# A Representation of Dunglish: What is it Nou? 

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#### Abstract

Dunglish is a portmanteau of Dutch and English and must therefore be influenced by both these languages. What Dunglish exactly is and how it is influenced by each language, however, is not clear. The only confirmed information on Dunglish is that this variety is often regarded in a negative light; the majority ( $70 \%$ ) of Dutch people believe that Dunglish is basically 'bad English'. Therefore, this thesis attempts to discover what Dunglish is exactly through a linguistic analysis of Dunglish phrases. To determine what Dunglish is, the following research question has been created: How is Dunglish represented in a text that seems to function to define the variety? A sub-question has also been formulated: what linguistic elements of Dunglish influence the representation of Dunglish? The questions will be answered through a linguistic analysis of Dunglish phrases found in Jacob \& Haver's language manual What and How Dunglish (2017). The analysis will consider how the five aspects of language (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics) of Dunglish differ from English and Dutch. The results of the linguistic study show that all aspects influence Jacob \& Haver's representation of Dunglish heavily, except for those at the morphological level. Furthermore, it is revealed that the representation of Dunglish is characterized by L1 transfer and can therefore be seen as an interlanguage. For some phrases, it is are hard to believe people would say them, but the humorous intent of the book may explain why these are included nevertheless. Finally, through video analyses of spontaneous Dunglish speech, phonological, semantic and pragmatic features are found to be the most prominent features of Dunglish in real life.


## Foreword

This thesis has been quite the journey. At times I was inspired and felt overjoyed by the analysis I was doing on Dunglish. I marvelled at the ways the authors of the language manual played with language and I loved discovering new things about Dunglish. It was so much fun that I occasionally caught myself snickering at a hilarious Dunglish phrase in the library, or practicing my Dunglish pronunciation with friends and family. I even invented a Dunglish phrase myself and managed to put it in the title: "What is it nou?". "Nou" is a word borrowed from Dutch that translates to "now". In a Dutch question, this word may emphasize that you really want to find the answer to your question. In English, however "what is it now?" may signify annoyance. At other times I felt lost, lonely and confused about where I was heading. For those times, I would like to thank my family and friends for putting up with me and motivating me to never give up. Finally, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Debbie Cole, for always guiding me and helping me see why I started doing this research from the start, for letting me see things in a new and exciting way, for always showing me a way to get back to shore like a lighthouse when I strayed from my original goal. Thank you for being my lighthouse at sea.

## Lighthouse at Sea

A sodden sailor loses his breath For the water now almost brings Death
He veered too far from the shore
And now can swim no more The waves crash upon the ocean Like a mother bear's angry motion

Then when all hope is lost
And dying seems a bitter cost
A flickering light dances upon the sea
And makes its way towards me
Sparkling the water's wayward grey
And showing me home, the way

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## List of Abbreviations

EFL: English as a foreign language
ESL: English as a second language
IPA: International Phonetic Alphabet
J\&H: Jacob \& Haver, the authors of the phrase book What and How Dunglish (2017)
L1: first language, used in phrases such as L1 transfer and L1 interference

## Introduction

Attitudes towards language varieties may influence the communication between people of different backgrounds. In English, some varieties are held in high regard, such as the 'prestigious' RP English (Agha, 2007), while others are looked down upon, such as the 'lazysounding' Southern American English (Preston, 2003), which may create superficial opinions based on accents. While not necessarily a variety of English, Dunglish is another language variety that is often looked down upon. Dunglish often resembles English, but is influenced by Dutch. This can be seen in phrases such as "I always get my sin" or "Give my compliments to the cock". The language is described by Van Dale ("Dunglish") , the leading dictionary of the Dutch language, as a portmanteau of Dutch and English ("samentrekking van Dutch + English") and is mainly spoken by Dutch people (Gerritsen et al., 2016). Therefore, it must be influenced by both Dutch and English and have characteristics from both languages. What Dunglish exactly is and to what extent it is influenced by both languages, however, remains ambiguous. Is it a hybrid or mixed language? Is it an interlanguage? Is it code-switching? Or is not a real language at all? Is it English with influences from the Dutch language? If so, to what extent does Dutch influence Dunglish?

Despite the lack of scholarly understanding of what Dunglish is, quantitative research in the field of World Englishes has shown that Dutch people have a negative attitude towards this variety. A major questionnaire with over 2000 Dutch respondents has shown that more than 70\% of people believe Dunglish equals 'bad English' (Edwards, 2016). Furthermore, the same questionnaire reveals that more than $70 \%$ of people do not mind a bit of Dutch flavour as long as their English is good. However, what a bit of Dutch flavour and Dunglish mean to these respondents is not clear. Since the participants value Dunglish and English with a bit of Dutch flavour differently in Edwards' research, it may be concluded that Dunglish is different from English with a bit of Dutch flavour to these respondents. Is Dunglish then

English with quite a bit of Dutch flavour or is it something else entirely? Ingrid Tieken, on her blog, Bridging the Unbridgeable, created a poll on Dunglish as well, but this one was not only addressed to Dutch people but to people of all nationalities, since it was made online in English. 46 out of 76 people voted for the option "Like Geert Joris, I'm not a fan of Dunglish" as an answer to the question "What do YOU think of Dunglish?" Although a number of respondents were Dutch, many were not, which shows that even international audiences have a negative view towards Dunglish. On the one hand, a negative view of Dunglish is understandable since too much influence from a first language may interfere with a second language and create differing meanings, which may consequently lead to misunderstandings in communication (Kosasih, 2017). On the other hand, completely removing a Dutch accent may be too idealistic and unattainable for many people.

Other literature in World Englishes also suggests that Dutch people are more critical of English with a Dutch accent than native speakers are (Van den Doel \& Quené, 2013). Thus, the attitudes towards English are quite exonormative in the Netherlands; there is presumably some pressure on Dutch people to meet native speaker norms and to remove their Dutch accent when speaking English. At the same time, however, the actual usage of English in the Netherlands is increasingly endonormative, i.e. the norms of English correctness stem from usage by Dutch people themselves and not a native variety such as British English (Edwards, 2014). This contradiction is demonstrated in Dunglish, a variety with endonormative usage but with exonormative attitudes towards it, since it is influenced by the Dutch language but viewed negatively because of this. To understand the contradiction between endonormative and exonormative English in the Netherlands better, it may therefore be useful to gain more knowledge of what Dunglish exactly is. Only then can endonormative forms be embraced.

Thus, while it is clear that Dunglish is seen as negative, two things are not as clear. Firstly, it is unclear what Dunglish is exactly. Secondly, it is ambiguous what linguistic elements of Dunglish influence this negative attitude towards Dunglish. Because of these reasons, research will be conducted to discover what Dunglish exactly is. Dunglish is closely associated with popular culture, due to the many Facebook pages, blogs and humorous books around this phenomenon. Therefore, the focus will lie on the representation of Dunglish in popular culture texts aiming to define Dunglish, specifically Jacob \& Haver's language manual What and How Dunglish (2017). This will be done through a linguistic analysis of Dunglish phrases. A research question has been formulated to investigate these issues: How is Dunglish represented in a text that seems to function to define the variety? The following sub-question will also be answered: what linguistic elements of Dunglish influence the representation of Dunglish?


## Literature Review

## Dunglish in Context: English in the Netherlands

To understand Dunglish better, more information is needed regarding the context of English in the Netherlands. In this section, the role and spread of English in the Netherlands will be explained in more detail through Kachru's three circles of English. According to Kachru, the usage of English in nation-states can be divided into three circles: the Inner circle, the Outer circle, and the Expanding circle. In countries from the Inner circle such as the UK, the U.S. and New Zealand, English is spoken as the first language. This circle is norm-providing, i.e. countries in this circle provide the norms for using the English language. The Outer Circle consists mainly of multilingual countries that used to be colonies of the UK, such as India and Nigeria. In these countries, English is spoken as a second language, also known as ESL, and often serves as a lingua franca connecting multiple language groups in specific domains of society such as higher education, politics, law or business. This circle is norm-developing, i.e. countries in this circle develop and institutionalise their own language norms for English. The Expanding Circle consists of countries in which English is not a native language, but rather a foreign language, also known as EFL, and is frequently used in international communication. China, Egypt, The Netherlands and many more countries are said to belong to this circle (Melchers \& Shaw, 2011). This circle is norm-dependent, i.e. it relies on the norms provided by the Inner Circle and possibly the Outer Circle (Kachru, 2005). Therefore, the Expanding Circle countries often have an exonormative English language model, i.e. a model according to external English language norms. However, Jenkins, Modiano \& Seidlhofer argue that, in the current sociolinguistic reality, an endonormative model of lingua franca English is emerging for Expanding Circle countries that "will increasingly derive its norms of correctness and appropriacy from its own usage rather than that of the UK or the US, or any other 'native speaker' country." (2001, p.15).

The fact that countries are gaining more endonormative language norms towards English bodes well for learners of English as a second or foreign language, since international communication is more and more likely to occur with non-native speakers than with native speakers of English. To illustrate, the number of non-native speakers of English outranks the number of native speakers by a ratio of 3 to 1 and is still rapidly growing (Crystal, 2003). Furthermore, Lowenberg (2000) argues that adhering to native-speaker norms when evaluating the proficiency of learners' English in countries belonging to the Outer Circle is not only irrelevant but also potentially damaging. Moreover, a native English variety is hard to learn for people in whose immediate environment the local variety is more prominent. Kirkpatrick suggests it is even impossible to learn a native variety outside of its native country (2006). Therefore, holding on to traditional exonormative standards may become outdated and potentially detrimental in some countries, especially Outer Circle countries.

The damaging and counterproductive effect of holding on to traditional exonormative standards should be considered for some Expanding Circle countries as well, especially for those which are experiencing a transition to endonormative standards. Graddol suggests that roughly twenty Expanding Circle countries, including the Netherlands, are currently moving from the Expanding to the Outer Circle and are thus gaining endonormative English language norms (Graddol, 1997). Edwards' corpus research has shown that Dutch English, described as "the actual forms of English in the Netherlands" (2014, p.175), shows characteristics of both EFL and ESL varieties, placing the Netherlands in a grey area between the Expanding Circle and the Outer Circle. Despite this transition, a large-scale survey on attitudes towards non-native English varieties by van den Doel \& Quené (2013) shows that attitudes of Dutch non-native speakers of English do not reflect this change towards endonormative standards. In this study, native and non-native speakers of English evaluated the pronunciation of five European accents of English. While more leniency from European non-native speakers
towards their fellow Europeans' accents were expected due to the emerging endonormative standards, the European respondents evaluated the Europeans' accents in a similar manner to the native English speakers. Some nationalities, such as the Dutch and Polish, valued European accents even more harshly than native speakers. The negative judgement of Dutch people towards their own accent especially stands out, since they reported far more errors in the Dutch samples than native speakers, showing a pattern of inverse solidarity (van den Doel \& Quené, 2003, p.91). This illustrates that the European non-native speakers of English, and especially Dutch speakers of English, are not heavily influenced by any endonormative standards for English and may even have internalised exonormative or native speaker norms for accent evaluation (p.92).

Van den Doel \& Quené's research shows that instead of accepting the endonormative Dutch English norms, divergences from the native standard norms in pronunciation are often seen as errors by Dutch people. These divergences often originate from the first language and are regarded negatively. Therefore, they can be seen as L1 interferences, a term from second language acquisition that is also referred to as negative language transfer. Language transfer can be defined as the influence a learner's native language has on the target language and this can be positive, also known as facilitation, or negative. L1 interference is seen as negative, because the first language is believed to cause errors in the target language (Bardovi-Harlig \& Sprouse, 2017). If L1 interference frequently occurs, it may lead to a process called fossilization, in which "incorrect grammatical constructions ... because of repeated use and exposure become accepted" (Jenkins, Modiano \& Seidlhofer, 2001, p.14). Jenkins (2003) condemns the term 'fossilization', because it seems to devalue endonormative language norms; the learning of a non-native variety of English is assumed to cease, or fossilize, and learners of these varieties are assumed to be incapable of developing their language to a native-like competence, such as with RP or GA. She argues that it is dubious to assume all
differences from native use are deficient and native speaker norms should be the target for all learners of English (2003). In the Netherlands, there seems to be an unusually strong desire to avoid L1 transfer when speaking English, and therefore also a desire to avoid fossilization of Dutch features when speaking English, since Dutch people frequently see transfer from their first language as mistakes (Van den Doel \& Quené, 2013). How this information relates to Dunglish will be demonstrated in the next section.

## Definitions of Dunglish

The emergence of endonormative forms together with existing exonormative attitudes may explain why Dunglish is valued in such a negative manner by the Dutch. This is because more and more English in the Netherlands is influenced by the Dutch language, but the outlook towards Dutch features in English is still negative. To understand this negative view better, a closer understanding of what Dunglish is may prove useful. A good starting point for this is popular culture, since this is where Dunglish originates. Dunglish is closely associated with popular culture and social media, due to the many Facebook pages, blogs and humorous books around this phenomenon. However, these sources are often created by one or a few people and may therefore not always represent what the wider public seems to think of Dunglish. More importantly, these definitions are not consistent, since they attribute different characteristics to Dunglish.

In popular culture, Dunglish is often used intentionally to achieve a humorous effect. Books, Facebook pages and blogs have been created to document, and perhaps imagine, funny usages of Dunglish. What \& How Dunglish (2017) by Jacob \& Haver is an example of a book like this, and while the title might suggest that the book discusses what Dunglish is, it does not provide the reader with a definition. Rather, it presents itself as a language guide that teaches readers how to speak Dunglish. It is worth noting, however, that the intent of the
book is of the humorous sort, since the manual is categorized as a humorous book in libraries and bookshops. Most of the book consists of a list of Dunglish phrases (e.g. "We hold contact") with a phonetic spelling transcription ("Wie hoold kontekt") and Dutch counterpart ("We houden contact"). In the introduction of the book, the authors mention that Dunglish is also known as "steenkolenengels" (2017), but they do not provide a definition of this term either. Due to the historic background of steenkolenengels, people may have very different associations with it than they have with Dunglish. According to Van Dale ("steenkolenengels"), steenkolenengels can be seen as a nonsensical or impure language of English and Dutch used by sailors and workers on coal boats ("bastaardtaal van Engels en Nederlands die zeelieden en arbeiders op kolenboten gebruiken"). The Van Dale entry for "steenkolenengels" gives a second, more subjective, definition as well: very bad English ("zeer slecht Engels"). This definition presents Dunglish rather as a form of English than a form of Dutch.

Cloutier, a Canadian blogger living in the Netherlands, proposes another definition for Dunglish on her website dunglish.nl. She describes it as: "what happens when Dutch gets mixed with English" and suggests that "It is mostly spoken by the Dutch and Flemish (Belgium), but also by Dutch speakers who have been abroad too long, or by English speakers whose English is going Dutch." (Cloutier, 2005). The definitions proposed so far differ much. While the definition by Van Dale in the previous paragraph seemed to suggest an insufficient command of the English language by Dutch people, this blogger proposes that Dunglish is a hybrid language or an interlanguage. It is important to note that a hybrid language and an interlanguage are similar yet not the same. Both can be seen as a mixture of two languages, but a hybrid language can be described as a fusion of two languages created by fluent speakers of both languages (Matras \& Bakker, 2003). Whereas an interlanguage is used by learners of a foreign language and has a structure that "is determined by the
typological nature of the learners' L1 and L2" (Hyltenstam, 1987, p.67), i.e. its performance is influenced by rules from speakers' L1 (Lightbown and Spada, 1997). Cloutier suggests that Dunglish is more often a form of English influenced by Dutch than a form of Dutch influenced by English, but argues it could really be both. Other bloggers refer to Dunglish as a form of codeswitching or codemixing (Mccarthy, 2015 \& D 2017), which is described by Backus as "the use of two (or more) languages at the same time, often by the same speaker, and often within an individual sentence" (2013, p.17). In this case, people speaking Dunglish would thus switch between Dutch and English. Due to the differing and unclear definitions by these sources, a research into how Dunglish is represented in popular media will be undertaken.

Portmanteaux of languages are frequently featured in popular media; there are many other portmanteaux similar to Dunglish that are popular such as Denglish, Nederengels and Inglish. Most of these definitions, however, are not clearly defined in popular culture either. For instance, Rijkens (2009), former director of Heineken Asia/Pacific, has created a humorous book called I Always Get my Sin on what he calls 'Denglish', based on his experiences with Dutch people speaking English. In this book, Rijkens coins the term Denglish and describes it as "the interesting English spoken by Dutch people" (p. 9), but we are left to wonder what 'interesting' means in this instance. Logically, whether something is interesting or not depends on the person: while one person might find something interesting, someone else may believe it to be completely ordinary. Furthermore, Denglish is also commonly known as a portmanteau of Deutsch and English, confusing the matter even further (Gardt, Hüppauf \& Hüppauf, 2004).

Besides portmanteaux of Dutch and English, there are many other portmanteaux that consist of multiple languages, such as Spanglish (Spanish English), Denglish (German English) and Franglais (French English). While these often have very different origins and
discussions surrounding them, what they have in common with Dunglish is that they lack an agreed-upon definition. For instance, there seems to be much confusion on what the term 'Spanglish' means. The difference with Dunglish, however, is that there has been much more scholarly discussion surrounding Spanglish, e.g. some research has been done on what Spanglish means to its speakers (Dumitrescu, 2012). Spanglish emerged due to the unprecedented language contact between the Spanish and the English language after the U.S. gained much territory from Mexico and the large influx of Mexican immigrants in the middle of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century. Many Spanish speakers suddenly lived in a country whose hegemonic power spoke English and this influenced both the Spanish and English languages, and ultimately led to Spanglish, which in basic terms is a mixing of Spanish and English used mostly by Hispanics in the South of the U.S. (Tatum, 2014). As Gloria Anzaldua, famous Chicana author, eloquently writes in favour of a hybrid language such as Spanglish:
"for a people who are neither Spanish nor live in a country in which Spanish is the first language; for a people who live in a country in which English is the reigning tongue but who are not Anglo; for a people who cannot entirely identify with either standard (formal, Castilian) Spanish nor standard English, what recourse is left to them but to create their own language? A language which they can connect their identity to, one capable of communicating the realities and values true to themselves-a language with terms that are neither espanol ni ingles, but both" (1987, p. 177).

Thus, while English or Spanish may not reflect who these Mexican-Americans are, a wholly new, hybrid language such as Spanglish may capture their hybridity of cultures (Rothman, Rell, 2005). Dumitrescu disagrees with this view of Spanglish as a hybrid language, and
believes it is simply a form of codeswitching. She believes Spanglish has been wrongly perceived as "The birth of a new language", "a Spanish dialect plagued by unnecessary anglicisms", the only "language variety spoken by Hispanics in the United States" and many more things, and argues Spanglish is simply "one of several sociolects" (2012, p.1-2). To gain a deeper meaning of how speakers of Spanglish view their language and how their language relates to their identity, Rothman and Rell (2005) have conducted five short interviews with Mexican-Americans living in Los Angeles, California. First, the interviewees were asked to define Spanglish. Consequently, they were asked how and with whom they use Spanglish and how it helps to define their Mexican-American identity. Finally, the interviewees answered why they resorted to Spanglish and not Spanish or English. These questions helped to shape a clearer definition of what Spanglish means to its users.

To gain a better understanding of how other portmanteaux of languages such as Franglais are perceived, users of these portmanteaux can be asked questions similar to the ones described above. This cannot be done with Dunglish, however, since no community of speakers has been found that identifies with Dunglish. Furthermore, before attitudes towards a specific language variety can be gauged, what this language variety is exactly must be known. Since this is not yet known in the case of Dunglish, a linguistic analysis will be performed to gain an insight on the features of Dunglish.

## Methodology

To understand what the term Dunglish might refer to as a label for a language variety or sociolect, a linguistic analysis will be undertaken of Dunglish phrases to understand how Dunglish is represented in a popular culture text that seems to function to define the variety. Due to the lack of research on Dunglish, it first needs to be defined. This research will endeavour to provide a linguistic description of Dunglish phrases, which is relevant since little research has analysed the linguistic characteristics of Dunglish.

## Materials

For the linguistic analysis, Dunglish phrases will be needed. These will be retrieved from Jacob \& Haver's What and How Dunglish: De Taalgids Steenkolenengels voor Onderweg (2017). While the title is in English, the subtitle is in Dutch and translates to "The Language Guide Dunglish for on the Way" (see figure 1 for a picture of the cover).


Figure 1: Back and Front Cover of Jacob \& Haver's What \& How Dunglish (2017)


This book has been chosen mainly due to Jacob \& Haver's popularity. They are the biggest online publisher in social media in the Netherlands, i.e. they create and share much content online. This is relevant since Dunglish is highly associated with social media due to the many Facebook pages and books surrounding it (home, n.d.). Furthermore, Jacob \& Haver's Facebook page Make that the Cat Wise is a well-known phenomenon in the Netherlands with almost 500 thousand likes. What and How Dunglish is categorized as a humorous book in online stores (e.g. bol.com, managementboek), bookshops (libris.nl, bruna), and the Dutch public library (de Bibliotheek). However, it is purposefully designed to look like a phrase book, or a language manual to speaking Dunglish, with each chapter revolving around a particular theme and providing Dunglish phrases to use in this specific situation. For example, a Dunglish phrase from the chapter 'food and drinks' ('eten en drinken') is 'Thank the cock for the lovely dinner' ('Bedank de kok voor het heerlijke diner') and a phrase from 'a day out' ('dagje weg') is 'How late goes the swimbath open' ('Hoe laat gaat het zwembad open'). See figure 2 and 3 for a closer look inside the book.

Inhoudsopgave

Algemeen 9
Eten en drinken (restaurant, uitgaan, kroeg) 14
Dagje weg (bezienswaardigheden, auto, fiets,
liften, de weg vragen) 19
Overnachtingen 27
Sociaal (complimenten en algemene
begroetingen) 31
Diensten (bankzaken, geld) 42
Vervoer ( OV en huren, pech) 46
Avontuur 54
Om hulp vragen (gezondheid, veiligheid,
niet lekker, klagen, politie) 58
10. Handige zinnen (telefoon, bank, dingen regelen, weer) 65 Woordenlijst 77

1. Algemeen
2. Morgen gaan we op vakantie

Tomorrow go we up vacation
Tamorroo ĝoo wie up veekeesjn
2. Eergisteren was het donderdag Honouryesterday was it thunderday Onorjestodee waz it sunderdee
3. Overmorgen gaan we naar de dierentuin Overtomorrow go we to the animalsgarden Oovetemorroo goo wie toe se ennimalsĝahdn
4. Volgende week heb ik een vrije dag Next week have I a free day Nekst wiek hev ai a frie dee
5. Hoe laat kan ik langskomen? How late can I side-coming? Hau leet ken ai sajdkumming?
6. We zijn met zijn tweeën We are with his two's Wie ah wiD his toes
7. De hele groep bestaat uit 15 personen

The whole group bestands out fifteen persons
De hool groep biestents aut fiftien puhsens

Figure 3: The First Chapter ("General") of Jacob \& Haver's What \& How Dunglish (2017, p.9)


While Jacob \& Haver's book resembles a phrase book, it does lack some things typically found in such a book, e.g. background information regarding the language or culture and a simple overview of grammar. This absence will be addressed in the discussion section. The layout of the book may also provide interesting comments regarding the audience of the book and Dunglish. The blurb on the back of the cover (see figure 1) and the introduction (see figure 4) are written in Dutch with some Dunglish phrases here and there to give the reader an idea of the content of the book. Thus, the audience for this book can be assumed to be Dutch people. Furthermore, the book's cover is in bright orange, the national colour of the Netherlands, and has two small flags of the United Kingdom on the cover, one on the back and one on the front, suggesting a hybridity between Dutch and British English. The U.K. flag can be found at the end of some chapters as well, but this flag is coloured in shades of orange (see figure 5). Chapter titles and Dunglish phrases are also written in Dutch orange, which may suggest that some form of British English is influenced by the Dutch language (see figure 3).

## Inleiding

Voor u ligt de What \& How taalgids steenkolenengels, van de makers van 'Make that the cat wise'.

Met deze gids maakt u zichzelf prima out the feet in het buitenland en houdt u zich standing tussen alle toeristen. Knoop binnen de kortste keren een gesprek aan, want het steenkolenengels - ook wel Dunglish genoemd - heeft u met deze gids in no-time under the knee.

U leert sociaal te doen (How make you it?), te antwoorden op allerlei vragen (My passport? An eyecan, I pack it thereby), met verkopers te praten (Yes, bye. I'm crazy Henkie not) en in restaurants complimentjes te geven (Thank your cock for the dinner).

De hoofdstukken zijn eenvoudig ingedeeld per onderwerp en voorzien van uitspraaktips. Zo bent u ervan verzekerd vloeiend steenkolenengels te praten en komt alles for the baker (Koms foh Də beker). Het enige wat u hoeft te doen is te genieten van uw tripje, maar dat zit ongetwijfeld wel moustache.

Wij wensen u veel leesplezier toe! En make that the cat
maar lekker wise.
Keep us in the holes!
Jacob \& Haver
6. Heb je een ronde huiswijn ofzo? Have you a round homewine or so? Hev joe ə raund hoomwajn or so?
7. Kan ik een tafel voor acht uur reserveren?
Can I a table for eight hour reservate? Ken ai ə teebl foh eet auwe rizuhveet?
8. Morgen heb ik een kater Tomorrow have I a keeter Tomorroo hev ai a keeter

21
Figure 5: A Dunglish Flag from Jacob \& Haver's What \& How Dunglish (2017, p.21)

As can be seen in figure 6 below, each Dunglish example consists of three parts. First, a Dutch sentence is proposed in bold. Then, based on that sentence a Dunglish phrase is written in orange beneath it. This juxtaposition shows how Dunglish is influenced by the Dutch language. Beneath each Dunglish phrase, a phonetic transcription for each phrase is written, making it possible to reflect on the pronunciation as well.

## 1. Morgen gaan we op vakantie <br> Tomorrow go we up vacation <br> Təmorroo ĝoo wie up veekeesjn

Figure 6: Example of a Dunglish Phrase
It is worth mentioning that the authors do not follow IPA for the transcription of Dunglish phrases, nor do they mention what transcription system they use to show the pronunciation of Dunglish. It can then be presumed that the book is not written for linguists but rather for a more general public, since linguists would want a traditional transcription system, but the general public would not understand a system such as IPA and may prefer an easier transcription system.

As said before, the book is often categorized as a humorous book. In a bookshop in 'sHertogenbosch, the manual was found in a bookcase with books on language such as dictionaries and language learning books, however, it was placed on a distinct shelf with the label "taalhumor" ('language humour') (see figure 7 below for a picture of the shelf). This shelf mainly consists of books that show amusing analyses or descriptions of actual Dutch language use and behaviour (e.g. Japke-d. Bouma's books, Paulien Cornelisse's books, Een Topjaar voor Eikels, Ik Verf tot ik Sterf, Taal uit de Zaal, Mijn Vader zei Altijd) and funny hybrid phrases of Dutch and English (e.g. I Always Get My Sin, Make That the Cat Wise, What \& How Dunglish), but also includes books on other arbitrary linguistic or cultural subjects such as spelling mistakes (Taalvoutjes), translation (Lost in Translation), emoji's (Het Zonderwoorden-boek), neologisms (De Alfabetweter), cultural differences (Valse

Vrienden) and the Dutch word 'wim' (Lang Leve Wim). This way, What \& How Dunglish (2017) is clearly set apart from more formal language books, suggesting that they should not be taken too seriously. From these books, What \& How Dunglish (2017) has been chosen, because it is the most recent book on English influenced by Dutch and may thus be more reliable. Other humorous books such as Rijkens' I Always Get My Sin (2009) and Jacob \& Haver's Make That the Cat Wise (2013) could have been included to acquire a broader view of Dunglish phrases, but were ultimately not included due to time constraints. Furthermore, $I$ Always Get My Sin focuses on Denglish, another name for a variety of Dutch English, and this research focuses on the language with the name Dunglish. Make That the Cat Wise is similar to What \& How Dunglish, since they are created by the same authors and include similar Dunglish phrases. However, Make That the Cat Wise is not formatted as a language manual, but rather as a book with funny pictures with Dunglish phrases. Therefore, the phrases themselves may also not add much to the overall argument of this thesis.


Figure 7: the 'taalhumor' ('language humour') Bookshelf at Adr. Heinen in 's-Hertogenbosch


It is worth noting that the representation of Dunglish in this singular text may not reflect the view of Dunglish by the general public. Therefore, in the discussion part, the Dunglish representation will be interpreted three times. Firstly, the Dunglish phrases from Jacob \& Haver's What \& How Dunglish (2017) will be taken at face value to interpret the results of the linguistic analysis. Then, this representation will be reinterpreted with the humorous intent of the book in mind, since this influences the representation much. While the book presents itself as a language manual, it is actually a humorous book that makes judgements about English influenced by Dutch. Goffman's book Strategic Interaction (1967) will be used to illustrate the relevance of this dichotomy. Finally, the representation will be interpreted one last time by comparing the proposed written features of Dunglish to some short video clips of spoken Dunglish found on the Facebook page Make That the Cat Wise to find out whether the proposed features occur in spontaneous speech as well.

## Procedure

The linguistic analysis of Dunglish phrases from the phrase book What \& How Dunglish (2017) will consider the main aspects of language: phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics (Herbst, 2010) and provide a linguistic description of Dunglish. Thus, instead of pointing out errors and laying down rules of how Dunglish should be, the actual forms as presented in the texts will be observed and analysed by looking at the linguistic aspects. It is important to note a portmanteau of languages can only be described through comparing it to the elements it consists of, which are Dutch and English in the case of Dunglish. Therefore, Dunglish phrases will be compared to English and Dutch, mostly to the former since the language is more often defined as a form of English than a form of Dutch as seen in the literature review.

Phonology is concerned with the way sounds pattern and function in a particular language. In this study of sound, phonemes are essential, since they are the units of sounds that, if changed, can change the meaning of a word (Collins \& Mees, 2013). The consonant and vowel phonemes in Dunglish phrases and how they are influenced by Dutch phonology will be analysed. Morphology is the study of words and how they are formed. How words are constructed with morphemes, the smallest grammatical unit in a language, will be analysed. Free morphemes can stand on their own, whereas bound morphemes, which are further divided into derivational and inflectional morphemes, are attached to the root word. Derivational morphemes are affixes that can be used to form new words from an already existing word with a related meaning, e.g. happy can create the words unhappy and happiness with the affixes 'un' and 'ness'. Inflectional morphemes are suffixes that can be used to modify the grammatical function of a noun, adjective or verb (Radford, 2004). Syntax is the study of sentence structure and is related to word order (Radford, 2004). The word order of multiple types of sentences will be analysed, such as declarative, negative and interrogative sentences (Radford, 2004). In the next two sections (semantics and pragmatics), Dunglish is assumed to be a variety of English in order to analyse whether the meaning of the original Dutch phrase is kept in the Dunglish phrase or whether a different or ambiguous meaning is created. Semantics is the study of meaning. This meaning is literal and originates from the grammar and vocabulary in the phrase (Peccei, 1999; Cutting 2002). Pragmatics is the study of meaning in context (Peccei, 1999) and this section will consider whether Dutch idioms and colloquialisms convey the same meaning when translated to Dunglish. From this linguistic analysis, the most prominent characteristics of J\&H's Dunglish may emerge.

## Results

In this section, a closer look will be taken at how Dunglish is represented in Jacob \& Haver's What and How Dunglish through the following aspects of language: phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics.

## Phonology

In this section, the pronunciation found in the 'phonemic transcription' of Dunglish phrases in the J\&H (Jacob \& Haver) transcriptions will be compared to a more standard or exonormative English pronunciation in descriptive terms. It is worth noting that the system used to transcribe the Dunglish phrases in the J\&H text is different from an established transcription system such as the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), which consists of both letters and diacritics and can be used with both phonemic and phonetic transcription. Phonemic transcription is characterized by slashes; only the phonemes are indicated (Collins et al., 2014). In phonetic transcription, a more detailed distinction is given through the use of both letters and diacritics placed between square brackets. The transcription in What \& How Dunglish (2017) does not include slashes, nor brackets. Moreover, it only includes one orthographic symbol with a diacritic: the ' $\hat{g}$ '. This circumflex $g$ is not an official IPA symbol, leaving the reader to wonder how this should be pronounced The ' $\hat{g}$ ' occurs in words such as 'good' or 'go' and can either be pronounced as a Dutch /x/ or as an English/g/. Other diacritics are not used to indicate qualities such as voice and aspiration which are typically indicated by linguists in their transcriptions; instead most of the orthographic symbols resemble phonemes from IPA, such as the schwa vowel (' $\partial$ ') and the labio-dental fricatives ' $f$ ' and ' $v$ '. However, some of the vowel transcriptions do not resemble phonemes; rather they resemble Dutch graphemes found in Dutch spelling, e.g. the English vowel /av/ from the word 'how' is written as 'au' in the Dunglish transcription. Similarly, the English /i:/ vowel is
transcribed as 'ie' and the English /v/ vowel as 'oe', which is how these sounds are represented in Dutch spelling but not in English. This may suggest that these sounds are pronounced in a Dutch manner. Furthermore, a few consonants also do not resemble phonemes from IPA; rather they mimic the sound of consonants by creating a Dunglish transcription which would sound similar in Dutch, e.g. English $/ \mathrm{J} /$ is transcribed as 'sj’. Thus, it is not clear what type of transcription the Dunglish phrases are written in. While it seems to have some qualities of a phonetic and a graphemic transcription, it mostly resembles a phonemic transcription. Since the transcription is largely based on a Dutch spelling of consonant and vowel sounds, Dunglish may be pronounced according to the accepted phonetics of the Dutch language. This makes it hard to know what some orthographic symbols, such as the letter ' g ', sound like in Dunglish with certainty. Nevertheless, many things are clear and therefore some of the most prominent characteristics of the Dunglish pronunciation will be highlighted. While the difference between transcription systems in standard linguistics and this Dunglish transcription may seem problematic for a comparative analysis, the author's extensive knowledge of both IPA and Dutch spelling make it possible to compare these two systems. A comparison will be made of the two differing transcription systems through tables and vowel charts on the basis of Sounding Better: A Practical Guide to English Pronunciation for Speakers of Dutch, a prescriptive book that teaches the pronunciation of modern British English to Dutch learners of English. This book is used, because L1 transfer is relevant and Collins' book addresses this topic. It will be shown that many features of Dunglish originate from L1 transfer from Dutch. Collins describes the difficulties Dutch speakers have with English, and through this he explains why some features are transferred when Dutch people speak English.

## Vowels

Some monophthong vowels in the J\&H transcription are based on Dutch vowels, especially vowels that are not present in the Dutch language such as the English $/ æ /$ and $/ \mho /$. The $/ \mathfrak{æ} /$ coincides with the vowel sound in the word 'trap' and the $/ \mathrm{v} /$ with the vowel sound in the word 'foot'. Collins et al. (2014) describe that Dutch speakers of English often confuse the English /æ/ with the /e/, the vowel sound found in the word 'dress'. This may explain why words such as 'have' are transcribed with a ' $e$ ', which resembles the /e/ sound, instead of a $/ \mathfrak{æ} /$ in Dunglish. See the table below and example 4 from Appendix A for more details.

| Language variety: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | have | heb | have |
| IPA: | 'hev' $\rightarrow$ /hev/ | /hep/ | /hæv/ |

The table shows the orthography (the way a word is written) and the phonetic transcription in IPA for a word or phrase for each of the three relevant languages: Dunglish, Dutch and English. The orthography in all tables for Dunglish and Dutch is taken directly from J\&H's phrases, while the orthography in the Standard English column does not originate from the J\&H's text, but is always my own translation. For Dutch and English, the transcription is provided in IPA. Since the J\&H's transcription system is not based on IPA, but rather on the Dutch spelling, a translation of J\&H's transcription to IPA has been provided after the arrow $(\rightarrow)$.

Similarly, Dutch speakers frequently mistake the English vowel /v/ for the /u:/, which corresponds to the vowel sound in the word 'goose' (Collins et al., 2014). This may account for why words such as 'good' are transcribed with a Dutch 'oe' in J\&H's text, which sounds
closer to the English vowel /u:/ than to the /v/ vowel (see the table below and example 8 from Appendix A).

| Language variety: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | good | goed | good |
| IPA: | 'goed' $\rightarrow / \mathrm{xu}: \mathrm{d} /$ or <br> $/$ gu:d/ | $/ \mathrm{xu}: \mathrm{d} / /$ | $/ \mathrm{god} / /$ |

See the vowel charts in figures 8 to 10 below to see the major differences between Dutch, English and Dunglish monophthong vowels based on these results. The Dunglish monophthong vowels in figure 10 (made by me) mostly resemble the English monophthong vowels in figure 9 , however the $/ æ /$ and $/ \mathrm{J} /$ vowels are not present in the Dunglish vowel diagram. When comparing the Dutch monophthong vowels in figure 8 to the English vowels in figure 9 , it becomes clear that there is an open space in the Dutch diagram where the $/ \mathfrak{æ} /$ and $/ 0 /$ vowels are in the English diagram. Thus, there are no vowels in the Dutch diagram that are similar to the English $/ \mathfrak{\not} /$ and $/ \mho /$, which means that Dutch speakers are not familiar with these sounds. This may explain why these sounds can also not be found in Dunglish: because Dutch speakers may find these vowels difficult to pronounce.


Figure 8: Dutch monophthong vowels (Collins et al. 2014)


Figure 9: English monophthong vowels (Collins et al., 2014)



Figure 10: Dunglish monophthong vowels (Bergmans, 2019)
Unstressed syllables in J\&H's transcription are also sometimes transcribed in a manner different from standard English. In standard English, these syllables are usually reduced to the mid-central, monophthong vowel schwa $/ 2 /$, such as the last vowel sound in the word 'bonus'. The pronunciation of this vowel should not pose any problems for Dutch speakers, since this vowel occurs in Dutch as well. However, knowing where to pronounce this sound in English is suggested to be more difficult, since unstressed syllables often keep the original vowel sound in Dutch and are thus not reduced. Instead, vowels such as $/ \mathrm{o} / \mathrm{or} / \mathrm{e} /$ retain their sounds, although they may be slightly more centralised, e.g. the first vowel of the Dutch word 'konijn', which is in an unstressed syllable, remains a recognizable /o:/ instead of turning into a / $/$ / (Collins et al., 2014). In some unstressed syllables of Dunglish words from J\&H's text, this more centralised type of the original vowel can also be found instead of a /a/ vowel. For instance, the last vowel sound from the word 'honour', from J\&H's text, is transcribed as ' o ', which sounds similar to the English vowel / v / in Dutch spelling, and the last vowel sound from the word 'thunder' is transcribed as 'e', which sounds similar to the English vowel /e/ in Dutch spelling (see the tables below and example 2 from Appendix A). While it is possible to argue that Jacob and Haver simply transcribe their words in a similar manner to the orthographic form (i.e. retaining the spelling of '-er'), their inconsistency in the transcription makes that hard to believe. For instance, the Dunglish word 'ditchwater' is transcribed by the authors as 'ditsjwohtə' and the word over as 'ovə', which shows that
unstressed syllables in J\&H's phrases are sometimes transcribed in a differing manner from standard English.

| Language variety: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | honour | eer | honour |
| IPA: | 'onor' $\rightarrow /$ mnvr/ | /e:r/ | /pnər/ |


| Language variety: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | thunder | donder | thunder |
| IPA: | 'sunder' $\rightarrow /$ sınder/ | /dəndər/ | $/ \theta \wedge$ ndər/ |

The English diphthongs or gliding vowels/əv/ and/eI/ are simplified to a similar, yet somewhat differently sounding monophthong in Dunglish. The English goat vowel /əu/ should not be hard to pronounce for most Dutch speakers, since the Dutch word 'zo' has a similar glide (Collins et al., 2014). However, the glide is absent in the phonetic transcriptions of Dunglish; instead, these vowels are pronounced as a back, steady-state vowel similar to the Dutch vowel /o:/ in Dunglish words such as 'go'. The transfer may be explained by the fact that speakers from regional varieties may use a back, steady-state vowel (/o:/) for the word 'zo' and may thus transfer this vowel to English words (see the table below and example 1 from Appendix A).

| Language variety: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | go | gaan | go |
| IPA: | 'goo' $\rightarrow /$ xa:n/ or <br> $/$ go:/ | /xa:n/ | /gəo/ |

Similarly, the English face vowel/eI/ also has a slight glide and should not cause many problems for Dutch speakers since the word 'zee' has a similar glide. However, this diphthong is not present in Dunglish phrases either (see the table below and example 1 from Appendix A), which can again be explained by the fact that people not living in the Randstad may pronounce the vowel in Dutch as a front, steady-state vowel similar to /e:/ and transfer this sound to Dunglish. (Collins et al., 2014).

| Language variety: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | vacation | vakantie | vacation |
| IPA: | 'veekeesjn' $\rightarrow$ <br> /ve:ke: $\int n /$ | /vakantsi:/ | /verkerfən/ |

See the vowel charts in figures 11 to 14 to see the major differences between Dutch, English and Dunglish gliding vowels based on these results. The Dunglish vowel glides in figure 14 (made by me) mostly resemble the English vowel glides in figure 12 and 13, but the free vowels /o:/ and /e:/ that are present in the Dutch diagram as slight glides (in figure 11) have replaced the /əu/ and/eI/ glides.


Figure 11: Dutch Vowel Glides (Collins et al. 2014)


Figure 12: English Vowel Glides ending in [I] and [v] (Collins et al. 2014)


Figure 13: English Vowel Glides ending in [a] (Collins et al. 2014)


Figure 14: Dunglish Vowel Glides (and two glide replacements) (Bergmans, 2019)

## Consonants

Most consonants in the Dunglish phrases from the language manual have a phonetic transcription that is akin to a standard English transcription and are thus pronounced in a standard English manner, except for the dental fricatives. The strong dental fricative $/ \theta /$ is always replaced by a/s/ and the weak dental fricative $/ \delta /$ by a $/ \mathrm{d} /$. This can be explained by the fact that there are no dental fricatives in the Dutch language (Collins et al., 2014). This may lead to L1 transfer, in which 'thunder' is pronounced with an $/ \mathrm{s} /$ instead of a $/ \theta /$ (see the table below and example 2 from Appendix A) and 'weather' with a $/ \mathrm{d} /$ instead of a $/ \mathrm{\delta} /$ (see the table below and example 10 from Appendix A).

| Language variety: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | thunder | donder | thunder |
| IPA: | 'sunder' $\rightarrow /$ s $\wedge$ nder/ | /dondər/ | $/ \boldsymbol{\theta} \wedge$ ndər/ |


| Language variety: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | weather | weer | weather |
| IPA: | 'weDə' $\rightarrow$ /wedə/ | /we:r/ | /weðə/ |

A table displaying more examples of the various types of phonological features discussed in this section appears in Appendix A.

## Morphology

Interestingly, not many morphological differences from standard English were found in Jacob \& Haver's What and How Dunglish. However, there are still a few intriguing Dunglish phrases with L1 transfer on the morphological level.

## Derivational morphemes

Derivational morphemes are used to create new words. In almost all Dunglish phrases from What \& How Dunglish (2017) a standard English derivational morpheme is added to the Dunglish root word, showing that standard English morphological rules are typically followed. For example, the morpheme 'or', which is also present in standard English, is added to the Dunglish root 'elevate' to create the Dunglish word 'elevator'. (see the table below and example 1 from Appendix B for more details). Another example is the morpheme 'ful', which is also present in standard English, is added to the Dunglish root 'beauty' to create the Dunglish word 'beautiful'. (see the table below and example 3 from Appendix B for more details). The tables in this section include the orthography, the root word, and the added morpheme in each of the three relevant languages: Dunglish, Dutch and English.

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | elevator | lift | lift/elevator |
| Root word | elevate | lift | elevate |
| Derivational <br> morpheme: | '-or' | Not present | 'or' |


| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | beautiful | mooi | beautiful |
| Root word | beauty | mooi | beauty |
| Derivational <br> morpheme: | '-ful' | Not present | '-ful' |

The addition of morphemes occurs regardless of whether the constructed Dunglish word is commonly used in English or not. For example, the morpheme 'un', which is used in English to denote an absence of something or negation, is added to the Dunglish root 'guilty' to create a Dunglish word that would be unconventional in Standard English: 'unguilty'. This may occur because of L1 transfer from Dutch, because it is conventional in Dutch to attach the morpheme for negation 'on' to the root 'schuldig' ('guilty') to create the antonym of guilty (see the table below and example 2 from Appendix B).

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | unguilty | onschuldig | Not guilty |
| Root word | guilty | schuldig | guilty |
| Derivational <br> morpheme: | 'un-' | 'on-' | Not present |

Interestingly, a Dutch derivational morpheme is also added to a root word when there is no English counterpart to a Dutch morpheme, e.g. 'in' is added to the root 'friend' to create the female counterpart 'friendin'. In Dutch, it is possible to add the suffix 'in' to some nouns referring to people to create a female counterpart of the word, e.g. 'vriendin' is the female counterpart of 'vriend' ('friend') and 'boerin' is the female counterpart of 'boer' ('farmer'),
however this is not grammatical in English (see the table below and example 10 from Appendix B).

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | friendin | vriendin | female friend |
| Root word | friend | vriend | friend |
| Derivational <br> morpheme: | '-in' | '-in' | Not present |

## Inflectional morphemes

Inflectional morphemes modify the grammatical function of a noun, adjective or verb (Radford, 2004). In What \& How Dunglish (2017), standard English morphological rules are almost consistently followed for most inflectional morphemes in Dunglish. English has only eight types of inflectional morphemes. They are, as shown in bold in brackets: plural and possessive morphemes for nouns, (horse: horses, horse's), comparative and superlative morphemes for adjectives (black: blacker-blackest), and present tense third person singular, past tense, past participle and present participle morphemes for verbs (walk: walks-walkedwalking) (Brinton, 2000). Dutch has a few more inflectional morphemes such as the diminutive morpheme '-je' and the past participle prefix 'ge-' (or alternatively 'ver-', 'be-', 'er-', 'her-' or 'ont-') (Brinton, 2000). See the table below for the differences between English and Dutch inflectional morphemes.

| Inflectional Morphemes | English | Dutch |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Plural | '-s' | '-en' or '-s' |
| Possessive | '-'s' | '-'s's |
| Comparative | '-er' | '-er' |
| Superlative | '-est' | '-est' |
| Present tense third person <br> singular | '-s' | '-t' |
| Past tense | '-ed' | '-te' or '-de' |
| Past participle | '-ed' or '-en' | 'ge- + root + -t' or 'ge- + |
| root + -d' |  |  |
| Present participle | '-ing' | Not present |

In Dutch, there are two plural morphemes: '-en' and '-s'. For nouns, the English plural morpheme 's' is always added to a Dunglish word to indicate plurality. It is worth noting that the morpheme 's' is both the standard English regular plural morpheme and one of the options available in Dutch. Even when the other option ('en') is attached to a root word in Dutch, the English plural morpheme ' $s$ ' is still attached to the Dunglish translation of this word. For example, in J\&H's text the Dutch word 'booten' has the Dutch plural morpheme 'en', but it is translated into Dunglish 'boats' with the English morpheme '-s' (see the table below and example 1 from Appendix C).

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | boats | booten | boats |
| Root word | boat | boot | boat |
| Plural morpheme: | '-s' | '-en' | '-s' |

Dunglish plural words from J\&H's text even receive the English plural morpheme 's' when this creates a non-standard word in English, e.g. the plural morpheme ' $s$ ' is attached to the word 'two' to create the Dunglish word two's. This may not be a standard word in English, but the English morphological rules are followed nevertheless (see example 2 from Appendix C). There are no occurrences of possessive morphemes.

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | two's | tweeën | pair |
| Root word | two | twee | pair |
| Plural morpheme: | '-s' | '-en' | Not present |

Comparative and superlative morphemes can rarely be found in J\&H's book. In the few occurrences, they seem to be used in the same way as both the standard English and standard Dutch counterparts 'er' and 'est'. The only Dunglish example using the comparative morpheme 'er' is the word 'sweeter' and the only superlative morpheme can be found in the word 'fastest' (see the tables below and example 6 and 7 from Appendix C). While occurrences like these conform to standard English morphological rules, they can also be seen as following Dutch morphological rules, since the comparative and superlative morphemes in Dutch and English have the same orthographic form.

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | sweeter | liever | sweeter |
| Root word | sweet | lief | sweet |
| Comparative <br> morpheme: | '-er' | '-er' | '-er' |


| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | fastest | sneller | fastest |
| Root word | fast | snel | fast |
| Superlative <br> morpheme: | '-est' | '-est' | '-est' |

Tense morphemes in the Dunglish examples also mostly adhere to English morphological rules. The English present tense third person singular morpheme ' $s$ ' is always added in an appropriate context for standard English, i.e. at the end of a verb in a present tense sentence with a third person singular subject such as 'he', 'she' or 'it'. This even occurs if the root of the verb is not a standard English word, e.g. in the Dutch-looking Dunglish word 'bestands' (see the table below and example 8 from Appendix C).

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | bestands | bestaat | consists |
| Root word | bestand | sta | consist |
| Present tense third <br> person singular <br> morpheme: | '-s' | 't' (and the prefix <br> 'be') | '-s' |

Since most phrases are written in present tense, there are not many verbs with past tense or past participle morphemes. When past or past participle morphemes occur, they seem to follow the standard English morphological rules, e.g. Dunglish 'farblinded' has the English past morpheme '-ed' and Dunglish 'dreamed' has the English past participle morpheme '-ed' (see the tables below and example 12 and 14 from Appendix C).

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | farblinded | verblindde | blinded |
| Root word | blind | blind | blind |
| Past morpheme: | '-ed' | 'ver- + root + -de' | '-ed' |


| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | 'dreamed' | 'gedroomd' | 'dreamed' |
| Root word | dream | droom | dream |
| Past participle <br> morpheme: | '-ed' | 'ge- + root +-d' | '-ed' |

There are no instances of the English present participle morpheme '-ing' in J\&H's text. In phrases where you would expect a present participle form, a present simple form is used instead, e.g. 'I am up search to' is written instead of 'I'm searching for' (see the table below and example 17 from Appendix C). Perhaps, this is due to L1 transfer from Dutch, since the present participle does not exist as a verb in the Dutch language and this lack of a present particle could be transferred to Dunglish.

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | 'up search to' | 'op zoek naar' | 'searching for' |
| Root word | search | zoek | search |
| Present participle <br> morpheme: | Not present | Not present | '-ing'' |

Thus, while the Dunglish words offered by Jacob \& Haver are not always common or semantically correct in standard English, most derivational and inflectional morphemes are
added to a word in an expected standard English manner, except for when an English morpheme is not present in the Dutch language or the other way around. For example, the Dutch morphemes '-in' is added to the Dunglish word 'friend' and the English present participle morpheme '-ing' is not present in the phrases. This leads to Dutch morphology playing a minor influential source of transfer compared to other aspects of language. Tables displaying more examples of the various types of morphological features discussed in this section appear in Appendix B and C.

## Syntax

In this section, the syntax of Dunglish phrases presented by J\&H will be considered. Most Dunglish phrases from Jacob \& Haver's What and How Dunglish are simple, which means that there are not many complex phrases with adverbial or subordinating clauses. Instead most phrases consist of only one independent clause. This seems reasonable for a language manual, since it aims to provide easy phrases for people to learn and use while travelling. As a result of this, only descriptions of the syntax of simple Dunglish phrases can be made. It should be recalled that while the book may seem like a legitimate language manual, the intent of the book is to be humorous. Thus, the Dunglish phrases will be treated as phrases from a language manual for analytical purposes, but the intent of the book may complicate or even nullify the analysis of Dunglish. Furthermore, J\&H's Dunglish phrases seem to preserve a Dutch word order, which differs from a standard English word order from time to time. This can be explained by the differences between the underlying structures of both languages. The Dutch language has more complex patterns of word order than English has (Koster, 1999). Generally, Dutch is a SO language, meaning that the subject precedes the object, but depending on the type of clause the position of the verb changes. In declarative independent clauses (and wh-questions), the Dutch language shows a verb-second effect,
which entails that the finite verb is placed after one single constituent (Zwart, 2011). This single constituent is often either the subject (e.g. 'I), an adverbial phrase ('tomorrow), or a prepositional phrase ('in the Netherlands'); this leads to grammatical Dutch sentences such as 'In Spanje is het mooi weer' (gloss: 'In Spain is the weather good'). English, however, is not a verb-second language; instead it predominantly has an SVO order, i.e. the verb usually comes after the subject in both independent and embedded clauses (Meyer, 2010). This leads to grammatical English sentences such as 'In Spain, the weather is good'. In many of the Dunglish phrases in the data set, we see the verb-second pattern, e.g. in the phrase 'Tomorrow go we up vacation' (see the table below and example 1 from Appendix D). This matches the word order we would expect in a Dutch version of this sentence ("Morgen gaan we op vakantie"), but not the order we would expect in an English version. In an English sentence, we would expect, besides a present participle and another preposition, a phrase where the verbs come after the adverb "tomorrow" and the subject, leading to a phrase such as "Tomorrow we are going on vacation."

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | 'Tomorrow go we up <br> vacation' | 'Morgen gaan we op <br> vakantie' | 'Tomorrow we are <br> going on vacation |
| Syntactic rule: | Verb-second finite <br> verb | Verb-second finite <br> verb | SVO order |

Another significant syntactic difference between Dutch and English is the position of the head of the phrase, which is the central, indispensable word of the phrase and determines the syntactic category of the phrase it is the head of (Radford, 2004, p.15). For example, the noun 'children' is the head in the noun phrase 'the cute children of class B', since it is the central word that cannot be removed from the sentence. English is a head-first language; thus,
the head is always the first constituent of the phrase, e.g. the phrase 'close the door' starts with the head 'close' and ends with the complement 'the door'. In Dutch, however, the position of the head is more complex and can often also be found in the last part of the phrase (Zwart, 2011). In Dutch non-finite verb phrases, the head of the phrase, which is a verb, can be found in the final position. Most of the time, this means that one or more non-finite verbs, such as an infinitive (e.g. 'maken', gloss: 'to make'), a past participle ('verwacht', gloss: 'expected'), or a verbal particle occurring with a verb forms ('loop ... aan', gloss: 'walk ... to'), is placed at the end of a phrase, creating a SVOV word order in declarative, independent clauses (Zwart, 2011). This leads to Dutch phrases such as 'Ik wil een piano kopen’ (gloss: 'I want a piano buy'), where the finite verb 'wil' (gloss: 'want') is the head of the verb phrase 'wil een piano kopen' (gloss: 'want a piano buy') and in initial position. The non-finite verb, or specifically infinitive, 'kopen' (gloss: 'buy') is the head of the verb phrase 'een piano kopen' (gloss: 'a piano buy') and in final position. Placing the head of the phrase in final position is common in Dutch and is called the head-last effect. In English, this sentence would look like 'I want to buy a piano', with the finite verb 'want' maintaining the same initial position as in Dutch. However, the English non-finite verb, or infinitive, 'buy' is now in the initial position of the verb phrase 'buy a piano' as well. The Dutch head-last effect is often transferred to Dunglish phrases in declarative, independent clauses such as 'We want a pulltrip make' (see the table below and example 5 from appendix D). To illustrate, as seen in figure 15 and 16 below, the syntax trees for Dunglish and Dutch resemble each other much more than Dunglish and English. This is because the head of the non-finite verb phrase 'a pulltrip make' and 'een trektocht maken' is in final position in both Dunglish and Dutch. In figure 17, it is possible to see that the head of the non-finite verb phrase 'go on a hike' is in initial position in standard English.


Figure 15: Syntax Tree of Dunglish



Figure 17: Syntax Tree of English

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | We want a pulltrip <br> make | We willen een <br> trektocht maken | We want to go on a <br> hike |
| Syntactic rule: | Head-last non-finite <br> verb | Head-last non-finite <br> verb | Head-first non-finite <br> verb /SVO order |

The Dutch head-last effect is often transferred to interrogative phrases in Dunglish as well, such as 'Can we by each other stand?' (see the table below and example 9 from appendix D). Here, the head of the non-finite verb phrase is also placed in final position in both Dunglish and Dutch, but not in English.

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | Can we by each other <br> stand? | Kunnen we bij elkaar <br> staan? | Can we stand <br> together? |
| Syntactic rule: | Head-last non-finite <br> verb | Head-last non-finite <br> verb | Head-first non-finite <br> verb /SVO order |

Many syntactic features that are not standard in English can also be found in phrases with negation. In English, negation is expressed by the adverb 'not' (or 'n't') and appears after a required auxiliary verb, e.g. 'I would not'. If the finite verb is not an auxiliary verb, do-support is needed to achieve indirect negation. To illustrate this, it is not grammatical to say 'I like her not' in English; instead support from the auxiliary verb 'do' is needed to form questions and negatives such as: 'I do not like her' (Radford, 2004). In Dutch, on the other hand, negation is conveyed by the adverb 'niet' and does not require an auxiliary verb, making phrases such as ‘Ik ga niet’ (gloss: ‘I go not’) acceptable in Dutch (Zwart, 2011). The absence of auxiliary verbs in negation can be found in some Dunglish phrases such as in 'I know it not, I am here not famous' (see the table below and example 13 from Appendix D).

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | I know it not, I am <br> here not famous | Ik weet het niet, ik <br> ben hier niet bekend | I do not know, I'm <br> not familiar here |
| Syntactic rule: | Negation, auxiliary <br> support is not needed | Negation, auxiliary <br> support is not needed | Negation, auxiliary <br> support is necessary |

There is also a lack of auxiliary verbs in Dutch, direct, interrogative phrases. In Dutch, direct questions do not require an auxiliary verb; instead they are simply created with an inversion for yes/no questions and with both inversion and wh-fronting for open questions
(Zwart, 2011). This leads to Dutch phrases such as 'Speel je gitaar?' (gloss: ‘Play you guitar?') and 'Wat lees je?' (gloss: 'What read you?') being grammatical in Dutch. Typical English verbs do not allow such an inversion to occur. Instead, similarly to negation, support from an auxiliary verb (e.g. 'do', 'be', 'have' or another modal verb) is required to create a direct question in English (Radford, 2004). In Dunglish, there is an absence of auxiliary verbs in direct, interrogative phrases, similar to that in Dutch, e.g. in the phrase 'Use you well forbehatsresources?' (see the table below and example 17 from Appendix D).

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | Use you well <br> forbehatsresources? | Gebruik je wel <br> voorbehoedsmiddelen? | Do you use <br> contraceptives? |
| Syntactic rule: | Direct question, <br> auxiliary support is <br> not needed | Direct question, <br> auxiliary support is not <br> needed | Direct question, <br> auxiliary support is <br> necessary |

The Dutch adverb 'er' also complicates the word order in many Dunglish phrases. In many contexts, this adverb can roughly be translated to 'there', e.g. in the Dutch sentence 'Er zit een haar op jouw trui', 'er' simply means 'there' and a translation would be: 'There is a hair on your sweater'. In other contexts, however, 'er' cannot be translated this literally to 'there', e.g. before a preposition. In Dutch, a preposition cannot follow an article in a sentence; thus, a sentence such as 'Ik wil een van het' (gloss: 'I want one of it') would be ungrammatical in Dutch. Instead, 'er' replaces the object and is placed before the preposition, creating the phrase 'Ik wil er een van' (gloss: 'I want there one of') (Shetter, 2002). The literal translation of 'er' and the retained word order can be found in some Dunglish phrases, e.g. 'I have there clean enough from' (see the table below and example 21 from Appendix D).

| Language: | Dunglish | Standard Dutch | Standard English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orthography: | I have there clean <br> enough from | Ik heb er schoon <br> genoeg van | I'm fed up with it |
| Syntactic rule: | Prepositional 'er' | Prepositional 'er' |  |

A table displaying more examples of the various types of syntactical features discussed in this section appears in Appendix D.

## Semantics

Semantics is the study of meaning, specifically of the literal meaning derived from purely linguistic knowledge; thus, it explains the meaning of words out of context (Peccei, 1999; Cutting 2002). Dunglish phrases often have a literal word for word gloss in which the original meaning of the Dutch phrase is not kept, and this is due to different semantic reasons. If Dunglish is perceived to be a variety of English, then one might say some lexical errors occur. James (1998) distinguishes three types of lexical errors in second language acquisition: formal mis-selection, mis-formations and distortions. Mis-selection occurs when a word is wrongly selected due to a lexical similarity (either in spelling or sound) to the intended or correct word, e.g. saying 'considerable' instead of 'considerate', and it is therefore also commonly described as a form of malapropism. This type of error is often a wrongly selected prefix, suffix or a false friend. Mis-formations and distortions are words that do not exist in the target language. The former is influenced by the L1 and consists of borrowing, coinage of new terms, and calques. The latter is not influenced by the L1, but is rather the result of misapplication of the target language, specifically incorrect spelling. These lexical categories will be used to show how the Dunglish represented in the J\&H's text differs from English semantically. The analysis will focus on mis-selections and mis-
formations, since there are not many distortions; the spelling is very good in the manual. It is worth mentioning that some features of Dunglish could be placed into more than one semantic category, making it difficult to classify them.

## Formal mis-selection

There are barely any instances of selected prefixes or suffixes that differ from standard English in the manual, which aligns with the finding that the Dunglish phrases consistently follow English morphological rules. On the other hand, if Dunglish is perceived as a variety of English, then there is a high frequency of false friends in the Dunglish phrases. False friends occur when a word in the first language and a word in the foreign language are identical or similar in form, leading to people using them in the foreign language. However, the used and the intended words differ significantly in meaning. This difference in meaning can be caused by divergent polysemy, in which a single word in one language corresponds to multiple, possibly different, words in another language (James, 1998). The type of false friend caused by divergent polysemy can be found most often in the manual, e.g. 'citizen' is a false friend caused by the divergent polysemic nature of the word Dutch word 'burger' (see the table below and example 1 from Appendix E).

| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Semantic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I want my citizen | Ik wil mijn burger | I want my burger | False friend by |
| through baked | doorbakken | well-done | divergent polysemy |

The Dutch word 'burger' is a homograph, also known as a word that shares its orthographic form with another word yet has an unrelated meaning (Jurafsky \& Martin, 2014). Thus, Dutch 'burger' has multiple meanings; it can refer both to a flat piece of ground beef (English 'burger') and a member of society (English 'citizen') (see figure 18 below).


Figure 18: The Polysemic Nature of Dutch 'burger'

The original Dutch word 'burger' would logically refer to a flat piece of beef and not a member of society here, since this phrase is in the section 'In the restaurant' and the speaker talks about wanting something 'baked'. Implausibly, however, Dutch 'burger' is translated to Dunglish 'citizen'. The fact that the Dutch word for 'burger' has an English origin makes the translation to 'citizen', instead of the obvious and simple 'burger', even more inconceivable. Thus, it seems somewhat unlikely for Dutch people to say these types of false friends if they are speaking Dunglish as a variety of English. Nevertheless, these types of false friends have been included in the language manual for a good reason, which will be addressed in the discussion section.

False friends can also be caused by partial semantic overlap, where a word in Dutch and English share some meaning, but are not completely the same. These words can, for instance, be used in different contexts. An example of this type of false friend is the translation of Dutch 'vrij' to 'free' in the Dunglish phrase 'Next week have I a free day' (see the table below and example 9 from Appendix E). In Dutch, 'vrije dag' refers to having a day off from work or school, but in English 'free day' would not be idiomatic. Instead, readers may assume this means that the speaker has nothing in particular to do on that day. Another example is the literal translation of the preposition 'op' to 'up', which would be a fine translation in most contexts, but not idiomatically English in the context of the following phrase: 'Tomorrow go we up vacation' (see the table below and example 14 from the table). To illustrate, see figure 19 and 20 for a visual representation of the partial semantic overlap of 'vrij'/'free' and 'op'/'up'.


Figure 19: Partial Semantic Overlap of vrij/free


Figure 20: Partial Semantic Overlap of op/up

| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Semantic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Next week have I a <br> free day | Volgende week heb ik <br> een vrije dag | Next week I have | False friend by partial |
| a day off | semantic overlap |  |  |


| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Semantic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Tomorrow go we | Morgen gaan we op | Tomorrow we are | False friend by partial |
| up vacation | vakantie | going on vacation | semantic overlap |

These phrases may seem semantically similar to the Dutch phrases to speakers of Dutch, because the individual words are not wrongly translated. However, in an English context, the meaning differs from the intended meaning and is therefore semantically different from English. Some false friends are not caused by divergent polysemy, nor by partial semantic overlap, e.g. the translation of 'flitser' to 'flasher' (see the table below and example 14 from Appendix E). Rather, the similarity of the Dutch word 'flitser' and the English word 'flash' leads to the selection of a hybrid word 'flasher'.

| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Semantic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| The flasher does it <br> not | The flitser doet het <br> niet | The flash doesn't <br> work | False friend |

## Mis-formations

If Dunglish is seen as a variety of English, mis-formations occur often as well, mainly in the form of calques. These are literal translations of a word or phrase from the L1 to the L2 and they create a new word or phrase that is not standard in the L2. In the Dunglish manual, Dutch words or morphemes are literally translated to a non-existent word in English, creating a gloss. Many of these calques are of compound words, whose root words are translated individually. For example, the Dutch compound 'dierentuin', consisting of the root words 'dieren' (gloss: 'animals') and 'tuin' (gloss: 'garden') is translated to the Dunglish 'animalsgarden' instead of a standard English 'zoo'. Furthermore, the compound 'overmorgen', consisting of the root words 'over' (gloss: 'the day after') and 'morgen' (gloss: 'tomorrow') is translated to the Dunglish 'overtomorrow' instead of standard English 'the day after tomorrow' (see the table below and example 15 from Appendix E). While a compound consisting of the words 'animal' and 'garden' may be considered grammatical in Dutch and some other languages such as Hungarian, this specific compound is not standard in English.

| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Semantic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Overtomorrow go | Overmorgen gaan we | The day after | Calque of a compound |
| we to the | naar de dierentuin | tomorrow, we'll |  |
| animalsgarden |  | go to the zoo |  |

Some Dunglish calques from J\&H's text are translated from Dutch words that are treated as compound words, but are actually not compound words, i.e. they do not consist of multiple root words. For these words, each syllable is translated literally as if the word is a compound which leads to a gloss at the morphemic level. For example, the Dutch word 'verliefd' is treated as if it consists of the two root words: 'ver' (gloss: 'far') and 'liefd'
(gloss: 'loved') and is translated so that it becomes 'farloved' instead of 'in love' in Dunglish. In reality, however, the Dutch word 'verliefd' does not consist of two root words, rather it is the past participle form of the defective verb 'verlieven' (see the table below and example 20 from Appendix E).

| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Semantic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I am till over my | Ik ben tot over mijn | I am head over | Calque of a false |
| ears farloved up | oren verliefd op jou | heels in love with | compound |
| you |  | you |  |

Many other calques are caused by partial semantic overlap as well, such as the translation of the compound 'handtekening' to 'handdrawing' (see the table below and example 18 from Appendix E). Nevertheless, some are also caused by divergent polysemy, such as the translation of 'eergisteren' to 'honouryesterday' (see the table below and example 19 from Appendix E). Here, the wrong homograph of the morpheme 'eer' in 'eergisteren' is translated, since 'eer' is translated with the noun 'honour' in mind, instead of the more fitting adverb 'an earlier time'.

| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Semantic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Please here your <br> handdrawing | Graag hier uw | Please put your | Calque of a compound |
| handtekening | autograph here |  |  |


| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Semantic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Honouryesterday | Eergisteren was het | Yesterday it was | Calque of a compound |
| was it thunderday | donderdag | Thursday |  |

Coinage also occurs, e.g. the Dutch word 'kater' is translated to the new Dunglish word 'keeter' instead of the standard English 'hangover' (see the table below and example 22 from Appendix E). This coinage may occur because of the orthographic similarity between Dutch words ending in 'ater' and their English counterpart. Dutch words such as 'hater', 'later' and 'krater' are orthographically very similar to their English counterparts: 'hater', 'later' and 'crater'. The only difference in pronunciation between the Dutch and English words can be found in the first vowel, which is a /a:/ in Dutch and a/eI/ in English. The /ei/ sound is often orthographically written in Dutch as 'ee', e.g. in the word 'zee'. This may explain why the Dunglish word is spelled with 'ee', since this vowel may be read by Dutch readers as a /ei/ vowel.

| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Semantic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Tomorrow have I a <br> keeter | Morgen heb ik een | Tomorrow I'll | Coinage |
| have a hangover |  |  |  |

A table displaying more examples of the various types of semantic features discussed in this section appears in Appendix E.

## Pragmatics

Pragmatics is about the meaning of phrases that does not solely derive from linguistic knowledge but rather from the social or cultural context (Peccei, 1999). Pragmatic transfer occurs mainly in the form of idioms and colloquialisms in the Dunglish manual. An idiom can be described as "a group of words established by usage as having a meaning not deducible from the meanings of the individual words" and is characteristic of a specific language (OED, 2018). Therefore, when these idioms are literally translated to another language, they may lose their original meaning. If Dunglish is perceived as a variety of

English, then J\&H's Dunglish idiomatic phrases originating from Dutch such as 'You are my rock in the burning' thus lose their connotation (see the table below and example 1 from Appendix F).

| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Pragmatic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| You are my rock in <br> the burning | Je bent mijn rots in de <br> branding | You're my rock <br> (my support) | Idiom |

Some idioms, however, do retain the original meaning in the translation to Dunglish. This occurs when Dutch and Standard English share idiomatic expressions, since Dunglish then also shares its idiomatic expression with English. For example, 'to drink someone under the table' is an expression in both English and Dutch and can be found in J\&H's Dunglish phrases as well (see the table below and example 6 from Appendix F).

| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Pragmatic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I drink you under | Ik drink je onder de | I will drink you | Correct idiom |
| the table, shall we | tafel, zullen we | under the table, |  |
| bet? | wedden | do you want to |  |
|  |  | bet? |  |

A colloquialism is a "A form of speech or phrase proper to, or characteristic of, ordinary conversation" (OED, 2018). When these informal phrases are translated word by word, they also lose their pragmatic meaning. For example, when the Dutch colloquialism 'Ik zoek mezelf een ongeluk' is translated literally to the Dunglish phrase in J\&H's text 'I search myself an accident', it loses its original meaning and becomes non-sensical from the perspective of English (see the table below and example 7 from Appendix F).

| Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard English | Pragmatic Transfer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I search myself an <br> accident | Ik zoek mezelf een | I've been | Colloquialism |
| ongeluk | searching so hard |  |  |

A table displaying more examples of the various types of pragmatic features discussed in this section appears in Appendix F.

## Discussion

In this section, the representation of Dunglish in Jacob \& Haver's What \& How Dunglish (2017) will be interpreted thrice. The first interpretation is solely based on the results of the linguistic analysis of the Dunglish phrases and will answer the following sub-question: what linguistic elements of Dunglish influence the representation of Dunglish? The second interpretation is made with the humorous intent of the language manual in mind, since this also influences the representation of Dunglish much. Finally, the representation of Dunglish will be considered one last time by comparing the proposed features of written Dunglish to some short video clips found on the Facebook page Make That the Cat Wise to find out whether the proposed features occur in spontaneous speech as well.

## Interpretation of Results

In this section, the following sub-question will be answered: what linguistic elements of Dunglish influence the representation of Dunglish? The question was approached by analysing Dunglish phrases from J\&H's What \& How Dunglish on five linguistic aspects: phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. The analysis of J\&H's text show that all five aspects of language influence the representation of Dunglish phrases, but each to a different extent and in a different way. On a phonological and morphological level, the representation of Dunglish is influenced by the absence of particular sounds and morphemes in Dutch. The absence of the following features in Dutch are transferred to Dunglish: the vowels $/ \mathfrak{\not r} /$ and $/ \mho /$, the diphthongs $/ \partial \sigma /$ and $/ \mathrm{eI} /$, the dental fricatives $/ \theta /$ and $/ \delta /$, and the present participle morpheme 'ing'. Of these, Dutch phonology is a heavy source of L1 transfer while morphology is a minor one, since English rules are followed for almost all derivational and inflectional morphemes. On a syntactic, semantic and pragmatic level, however, it is not the absence of features, but rather the word for word translations that leads
to the representation of Dunglish. Syntax is again a major source of transfer. The syntactic features that are often transferred to Dunglish are: the verb-second and head-last effect, the lack of auxiliary verbs in direct, interrogative phrases and negations, and the word order of sentences with prepositional 'er'. On a semantic level, Dunglish is also extremely influenced by the Dutch language. The semantic features, of which false friends and calques are the most prominent, are solely caused by L1 transfer and not by the misapplication of the target language. Finally, pragmatics is one of the largest sources of transfer in the Dunglish phrases due to the many idioms and colloquialisms found in the language manual. Thus, L1 transfer from Dutch seems to be an important characteristic of J\&H's representation of Dunglish.

With the results in mind, it is possible to define Dunglish a bit further based on J\&H's representation. The only valid and confirmed information available on Dunglish was that it is a portmanteau of Dutch and English, and that it equals 'bad English'. The fact that Dunglish is a portmanteau of Dutch and English also applies to the representation found in J\&H's text, but it can be added that Dunglish is a form of English that often follows Dutch phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic rules. It is not possible to confirm whether Dunglish is 'bad English' (Edwards, 2016) or not with this research, since that would involve attitudes and this research was simply a linguistic analysis. However, the label 'bad English' may be explained with the results. J\&H's representation of Dunglish may be seen as 'bad English', because their Dunglish has much L1 transfer from Dutch and the theory suggested that Dutch people strongly dislike L1 transfer in pronunciation; they see L1 transfer as negative transfer, or interference. Dutch people do not want English spoken by the Dutch to be characterized by L1 interference, and they do not want Dutch features to fossilize, or become accepted (Jenkins, Modiano \& Seidlhofer, 2001), in English, because they see these features as language errors (Van den Doel \& Quené, 2013).

Information can now also be given regarding what type of language Dunglish is represented as in J\&H's text. Since the type of Dunglish in the manual looks and feels like English, but is influenced by L1 transfer from Dutch, it can be concluded that this Dunglish is represented as a form of English spoken by the Dutch and influenced by the Dutch language, rather than a form of Dutch spoken by the English. To support this argument, it can be pointed out that the audience is exclusively Dutch, since the introduction and the blurb on the back of the book are written in Dutch. If Dunglish were a form of Dutch spoken by the English, the introduction and the blurb would perhaps have been written in English as well. The orange flag from the U.K. may support this idea, since orange is the national colour of the Netherlands and the flag therefore may suggest that English is influenced by Dutch (see figure 5). In the literature, Dunglish lacked an agreed-upon definition; it was unclear whether it is a form of codeswitching, a hybrid language or an interlanguage. Based on the linguistic analysis of the representation of Dunglish in J\&H's text, some clarity can now be provided. The representation of Dunglish by J\&H is not a form of codeswitching, since the Dunglish phrases do not switch between Dutch and English (Backus, 2013). Borrowing of Dutch words would have to occur in Dunglish for it to be called codeswitching, but as said in the semantics part, no borrowing occurs in the phrases. It is possible that J\&H's representation of Dunglish is a hybrid language, since it is not clear whether the Dunglish phrases are spoken by fluent speakers of both English and Dutch. However, this is unlikely, because there is no community of Dunglish speakers like there is with an actual hybrid language such as Michif, a mixed language of Cree and Canadian French, or Spanglish (Matras \& Bakker, 2003). The manual seems to know this, since the audience of the manual is exclusively Dutch people. The representation of Dunglish by J\&H resembles an interlanguage the most, since L1 transfer is an important characteristic of interlanguages (Lightbown and Spada, 1997), and it is also basically the foundation of Dunglish, as shown in the results. Furthermore,
interlanguages are spoken by learners of a foreign language, in this case those are Dutch people learning English as a foreign language or an EFL. This corresponds to the fact that the introduction and the blurb are written in Dutch, to accommodate to a Dutch audience who do not speak English or Dunglish.

## Interpretation of Dunglish as Humour

In this section, the representation of Dunglish phrases will again be interpreted, but this time with the humour of the language manual in mind. Many of the Dunglish phrases are hard to decipher, especially upon first glance, because of their peculiar features. For instance, take the phrase 'I am till over my ears farloved up you' (see example 20 from Appendix E). Since the meaning of phrases like these is often hard to decode; trying to understand the phrases is like a game or like trying to solve a riddle. You can see the phrases as a game in multiple ways. Firstly, you can see the book as a game, since the authors and the readers are playing; they are pretending to be serious language experts and learners, but are in fact sharing a joke. You can also see the manual as a game, because some readers may want to find out the meaning and reasoning behind these phrases. Speaking Dutch gives you an advantage in this game, since you can infer information from the Dutch phrases to turn the Dunglish phrases into intelligible language. Goffman (1967), in his book Strategic Interaction, describes interaction as game-like, since each player's options depends on the move and knowledge of his or her opponents. He argues that situations without sufficient information may lead to assessments with game-like considerations (p.10), because the participants will have to guess and assess the situation. Each participant has the chance to assess the situation correctly and 'win' the game, but each player may lose the game through a misjudgement of the situation. In the case of the language manual, readers who do not speak Dutch do not have sufficient information and have to guess the meaning of the words
in a game-like manner. There is also not enough information about what Dunglish exactly is. Jacob \& Haver never explicitly mention what their Dunglish phrases are based on and whether they believe these phrases could actually occur in real life or not. For some phrases, readers will have to guess what a phrase means and what its intent is. When I emailed the authors for a clarification on whether they believe people really say these things, all I received was an automatic reply with the three words "I am away.", which seems like another Dunglish phrase for saying "I am gone", originating from the Dutch idiomatic "Ik ben weg". Goffman (1967) calls this lack of information in interaction a no-information reply and argues they come in three forms: "Don't know", "Know but won't tell" and "Not telling nor telling whether I could tell." (p. 6). Jacob \& Haver never explicitly say whether they do or do not know whether their Dunglish phrases are actually used in real life or not and they are ambiguous about whether they are playing a linguistic game or not. Thus, their noinformation replies are of the last variety: "Not telling nor telling whether I could tell". However, their Dunglish phrases feel so exaggerated that it leaves readers to think: they must realize what they are doing. This lack of information is essential in strategic interaction and leads to the feeling of a game when reading Dunglish phrases, in which multiple moves occur. According to Goffman, there are five basic moves in strategic interaction. The unwitting move occurs when a subject does not realize it is being observed; the subject can then be taken as he/she/it appears by the observer. The naïve move occurs when an observer assumes the subject is involved in an unwitting move, i.e. when the subject's direct, honest behaviour is taken as a given. However, this is somewhat naïve, since the subject may be trying to influence the observer's attitude, which is called the control move. Fortunately, the observer can realize that the subject is not doing an unwitting move, but rather a control move, and expose the truth. Finally, counter-uncovering moves can be performed, in which the subject gives a false sense of having an advantage to the observer subject after suspecting
the observer of using uncovering moves. For the language manual, the naïve move and uncovering move are the most relevant, because after reading the text it becomes clear we cannot take the phrases at face value. The book presents itself as a language manual, but it would be naïve to believe this, since it is actually a humorous book that makes judgements about English influenced by Dutch. What kind of judgement these are, is hard to infer from the phrases. The authors could be making fun of people who use Dunglish, or perhaps they are making fun of people who take Dunglish too seriously. When the reader realizes that there is some sort of game going on, he/she may try to uncover the truth behind the phrases. This will prove to be hard, however, since the authors do not explicitly mention that these phrases are jokes; in many respects, the book resembles a language manual. This may have been a conscious choice and a control move, since readers may be influenced to believe Dunglish is a genuine language through the introduction and the similar look to a language manual. Fortunately, some typical phrase book elements are missing such as background information regarding the language or culture and a simple overview of grammar. The absence of information about Dunglish may reveal to readers that Dunglish is not an actual language spoken by people. The lack of information on the authenticity of the phrases may also be explained by the genre of the book. It is categorized as a humorous book after all, and humour cannot be explained. If you explain a joke, it is no longer a joke. That may be the reason why it is so hard to uncover the truth about what Dunglish is to the authors, because they may see Dunglish as a joke and may want to preserve the joke by never explicitly mentioning the book is not actually a language manual.

This humorous intent may explain why some of the features of Dunglish are somewhat far-fetched, especially the semantic features discussed. Many proposed false friends, such as the translation of Dutch 'burger' to Dunglish 'citizen', seem unlikely to occur, since it is hard to believe Dunglish users are intelligent enough to know the translation
of the other homograph, but do not have sufficient metalinguistic awareness to realize their words do not make any sense. Seeing Dunglish phrases as a humorous way of speaking English also explains the improbable Dunglish calques. For instance, the calque ‘honouryesterday', which was discussed in the semantics section and was caused by divergent polysemy, seems to be an unrealistic result of L1 transfer as well. This is because, it would make more sense to translate the homograph that suits the context than the homograph that seems out of place. It is hard to believe that people would actually say words such as 'honouryesterday' in real life; especially since this would mean that Dunglish users have linguistic knowledge of both Dutch and English but not the required pragmatic, metalinguistic awareness to understand what words to use in what contexts.

The fact that the authors may be exaggerating or even imagining new Dunglish phrases for a humorous effect has some implications for the results, since it means that Dunglish cannot be seen as truly genuine and the Dunglish phrases cannot be analysed simply as phrases from a language manual without keeping the context in mind. It is interesting that Dunglish is categorized as humour, since it may suggest that varieties with a large amount of L1 transfer such as Dunglish cannot be taken seriously and should be disregarded. This may exemplify the negative attitude towards Dunglish (Edwards, 2016), the Dutch's strong avoidance of L1 transfer from Dutch when speaking English (Van den Doel \& Quené, 2013 and the Dutch's aversion to fossilization of Dutch features in English (Jenkins, Modiano \& Seidlhofer, 2001).

All things considered, there are many ambiguities in the analysed phrase book. Aside from the authors' intent and view of Dunglish discussed above, the pronunciation is also not clear due to the lack of a clear transcription system. This leaves readers to guess how to pronounce Dunglish phrases and each person may thus pronounce any given phrase differently. Dunglish may thus be perceived differently by different people, which is fitting
since there is no clear definition for Dunglish and people already perceive it differently. In a way, Dunglish is what we want it to be. If a reader believes Dunglish is a bad form of English, he or she may read Dunglish phrases out loud with a pronunciation that is bad according to him or her. After this discussion of the complex nature of J\&H's representation of Dunglish, it may prove to be useful to return to the proposed features and investigate whether these features of Dunglish actually occur in spontaneous speech.

## Interpretation of Dunglish in Spontaneous Speech

In this section, a short look will be taken at whether the features of Dunglish represented by Jacob \& Haver actually occur in spontaneous speech by comparing them to a few short video clips found online. The videos have been taken from the Facebook page Make that the Cat Wise, which calls itself the "The Dunglish collection page" ("Dé steenkolenengels verzamelpagina"). This page has been created on October 2, 2012 with the purpose of sharing Dunglish content. In the information section of the page, the following is written: "We are Make That The Cat Wise and we keep us busy with Dunglish". This sentence includes much Dunglish, e.g. the Dutch idiom 'maak dat de kat wijs' (gloss: 'make that the cat wise', translation: 'I don't believe you') and the Dutch colloquialism 'we houden ons bezig met' (gloss: 'we keep us busy with', translation: ‘we are busy/dealing with'). The Facebook page has been chosen for its popularity. With almost 500 thousand likes, it is a well-known phenomenon, especially among young Dutch people. Furthermore, the page is also created by the same authors as the phrase book, so the type of Dunglish found on this page is probably similar to the one found in the book. Because of the consistency between the language used in the book and on the Facebook page, it is possible to compare the two. The page mostly posts funny pictures with Dunglish phrases such as the one in figure 21 below, but posts videos from time to time as well. Some of these videos have been randomly selected to
analyse the Dunglish features found in the video's' speech. These videos are assumed to be spontaneous speech.


Figure 21: Make that the Cat Wise Post Example
The first randomly selected video is a video of a man at an ice rink (see figure 22). The video has 140,000 views and was posted in 2018 under the title "Yes, yes. He comes there well! \#MTTCW". The Dutch person in the video does not understand how to put on his ice skates and decides to ask some people for help in Dutch. When he realizes they do not speak Dutch, he switches to English and has difficulty expressing himself. While he is communicatively successful, he gives up in the end because it takes him too much effort to communicate in English. Some of the proposed Dunglish features are seen in this video, especially those on the phonological level. For instance, some of the man's sounds, especially those that are not present in the Dutch language, are based on Dutch vowels, e.g. the trap vowel /æ/ is pronounced as a/e/ in the word 'can' and the $/ \mathrm{u}: /$ is pronounced as $/ \mathrm{o} /$ in the word 'do'. Contrary to the Dunglish semantic features, however, much borrowing occurs in this video, e.g. the man says Dutch 'hoe' instead of English 'how', Dutch 'laat maar' instead of English 'never mind', and Dutch 'beetje' instead of English 'bit'. Even though there are a few differences from standard English, the man still makes himself understood and communication is thus successful.


Figure 22: "Yes, yes. He comes there well! \#MTTCW" (2018)

There are also six video fragments of an interview with Louis van Gaal, a Dutch former football player and manager, on the Facebook page Make that the Cat Wise (see figure 23). Three of these have been randomly analysed to analyse their Dunglish features. Van Gaal is not just famous for his achievements in football but also for his distinct English usage. Similarly to the previous video, van Gaal has many phonological features similar to the ones proposed by J\&H in their "Dunglish manual", pronouncing 'that' as /det/ and 'with as /wis/. Moreover, he has some semantic and pragmatic features. In one video, he says "that is dependable on" instead of the idiomatic "that depends on", which can be seen a semantic transfer due to partial semantic overlap between Dutch 'afhankelijk' and English 'dependable'. In this case, van Gaal's conversation partner understands him and communication is thus successful. Finally, he uses many Dutch idioms in his English speech, e.g. "compare apples with pears" from the Dutch "appels met peren vergelijken" ("to compare apples to oranges") or "dead or the gladioli" from the Dutch "Dood of de Gladiolen" ("all or nothing") ('You can compare apples with pears'. \#MTTCW, 2016; A 'coffee wrong'

for Louis from Gaal ;-) \#MTTCW, 2015; From Gaal is also back with a beautiful outspeech: "The death or the gladiolus" (Thanks to Frank!), 2015).


Figure 23: A 'coffee wrong' for Louis from Gaal ;-) \#MTTCW (2015).
The visual examples show several of the proposed features mentioned in the linguistic analysis, even though not all proposed features of Dunglish occur in the selected videos. The phonological, semantic and pragmatic features are the most prominent in the videos, while morphological and syntactic features do not occur much. Interestingly, borrowing from Dutch occurs much more than in the language manual, suggesting that Dunglish could be seen as a form of codeswitching between Dutch and English according to the representation in the videos (Backus, 2013). On the other hand, the semantic features that were prominent in the phrase book, specifically false friends and calques, do not occur much in the videos. Interestingly, the phonological and semantic features do not seem to lead to much misunderstanding. Both the man at the ice rink and van Gaal had some Dunglish phonological and semantic features, but their communication was successful nevertheless. The pragmatic features may be more complicated, however. Van Gaal uses many of these

features; he has become famous for introducing Dutch idioms in international interviews. Because of his persistent use of Dutch idioms, the Dutch idiom "Dood of de Gladiolen" has even become an official idiom in German: "Der tot oder der die Gladiolen" (gloss: "dead or the gladioli", translation: "all or nothing") (Hond, 2015). While van Gaal may not always be understandable, his attitude is admirable. He is not afraid to make language errors; perhaps he even believes there is no such thing as a language error. Instead of being careful and adjusting his language to the English context, he retains his own identity by speaking freely and translating Dutch idioms directly into English. Interestingly, while Dunglish is regarded negatively by Dutch people, as seen in the literature review, it does not always lead to misunderstanding, as could be seen in the videos.

## Limitations and Future Research

The generalisability of these results is subject to certain limitations. The unclear intent and transcription system, which have already been discussed in detail, have proven to be a source of uncertainty. Due to this, Dutch readers may pronounce Dunglish phrases differently depending on their knowledge of transcriptions and may regard them differently depending on their attitude towards Dunglish. To solve this ambiguity, the authors of the book could be interviewed for a follow-up research. I reached out to Jacob \& Haver, but never managed to talk to them. If an interview is possible, the transcription system could be clarified. The authors could also be asked for their intent with the phrase book and for their opinion on Dunglish. It will be then possible to find out whether they are making fun of people who use Dunglish, or of those who take Dunglish too seriously.

Moreover, a few assumptions were made. Firstly, Dunglish is assumed to be a variety of English for the semantics and pragmatics sections in order to analyse whether the meaning of the original Dutch phrase is kept in the Dunglish phrase or whether a different or
ambiguous meaning is created. In the literature, Dunglish is described to be mostly a form of English spoken by the Dutch and the Flemish, but it could also be a form of Dutch spoken by the English. Although this latter view was not explored in this research, it may be interesting for further research. Fortunately, since the audience of this book was exclusively Dutch, Dunglish as a form of English spoken by the Dutch and the Flemish was much more relevant. Another assumption was that the videos from the Facebook page Make that the Cat Wise were spontaneous. Some of these videos could have been scripted; unfortunately there is no way of every knowing with certainty whether something found online is authentic or not. Furthermore, this study has only focused on the representation of Dunglish in Jacob and Haver's phrase book What \& How Dunglish (2017). More humorous books could have been included to acquire a broader and better representation of Dunglish, e.g. J\&H's Make that the Cat Wise (2013) and Rijkens' I Always Get my Sin (2009). More videos could also have been analysed. These ideas could be covered in future research to gain a more general view of what Dunglish is.

Follow up research may go in a new direction as well. The linguistic features of Dunglish found in J\&H's phrase book or other humorous books may not represent what the wider public believes Dunglish to be. More knowledge is needed of what the general Dutch population believes Dunglish is. A further study, similar to the one done by Rothman and Rell on Spanglish, could be carried out to determine what people believe Dunglish to be with short interviews. Participants could be asked to define Dunglish and to give their associations with the language label. Other possible questions are: "Do you/would you speak Dunglish yourself and why (not)?", "In what situations or with whom would you use it"? and "What do you think of Dunglish?" Finally, a survey could be done with Dutch participants that assesses which of the proposed features of J\&H's Dunglish lead to the negative attitude towards

Dunglish, i.e. which of the features (phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic or pragmatic) Dutch people dislike the most.

## Conclusion

The study set out to answer the following research question: How is Dunglish represented in a text that seems to function to define the variety? First, the sub-question has been answered through a linguistic analysis: what linguistic elements of Dunglish influence the representation of Dunglish? The analysis considered Dunglish phrases found in Jacob \& Haver's language manual What and How Dunglish (2017) and examined how the five aspects of language (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics) of Dunglish differ from English and Dutch. The results of the linguistic study show that all aspects influence Jacob \& Haver's representation of Dunglish heavily, except for those at the morphological level. Dunglish pronunciation is based on the phonetics of the Dutch language and the syntax, semantics and pragmatics are also often based on the Dutch linguistic rules. The results confirm what was already known in the literature: that Dunglish may be seen as a portmanteau of Dutch and English. The pre-existing view of Dunglish as 'bad English' may also be explained with J\&H's book, because their representation of Dunglish includes much L1 transfer from Dutch, which is strongly disliked and seen as interference by Dutch people. Moreover, the representation of Dunglish by J\&H is established as a form of English spoken by the Dutch rather than a form of Dutch spoken by the English due to the Dutch presumed audience of the book. Furthermore, it is revealed that the representation of Dunglish is characterized by L1 transfer and therefore resembles an interlanguage more than a hybrid language or a form of codeswitching. The Dunglish phrases were treated as phrases from a language manual for analytical purposes. However, the intent of the book has the implications that some phrases may be imagined by the authors to gain a humorous effect, which means that Dunglish may not be seen as a truly genuine language. The humorous intent of the book does explain why some far-fetched phrases are included nevertheless. The categorization of Dunglish as a humorous book may also suggest that varieties with a large
amount of L1 transfer such as Dunglish cannot be taken seriously and should be disregarded. Thus, the phrase book may be another example of the negative attitude towards Dunglish. Through video analyses of spontaneous Dunglish speech, phonological, semantic and pragmatic features are found to be the most prominent features of Dunglish in real life. Moreover, the Dunglish represented in these videos seems to include codeswitching between Dutch and English, in contrast to Jacob \& Haver's text in which this was not present. Finally, the videos show that even though the people's English is heavily influenced by Dutch, they can still make themselves understandable. Thus, perhaps Dunglish should not be regarded so negatively after all.


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## Appendix A: Phonology

| Example <br> No. | Dunglish <br> Phrase | Dunglish <br> Transcription | Relevant <br> Words | Dunglish Phonemic <br> Transcription | Standard <br> English <br> Transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Tomorrow <br> go we up <br> vacation | Təmorroo ĝoo wie up veekeesjn | Tomorrow <br> Go | /o:/ | /20/ |
|  |  |  | Vacation | /e:/ | /ei/ |
| 2. | Honouryest erday was it thunderday | Onorjestədee wəz it sunderdee | Day: | /e:/ | /ei/ |
|  |  |  | Thunder: | /s/ | /8/ |
|  |  |  |  | /e/ | /2/ |
|  |  |  | Honour | /0/ | /2/ |
| 3. | Overtomorr ow go we to the animalsgard en | Oovətəmorroo goo wie toe se ennimalsĝahdn | Over, <br> Tomorrow <br> go | /o:/ | /əu/ |
|  |  |  | Animals: | /e/ | /æ/ |
|  |  |  |  | /a/ | /2/ |
|  |  |  | The | /s/ | /8/ |
| 4. | Next week have I a free day | Nekst wiek hev ai $\partial$ frie dee | Have | /e/ | /æ/ |
|  |  |  | Free | /e:/ | /ei/ |
| 5. | How late can I sidecoming? | Hau leet ken ai sajdkuming | Late | /e:/ | /ei/ |
|  |  |  | Can | /e/ | /æ/ |
| 6. |  |  | Make | /e:/ | /ei/ |


|  | Make that the cat wise | Meek Det Də <br> ket wajz | That | /d/ | /ठ/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | /e/ | /æ/ |
|  |  |  | The | /d/ | /ठ/ |
|  |  |  | Cat | /e/ | /æ/ |
| 7. |  |  | Hold | /o:/ | /əu/ |
|  | contact | kontekt | Contact | /e/ | /æ/ |
| 8. | What see | Wot sie joe Deə | There | /d/ | /\%/ |
|  | you there good out | goed aut | Good | /u:/ | /0/ |
| 9. |  | Sengk Də kok | Thank | /s/ | /日/ |
|  | cock for the | foh Da luvlie |  | /e/ | /æ/ |
|  | lovely <br> dinner |  | The | /d/ | /\%/ |
| 10. | We see each other soon weather | Wie sie ietsj uDə soen weDə | Other <br> Weather | /d/ | / $/$ |

## Appendix B: Derivational Morphology

| Example <br> No. | Dunglish | Original Dutch | Root word | Derivational <br> Morpheme |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1. | Can you give me an <br> elevator? | Kunt u mij een lift <br> geven? | Elevate | English 'or' |
| 2. | I am unguilty | Ik ben onschuldig | Guilty | English 'un' |


| 3. | I am beautiful on the bike | Ik ben mooi op de fiets | Beauty | English 'ful' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4. | Sits there a <br> kilometercounter up? | Zit er een kilometerteller op? | Count | English 'er' |
| 5. | My navigation system is to the sharks | Mijn <br> navigatiesysteem is naar de haaien | Navigate | English 'tion' |
| 6. | Sits there an (sic) swimbath in the neighbourhood? | Zit hier een zwembad in de buurt? | Neighbour | English 'hood' |
| 7. | I would have a 5hallways diner | Ik wil een 5-gangen diner | Dine | English 'er' |
| 8. | Please here your handdrawing | Graag hier uw handtekening | Draw | English 'ing' |
| 9. | Bethanked for the guestfreedom | Bedankt voor de gastvrijheid | Free | English 'dom' |
| 10. | I have all a friendin | Ik heb al een vriendin | Friend | Dutch 'in' |

## Appendix C: Inflectional Morphology

| Example <br> No. | Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard <br> English | Morpheme |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Where are the roundspeedboats? | Waar zijn de rondvaartboten? | Where are the excursion boats? | English <br> Plurality <br> morpheme 's' |
| 2. | We are with his two's' | We zijn met zn tweeën | We are in a pair | English <br> Plurality <br> morpheme 's' |
| 3. | Do you the greets? | Doe je de groeten? | Can you tell them I said hi? | English <br> Plurality <br> morpheme 's' |
| 4. | I suck the strong stories so out of my thumb | Ik zuig de sterke verhalen zo uit mijn duim | I come up with tall tales easily. | English <br> Plurality <br> morpheme ' $s$ ' |
| 5. | Which parties guess you on? | Welke feesten raadt u aan? | Which parties do you recommend? | English <br> Plurality <br> morpheme 's' |
| 6. | I sit sweeter on the hallpath | Ik zit liever aan het gangpad | I'd rather sit on the aisle. | Comparative morpheme 'er' |
| 7. | How come I the fastest in Sweeterlake? | Hoe kom ik het snelst in <br> Zoetermeer? | How can I be in Zoetermeer the fastest? | Superlative morpheme 'est' |


| 8. | The whole group bestands out fifteen persons | De hele groep bestaat uit vijftien personen | The whole group consists of fifteen people | English present tense third person singular morpheme 's' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9. | It falls well with | Het valt wel mee | It's not too bad | English present tense third person singular morpheme 's' |
| 10. | This table sticks as a fool | Deze tafel plakt als een gek | This table is very sticky | English <br> present tense <br> third person <br> singular <br> morpheme ' $s$ ' |
| 11. | It dures well very long | Het duurt wel erg lang | It's taking an awfully long time | English present tense third person singular morpheme ' s ' |
| 12. | His big light farblinded me | Zijn grote licht verblindde mij | His big light <br> blinded me | English past morpheme 'ed' |
| 13. | The toilet is hidden | Het toilet is verstopt | The toilet is clogged | English past participle |


|  |  |  |  | morpheme <br> 'en' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 14. | I have from you dreamed | Ik heb van je gedroomd | I have dreamt of you | English past participle morpheme 'ed' |
| 15. | I have you missed | Ik heb je gemist | I missed you | English past <br> participle <br> morpheme <br> 'ed' |
| 16. | I have me farburned | Ik heb me verbrand | I burned myself | English past <br> participle <br> morpheme <br> 'ed' |
| 17. | I am up search to a batteryuploader | Ik ben op zoek naar een batterijoplader | I'm searching for a battery charger | No English present participle morpheme 'ing’ |
| 18. | Who packs my bag now weather in? | Wie pakt mijn tas nu in? | Who is packing in my bag now then? | No English present participle morpheme 'ing' |


| 19. | I go up vacation to | Ik ga op vakantie naar | I'm going on vacation to | No English present participle morpheme 'ing' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 20. | What is there on the hand? | Wat is er aan de hand? | What is going on? | No English present participle morpheme 'ing' |

## Appendix D: Syntax

| Example <br> No. | Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard <br> English | Syntactic <br> Transfer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Tomorrow go we up vacation | Morgen gaan we op vakantie | We're going on vacation tomorrow. | Verb-second <br> finite verb |
| 2. | Next week have I a free day | Volgende week heb ik een vrije dag | I have a day off next week | Verb-second <br> finite verb |
| 3. | Last year have I an heartonfall had | Vorig jaar heb ik een hartaanval gehad | Last year I had a heart attack | Verb-second <br> finite verb |
| 4. | In Holland rains it often pipesteels | In Nederland regent het vaak pijpenstelen | In the <br> Netherlands, it | Verb-second <br> finite verb |


|  |  |  | often rains cats and dogs |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 5. | We want a pulltrip make | We willen een trektocht maken | We want to go on a hike | Head-last <br> non-finite <br> verb <br> (infinitive) |
| 6. | You must your blood let undersearch | U moet uw bloed laten onderzoeken | You have to test your blood | Head-last <br> non-finite <br> verb <br> (infinitive) |
| 7. | I want this letter onsigned farsend | Ik wil deze brief aangetekend versturen | I would like to send this letter signed | Head-last non-finite verb (past participle) |
| 8. | This had I not farwait | Dit had ik niet verwacht | I did not expect this. | Head-last non-finite verb (past participle) |
| 9. | The jacketprotector walks to my tyre on | De jasbeschermer loopt tegen mijn band aan | The dress guard bumps into my tyre | Head-last <br> non-finite <br> verb (verbal <br> particle) |
| 10. | Not normal, you see there hot out | Niet normaal, jij ziet er lekker uit | It's unbelievable, | Head-last <br> non-finite |


|  |  |  | you are looking so hot | verb (verbal particle) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11. | Can we by each other stand? | Kunnen we bij elkaar staan? | Can we stand together? | Head-last non-finite verb (in a question) |
| 12. | Have you sin um <br> with me out to go? | Heb je zin om met mij uit te gaan? | Would you like to go out with me? | Head-last non-finite verb (in a question) |
| 13. | I know it not, I am here not famous | Ik weet het niet, ik ben hier niet bekend | I don't know, <br> I'm not <br> familiar around here | Negation |
| 14. | I go not in sea with you | Ik ga niet in zee met je | I won’t work together with you | Negation |
| 15. | We know it yet not | We weten het nog niet | We don't know it yet | Negation |
| 16. | The farwarming works not | De verwarming werkt niet | The heating doesn't work | Negation |
| 17. | Use you well forbehatsresources? | Gebruik je wel voorbehoedsmiddelen? | Do you use contraceptives? | Lack of auxiliary verb |


| 18. | Stands here somewhere a talkpole? | Staat hier ergens een praatpaal? | Is there a roadside emergency phone around here somewhere? | Lack of auxiliary verb |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 19. | How much costs this joke? | Hoeveel kost dat geintje? | How much does this joke cost you? | Lack of auxiliary verb |
| 20. | Holds the bathmaster an eye in the sail? | Houd de badmeester een oogje in het zeil? | Does the lifeguard keep an eye on people? | Lack of auxiliary verb |
| 21. | I have there clean enough from | Ik heb er schoon genoeg van | I'm fed up with it | Prepositional 'er' |
| 22. | I find there no sack on | Ik vind er geen zak aan | I'm not interested in it at all | Prepositional 'er' |
| 23. | I have there no good feeling over | Ik heb er geen goed gevoel over | I don't feel good about it | Prepositional 'er' |
| 24. | I understand there no ball from | Ik versta er geen bal van | I don't understand a word of it | Prepositional 'er' |

## Appendix E: Semantics

| Example | Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard <br> English | Semantic <br> Transfer |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1. | I want my citizen <br> through baked | Ik wil mijn <br> burger <br> doorbakken | I want my <br> burger well- <br> done | False friend by <br> divergent |
| 2. | I would have a 5- <br> hallways diner | Ik wil een 5- <br> gangen diner | I would like a 5- <br> course dinner. | False friend by <br> divergent |
| 3. | The toilet is hidden | Het toilet zit | The toilet is |  |
| verstopt | clogged | False friend by |  |  |
| divergent |  |  |  |  |


| 8. | How hot you? | Hoe heet jij? | What's your name? | False friend by divergent polysemy |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9. | Next week have I a free day | Volgende week heb ik een vrije dag | Next week I have a day off | False friend by partial semantic overlap |
| 10. | Does this pain? | Doet dit pijn? | Does it hurt? | False friend by partial semantic overlap |
| 11. | What fine for you | Wat fijn voor u | How fortunate for you | False friend by partial semantic overlap |
| 12. | Is there a table free | Is er een tafel vrij? | Is there a table ready? | False friend by partial semantic overlap |
| 13. | Tomorrow go we up vacation | Morgen gaan we op vakantie | Tomorrow we are going on vacation | False friend by partial semantic overlap |
| 14. | The flasher does it not | The flitser doet het niet | The flash doesn't work | False friend |


| 15. | Overtomorrow go we to the animalsgarden | Overmorgen gaan we naar de dierentuin | The day after tomorrow, we'll go to the zoo | Calque of a <br> compound |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 16. | Hold the smallmoney but | Houd het <br> kleingeld maar | Keep the change | Calque of a <br> compound |
| 17. | We want the daydish | We willen de dagschotel | We would like today's special | Calque of a compound |
| 18. | Please here your handdrawing | Graag hier uw handtekening | Please put your autograph here | Calque of a <br> compound |
| 19. | Honouryesterday was it thunderday | Gisteren was het donderdag | Yesterday it was Thursday | Calque of a compound |
| 20. | I am till over my ears farloved up you | Ik ben tot over mijn oren verliefd op jou | I am head over heels in love with you | Calque of a false compound |
| 21. | I farmany me broke | Ik verveel me kapot | I'm bored as hell | Calque of a false compound |
| 22. | Tomorrow have I a keeter | Morgen heb ik een kater | Tomorrow I'll <br> have a hangover | Coinage |

## Appendix F: Pragmatics

| Example | Dunglish | Original Dutch | Standard | Pragmatic |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| No. |  | English | Transfer |  |


| 1. | You are my rock in the burning | Je bent mijn rots in de branding | You're my rock <br> (my support) | Idiom |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | Here is something not in the hook | Hier is iets niet in de haak | Something strange/fishy is going on here. | Idiom |
| 3. | Make that the cat wise | Maak dat de kat wijs | You just made that up | Idiom |
| 4. | I suck the strong stories so out of my thumb | Ik zuig de sterke verhalen zo uit mijn duim | I can make up tall tales easily | Idiom |
| 5. | You see there out to pull through a little ring | Je ziet er uit om door een ringetje te halen | You look great | Idiom |
| 6. | I drink you under the table, shall we bet? | Ik drink je onder de tafel, zullen we wedden | I will drink you under the table, do you wanna bet? | Correct idiom |
| 7. | I search myself an accident | Ik zoek mezelf een ongeluk | I've been <br> searching so hard | Colloquialism |
| 8. | I find there no sack on | Ik vind er geen zak aan | I'm not interested in it at all | Colloquialism |
| 9. | The safe works for no meter | De kluis werkt voor geen meter | The does not work at all | Colloquialism |
| 10. | I understand there no ball from | Ik versta er geen bal van | I don't understand a word of it | Colloquialism |


| 11. | Shoot me but leak | Schiet mij maar | I really don't |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lek | know | Colloquialism |  |

