imperatives is not attested in the west of Netherlandic Brabant, so also not in Bergen op Zoom. In Bergen op Zoom, the participants only accepted *doet* as the imperative form. However, in the

<sup>50</sup> The legend says: 'short topicalization', 'long *wh*-fronting' and 'long topicalization'. In this analysis 'short topicalization' is discussed.

interview in Vlijmen, a dialect in which BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) has attested fronting in imperatives: the participants used the imperative form *doe*.

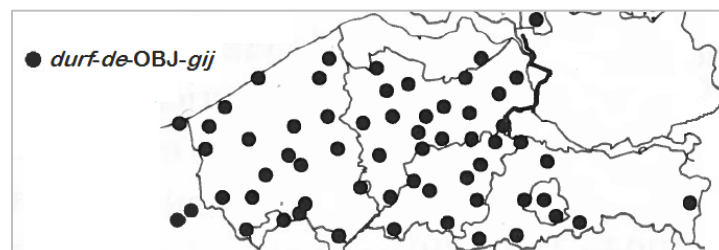
This hypothesis also explains other variation indicated on Map 6. In Belgium, fronting in imperatives is not attested, while it is attested in the Netherlands. Even in the seemingly homogeneous area of Netherlandic Limburg and Belgian Limburg, the national border divides the dialects. The same goes for the dialects in the Brabantic area. In the Dutch dialects in Belgium, the inflection *t* in the imperative can be more common, leading to the division between the two nations.



Map 7: The form of the imperative in the Dutch dialects of Belgium.

### 6.2.3 Borders Within the Dialect Continuum

The exact border between the Flemish and the Brabantic dialect area is indicated in a map of DE VOGELAER (2008). Map 8 below shows the dialects in which an element can occur between *de* and *gij*.



Map 8: Other deviant attestations in the Flemish area (DE VOGELAER 2008: 256) - REPEATED.

My analysis indicates that the relation between the elements *de* and *gij* for the Brabantic dialects need to be local. This analysis follows VAN CRAENEBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002b), who have shown that no element can be placed between the verbal inflection and the strong pronoun *gij*.

As DE VOGELAER (2008) has shown in the map above, the dialects of Flanders allow an object clitic in between *de* and *gij*. This data is supported by my data from the Galmaarden interview, in which the participants preferred the object clitic in between the two elements, rather than having the object clitic follow the strong pronoun *gij*. However, according to Map 6, the dialects in the western area of Flemish Brabant also allow for the construction *de* [object clitic] *gij*. Following this reasoning, these dialects must be cases in which *de gij* is a case of subject doubling, even though these dialects do not have a full doubling paradigm. However, as DEVOS (1986) has shown, these dialects do have the form *je* following the verb ending in a vowel (indicated in the schematic overview in Map 4) and therefore have undergone changes from the Brabantic to the Flemish system.

## 7. Conclusion & Discussion

In this thesis, I have synchronically analyzed *de* in the dialect continuum of Flanders and Brabant. Different elements related to the second person singular and plural are attested following verbs and complementizers. Synchronically, I have linked the existing data of BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006), DE VOGELAER (2008) and DEVOS (1986) to the data obtained in this study. Diachronically, I have linked the history of *de* in the Brabantic dialects, as described by VAN ENGELAND (2013) to the history of *de* and subject doubling in Flemish, described primarily by VAN DER HORST (2008), DE VOGELAER (2008) and DEVOS (1986).

By connecting synchronic data to diachronic data I have shown that attestations with *de* in Flanders are cases of pronominal subject doubling. However, the element *de* in Brabant needs to be analyzed as an inflection suffix. This analysis is supported by both the synchronic as the diachronic data. I have shown that the element *de* should be analyzed differently throughout the dialect continuum. In the Flemish dialects, *de* is one of the elements that occur in subject doubling construction. In the Brabantic dialects however, *de* is an inflection that allows pro-drop. Diachronically, both the Flemish and the Brabantic dialects had *de* following the verb and *ge* and *gij* following the complementizer and comparative. The element *de* is a phonological reduction of *dij*. This element *dij* only occurred following a verb and never with the strong pronoun *gij*. Therefore, this element needs to be analyzed as a clitic. After its reduction to *de*, the element could co-occur with the strong pronoun *gij*. This change must be analyzed as a movement from a (more) clitic element to a (more) inflectional element that allows pro-drop in terms of grammaticalization. An analysis from a subject clitic to a subject clitic that, after phonological reduction, could be doubled, is ruled out, since the element *de* can now co-occur with the weak pronoun *ge* in Netherlandic Brabantic dialects. This change is analyzed as a movement from inflection that allows pro-drop to regular inflection, without the possibility of pro-drop.

In the Belgian Brabantic dialects, the element *de* still only occurs following the verb, while *ge* and *gij* are attested following the complementizer. The element *de* is analyzed as an inflection suffix that allows for pro-drop, since *de ge* is not attested.

In Netherlandic Brabant, as described above, *de* became inflection that, for some speakers, no longer allowed pro-drop. Moreover, the element *de* in Netherlandic Brabant is attested following complementizers. Both verbs (in inversion) and complementizers fill the C-position, and *de* can attach itself to these elements.

In the Flemish dialects, changes in the paradigm have occurred. In the dialects of West Flanders, the element *de* changed to *je*. This pronoun *je* occurs and can be doubled in the base order, following the verb and following the complementizer. In the Flemish dialects, instances of

subject doubling are attested in each person and number combination. In the East Flemish dialects, the transition from *de* to *je* is either stopped or is not yet fully implemented. The East Flemish dialects are situated in the intermediate step from a paradigm with *de* following the verb and *ge* in the other contexts, to a paradigm with *je* in each context. In the synchronic data, different elements are doubled by the strong pronoun *gij*, including *de*, *ge* and *je*.

Therefore, I have analyzed the structure of the Flemish and the Brabantic dialects separately. While the history of the dialect continuum is uniform, the synchronic variation is not. The Flemish subject doubling is explained by the prevailing theories of VAN CRAENENBROEK & VAN KOPPEN (2000, 2002a, 2008). The verbal inflection *de* in the Brabantic dialects are analyzed in terms of pro-drop, in line of VAN CRAENENBROECK & VAN KOPPEN (2002b), POSTMA (2011), FUß (2011) and AXEL & WEIß (2011). I have also tried to account for the data from BARBIERS (2013) and BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear) that shows that fronting in imperatives is attested in the eastern part of North Brabant, but not in the Dutch dialects of Belgium. My analysis follows this trichotomy as suggested by BARBIERS ET AL. (to appear), albeit with a different analysis for *de* in the Brabantic dialects. An analysis of *de* in the Brabantic dialects as a clitic needs to account for different data. First, the change from *dij* to *de* needs to be explained in terms of clitic doubling. Second, the attestations of *de ge* need to be accounted for. In subject doubling the second element needs to be a strong pronoun, *ge* is a weak pronoun. Throughout the literature, changes like the one described here, are analyzed in terms of grammaticalization, more precisely in the movement from a (more) clitical pronoun to a (more) inflectional element.

Some possible problematic issues are discussed throughout the thesis. Only auxiliaries are queried in the online questionnaire. These auxiliaries undergo certain cliticization processes. The data of this study needs to be complemented with data regarding non-auxiliaries. The data is preferably obtained in a similar online questionnaire, with a similar or greater number of participants, spread over the dialect continuum. This data could either validate my data, or show a discrepancy between auxiliaries and non-auxiliaries.

Furthermore, the status of my data compared to the data from BARBIERS ET AL. (2005, 2006) needs to be discussed. The participants of my online questionnaire differ from the participants of SAND. The latter group had to meet certain requirements, while the participants in the online questionnaire only had to answer questions about their background, without having it as certain requirements. Therefore, the group of participants in the online questionnaire is more diverse than the group of interviewees of SAND.

In sum, I have shown that a seemingly homogeneous surface structure does not necessarily represent one underlying structure. I have shown that the attestations can be analyzed within two main theories, subject doubling and pro-drop, dividing the Flemish dialects from the Brabantic. Moreover, even within these two groups, variation is attested, Netherlandic Brabant has moved on the cline of grammaticality, relative to the diachronic data and Belgian Brabant and the dialects in East Flanders allow for subject doubling following the comparative, while the dialects in West Flanders do not. Furthermore, I have indicated and explained the borders of and within the dialect continuum.



My analysis accounts for the attested microvariation in inverted contexts with the second person. Both the synchronic and the diachronic data of the Brabantic and Flemish dialect continuum are included and explained.

Feature research needs to further inspect the relation between fronting in imperatives and the *t*-inflection for imperatives. I have indicated that the inflection *t* in imperatives is widely attested in the Belgian Brabantic dialects, while the dialects that have fronting in imperatives in Netherlandic Brabant, have a zero inflection. Since imperatives in these dialects don't have an inflection, *de* can covertly be attached to the imperative, allowing for distal fronting in imperatives.

Another element of my analysis that needs to be further researched is the contrast of *de* in the Flemish dialects and *de* in the Brabantic dialects. I have shown that the Flemish *de* needs to be analyzed as a pronoun. In the Flemish dialects an object clitic can occur between *de* and the strong pronoun *gij*, while in the Brabantic dialects an object clitic follows the strong pronoun *gij*. I have reasoned that in the Brabantic dialects an object clitic cannot occur in between the elements *de* and *gij*, since their relation needs to be local. The locality of the inflection *de* and the pronoun *gij* should be further studied, as well as the relation between the Flemish clitic *de* and the strong pronoun *gij*.

Lastly, the difference between the complementizers *als* 'when' and *dat* 'that' need to be further researched. I have shown that in Netherlandic Brabant the element *de* follows both complementizers. However, the distribution over the two complementizers is different; the attestations following *als* are scarcer and less widespread than the attestations following *dat*.

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## 9. Appendices

In this section the different appendices are displayed. In 9.1 the questions and the test items of the online questionnaire are given. 9.2 contains the questions, the test items and the written out recordings of the different interviews.

### 9.1 Appendix I: Questions and Test Items Online Questionnaire

Differences between the Netherlandic and the Belgium are indicated in the questionnaire. By displaying the used names the name before the forward slash is used in the Netherlandic questionnaire; the name following the forward slash in the Belgium version.

#### 1 Achternaam \*

Vul uw antwoord hier in:

#### 2 Voorletter(s) \*

Vul uw antwoord hier in:

#### 3 Woonplaats \*

Vul uw antwoord hier in:

#### 4 Provincie \*

- ☐ West-Vlaanderen
- ☐ Oost-Vlaanderen
- ☐ Antwerpen
- ☐ Vlaams-Brabant
- ☐ Limburg
- ☐ Brussels Hoofdstedelijk Gewest
- ☐ Andere

#### 5 Geslacht \*

- ☐ Man
- ☐ Vrouw
- ☐ Anders

#### 6 Geboortejaar \*

- ☐ 1900 t/m ☐ 2000

#### 7 Ik spreek het dialect van

plaatsnaam\*

#### 8 Mijn ouders spreken of spraken het dialect van

plaatsnaam\*

- Ouder 1
- Ouder 2

**9 Ik heb tot mijn twintigste gewoond in**

plaatsnaam

Er volgen nu enkele stukjes tekst, waarin een dialoog voorkomt. Het is de bedoeling dat u alle zinnen vertaalt naar uw dialect.

- 1) Sjan/Anna en Piet/Marcel lezen 's ochtends samen de krant, waarbij ze het nieuws ook bespreken. Sjan/Anna is verbaasd over hoe slecht Piet op de hoogte is van de laatste ontwikkelingen en zegt:

- a. Hoe kan het nou dat je dat niet weet?

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Voegwoord gevolgd door 'je', komt *complementizer-de* voor in de dialecten?**

- b. Dan moet je ook niet steeds bij het journaal in slaap vallen!

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Werkwoord gevolgd door 'je', *verb-de* of *verb-de ge*?**

- c. Als je nou vaker de krant zou lezen!

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Voegwoord gevolgd door 'je', waar komt *complementizer-de (ge)* voor in de dialecten?**

- d. Hoe kan dat nou? Ik lees dezelfde kranten als jij!

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Comperatief voegwoord gevolgd door 'jij', waar komt *comperative-de (gij)* voor in de dialecten?**

- 2) Piet/Marcel reageert geïrriteerd:

- a. Lees de krant nou maar uit.

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Imperatief: ik verwacht hier geen 'da lees maar', maar misschien vullen sommigen het toch in. Deze data wil ik (vooral) uit de interviews halen, maar heb deze zin toch toegevoegd om te zien of er misschien iets uit naar voren komt.**

- b. Het is maar goed dat jij alles weet!

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Voegwoord gevolgd door 'jij', (waar) komt *complementizer-de (gij)* voor in de dialecten?**

- c. Ik ben nou eenmaal niet altijd slimmer dan jij bent!

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Comperatief voegwoord gevolgd door 'jij', komt *comperative-de gij* voor in de dialecten?**

- d. Als jij me nou op de hoogte zou houden!

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Voegwoord gevolgd door 'jij', komt *complementizer-de gij* voor in de dialecten?**

- 3) Riet/Paula en Henk/Frans genieten van de zon in hun tuin. Opeens zegt Riet/Paula tegen Henk/Frans dat ze zich niet heeft ingesmeerd met zonnebrandcrème. Waarop Henk/Frans zegt:

- a. Waarom heb je je niet ingesmeerd?

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Werkwoord gevolgd door 'je', *verb-de* of *verb-de ge*?**



- b. Dat je dat nou niet meteen doet!  
[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Voegwoord gevolgd door ‘je’, komt *complementizer-de* voor in de dialecten?**

- c. Als je de crème even haalt, dan smeer ik je wel in.  
[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Voegwoord gevolgd door ‘je’, komt *complementizer-de* voor in de dialecten?**

- 4) Riets/Paula’s reactie is:  
a. Vergeten! Wil jij het even doen?  
[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Werkwoord gevolgd door ‘je’, *verb-de* *gij***

- b. Het zou wel fijn zijn als jij me er aan zou herinneren.  
[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Voegwoord gevolgd door ‘jij’, komt *complementizer-de* *gij* voor in de dialecten?**

- c. Ik doe het zelf wel even. Ik kan dat toch beter dan jij.  
[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Comperatief voegwoord gevolgd door ‘jij’, komt *comperative-de* *gij* voor in de dialecten?**

- 5) De hele familie Van den Boogaart/Peeters is samengekomen om een foto te laten maken in een fotostudio. Nadat de fotograaf de familieleden op hun plek heeft gezet, zegt hij:  
a. Kunnen jullie wat dichterbij elkaar gaan staan?  
[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Werkwoord gevolgd door ‘jullie’, *verb-de* *gullie* of *verb-de* of misschien zelfs *verb-de* *ge*?**

- b. Jullie passen er allemaal op als jullie wat dichterbij elkaar gaan staan.  
[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Voegwoord gevolgd door ‘jullie’, (waar) komt *complementizer-de* (*gullie/ge*) voor in de dialecten?**

- c. Het is wel duidelijk dat jullie allemaal familie van elkaar zijn.  
[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Voegwoord gevolgd door ‘jullie’, komt *complementizer-de* (*gullie*) voor in de dialecten?**

- 6) Guus/Johan en Yvon/Hilde lopen door de stad en stoppen voor een winkel. Yvon/Hilde is erg enthousiast over een jurk in de etalage en zegt:  
a. Deze jurk is mooi zeg!  
[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Filler**

- b. Die jurk is mooi zeg!  
[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Filler**

- 7) Guus/Johan wijst naar een van de jurken en vraagt:  
a. Deze?

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Wat voor demonstrative doubling wordt gebruikt? *De dees of den dezen?***

b. Die?

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Wat voor demonstrative doubling wordt gebruikt? *De die of den diejen?***

8) Even later ziet Guus/Johan een hond lopen, waarop hij zegt:

a. Wat doet die hond raar!

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Filler**

b. Wat doet deze hond raar!

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Filler**

9) Yvon/Hilde wijst naar een hond en vraagt:

a. Bedoel je die?

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Wat voor demonstrative doubling wordt gebruikt? *De die of den diejen? Ook voor bedoelde (ge/gij)***

b. Bedoel je deze?

[hokje om in te vertalen]

**Wat voor demonstrative doubling wordt gebruikt? *De dees of den dezen? Ook voor bedoelde (ge/gij)***

10) Een vader neemt zijn dochter naar de speelgoedwinkel. In de speelgoedwinkel zegt de vader tegen de dochter dat ze één ding mag uitzoeken en vraagt hij wat ze graag ze willen hebben. De dochter wijst een stuk speelgoed aan en zegt:

a. Dit!

[hokje]

**Demonstrative doubling: *dat, den diejen, de die?***

b. Dat!

[hokje]

**Demonstrative doubling: *dit, den dezen, de dees?***

**Only in Belgium:**

11) Marie en Willy bediscussiëren wie er voor het eten gaat zorgen. Willy zegt op een gegeven moment: 'Zal ik dan maar koken?' Waarop Marie reageert met:

a. Doe dat maar

[hokje]

**Fronting in imperatives**

## 9.2 Appendix II: Questions and Test Items Interviews

For every interview different questions were asked, since each of the researched dialects displayed its own border phenomena.

### 9.2.1 Galmaarden

Interview Galmaarden

Welkom heten

Dank voor jullie toezegging

## Microvariation in the Southern Dialects of Dutch: Diachronic and Synchronic Research into the 2<sup>nd</sup> Person in Inversion

Uitleg interview:

- eerst een voorstelronde per persoon
- een gesprek tot stand laten komen tussen informanten
- vragenlijst
  - o Eerst zal ik zinnen voorlezen, de vraag om die te vertalen. Dit zijn 40 zinnen.
  - o Daarna volgen er gegroepeerde zinnen in dialect, de vraag om iemand die achter elkaar voor te laten lezen en ze dan gezamenlijk te bespreken. De vragen hierbij zijn: komt deze zin voor in uw dialect, zo ja: hoe gebruikelijk is deze zin, zo nee: hoe komt deze zin dan wel voor? Bespreek hierbij iedere zin die voorgelezen wordt.
  - o Eindigend met 44 woordparen in het Nederlands, de vraag om die te vertalen.

Probeer elkaar uit te laten praten en het zou fijn zijn als iedereen aangeeft hoe hij of zij het zou zeggen. Ik zal niet deelnemen, het gaat erom dat jullie overleggen over de vragen.

### Voorstelronde per persoon

- Wat is je naam?
- Wat is je leeftijd?
- Welk dialect spreekt u, het dialect van...?
- Waar heb je allemaal gewoond?
- Spraken je opvoeders dialect?

### Participant 1

Luc Matthys (Milles, bijnaam van vader gedurende lagere school)

57 jaar

Galmaarden dialect

Altijd in Galmaarden gewoond

Moeder: Bever

Vader: Galmaarden

### Participant 2

Luc Cromphout

56 jaar

Galmaarden dialect

Altijd in Galmaarden gewoond

Beide ouders: Galmaards dialect

### Participant 3

Nadia Mignon

53 jaar

Tollembeek dialect

Altijd in Tollembeek - 4 jaar in Geraardsbergen (stad nabij)

Beide ouders Tollembeek

### Participant 4

Kathleen De Munter

47 jaar

Galmaarden dialect

Altijd in Galmaarden gewoond

Vader: Viane (nabijgelegen dorp)

Moeder: Galmaarden

### Gesprek

- Wanneer spreken jullie allemaal dialect?
- Hoe vaak spreken jullie dialect?
- Schrijven jullie ook in dialect?
- Waar kennen jullie elkaar van?

Jammer dat dialect verloren dreigt te gaan bij de nieuwere generaties.

Ze praten altijd dialect, behalve als ze denken dat een ander het niet zal begrijpen en dan kuisen het op richting het ABN of het AN.

### Vragenlijst

#### 1. Vertaal de volgende uitspraken:

1a. Wat doe jij raar.

Participant 4 & Participant 3: Wa doedje aardig

Participant 4 later: Wa doe je gij aardig

Participant 2: Wat doe je aardig

b. Doe je de afwas altijd zo?

Participant 4: Doe je gij de afwas altijd al zo

c. Ik weet zeker dat je de afwas altijd goed doet.

Participant 1: Bender zeker van dagge de afwas altijd goed doet

Participant 3: ben zeker dagge de afwas altijd goed doeTSJ

d. Wij vroegen ons af of jullie de afwas niet zouden WILLEN doen.

Participant 4: wijle vroegen ons af of da gij de afwas niet zou willen doen ...of gaailn

Verbeterd door een Participant 2: gaailn

e. Alleen als jullie morgen de afwas doen, doen we dat.

Participant 4: Alleen aske gailen mern (morgen) de afwas doet, doene wijle datte

f. Dan doen wij de afwas wel. Waar gaan jullie dan naartoe?

Participant 3: Tein doene wijle de afwas wel waar ga-je gailn naartoe

g. Gaan zij altijd weg als de afwas nog gedaan moet worden?

Participant 4: gaan ze zij n altijd dooi azze den afwas nog moeten doen?

2a. Ik lees het liefste Urbanus-strips, wat lees jij het liefst?

Participant 3: Ik lees het liefste Urbanus-boeken, wat leesde gij het liefst(e)

Participant 2: leesde gij het liefst

b. Hoeveel boeken lees je per jaar?

Participant 4 Hoeveel boeken leesde gij per jare

Participant 3: Hoeveel boeken leesde per jare

c. Ik dacht dat jij nooit boeken las.

Participant 4: Ik peisde dage gij geen boeken ne las

Participant 2: Ik hoop dage gij nooit boeken ne las

Participant 3: ik hoop dage gij nooit geen boeken ne las

d. Ik lees veel, maar ik weet niet of jij ook zoveel leest.

Participant 1: Ik lees-n veel, maar ik weet niet da gij zoveel leest.

e. Leef je ook altijd zo mee met de hoofdpersoon?

Participant 3: leefde ook

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Participant 2: Leefde ook al zo mee met 't hoofdpersonage?

f. Toen je *Kaas* las, leefde je heel erg mee met Frans Laarmans, dat vertelde je me toch?

Participant 4: Aske *Kaas* leesde, leefde ook toch veel mee met Frans Laarmans, dat hee je me toch gezegd hè?

g. Ik heb *Het verdriet van België* gekocht voor je vader. Gaat hij dat leuk vinden?

Participant 4: Ik heb *Het verdriet van België* gekocht voor jouwen pa. Gaat 'm dat plezant vinden?

3a. Als je met mate drinkt, drink je minder.

Participant 1: Aske met mate drinkt, drinkde minder.

b. Op zondag drinkt hij niks, maar drink jij juist wel.

Participant 4: Zondags drinkt m hij niks, maar gij wel.

c. Ik vind dat jullie nog wel een rondje mogen bestellen.

Participant 4: Vind da ge nog wel ne keer een tournee moogt geven se.

d. Na dit biertje gaan we naar huis, ga jij ook (naar huis)?

Participant 2: Achter dat pintje gaan we naar huis, gaje gij ook mee? ... Of gaje ook mee naar huis.

e. Als jullie nog niet vertrekken, gaan wij ook nog niet weg.

Participant 4: Aske gijlie nog niet aangaat, gaan wijle ook niet aan he... of blijven wijle ook

f. Wat denken jullie: drinken zij of drinken wij het meest?

Participant 4: Wat peisde gijle: drinken ze zijle het meest of wijle? of drinken we wijle t meest

Participant 3: Wat peisde: drinken ze zijle het meest of drinken me wijle het meest?

g. Ik vroeg me af of jullie nog wilden blijven

Participant 3: k vraage mer af of da ge gijle nog wat willen blijven

4a. Ik vroeg me af of je op mijn verjaardag wilde komen.

Participant 4: Ik heb me eigen afgepeisd of da gij op mijne verjaardag zou komen

Participant 3: Ik vraage mer af of da ge op mijn verjaardag zout willen komen.

b. Je moet alleen komen als je dat leuk vindt

Participant 1: Moet je alleen komen aske gere komt

c. Ik heb het liefste dat jullie komen, zij maken me niet zoveel uit.

Participant 3: T liefst van al zal ik hebben dat gijle komt, zijle dat kan me niet schelen.

d. Morgen gaat hij naar een groot feest. Gaan jullie ook?

Participant 4: Morgen gaat en hij naar een groot feest toe. Gaj(e) gijle ook?

e. Op feestjes drinkt zij daar altijd cocktails, dat vertelden jullie toch?

Participant 4: Op feestjes drinkt ze zij daar altijd cocktails hè, dat he(j) gijlen toch gezegd he?

f. Ik ken haar niet zo goed, gaat ze graag feesten?

Participant 4: ik ken 'r in feite niet zo goed, ga ze zo gere feesten?

Participant 3: Ik ken haar niet zo goed, feest ze zo gerne?

g. Als jij gaat, gaat zij ook.

Participant 4: Aske gij gaat, gaat ze zij ook.

h. Wat denk je? Gaan zij even lang door als jullie?

Participant 2: Wat peisde? Gaan ze zij even lang blijven hangen aske gijle?

*Comm: ze kennen 'doorgaan' niet als werkwoord, zouden 'blijven hangen' of 'tot het gaatje' liever gebruiken.*

5a. In die tijd leefde jij als een kluizenaar.

Participant 4: In diejen tijd leefde gijle ne kluizenaar se.

b. Leefde ik langer als kluizenaar dan jij?

Participant 2: Leefde ekik langer als kluizenaar aske gij?

Participant 3: Heb ekik langer as kluizenaar geleefd aske gij? Heb ekik langer als kluizenaar geleefd nie?

Participant 4: Of leefde ekik langer...

c. Toen woonde ik nog thuis, maar leefden jullie als God in Frankrijk.

Participant 4 Toen leefde...wondje...ek ik nog thuis, maar gullie leefden als God in Frankrijk.

d. Leven jullie nu nog zo, als een God in Frankrijk?

Participant 2: Leefde gijle nu nog als God in Frankrijk?

e. Leefden jullie al toen Kennedy doodgeschoten werd?

Participant 3: Leefden ge gullie al als Kennedy doodgeschoten is?

Participant 1: Woonde ge gullie al

Participant 3: Woeder gullie al

*Verskil in uitspraak tussen 'geschoten' (Tollembeek versus Galmaarden)*

f. Leven jullie al zó lang?

Participant 4: Leefde gijle al zo lang

Participant 3: Leefde gijle zo lang al

Participant 4 & Participant 1: Zijde gijle zo oud al

g. Als ik zo doorga, leef jij nog langer dan ik.

Participant 4: Als ik al zo voort doe leefde gij nog langer as ekik

Participant 4: Als 'k al zo voort doe leefde gijle langer as ekik

Participant 3, Participant 2 & Participant 4 kiezen later voor: Als ik al zo voort doe gaje gijle langer leven as ekik

6a. Vertelde jij me dat verhaal over hem of was zij het?

Participant 3: Haje gij me dat vertelt (over hem) of was ze 't zij?

b. Ik ben nooit een goede verteller geweest, maar vertelden jullie een verhaal, dan luisterde iedereen.

'k ben nooit een goede verteller geweest, maar aske gij een verhaal verteldeg, luisterdeg iedereen.

c. Ga je dat verhaal vertellen? Dan vertel ik dat andere verhaal, zodat ik niet hetzelfde vertel als jij.

Participant 4: Ga je dat verhaal vertellen? Dan vertel ik dat ander verhaal, dat ik 'tzelfde niet

vertel aske gij.

Participant 3: *as gij* in Tollembeek

Participant 2: *aste* ook wel in Tollembeek (hij spreekt Galmaardens dialect)

d. Nu zijn zij aan de beurt. Gaan ze een beter verhaal vertellen dan jullie?

Participant 2: Nu is't aan hullen.

Participant 4: Nu is t hullen toer.

Participant 4: Gaan ze een beter verhaal vertellen aske gullie?

Participant 3: aske gij - Participant 4: 't is *jullie* hè - Participant 3: oh ja *aske gullie*, sjuust

## 2. Komen de volgende zinnen in uw dialect voor? Zo ja: hoe gebruikelijk zijn deze zinnen?

1a. Wildje gao 't efkes doen?

b. Wildje 't gao efkes doen?

c. Wildje gao da efkes doen?

d. Wildje da gao efkes doen?

Participant 2: *d* klopt niet.

Participant 4: *efkes* komt niet voor, *ne keer* zal da zijn. Bij ons zou dat *c* zijn.

Participant 3 leest voor

Participant 3: *b* voor haar het aannemenlijkst, *d* is totaal ongebruikelijk

Participant 1: *c* kan ook wel.

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Participant 4: moet echt met *ne keer*, *b* en *c* voor mij het toenemelijkst

Komt voor: a, b, c

Komt niet voor: d

Gebruikelijk: b & c

2a. Doetj da moa.

b. Doe da moa.

c. Da doetj moa.

d. Da doe moa.

Participant 4 leest voor

Komt voor: a

Komt niet voor: b, c, d

Gebruikelijk: a

Participant 4: *d* kan ook in een andere betekenis

3a. Tein moeje uk nie in sloop vallen.

b. Tein moede uk nie in sloop vallen.

c. Tein moeje gao uk nie in sloop vallen.

d. Tein moede gao uk nie in sloop vallen.

Participant 2 leest voor

Komt voor: a & c

Komt niet voor: b & d

Gebruikelijk: a & c

4a. Kundje gailen da doen?

b. Kundje gailen 't doen?

c. Kundje da gailen doen?

d. Kundje 't gailen doen?

Participant 1 leest voor

Komt voor: a, b, d

Komt niet voor: c

Gebruikelijk: a & d

5a. 't Is moa goe dagge da nie wetj.

b. 't Is moa goe da gao da nie wetj.

c. 't Is moa goe dagge gao da nie wetj.

d. 't Is moa goe dadde da nie wetj.

e. 't Is moa goe dadde gao da nie wetj.

f. 't Is moa goe daje da nie wetj.

g. 't Is moa goe daje gao da nie wetj.

Participant 3 leest voor

Komt voor: a, b, c

Komt niet voor: d, e (het is *dage*), f, g.

Gebruikelijk: a, b, c

- 6a. Leesdje de gazet?
- b. Leesde de gazet?
- c. Leesje de gazet?
- d. Leeske de gazet?

Participant 4 leest voor

Komt voor: b

Komt niet voor: a, c & d

Gebruikelijk: -

*Commentaar: het moet gazetTE zijn.*

### 3. Vertaal de volgende woordparen:

- |      |         |           |
|------|---------|-----------|
| 1ai. | ik ga   | ik goen   |
| aai. | 'k ga   | 'k goen   |
| bi.  | ga ik   | goen ekik |
| bii. | ga 'k   | goen uk   |
| ci.  | leef ik | leef ekik |
| cii. | leef 'k | leef uk   |

- |      |          |           |
|------|----------|-----------|
| 2ai. | jij gaat | ga goetsj |
| aai. | je gaat  | ga goetsj |
| bi.  | ga jij   | goeje ga  |
| bii. | ga je    | goeje ga  |
| ci.  | leef jij | leefde ga |
| cii. | leef je  | leefde ga |

- |        |           |            |
|--------|-----------|------------|
| 3a-m.  | hij gaat  | (h)a goet  |
| bi-m.  | gaat hij  | gaat'n ha  |
| bii-m. | gaat 'ie  | gaat'n (a) |
| ci-m.  | leeft hij | leef'm a   |
| cii-m. | leeft 'ie | leef'm     |

- |        |           |  |
|--------|-----------|--|
| 3ai-v. | zij gaat  | ze goet  |
| aai-v. | ze gaat   | ze goet  |
| bi-v.  | gaat zij  | goese za   |
| bii-v. | gaat ze   | goese  |
| ci-v.  | leeft zij | leefse za (Participant 4) leefstze (Participant 2) |
| cii-v. | leeft ze  | leeftse  |

- |        |          |         |
|--------|----------|---------|
| 3ai-o. | het gaat | 't goet |
|--------|----------|---------|



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aai-o.	't Gaat	't goet
bi-o.	gaat het	goevet
bii-o.	gaat 't	goevet
ci-o.	leeft het	levet
cii-o.	leeft 't	levet

4ai.	wij gaan	wijle goen of we goen
aai.	we gaan	we goen
bi.	gaan wij	gomme(n) wijle
bii.	gaan we	gomme
ci.	leven wij	leveme(n) wijle
cii.	leven we	levemen

5a.	jullie gaan	gijle goetsj
b.	gaan jullie	goeje gijle
c.	leven jullie	leefde gijle

6ai.	zij gaan	zijle goen
aai.	ze gaan	ze goen
bi.	gaan zij	gonz(j)e zijle
bii.	gaan ze	gonzje
ci.	leven zij	levenze zijle
cii.	leven ze	levenze

Testitems

dat + je	1-1c
dat + jij	1-2c
dat + jullie-	1-3c
dat + jullie+	1-4c

als + je	1-4b
als + jij	1-4g
als + jullie-	1-3e
als + jullie+	1-1e

of + je	1-4a
of + jij	1-2d
of + jullie-	1-3g
of + jullie+	1-1d

als[comp]+jij	1-6c
als[comp]+jullie+	1-4h

dan + jij	1-5b
dan + jullie+	1-6d

doe + je	1-1b
doe + jij	1-1a

doen + we 1-1e  
doen + wij 1-1f

**drink + je 1-3a**  
**drink + jij 1-3b**  
drinkt + hij 1-3b  
drinkt + zij 1-4e  
drinken + wij 1-3f  
drinken + zij 1-3f

**ga + je 1-6c**  
**ga + jij 1-3d**  
**gaan + jullie- 1-1f**  
**gaan + jullie+ 1-4d**  
gaat + hij 1-4d  
gaat + 'ie 1-2g  
gaat + zij 1-4g  
gaat + ze 1-4f  
gaan + wij 1-3e  
gaan + we 1-3d  
gaan + zij 1-1g  
gaan + ze 1-6d

**leef + je 1-2e**  
**leef + jij 1-5g**  
**leven + jullie- 1-5d**  
**leven + jullie+ 1-5f**  
leefde + ik 1-5b  
leefde + je 1-2f  
leefde + jij 1-5a  
leefden+jullie- 1-5e  
leefden+jullie+ 1-5c

**lees + je 1-2b**  
**lees + jij 1-2a**

vertelde + je 1-2f  
vertelde + jij 1-6a  
vertelden+jullie- 1-4e  
vertelden+jullie+ 1-6b

### Bonus

**denk + je 1-4h**  
**denken+jullie 1-3f**  
als + ik 1-5g  
als + je 1-3a  
dan + ik 1-5g  
gaan + zij 1-4h

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was + zij            1-6a  
woonde + ik        1-5c

### 9.2.2 Bergen op Zoom

#### **Interview Bergen op Zoom**

Welkom heten

Dank voor jullie toezegging

Uitleg interview:

- eerst een voorstelronde per persoon
- een gesprek tot stand laten komen tussen informanten
- vragenlijst
  - o Eerst zal ik zinnen voorlezen, de vraag om die te vertalen. Dit zijn 42 zinnen.
  - o Daarna volgen er gegroepeerde zinnen in dialect, de vraag om iemand die achter elkaar voor te laten lezen en ze dan gezamenlijk te bespreken. De vragen hierbij zijn: komt deze zin voor in uw dialect, zo ja: hoe gebruikelijk is deze zin, zo nee: hoe komt deze zin dan wel voor? Bespreek hierbij iedere zin die voorgelezen wordt.
  - o Eindigend met 44 woordparen in het Nederlands, de vraag om die te vertalen.

Probeer elkaar uit te laten praten en het zou fijn zijn als iedereen aangeeft hoe hij of zij het zou zeggen. Ik zal niet deelnemen, het gaat erom dat jullie overleggen over de vragen.

#### **Voorstelronde per persoon**

- Wat is je naam?
- Wat is je leeftijd?
- Welk dialect spreekt u, het dialect van...?
- Waar heb je allemaal gewoond?
- Spraken je opvoeders dialect?

#### **Gesprek**

- Wanneer spreken jullie allemaal dialect?
- Hoe vaak spreken jullie dialect?
- Schrijven jullie ook in dialect?
- Waar kennen jullie elkaar van?

#### **Participant 1**

Lia Suykerbuyk

Leeftijd: 65

Dialect: Bergs

Geboren/getogen Bergen op Zoom, 4 jaar in Rilland-Bath

Ouders: Woensdrecht

#### **Participant 2**

Brigit Bakx

Leeftijd: 57

Dialect: Bergs

Waar gewoond: Altijd in Bergen, behalve tussen 6 en 12 in Eindhoven (2jr) en Roosendaal (4jr)

Ouders: Bergen op Zoom

### Participant 3

Cees van Broekhoven

Leeftijd: 61 jaar

Dialect: Bergs

Altijd in Bergen, op volwassen leeftijd 4 jaar in Tholen

Ouders & Grootouders: Bergen

Tweetalig, Bergs zo veel mogelijk, gedurende vastenavond (carnaval)

‘Goed dialect’: Participant 3 hoort aan de uitgang of mensen goed of slecht Bergs praten, doordat *ke* achter elk woord geplakt wordt, terwijl dat niet altijd hoort. Participant 1: Wij hebben hierover ons dialect, Participant 2: oude mensen praten op een andere manier, voor ons ‘voorbeelddialect’, Participant 3 spreekt hedendaags Bergs. Dat is vooral qua woordkeuze zeggen ze. Maar dat taal verandert vinden ze logisch. Ze hebben wel het gevoel dat het dialect steeds minder wordt. Participant 3 geeft af en toe een dialectlesje op school, kinderen verstaan het wel, maar ze beheersen het niet. Participant 2 praat thuis altijd Bergs, maar haar zoons spreken het niet. De participanten werden op school gecorrigeerd als ze dialect spraken, er moest ABN gesproken worden. Kinderen van Marrokaanse of Turkse komaf spreken ook Bergs of met een Bergse tongval en dat vinden ze wel leuk.

#### 1. Vertaal de volgende uitspraken:

1a. Wat doe jij raar.

Participant 1: Wat doede gij raar.

Participant 3: Wa doede gij vreemd

b. Doe je de afwas altijd zo?

Participant 3: Doede gij de afwas altijd zo?

c. Ik weet zeker dat je de afwas altijd goed doet.

Participant 1: Ik weet zeker dat gij de afwas altijd goed doet.

d. Wij vroegen ons af of jullie de afwas niet zouden kunnen doen.

Participant 1 & Participant 3: We vroegen ons eigen af of jullie de afwas niet zouden kunnen doen.

e. Alleen als jullie morgen de afwas doen.

Participant 2: Allenig als jullie morgen de afwas doen.

f. Waar gaan jullie dan naartoe?

Participant 3: Waar gaan jullie dan naartoe?

Participant 1: Waar gade dan naartoe?

Participant 2: *gade* bij enkelvoud

2a. Ik lees het liefste Urbanus-strips, wat lees jij het liefst?

Participant 1: Ik lees het liefste Urbanus-strips, wat leesde gij het liefste?

b. Hoeveel boeken lees je per jaar?

Hoeveel boeken leesde gij per jaar?

c. Ik dacht dat jij nooit boeken las.

Participant 2 & Participant 3: Ik dacht da gij nooit boeken las.

d. Ik lees veel, maar ik weet niet of jij ook zoveel leest.

Participant 1: Ik lees veel, maar ik weet niet of gij ook zoveel boeken leest.

e. Leef je ook altijd zo mee met de hoofdpersoon?

Participant 3: Leefde gij ook altijd zo veel mee met de hoofdpersoon?

f. Ik ga dat boek alleen maar lezen als jij eerst dit boek leest.

Participant 1: Ik gaan dat boek aleen of allenig maar lezen azze gij ok dit boek leest.

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3a. Als je met mate drinkt, drink je minder.

Participant 3: agge een beetje oplet wat je drinkt, dan drinkde minder.

b. Op zondag drinkt hij niks, maar drink jij juist wel.

Participant 3: Op zondags drinkte gij niks, maar hij zuipt z'n eigen onder tafel.

c. Ik vind dat jullie nog wel een rondje mogen bestellen.

Participant 2: Ik vind dat jullie nog wel een rondje maggen bestellen.

d. Na dit biertje gaan we naar huis, ga jij ook?

Participant 2: Na di pilske gaan we naar huis, gade gij ook?

Participant 3: Na dees pilske gaan we naar huis, das goed.

e. Als jullie nog niet vertrekken, gaan wij ook nog niet weg.

Participant 1: Als jullie nog niet weggaan, gaan wij ook nog niet

Participant 2: Of blijven we ok nog

f. Zullen we gaan? Ja, doe dat maar.

Participant 2: Zumme gaan? Ja, doet dat.

g. Ik vroeg me af of jullie nog wilden blijven.

Participant 3: Ik vroeg men eigen af of jullie nog wilden blijven.

Participant 1: vrOOg

4a. Ik vroeg me af of je op mijn verjaardag wilde komen.

Participant 2: Komme gij op m'n verjaardag?

Participant 1: Jij gaat niet zeggen van ik vroeg of vroeg men af

Participant 2: nee dat zeggen wij in het Bergs niet, ik vroeg men af of gij. Komme gij op mn verjaardag of komde of komde of komme..

Participant 3: komde op mijn verjaardag of komme gij

b. Je moet alleen komen als je dat leuk vindt

Participant 3: nou ge moet alleen komen agge 't leuk vindt hee.

c. Ik heb het liefste dat jullie komen, zij maken me niet zoveel uit.

Participant 2: Agge, als, as jullie dan mar komen, de rest maakt me niet zoveel uit. Als jullie maar komen.

d. Morgen gaat hij naar een groot feest. Gaan jullie ook?

Participant 2: Morgen gaat ie naar een groot feest. Gaan jullie ook?

e. Het wordt veel leuker als jullie ook komen.

Participant 3: 't Wordt toch veel leutiger als jullie ook komen.

f. Moet jij je niet gaan klaarmaken voor het feest?

Participant 2: Moete oeweigen niet aan gaan kleden voor dat feest.

Participant 3: Moete oeweigen niet gereed gaan maken....

g. Als jij gaat, gaat zij ook.

Participant 2: Aggij, gaat zij ook.

h. Wat denk je? Gaan zij even lang door als jullie?

Participant 1: Wat denkte gij? Gaan zij net zo lang door als jullie?

Participant 3: Wat denkte? Zou zij net zo lang doorgaan als jullie?

5a. Als jullie maar niet voor een kluizenaarsbestaan kiezen.

Participant 3: Als jullie er maar niet voor kiezen om alleen te blijven. Om op oeweigen, helemaal op oew eigen. Helemaal op oeweigen.

Participant 2: Agge d'r maar niet voor kiest om als kluizenaar door het leven te gaan.

b. Leefde ik langer als kluizenaar dan jij?

Participant 3: Heb ik langer als een kluizenaar geleefd dan gij

Participant 1: Leefden ik langer als kluizenaar dan gij? ...als gij trouwens Wij hebben geen *dan* hè, *als*.

c. Ik weet niet of je dat wel zou trekken.

Participant 1: Ik weet niet of gij dat trekt hoor.

d. Leven jullie nu nog zo, als een God in Frankrijk?

Participant 3: Leven jullie nu nog steeds als een God in Frankrijk?

Participant 2: Of als God in Frankrijk.

e. Als jij dat zo wil, moet je dat vooral doen.

Participant 2: Aggij dat zo wilt, dan motte dat vooral zo doen. *Vooraf* of *zeker* dat kan ook.

f. Leven jullie al zó lang?

Participant 2: Zij-je al zo oud? Zijde al zo oud?

Participant 1: Zijde ze al zo lang in leven dat zal toch niet zijn. Ja, zijde al zo oud.

Participant 3: Leefde gij al zo lang?

g. Als ik zo doorga, leef jij nog langer dan ik.

Participant 2: Agge zo doorgaat...

Participant 1: Als ik zo doorgaan

Participant 2: Als ik zo doorgaan leefde nog langer dan ik... als ik

6a. Denk jij ook zoveel over je verhalen na?

Participant 3: Denkte gij ook zoveel over oew verhalen naar?

Participant 2: Peinsde gij ook zo, nee, nee.

b. Zij vroeg zich af of jij goed goed verhalen kan vertellen.

Participant 2: Zij vroeg d'r eigen af

Participant 3: of da gij goed verhalen kan vertellen. Verhaaltjes kan vertellen.

c. i. Ga je dat verhaal vertellen?

ii. Dan vertel ik het andere, zodat ik niet hetzelfde vertel als jij.

Participant 2: Gade gij dat verhaal vertellen?

Participant 3: Dan vertel ik het andere hee, dan vertel ik niet hetzelfde als jij.

d. Nu zijn zij aan de beurt. Gaan ze een beter verhaal vertellen dan jullie?

Participant 1: Nou zijn zullie aan de beurt

Participant 2: Nou zijn zullie aan de beurt. Gaan ze een beter verhaal vertellen als jullie? In de buurt komt *gullie* voor, maar wij zeggen *jullie* in Bergen [op Zoom].

## 2. Komen de volgende zinnen in uw dialect voor?

Zo ja: hoe gebruikelijk zijn deze zinnen?

Zo nee: hoe kunt u de zin aanpassen, zodat hij wel klopt?

1a. Bedoele diejen ond?

b. bedoele ge diejen ond?

c. Bedoele gij diejen ond?

d. Bedoelde diejen ond?

e. Bedoelde ge diejen ond?

f. Bedoelde gij diejen ond?

Participant 1 leest voor

Komt voor: c, d, f

Komt niet voor: a, b, e

Gebruikelijk: d & f

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- 2a. Doet da mar.
- b. Da doet mar.
- c. Doe da mar.
- d. Da doe mar.

Participant 2 leest voor

Komt voor: a

Komt niet voor: b, c, d

Gebruikelijk: a &

Commentaar: *Doeta mar* kan ook

- 3a. Wilde 't gij even doen?
- b. Wilde da gij even doen?
- c. Wilde gij 't even doen?
- d. Wilde gij da even doen?

Participant 3 leest voor

Komt voor: c, d

Komt niet voor: a, b

Gebruikelijk: c & d

Commentaar: bij *even* moet die *n* weg en het moet *daddeve* zijn bij c in plaats van *da even*.

- 4a. 't Is mar goed dagge da nie wit.
- b. 't Is mar goed da gij da nie wit.
- c. 't Is mar goed dagge gij da nie wit.
- d. 't Is mar goed dadde da nie wit.
- e. 't Is mar goed dadde ge da nie wit.
- f. 't Is mar goed dadde gij da nie wit.

Participant 1 leest voor

Komt voor: a, b, d, f

Komt niet voor: c, e

Gebruikelijk: a

Commentaar:

- 5a. Kunne jullie 't doen?
- b. Kunne gullie 't doen?
- c. Kunde gullie 't doen?
- d. Kunde 't doen?
- e. Kende gullie 't doen?
- f. Kende 't doen?

Participant 4 leest voor

Komt voor: a, d, f

Komt niet voor: b, c & e

Gebruikelijk: a (in verband met enkelvoud versus meervoud bij d & f, die eerder enkelvoud zijn)

Commentaar: *Kenne jullie het doen* in plaats van *kunne jullie het doen*.

- 6a. Wilde nor 't nuuws kijken?
- b. Wilde gij nor 't nuuws kijken?
- c. Wil je nor 't nuuws kijken?
- d. Wil jij nor 't nuuws kijken?
- e. Wille nor 't nuuws kijken?
- f. Wille gij nor 't nuuws kijken?

Participant 3 leest voor

Komt voor: a, b & f

Komt niet voor: c, d, e.

Gebruikelijk: a & b (f is 'moderner' Bergs)

Commentaar: *nor* moet *naar* of *nar* zijn.

### 3. Vertaal de volgende woordparen:

- |        |           |            |
|--------|-----------|------------|
| 1ai.   | ik ga     | ik gaan    |
| aii.   | 'k ga     | 'k gaan    |
| bi.    | ga ik     | gaan ik    |
| bii.   | ga 'k     | gaan'k     |
| ci.    | leef ik   | leef ik    |
| cii.   | leef 'k   | -          |
|        |           |            |
| 2ai.   | jij gaat  | gij gaat   |
| aii.   | je gaat   | ge gaat    |
| bi.    | ga jij    | gade gij   |
| bii.   | ga je     | gade       |
| ci.    | leef jij  | leefde gij |
| cii.   | leef je   | leefde     |
|        |           |            |
| 3a-m.  | hij gaat  | ij gaat    |
| bi-m.  | gaat hij  | gaat ie    |
| bii-m. | gaat 'ie  | gaat ie    |
| ci-m.  | leeft hij | leeftie    |
| cii-m. | leeft 'ie | leeftie    |
|        |           |            |
| 3ai-v. | zij gaat  | zij gaat   |
| aii-v. | ze gaat   | ze gaat    |
| bi-v.  | gaat zij  | ga zij     |
| bii-v. | gaat ze   | gase       |
| ci-v.  | leeft zij | leefsij    |
| cii-v. | leeft ze  | leefse     |
|        |           |            |
| 3ai-o. | het gaat  | 't gaat    |
| aii-o. | 't Gaat   | 't gaat    |



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bi-o.	gaat het	gadet
bii-o.	gaat 't	gadet
ci-o.	leeft het	levet & leefdet
cii-o.	leeft 't	-

4ai.	wij gaan	wij gaan
aii.	we gaan	me gaan
bi.	gaan wij	gaan wij
bii.	gaan we	gaame
ci.	leven wij	leven wij
cii.	leven we	leveme

5a.	jullie gaan	jullie gaan
b.	gaan jullie	gaan jullie
c.	leven jullie	leven jullie

6ai.	zij gaan	zullie gaan
aii.	ze gaan	ze gaan
bi.	gaan zij	gaan zullie
bii.	gaan ze	gaan ze
ci.	leven zij	leven zullie
cii.	leven ze	leven ze

Commentaar: als je onderscheid móét maken, kan dat tussen *ze* en *zullie*, maar misschien wordt *zullie* vaker gebruikt.

### Testitems

dat + je      1-1c  
 dat + jij      1-2c  
 dat + jullie- 1-3c  
 dat + jullie+ 1-4c

als + je      1-3a & 1-4b  
 als + jij      1-4g & 1-2f\*  
 als + jullie- 1-3e & 1-5a\*  
 als + jullie+ 1-1e & 1-4e\*

of + je      1-4a & 1-5c\*  
 of + jij      1-2d & 1-6b\*  
 of + jullie- 1-3g  
 of + jullie+ 1-1d

als[comp] + jij      1-6cii  
 als[comp] + jullie+ 1-4h

dan + jij      1-5b  
 dan + jullie+ 1-6d

denk + je 1-4h

denk + jij 1-6a\*

doe + je 1-1b

doe + jij 1-1a

doe-IMP 1-3f\*

drink + je 1-3a

drink + jij 1-3b

ga + je 1-6ci

ga + jij 1-3d

gaan + jullie-1-1f

gaan + jullie+1-4d

lees + je 1-2b

lees + jij 1-2a

leef + je 1-2e

leef + jij 1-5g

leven + jullie- 1-5d

leven + jullie+ 1-5f

moet + je 1-5e\*

moet + jij 1-4f\*

### **Bonus**

gaan + wij 1-3e

gaan + we 1-3d

drinkt + hij 1-3b

gaat + hij 1-4d

gaat + zij 1-4g

gaan + zij 1-4h

leefde + ik 1-5b

dan + ik 1-5g

gaan + ze 1-6d

## **9.2.3 Vlijmen**

### **Interview Vlijmen**

Welkom heten

Dank voor jullie toezegging

Uitleg interview:

- eerst een voorstelronde per persoon
- een gesprek tot stand laten komen tussen informanten
- vragenlijst
  - o Eerst zal ik zinnen voorlezen, de vraag om die te vertalen. Dit zijn 42 zinnen.

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- Daarna volgen er gegroepeerde zinnen in dialect, de vraag om iemand die achter elkaar voor te laten lezen en ze dan gezamenlijk te bespreken. De vragen hierbij zijn: komt deze zin voor in uw dialect, zo ja: hoe gebruikelijk is deze zin, zo nee: hoe komt deze zin dan wel voor? Bespreek hierbij iedere zin die voorgelezen wordt.
- Eindigend met 44 woordparen in het Nederlands, de vraag om die te vertalen.

Probeer elkaar uit te laten praten en het zou fijn zijn als iedereen aangeeft hoe hij of zij het zou zeggen. Ik zal niet deelnemen, het gaat erom dat jullie overleggen over de vragen.

### Voorstelronde per persoon

- Wat is je naam?
- Wat is je leeftijd?
- Welk dialect spreekt u, het dialect van...?
- Waar heb je allemaal gewoond?
- Spraken je opvoeders dialect?

### Participant 1

Adrie Verboord

66 jaar

Vlijmens dialect

Getrouwd naar Nieuwkuijk verhuisd

Opvoeders: Ouders beide Vlijmenaren – moeder nooit gekend

### Participant 2

Nico Verbunt

66 jaar

Vlijmens dialect

Woont in Vlijmen, 14 jaar in Den Bosch, Eindhoven en Best gewoond

Opvoeders: Ouders beide Vlijmenaren, grootouders ook.

### Participant 3

Thé Herman

61 jaar

Vlijmen

Altijd in Vlijmen gewoond

Opvoeders: Ouders echte Vlijmenaren

### Gesprek

- Wanneer spreken jullie allemaal dialect?
- Hoe vaak spreken jullie dialect?
- Schrijven jullie ook in dialect?
- Waar kennen jullie elkaar van?

Door ABN veel dialect verloren gegaan. Denken ze niet overna, ze proberen het te verstaan. Het gaat om de inhoud, niet om de taalkundige juistheid. Dialect wordt in informele gesprekken gebruikt, in formele situaties, zoals het voorzitten van een vergadering, meer naar ABN. Er wordt ook in dialect geschreven, maar dat wordt niet altijd begrepen. Thé schrijft liedjes in het dialect en Adrie schrijft met een man van Italiaanse afkomst (leraar uit Den Bosch) e-mails in het dialect. Kinderen spreken geen dialect, verstaan het wel, maar kunnen het niet spreken. *Houdoe* is erg belangrijk, zeker voor Thé.

1. Vertaal de volgende uitspraken:

1a. Wat doe jij raar.

Participant 3: Wat doe de gij gek

b. Doe je de afwas altijd zo?

Participant 2: Was te gij altijd zo af?

Participant 1: Doe de gij de afwas altijd zo?

c. Ik weet zeker dat je de afwas altijd goed doet.

Participant 1: Ik weet zeker dat ge den afwas altijd goed doet.

d. Wij vroegen ons af of jullie de afwas niet zouden willen doen.

Participant 3: Wij vroegen ons eigen af of dat de gullie de afwas wel zou doen.

Participant 2: Wij dachten dat gullie dat ook wel eens zou kunnen doen.

Participant 1: Als jullie de afwas nu eens doen.

Participant 3: Wordt het niet tijd dat gullie de afwas moet doen.

Participant 2: Zoude gullie de afwas niet eens doen.

e. Alleen als jullie morgen de afwas doen.

Participant 2: Allenig as gullie mergen de afwas doet

Participant 1: Allenig as gullie mergen de afwas doet.

f. Waar gaan jullie dan naartoe?

Participant 1: Waar gaan jullie dan hene?

2a. Ik lees het liefste Urbanus-strips, wat lees jij het liefst?

Participant 3: Ik lees het liefste Urbanus-plaatjes, ja strips, wat lees de gij het liefste?

b. Hoeveel boeken lees je per jaar?

Participant 2: Hoeveel boeken lees de gij per jaar?

c. Ik dacht dat jij nooit boeken las.

Participant 1: Ik dacht dat gij nooit boeken last.

d. Ik lees veel, maar ik weet niet of dat jij ook zoveel leest.

Participant 3: Ik lees veel, maar ik weet niet of dat de gij ook zoveel leest.

e. Leef je ook altijd zo mee met de hoofdpersoon?

Participant 2: Kunde gij oeweigens ook zo goed inleven in de hoofdpersoon

Participant 1: Leefde gij oeweigen ook zo in?

Participant 3: Ge leeft met iemand mee hee

Participant 2: Hedde gij compassie mee die mensen

f. Ik ga dat boek alleen maar lezen als jij eerst dit boek leest.

Participant 1: Ik ga dat boek alleen maar lezen als gij eerst dit boek leest.

3a. Als je met mate drinkt, drink je minder.

Participant 3: As ge met maten drinkt, dan drinkte juist meer.

Participant 2: Ge zet er een 'n' achter

Participant 1: As ge met mate drinkt, dan drinkte minder

b. Op zondag drinkt hij niks, maar drink jij juist wel.

Participant 2: Zondags drinkt hij niks, maar drinkt... Zondags drinkt hij niks, maar gij juist wel.

c. Ik vind dat jullie nog wel een rondje mogen bestellen.

Participant 1: Ik vind dat jullie nog wel een rondje mogen geven...bestellen. Ja, bestellen. Ik vind dat gullie nog wel een keer kunt roepen. *Bestellen* doe de in de kroeg niet.

d. Na dit biertje gaan we naar huis, ga jij ook?

Participant 3: Na t pilske gaan we naar huis toe, gade gij ook?

e. Als jullie nog niet vertrekken, gaan wij ook nog niet weg.

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Participant 2: Als gullie nog niet gaat, gaan wij ook nog niet. *Gaan wij ook nie of ook nie.*

f. Zullen we gaan? Ja, doe dat maar.

Participant 1: Zullen we gaan? Ja, ge gaat maar.

g. Ik vroeg me af of jullie nog wilden blijven

Participant 3: Ik vroeg mijn eigen af of dat de gullie nog wou blijven.

Participant 2: Ik had gedacht dat gullie nog zout kunnen... Nee 't klopt wel.

Participant 1: 'n wijltje

4a. Ik vroeg me af of je op mijn verjaardag wilde komen.

Participant 2: Ik had gedacht of de jullie eens niet op mijn verjaardag wilde komen.

Participant 3: Wilde gullie ok nie op mijn verjaardag komen?

Participant 1: Waarvoor komde nie op m'n verjaardag?

Participant 2: Gij hebt nie uitgenodigd man, ik heb oe wel gefeliciteerd man.

Participant 1: Waarom komde ok niet op mijn verjaardag

Participant 2: Ja, omdat ge me niet uitnodigt.

b. Je moet alleen komen als je dat leuk vindt

Participant 1: Ik moet alleen komen as ge wilt

Participant 3: als ge d'r zin in hebt

Participant 1: als ge d'r zin in hebt ja.

c. Ik heb het liefste dat jullie komen, zij maken me niet zoveel uit.D

Participant 1: Ik heb het liefste dat de gullie komt, hullie maakt me niet zoveel uit.

Participant 2: die anderen interesseren mij niet zo veel.

d. Morgen gaat hij naar een groot feest. Gaan jullie ook?

Participant 2: Morgen ga hij naar een groot feest. Gade gullie ook?

e. Het wordt veel leuker als jullie ook komen.

Participant 1: Het wordt veel gezelliger als gullie d'r ook zijn.

f. Moet jij je niet gaan klaarmaken voor het feest?

Participant 3: Moete gullie uh, Moete gij oeweigen nie uh, moete gij niet affessere om oew goed pak aan te trekken voor het feest?

Participant 3: Met een vrouwke is dat anders hè

Participant 1: Moet' oeweigen nie een beetje gaan opdoffen.

Participant 3: Zullen we gaan, zullen we gaan, hedde ze in de krul gedaan.

g. Als jij gaat, gaat zij ook.

Participant 2: Als gij gaat, dan gaat zij ook wel denk.

h. Wat denk je? Gaan zij even lang door als jullie?

Participant 1: Wat denkte gij? Gaan hullie net zo lang door als wij, als gij?

Interviewer: nee als jullie

Participant 1: Als de gullie

Participant 3: Gaan hullie net zo lang door als wij, als gullie?

Participant 1: Gaan hullie net zo lang door als wij, als gullie?

5a. Als jullie maar niet voor een kluizenaarsbestaan kiezen.

Participant 3: Als gullie maar niet op oeweigen gaat zitten.

Participant 1: Als ge maar gene kluizenaar wordt.

Participant 2: A ga mar niet gaat zitten versimpelen

b. Leefde ik langer als kluizenaar dan jij?

Participant 2: Zou ik langer leven als kluizenaar as gij? Ja, leefde ik. Ik zou aan mijn eigen die vraag stellen, dat is het lastige.

Participant 1: Leefde gij. Ik denk dat we dat hier met voltooid deelwoord doen. *Hedde gij langer als kluizenaar geleefd. Hedde langer op oew eigen.*

Participant 2: Dialect dat heeft niets te maken met dat taalkundige van school, +t, dat flap je er zo uit.

*Commentaar: zin wordt moeilijk gevonden*

c. Ik weet niet of je dat wel zou trekken.

*Ik weet niet of je dat wel zou trekken.*

d. Leven jullie nu nog zo, als een God in Frankrijk?

*Leven jullie nu nog zo, als een God in Frankrijk?*

e. Als jij dat zo wil, moet je dat vooral doen.

Participant 1: Als gij dat zo wil, dan moete dat vooral zo doen.

f. Leven jullie al zó lang?

Participant 3: Leefde gullie al zó lang?

Participant 1: Zijde gullie al zo oud?

g. Als ik zo doorga, leef jij nog langer dan ik.

Participant 2: Als ik zo doorga, dan leefde gij langer as ikke.

Participant 3: Worre gij ouwer as ikke

Participant 1 & Participant 2: Worre gij ouwer as ikke

Participant 1: Ik denk dat we dat makkelijker zeggen, dan *worre gij ouwer as ikke*.

6a. Denk jij ook zoveel over je verhalen na?

Participant 1: Denkte gij ook zoveel na over oe verhalen?

b. Zij vroeg zich af of jij goed goed verhalen kan vertellen.

Participant 3: Ze vroeg d'r eigen af of dat gij goed goed verhalen kont vertellen... kunt vertellen

c. i. Ga je dat verhaal vertellen?

ii. Dan vertel ik dat andere, zodat ik niet hetzelfde vertel als jij.

Participant 2: Gade gij dat verhaal vertellen?

Participant 1: Gade gij dát verhaal vertellen?

Participant 2: Dan vertel ik dat ander, zodat, dat ik nie, daar heb je dat weer hè *zodat*...

Participant 1: Anders krijgde twee keer hetzelfde

d. Nu zijn zij aan de beurt. Gaan ze een beter verhaal vertellen dan jullie?

Participant 1: Nou zijn hullie aan de beurt. Zouden ze een beter verhaal gaan vertellen dan jullie ... of gullie ... jullie, ja ik zou *jullie* doen. Zouden ze een beter verhaal gaan vertellen dan jullie?

Participant 3: as gullie

## 2. Komen de volgende zinnen in uw dialect voor?

*Zo ja: hoe gebruikelijk zijn deze zinnen? Zo nee: hoe kunt u de zin aanpassen, zodat hij wel klopt?*

1a. Hoe is 't meugelijk dèdde gij dè nie wit?

b. Hoe is 't meugelijk dè gij dè nie wit?

c. Hoe is 't meugelijk dè ge dè nie wit?

d. Hoe is 't meugelijk dèdde dè nie wit?

e. Hoe is 't meugelijk dè je dè nie wit?

f. Hoe is 't meugelijk dè jij dè nie wit?

Participant 1 leest voor

Komt voor: c, b, a.

Komt niet voor: e, f, d.

Gebruikelijk: c, b.

Commentaar: *'Hoe is 't moet Hoest zijn.*

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Participant 2 zegt dat Participant 3 *dèdde* goed vindt, omdat ie misschien aan een ander dialect denkt. Participant 2 zegt dat *dèdde* wel voorkomt in Tilburg en Kaatsheuvel.

- 2a. Doet *dè* mar.
- b. *Dè* doet mar.
- c. Doe *dè* mar.
- d. *Dè* doe mar.

Participant 3 leest voor

Komt voor: c.

Komt niet voor: a, b, d

Gebruikelijk: c.

Commentaar: *Dè doe mar* kan wel betekenen: *dat (die mensen daar) doen maar wat*.

Het woord *mar* wordt soms ook uitgesproken als *mèr*.

- 3a. Ik kan *dè* toch beter as gij.
- b. Ik kan *dè* toch beter as jij.
- c. Ik kan *dè* toch beter aste gij.

Participant 2 leest voor

Komt voor: a.

Komt niet voor: b, c.

Gebruikelijk: a.

Commentaar: *beter* is *better* in uitspraak. En *as* moet *es* zijn (subtiele verschillen)

- 4a. Wilde 't gij *ekkes* vur mijn doen?
- b. Wilde *dè* gij *ekkes* vur mijn doen?
- c. Wilde gij 't *ekkes* vur mijn doen?
- d. Wilde gij *dè* *ekkes* vur mijn doen?

Participant 2 leest voor

Komt voor: d

Komt niet voor: a-c

Gebruikelijk:

Commentaar: *ekkes* kennen we niet *efkes* en ze zien liever *me* dan *mijn*

- 5a. 't Is mar goed *dègge* *dè* nie wit.
- b. 't Is mar goed *dè* gij *dè* nie wit.
- c. 't Is mar goed *dègge* gij *dè* nie wit.
- d. 't Is mar goed *dèdde* *dè* nie wit.
- e. 't Is mar goed *dèdde* ge *dè* nie wit.
- f. 't Is mar goed *dèdde* gij *dè* nie wit.

Participant 3 leest voor

Komt voor:

Komt niet voor:

Gebruikelijk: b

Commentaar: *mar* → *mer*, *goed* → *goewd*

- 6a. Kunde gullie 't doen?
- b. Kunde 't doen?
- c. Kunde jullie 't doen?
- d. Kunne jullie 't doen?
- e. Kunne gullie 't doen?
- f. Kunne 't doen?

Participant 2 leest voor

Komt voor: b, a, d

Komt niet voor:

Gebruikelijk: a

Commentaar: Participant 3 zegt dat we nooit *jullie* zeggen.

- 7a. Wilde de kraant leeze?
- b. Wilde gij de kraant leeze?
- c. Wilde ge de kraant leeze?
- d. Wil je de kraant leeze?
- e. Wil jij de kraant leeze?
- f. Wilje gij de kraant leeze?

Participant 1 leest voor

Komt voor: a, b

Komt niet voor: f

Gebruikelijk: b

Commentaar:

- 8a. As ge nou nie bij 't nuuws in slaop zou vallen.
- b. As gij nou nie bij 't nuuws in slaop zou vallen.
- c. Asse nou nie bij 't nuuws in slaop zou vallen.
- d. Aste nou nie bij 't nuuws in slaop zou vallen.
- e. Asse gij nou nie bij 't nuuws in slaop zou vallen.
- f. Aste gij nou nie bij 't nuuws in slaop zou vallen.

Participant 3 leest voor

Komt voor: a, b

Komt niet voor: c, d, e, f.

Gebruikelijk: b

Commentaar: *as* → *es*, *zou* → *zo(u)t*, *vallen* → *valle*.

*Aste* is misschien meer de kant van Breda uit. En *e ge* of *dè ge* is beter.



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3. Vertaal de volgende woordparen:

1ai.	ik ga	ik ga of ik gaai
aii.	'k ga	'k gaai
bi.	ga ik	goh 'k
bii.	ga 'k	goh 'k
ci.	leef ik	lèvik
cii.	leef 'k	lèvik

2ai.	jij gaat	gij got
aii.	je gaat	ge got
bi.	ga jij	godde gij
bii.	ga je	godde
ci.	leef jij	lèfde gij of leefde gij
cii.	leef je	lèfde

3a-m.	hij gaat	hij gaai
bi-m.	gaat hij	gottie
bii-m.	gaat 'ie	gottie
ci-m.	leeft hij	lèftie
cii-m.	leeft 'ie	lèftie

3ai-v.	zij gaat	ze gaoi
aii-v.	ze gaat	ze gaoi
bi-v.	gaat zij	gasse
bii-v.	gaat ze	gasse
ci-v.	leeft zij	lèfse
cii-v.	leeft ze	lèfse

3ai-o.	het gaat	't gaoi
aii-o.	't gaat	't gaoi
bi-o.	gaat het	gigget, gaoi 't, gagget
bii-o.	gaat 't	gaoi 't
ci-o.	leeft het	lèvet & lèftet
cii-o.	leeft 't	lèvet & lèftet

4ai.	wij gaan	we gaan
aii.	we gaan	we gaan
bi.	gaan wij	gaan we
bii.	gaan we	gaan we
ci.	leven wij	leven we
cii.	leven we	leven we

5a.	jullie gaan	gullie gaat
b.	gaan jullie	gade gullie
c.	leven jullie	leefde gullie

6ai.	zij gaan	ze gaan
aii.	ze gaan	ze gaan
bi.	gaan zij	gaan hullie
bii.	gaan ze	gonze
ci.	leven zij	leven hullie
cii.	leven ze	leven ze

### Testitems

dat + je 1-1c  
 dat + jij 1-2c  
 dat + jullie- 1-3c  
 dat + jullie+ 1-4c

als + je 1-3a & 1-4b  
 als + jij 1-4g & 1-2f\*  
 als + jullie- 1-3e & 1-5a\*  
 als + jullie+ 1-1e & 1-4e\*

of + je 1-4a & 1-5c\*  
 of + jij 1-2d & 1-6b\*  
 of + jullie- 1-3g  
 of + jullie+ 1-1d

als[comp] + jij 1-6cii  
 als[comp] + jullie+ 1-4h

dan + jij 1-5b  
 dan + jullie+ 1-6d

denk + je 1-4h  
 denk + jij 1-6a\*

doe + je 1-1b  
 doe + jij 1-1a  
 doe-IMP 1-3f\*

drink + je 1-3a  
 drink + jij 1-3b

ga + je 1-6ci  
 ga + jij 1-3d  
 gaan + jullie- 1-1f  
 gaan + jullie+ 1-4d

leas + je 1-2b  
 leas + jij 1-2a

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leef + je	1-2e
leef + jij	1-5g
leven + jullie-	1-5d
leven + jullie+	1-5f

moet + je 1-5e\*

moet + jij 1-4f\*

Bonus

gaan + wij	1-3e
gaan + we	1-3d
drinkt + hij	1-3b
gaat + hij	1-4d
gaat + zij	1-4g
gaan + zij	1-4h
leefde + ik	1-5b
dan + ik	1-5g
gaan + ze	1-6d