

# *Zeg geej maar dich*

A questionnaire study on Limburgian speakers' second person address practices  
in Limburgian and Dutch

by

Elsa S. Opheij  
s1025719

MA degree programme in  
Linguistics and Communication Sciences (research)

Nijmegen, 8 August 2024

Supervisors: Prof. Helen de Hoop and Joske Piepers  
Assessors: Prof. Helen de Hoop and Dr Lotte Hogeweg

**Radboud University**



## Acknowledgements

After five years of avoiding the stereotypical situation of a Limburgian linguistics student studying the Limburgian language, I finally gave in, and am I glad I did. Even though I have spoken *plat* all my life, I had not really realised how much there was to learn for me about my own native language. Besides, I would totally recommend researching the Limburgian population, because the amount of support I received for carrying out this study was overwhelming to say the least: over 500 Limburgian people filled out my survey, without whom I could never even have completed my thesis research, and I received so many kind messages of enthusiastic people sharing my questionnaire or their thoughts on the matter, which gave me so much joy. I have also spent multiple birthday parties talking about whatever aspect of the language my fellow Limburgians were fascinated by, usually completely unrelated to the topic of my thesis, of course. Being a *Venloos maedje*, there were times when I doubted whether I was “Limburgian enough” to study our language, but I definitely feel so much more Limburgian now.

The enthusiasm of all the people that helped me along the way was inspiring, and it made the process of writing my thesis a truly pleasant one (maybe that is why I kept postponing actually finishing it). My thesis supervisors, Helen and Joske, must have been the biggest sources of inspiration for this project. I want to thank you both for your support, quick replies, flexibility, and unstoppable passion for linguistics. It gave me so much joy to have the opportunity to work with you, and cliché as it may sound, I could not have asked for a better supervision team.

Then, I would like to give my thanks to the hundreds of respondents from all over Limburg who gave me about 10 minutes of their time, to the people who piloted the survey, to everyone with whom I had enjoyable conversations on *ut Limburgs*, and to the researchers who shared their thoughts on the subject. With the relatively limited set of information on Limburgian address practices, this really helped me figure out how to best approach this topic.

Moreover, in case you might be wondering who created the fabulous maps shown in this document (see Figure 1, 4, and 5), I have my roommate, friend, and map making expert Krijn Horstmanshoff to thank for that. Not only did he deliver these pretty final products, but the care and patience with which he did this is amazing — 10/10 customer service!

I would also like to thank everyone at research group Grammar and Cognition for all the 8<sup>th</sup> floor coffee breaks, Cultuurcafé drinks, and fun G&C and ImPro meetings we had. I am so glad I got to experience being a part of this group as a student assistant. In particular, I want to thank Lotte for being the second reader for this thesis, and Iris, Imke, and Patricia for being the absolute best office mates these past two years.

Finally, I would like to show my gratitude to all the lovely people I get to call my friends and family. Thank you for the love and support, the study sessions (at the UB with Faifoo, at the ESC with the TW people, and in Eindhoven with Lena), study breaks in the blue chairs, walks around our green campus, asking about my thesis, asking about anything but my thesis, cooking dinner for me, singing sessions, drinks and game nights, crochet dates, the tree and map making help desks, the hotel and translation services in Venlo, and Thursday night plups evenings. You make the whole place shimmer.

# Table of contents

Acknowledgements .....	ii
Table of contents .....	iii
Abstract (English version).....	v
Abstract (Limburgian version) .....	vi
Chapter 1. General introduction .....	1
1.1 Address practices.....	1
1.2 The Limburgian language.....	1
1.3 Limburgian address practices .....	4
1.4 Current study .....	4
Chapter 2. Systematic literature review.....	6
2.1 Introduction .....	6
2.2 Methods.....	6
2.2.1 Eligibility criteria .....	6
2.2.2 Search .....	7
2.3 Results .....	10
2.3.1 Non-Limburgian address pronouns .....	10
2.3.2 Limburgian address pronouns .....	14
Chapter 3. Questionnaire.....	16
3.1 Introduction .....	16
3.2 Methodology .....	18
3.2.1 Participants .....	18
3.2.2 Questionnaire design .....	21
3.2.3. Analyses .....	22
3.3 Results .....	23
3.3.1 Address pronouns used in Limburgian .....	23
3.3.2 Quantitative analyses.....	24
3.3.3 Qualitative analyses.....	28
Chapter 4. General discussion .....	53
4.1 Summary of experimental findings .....	53
4.1.1 Systematic literature review .....	53
4.1.2 Questionnaire.....	54
4.2 Practical implications .....	56
4.3 Limitations and future research .....	56
Chapter 5. General conclusion .....	58
References .....	59
Appendices .....	63
A. Systematic literature review .....	63

B. Respondents' childhood/residence locations (including municipalities and dialect areas) presented in alphabetical order.....	80
C. Questionnaire on address use of Limburgian speakers (in Dutch) .....	82
D. V/T address pronouns used per place name, municipality, and dialect area.....	89
E. Overview of themes (in bold) and subthemes mentioned in responses about motivations for choosing T/V .....	91
F. Distribution across T/V/mixed address use in Limburgian and Dutch.....	92

## Abstract (English version)

Despite its limited geographical area and relatively small number of speakers, the Dutch province of Limburg shows ample regional diversity. The question addressed in the current study is whether this diversity could also be found for the manner in which speakers from Limburg address one another. This use of address pronouns is relevant for encoding relationships between interlocutors and for reflecting cultural values and social constructs (Norrby & Warren, 2012). This study consisted of two parts to investigate the address practices exhibited by speakers of Limburgian. First, given the very limited knowledge available on this topic, a systematic literature review was conducted to find all scientific literature relevant to Limburgian address practices, also including Dutch, German, and French address to extend this study's frame of reference. Second, a survey was administered to Limburgian speakers to collect data on their address use in conversation with a various set of interlocutors in Limburgian and Dutch. The results showed regional variation in the address pronouns available to Limburgian speakers. In many languages, a speaker can choose between an informal and a more polite address pronoun, often referred to as T and V, stemming from Latin *tu* and *vos* (Brown and Gilman, 1960). However, not all regions of Limburg appeared to exhibit this binary address system. Another peculiarity in Limburgian address practices, which was also very briefly mentioned in earlier works, is the finding that in some regions, the gender of the addressee is a defining factor in the choice between two address pronouns. This study is the first to specifically explore second person singular address practices employed by the Dutch population of Limburgian speakers. Employing a survey design allowed for collection of a modest, yet quite representative data set from the population of Dutch Limburg, providing initial findings on Limburgian address pronouns and their use by speakers of this understudied regional language. Future work should aim at extending these findings, for instance by comparing Limburgian speakers' address use and perceptions of this use in Limburgian and Dutch.

## Abstract (Limburgian version)

Óndanks de kleine geografiese lokasie en ut relatief kleine aantal spraekers luuet de Nederlandse provincie van Limburg vuuel regionale diversiteit zeen. De vraog dae in deze scriptie centraal steit is inwiewied deze diversiteit auk gevonde kin waere veur de meneer waarop spraekers oét Limburg zich aanspraekke. Dit gebroek van aanspraekvorme is relevant veur ut codere van relaties en veur ut reflectere van culturele en sociale waerdes (Norrby & Warren, 2012). Deze studie bestond oet twee deile um de aanspraekvorme gebroék door spraekers van ut Limburgs te onderzeuke. Ten ieërste is, gezeen de hiel inge kennis dae beschikbaar is euver dit onderwerp, ein systematies literatuuronderzoek oétgeveurd um alle weitschappelikke studies die relevant zien veur ut onderwerp van Limburgse aanspraekvorme te vinde, inclusief studies euver Nederlandse, Duitse en Franse aanspraekvorme um ut referentiekader van dit onderzoek oét te breide. Ten tweeëde is ein vraogeliés oétgezat onder spraekers van ut Limburgs um gegaeves te verzamele euver eur gebroék van aanspraekvorme wannier zeej in gesprek zien met ein gevarieerde set van aangespraokene, zoewel in ut Limburgs as in ut Nederlands. De resultate leete regionale variatie zeen in de aanspraekvorme die beschikbaar zien veur Limburgse spraekers. In vuuel tale kin ein spraeker keeze tösse ein informeel en ein wat belaeftder veurnaamwoord, wao dök nao verweze wuurt met T en V, aafkomstig van ut Letiense *tu* en *vos* (Brown en Gilman, 1960). Neet alle regio's in Limburg leete dit binaire aanspraeksysteem echter zeen. Ein andere biézonderheid in Limburgse meneere van aanspraekke, wat auk al kort bespraekke is in ierdere werke, is de bevinding det in sommige gebiede ut geslach van de aangespraokene ein bepaolende factor is in de keus tösse twee aanspraekvorme. Deze studie is de ierste dae specifiek haet gekeke nao tweeëdepersoeëns inkelvoudige aanspraekvorme die gebroek waere door de Nederlandse bevolking van spraekers van ut Limburgs. Door gebroek te make van ein vraogelies is ein dataset van de bevolking van Nederlands Limburg verzameld, waomei initiële inzichte gebaoje zien in Limburgse aanspraekvorme en ut gebroek daovan door spraekers van deze onderbeleechte regionale taal. Toekomstig onderzoek zoej zich motte richte op ut oetbreide van deze resultate, beveurbeeld door ut gebroek van aanspraekvorme en de perceptie van dit gebroek door spraekers van ut Limburgs te vergelieke tösse ut Limburgs en ut Nederlands.

# Chapter 1. General introduction

When addressing another person, speakers of many languages can choose between a formal and informal pronoun of address. The informal and polite form of address are often referred to as T and V, respectively, which stem from Latin *tu* and *vos* (Brown and Gilman, 1960). Speakers of Dutch, German, and French, for instance, therefore have to make a choice between T and V (i.e., Dutch *je* and *u*, German *du* and *Sie*, and French *tu* and *vous*). Interestingly, a different pattern is displayed in the regional language spoken in the Dutch province of Limburg, situated in the southern part of the Netherlands. In general, the Limburgian language employs *doe*, *dich*, or *diech* as possible second person singular (2SG) T forms, *geer* or *geej* as possible 2SG V forms, and *geer* and *geej* as the second person plural form (2PL; Paardekooper, 1969). However, this is not true everywhere across Limburg. When visiting the village of Horst in the north of this relatively small province, one is addressed in an exceptional manner: speakers of Limburgian living here are familiar with only a single address form for both singular and plural use: *geej*. This is striking, since languages spoken in the surrounding areas (Dutch, German, and French) adopt a binary address system, although we do see a similar pattern in English (which only has the neutral *you* option; Cook, 2014). Brown and Gilman (1960) proposed a binary classification system for European languages based on power and solidarity dynamics, but, just like numerous other languages, Limburgian does not seem to completely fit the system described. Another Limburgian town showing peculiar address practices is Weert, where we find traces of a binary distinction based on gender in the second person pronouns, meaning that women and men receive a different address pronoun (Vossen, 1958; Weijnen, 1966; Paardekooper, 1969). This raises the question how exactly people address one another in the collection of dialects that is Limburgian. The aim of the current study is to shed light on this understudied topic.

## 1.1 Address practices

Ever since Brown and Gilman's (1960) study, the topic of address practices has received more attention. The use of address terms has been mentioned to allow speakers to encode and index their relationships with and attitudes towards others, and to mark changes in social and communicational constructs, reflecting a society's cultural values (Norrby & Warren, 2012). In recent years, more studies have been devoted to applications of address forms, for instance in recruitment advertisements (den Hartog, van Hoften, & Schoenmakers, 2022), and on the addressee's processing of address forms rather than the speaker's production, focusing on topics like how the use of T and V affects the hearer in Dutch HR communication (de Hoop, Levshina, & Segers, 2023), in advertisement slogans (Schoenmakers, Hachimi, & de Hoop, 2024), in job advertisements (den Hartog, Bras, & Schoenmakers, 2024), on monetary donations (Sadowski, de Hoop, & Meijburg, 2024), and on reader immersion (Sánchez Carrasco, van Hoften, & Schoenmakers, 2024). This research illustrates the relevance of selecting an adequate address pronoun, but Limburgian has received very limited attention in terms of which address pronouns can be used and what speakers' motivations for selecting a pronoun are.

## 1.2 The Limburgian language

Limburgian is a minority language spoken in a concentrated geographical area spread across the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany. Not unexpectedly, it shares vocabulary and grammatical features with both Dutch (Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch) and German (e.g., Bennis & Hermans, 2013). It was acknowledged as an official regional language in the Netherlands in 1997, which is not the case in Belgium and Germany. The scope of the current study is the use of address pronouns by Limburgian speakers in the Dutch province of Limburg (see Figure 1 for a reference map).

**Figure 1**

*Reference map for the Dutch province of Limburg (in green), also showing the five largest Limburgian cities in population size*



About 70-75% of the 1.1 million inhabitants of Dutch Limburg speak Limburgian (Camps, 2017). Even within a distance of a few kilometres, notable differences in pronunciation and grammatical features are evident, and whenever talking about ‘Limburgian’ or a ‘Limburgian’ written or spoken utterance, this always concerns an instance of one of the many local dialects (Bakker, 1997). Therefore, despite the recognition as a regional language and the relatively small size of the Dutch province of Limburg, Limburgian should not be considered a unified language, but rather a collection of language varieties rich in regional and local anomalies. The local dialects are generally grouped into six main dialect areas making up the Dutch province of Limburg (e.g., Cornips, de Rooij, Stengs, & Thissen, 2016), which are all mostly mutually intelligible (e.g., Cornips, 2012): (1) Kleverlands/Cleves dialects, (2) *Mich*-quarter, (3) Central Limburgian, (4) East Limburgian, (5) Ripuarian transitional dialects, (6) Ripuarian (see Figure 2).

## Figure 2

*Map of the six main dialect areas of Dutch Limburg (Piepers, Backus, & Swanenberg, 2021: 5, based on Bakker & van Hout, 2012: 162)*



Just like dialects in other European countries, the presence of the standard language is causing Limburgian to rapidly change (Auer, Hinskens, & Kerswill, 2005). The older generation was reported to be more fluent in speaking Limburgian, but Schmeets and Cornips (2022) recently found that speakers from all social classes use the regional language in various contexts — both domestic and public — suggesting that the position of Limburgian is quite stable. In general, however, people learn to speak Limburgian at home or in a social setting rather than in an educational setting, where the standard language (i.e., Dutch) continues to dominate, whereas the use of Limburgian is limited to more informal contexts. There are no standard prescriptive rules for ‘the Limburgian language’, although dictionaries for numerous dialects of Limburgian have been published. Nevertheless, everyday Limburgian speakers do not seem to feel the need to familiarise themselves with all specific spelling rules when using their dialect in written language on social media and messaging apps. They do learn about this extensive set

of prescriptive rules for Dutch, their other native language, which they use on a daily basis from a young age and in more widespread contexts.

### 1.3 Limburgian address practices

Little information is available on Limburgian address pronouns, but van Hout (2006) did give a description of Limburgian pronouns in general in three varieties of Limburgian, also describing the use of second person pronouns. Looking at results from a dialect questionnaire administered in 1920 and findings from more recent data (but still published in a study from last century, see Goossens, 1994), van Hout described the global classification of Limburgian address forms and some changes occurring within this system and concluded that further research on Limburgian address pronouns would be worthwhile to be able to describe the Limburgian address system in more detail. Additionally, Vermaas (2002) touched upon address use in Dutch dialects in general, which often do not distinguish between different address forms. However, as rightly pointed out by Vermaas, this is not true for Limburgian, thus posing an exception to this binary address pattern.

In Limburgian, speakers can generally choose between a T form (*doe, dich, or diech*) or a V form (*geer or geej*) for the 2SG pronoun, and they can select the orthographically identical V form (*geer or geej*) for the 2PL form. In contrast, Netherlandic Dutch employs a second person plural *jullie*, which differs from the *je/jij* and *u* T and V singular form. This overlap in singular V and plural T/V can also be found in German and French (*sie/Sie* and *vous/vous*, respectively). Since speakers of Limburgian are usually raised bilingually, also being native speakers of Netherlandic Dutch (from here on referred to as ‘Dutch’), a comparison between their address practices with various conversational partners in their regional language and in Dutch. Additionally, the factors governing the choice for different address forms are of interest to see what drives these address strategies in Limburgian. This research will contribute to the field of address practices by investigating an understudied regional language, which also shows much regional variation within the province where this language is spoken.

### 1.4 Current study

The primary aim of the present study is to gain insight into the address habits practiced by speakers of Limburgian across the Dutch province of Limburg, both in Limburgian and in Dutch. This aim is reflected in the following research question: *how do speakers from the Dutch province of Limburg address another person in Limburgian and Dutch?*

This research question is split into three sub-questions. The first sub-question focuses on providing the relevant background knowledge for this study: *what is already known about address practices in Limburgian as well as in languages spoken by people in areas located close to Dutch Limburg?* The second sub-question is concerned with the specific address forms that are in existence in Limburgian: *which forms of address are used by speakers of Limburgian in different regions of Dutch Limburg?* The third sub-question is related to the implementation of these address pronouns in everyday interactions: *how are different pronouns of address used by speakers of Limburgian in their regional language and Dutch?* More specifically, this question is aimed at unraveling which factors determine T, V, or mixed use of address pronouns and at identifying the factors governing the choice between address pronouns in case of mixed use.

To be able to formulate an answer to the first sub-question, a systematic search of the literature on this topic will be performed. For answering the other two sub-questions, since our knowledge on Limburgian address use is very limited, a comprehensive dataset of Limburgian address practices across the entire Dutch province of Limburg is to be collected. To this end, following Vismans (2013; see also Vermaas, 2002; Vismans, 2018; Schoenmakers, Opheij, de Hoop, & Vismans, forthcoming), an online survey will be distributed to be filled out by people who see themselves as a speaker of any of the Dutch

Limburgian dialect varieties. They will be asked to report on their choice of address pronouns with a variety of addressees, as well as on the factors underlying this choice.

Based on the limited information that is available on this topic, a few tentative expectations with regard to these questions can be formulated, but this study should reveal to what extent these somewhat unsubstantiated hypotheses can be confirmed. First of all, the questionnaire data are expected to reveal at least *doe*, *dich*, or *diech* as 2SG T forms and *geer* or *geej* as 2SG V forms (Paardekooper, 1969). Due to regional variation which will also be expressed in orthographic dissimilarities, however, the set of address pronouns to be selected from might be more extensive. It is hypothesised that we will not find a binary distinction in address forms across the whole province of Limburg, with, for instance, inhabitants of Horst exhibiting an exception to this system. Furthermore, we aim to find out about any dissimilarities between Limburgian and Dutch address practices by asking Limburgian speakers about their Limburgian and Dutch use of address forms in a questionnaire. A combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses will be applied to the survey results, looking at potential influences of certain factors (e.g., respondents' age, education level, and sex, as found for Weert/Nederweert) on the distribution of T/V/mixed pronoun use with various addressees, and at motivations for the choice between address pronouns in case of mixed use.

The current study is innovative in the sense that this will be the first time address practices exhibited by the Dutch population of Limburgian speakers are explored. With its unique location near the German and Belgian borders and the myriad of regional varieties existing in this relatively small area, the Limburgian area is particularly interesting to study how individuals approach the fine art of addressing another person.

In the next chapters, I report on the systematic literature review (Chapter 2) conducted to answer the first sub-question, and on the questionnaire administered to Limburgian speakers (Chapter 3) to answer the second and third sub-question, followed by a discussion of all results (Chapter 4) and a general conclusion (Chapter 5).

## Chapter 2. Systematic literature review

### 2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview of literature relevant to the topic of Limburgian address pronouns to be able to motivate an adequate method for this exploratory study. Since studies on Limburgian address practices are quite sparse to say the least, this body of literature also includes academic papers on related topics. To ensure that no background literature is overlooked for the current study, all studies on this topic were searched in a structured manner, employing a systematic literature review approach (Greenhalgh, Robert, Macfarlane, Bate, & Kyriakidou, 2004). This method consists of three steps to collect all relevant papers on a topic, namely a keyword search, a manual journal database search, and a reference search. In this chapter, I outline how each of the three search steps was carried out and to discuss the results of this systematic literature review. This will help to give an overview of previous works on the topic and to identify research gaps to be addressed in the current study and in future research.

To increase the relevance of search results, the choice was made to focus on studies discussing address practices in Limburgian, Dutch, German, French, and dialects, also limiting the number of hits to a reasonable amount of papers to screen. The amount of information on Limburgian address use is expected to be rather limited, which is why I will also look at studies on address in the other languages. Studies on both Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch (Flemish) were deemed relevant to the current study, as Netherlandic Dutch is the dominant language spoken in the Dutch province of Limburg, and Flemish is spoken in regions close to the area where Limburgian dialects are spoken. Shared features with the German and French address systems could be present in Limburgian due to the province's location relatively close to Germany and France and consequential language contact, or rather contact between people speaking these languages. Moreover, since the number of studies on the Limburgian address system would be very limited at most, I also added dialectal use of address pronouns to the inclusion criteria to extend the works on dialectal address practices included in this review. These studies might be able to provide some relevant information on address systems in dialectal environments similar to the one we find in the Dutch province of Limburg. This review is aimed at providing an answer to the first sub-question formulated in Chapter 1: *what is already known about address practices in Limburgian as well as in languages spoken by people in areas located close to Dutch Limburg?*

### 2.2 Methods

#### 2.2.1 Eligibility criteria

The aim for this literature review was to find all available papers relevant to the current study on Limburgian address practices. Since research on this topic is extremely limited, I intended to find not only studies that provide information related to address forms used in Limburgian, but also studies about address forms used in languages that are spoken in areas located close to the Dutch province of Limburg. These studies could provide relevant background information for describing the Limburgian address system, which is the overarching goal of the current research. More specifically, all papers in which research on the use of (second person) address pronouns by native speakers of Limburgian, Dutch, German, or French is discussed were included.

Table 1 provides an overview of the inclusion and exclusion criteria. All papers included in the current review were published in English and no criteria were set with regards to publication year. Furthermore, only papers discussing the use of second person pronouns to address a hearer rather than the generic use of pronouns, in natural language contexts rather than in an educational setting or in literary works, and with a focus on second person pronouns rather than other linguistic structures or pronouns or formality in general were included. Any works on other languages than the ones mentioned before that did not concern any dialect were also excluded.

**Table 1***Inclusion and exclusion criteria*

Topic	Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
Aim	Research on native (Netherlandic or Belgian) Dutch, French, German, Limburgian, or dialectal use of second-person (address) pronouns as referring to an addressee in natural language contexts	1) Papers not focussing specifically on second-person pronouns as referring to the addressee, but rather on other pronouns/subjects/linguistic structures, on pronouns or formality in general, or on other concepts; 2) Papers about other languages and not about dialect; 3) Papers about L2 speakers/educational contexts or literary works (e.g., prose texts)
Publication type	Scientific papers, book chapters, dissertations, reports	Guidelines, manuals, comments, editorials, reviews
Publication language	English, Dutch	Other languages

### 2.2.2 Search

The search for this review was performed in all databases of the Web of Science electronic database. This database shows good coverage of most scientific fields (Falagas, Pitsouni, Malietzis, & Pappas, 2008), and also focusses on the field of Arts and Humanities. Furthermore, Web of Science yields highly relevant search results due to human intervention in the curation process, and high scientific quality is ensured by employing a strict peer reviewing process. Additionally, Web of Science offers high accessibility in use, clear presentation of results, and a query tool with many options (including, for instance, searching by topic, keywords, title, and author).

The systematic literature search consisted of three steps. First, a selection of keywords was made to search Web of Science. Second, I performed a manual search in international journals in the respective field. This search included journals concerning linguistics in general, applied linguistics, language and communication, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics. Finally, a reference search was performed in the articles found in the first two steps of the search to identify lines of research in earlier works as well as to outline gaps in research on this topic. I elaborate on all three steps and the respective results below.

First of all, for the keyword search, the search terms entered in Web of Science (search by topic) are presented in Table 2. I have made use of 1) an asterisk (\*) to include a wildcard marker (i.e., any length of a string of any characters, so the search would give results with both *Limburgian* and *Limburgish*, for instance), 2) logical operators *AND* and *OR* to request presence of one or more terms in the topic of a paper, and 3) quotation marks (“”) to search for word combinations. In this search, I focused on pronouns rather than address terms or forms to limit the number of hits, because address pronouns are also the main focus of this study. Furthermore, I included studies on Limburgian, Dutch, French, and German address pronouns. Adding *Limburgian* as a search term did not yield any additional results, so no published works on Limburgian address practices were found. I added *dialect* to search for any studies on dialectal address practices in any language. This way, I aimed to have at least some information on different regional address practices. The final search for this systematic review was carried out with the search string (“*address pronoun\**” *OR* “*pronoun\* of address*” *OR* “*second person pronoun\**”) *AND* (*french OR german OR dutch OR dialect*) on 30 April 2024.

After removing one duplicate study, two book reviews, one unavailable paper, and nine papers written in another language than English or Dutch, the remaining 76 papers were screened on their title,

keywords, and abstract for relevance. In case not enough information on the relevance could be found in these segments, the full paper was screened additionally. This process led to the exclusion of 67 more papers based on the criteria formulated before. This first step of the literature search thus yielded 9 eligible results, which were also used to perform the next two steps.

**Table 2**

*Hit count per search term (Web of Science, search by topic)*

Search term/reason for exclusion	Number of hits
address form* OR form* of address OR address pronoun* OR pronoun* of address OR second person pronoun* OR address term* OR t-v OR polite* → <i>add quotation marks to search for specific word combinations</i>	648,193
“address form*” OR “form* of address” OR “address pronoun*” OR “pronoun* of address” OR “second person pronoun*” OR “address term*” OR polite* → <i>focus on pronouns</i>	14,413
“address pronoun*” OR “pronoun* of address” OR “second person pronoun*” → <i>include languages for influence on Limburgian through contact</i>	344
(“address pronoun*” OR “pronoun* of address” OR “second person pronoun*”) AND (french OR german OR dutch) → <i>include Limburgian/Limburgish</i>	71
(“address pronoun*” OR “pronoun* of address” OR “second person pronoun*”) AND (french OR german OR dutch OR limburgi*) → <i>no change; include dialect</i>	71
Final search: (“address pronoun*” OR “pronoun* of address” OR “second person pronoun*”) AND (french OR german OR dutch OR dialect)	89
Duplicate	-1
Book review	-2
Not available	-1
Not in English/Dutch	-9
Not relevant*	-67
Total	9

\*reasons for irrelevance are presented in more detail in Appendix A.

#### 2.2.2.2 Manual database search

For the second step of the literature search, a manual search in journal databases was performed. Based on the results of step 1 (journals in which the selected papers were published) as well as a manual search of potentially relevant journals in journal databases, I searched the following databases (and specific journals associated with them): Wiley (Language and Linguistics Compass, Journal of Sociolinguistics), Elsevier (Journal of Pragmatics, Lingua, Language and Communication, Language Sciences), John Benjamins (Australian Review of Applied Linguistics, Pragmatics, Applied Pragmatics, International Journal of Applied Linguistics), Taylor & Francis (Research on Language and Social Interaction),

Cambridge University Press (Journal of Linguistics, Journal of Germanic Linguistics, Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, Language Variation and Change, Language in Society, Language and Cognition). Based on the title, keywords, and abstract, seven more papers were selected to be screened in full, after which three papers were selected to be added to the list of relevant papers. Additional information on the journals (ranking and H-index to ensure reasonable quality of the selected journals) can be found in Appendix A.

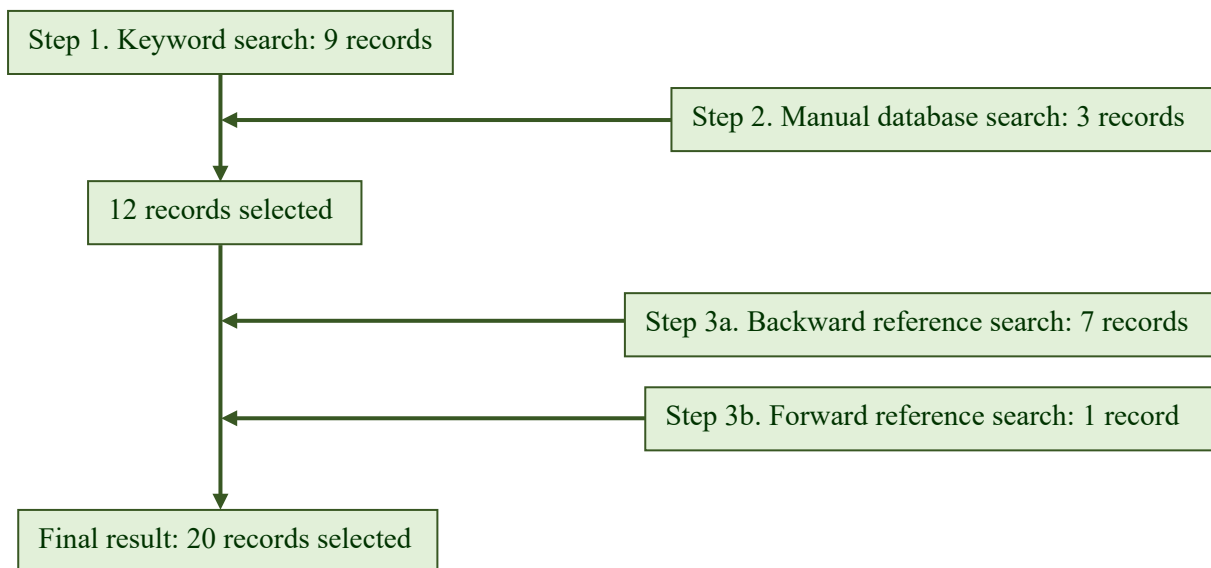
### *2.2.2.3 Reference search*

The third step of the literature search, the reference search, consisted of two parts. First, a second-generation **backward** cross-reference search was carried out, which entails that references mentioned in relevant papers found in the first two steps of the literature search were analysed. The aim of this step is to obtain insights into the development of knowledge on the topic and which researchers have been working on this topic. Second, a second-generation **forward** cross-reference search was performed, which consists of the examination of papers that cited the works found in earlier search steps. This way, new findings and developments in the most recent publications and follow-up studies can be found, revealing the grander lines of research on a topic. For this step, one adaptation to the search protocol was made. Until now, only three papers that concerned (Netherlandic/Belgian) Dutch were found. Since papers on address practices in this language were expected to be most relevant for the current study, an additional paper was selected to be included in the reference search, namely the most recent paper discussing Dutch address pronouns in the results of the keyword search performed in step 1 of the search process. The study performed by den Hartog, Bras, and Schoenmakers (2024) on the effect of different pronouns of address used in a broad selection of Dutch job advertisements was thus added to the selection for carrying out the backward cross-reference search. This study did not concern the use of address pronouns in a natural language context, but rather the effect of this use by Dutch companies, which is why this paper was not deemed relevant to the current review. However, the authors discussed numerous studies on Dutch address practices which potentially provided interesting insights for the present study.

For the backward cross-reference search, references mentioned in all of the 13 papers selected thus far were screened on the title, keywords, and abstract to decide on their relevance to the research topic. This step of the search process was performed on 15 July 2024. Once again, the full paper was screened if the abstract did not provide sufficient information to determine the relevance. This step yielded six additional relevant papers. For the forward cross-reference search, each of the 13 papers was entered in Web of Science, after which the title, keywords, and the abstract of papers (and when in doubt, the full paper) that cited this study were screened for relevance to the current review. This step yielded one additional paper. A more detailed overview of the results of this search step (as well as information on reasons for exclusion from the study) is presented in Appendix A. Finally, the summary of all search steps is visualised in Figure 3.

**Figure 3**

*Summary of the three-step systematic literature search: keyword search, manual database search, and reference search (backward and forward)*



Including *Limburgian* in the search did not yield any additional results, which made the limited availability of data on Limburgian address pronouns all the more clear. For this reason, the current chapter will focus on research on address forms in other language, providing the most optimal background of literature for the current study on Limburgian. For each of the papers included in the final selection, the language(s) discussed and the address systems in that/those language(s) as well as the topics, aims, methods, and main results/points for discussion of the research were entered in a results table (see Appendix A for a complete version of the table). These results are summarised in the next section. The few studies that did include information on Limburgian address pronouns, which were found outside the databases of Web of Science, will be discussed too.

## 2.3 Results

### 2.3.1 Non-Limburgian address pronouns

This section outlines which topics were discussed in the papers included in this systematic literature review. An overview of the selection of papers is provided in Appendix A.

As studies on address practices often do, I start this discussion of the literature review results with Brown and Gilman's (1960) proposed framework for capturing the factors driving the choice between a T and V pronoun. Two dimensions were discussed that were said to determine an appropriate address choice in a certain situation, namely power and solidarity. The power semantic was defined as the relationship between at least two people, in which one person has control over the other. In this case, the superior uses T and receives V from the inferior person. Only one can have power in this context, which makes it a nonreciprocal relationship. Power can have its origin in the age, wealth, sex, physical strength, or position within (a part of) society or the family. The power semantic led to the rule that two people of equivalent levels of power used mutual T or V, whereas people of unequal power used nonreciprocal T-V. Besides power, Brown and Gilman mentioned solidarity as a factor to be able to distinguish between people from equal power levels. This term is described as the general relationship between two people, based on topics like family, religion, political preference, profession, sex, place of birth, and frequency of contact. Within this framework, the authors focused on individual speakers' address use.

Alternatively, Clyne, Norrby, and Warren (2009) proposed a more fine-grained system of six pragmatic principles that were said to play a role in the interpersonal choice for an appropriate address pronoun, based on their research on German, French, and Swedish address practices: 1) familiarity (whether the speaker and addressee know each other), 2) maturity (whether the addressee comes across as an adult), 3) relative age (whether the speaker is older or younger than the addressee), 4) network membership (whether the addressee belongs to the same social group), 5) social identification (whether the speaker feels they are similar to and thus can identify with the addressee), and 6) address mode accommodation (which address pronoun is used by the addressee, and whether this address behaviour is copied by the speaker). Besides these pragmatic principles, they mentioned two other interacting components: 1) language-specific elements, such as the grammatical possibilities for expressing address forms and the degree to which distance and common ground are marked in a language, and 2) contextual factors. Norrby and Warren (2012) confirmed that social distance and common ground play a central role in deciding on an appropriate address term in the same three languages, and that the use of address forms highly reflect cultural values and human relationships and attitudes, hence acting as a marker of social and communicational change.

Turning to the Dutch address system specifically, Plevoets, Speelman, and Geeraerts (2008) have described the Dutch address system for both Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch in terms of three distinct systems. The first system is the U-system for formal or polite speech. Both the subject and object form of this system are *u*. Second is the system for informal or familiar speech, which also includes reduced forms and different pronouns for singular and plural address (see Table 3 for a schematic representation).

**Table 3**

*J-system of address (based on Plevoets et al., 2008)*

		Subject	Object
Reduced form		<i>je</i>	<i>je</i>
Full form	Singular	<i>jij</i>	<i>jou</i>
	Plural	<i>jullie</i>	<i>jullie</i>

Then, the third system, the G-system of address, is in fact a combination of what was historically a T (suffix *-de* from what used to be the Dutch familiar pronoun, *du*) and V system (*ge* and *gij* from what used to be the Dutch polite pronoun, *ghi*; see Table 4).

**Table 4**

*G-system of address (based on Plevoets et al., 2008)*

		Subject, not inverted	Subject, inverted	Object
Reduced form		<i>ge</i>	<i>ge/-de</i>	<i>u</i>
Full form		<i>gij</i>	<i>gij/-degij</i>	<i>u</i>

Whereas all three address systems are currently in use in Flemish, only the first two systems still exist in Netherlandic Dutch to this day, offering a binary choice between polite *u* and familiar *je/jij*.

This is also true for German and French (e.g., Brown & Gilman, 1960). In German, one can choose between the informal T pronoun *du* (plural form *ihr*, object form *dich*) or the polite V pronoun *Sie* (plural and object form also *Sie*). The distinction in address forms began with *du* and *Ihr*, but the latter later became *er*, and eventually *Sie*. In French, a speaker can choose between informal *tu* or polite *vous*, and the plural form for both address modes is *vous*.

In address research, address practices in a language are often discussed in a general sense, as I also did just now in the basic descriptions of the German and French address system. However, just like with many other linguistic constructs, we might need more information than merely a general statement on address practices per language. This becomes clear when national and regional differences between people from areas who are said to speak the same language come to light.

Several studies found national differences, meaning that they found variation in address practices exhibited by speakers of one (pluricentric) language from different countries (e.g., Clyne, Kretzenbacher, Norrby, & Schüpbach, 2006; Clyne et al., 2009). Clyne et al. (2006) studied address practices in German as spoken in Germany and Austria and in Swedish as spoken in Sweden and Finland. For both languages, the authors found national variation, such as the higher proportion of V use in Finland (which could be related to the more formal address system in Finnish) than in Sweden, and the higher use of T in Austria compared to Germany.

With regard to Dutch, which is also a pluricentric language, several studies showed national variation (Vandekerckhove, 2005; Vismans, 2015; Plevoets et al., 2008). Vandekerckhove found differences in address systems employed by speakers from different regions of Flanders, Belgium. Moreover, speakers of different varieties of Dutch, as spoken in the Netherlands and in Flanders, appeared to vary in their address use. This was found to be even more true for the younger generation of Flemish Dutch speakers. This lack of convergence of the Netherlandic Dutch and Flemish address systems could not be a result of Flemish speakers' limited command of Standard Dutch, because their proficiency should have been higher than what is true for the older generation given their more frequent contact with Standard Dutch and their high education level. Instead, Vandekerckhove described the lack of overlap between the address systems of both varieties of Dutch as a sign of "a growing Flemish self-confidence or a growing anti-Hollandic attitude" (p. 394). Vismans (2015) also found different patterns of address strategies between speakers of Dutch in Flanders and the Netherlands in an interview setting, and the Dutch interviewer and Flemish interviewees showed to be aware of this and commented on the differences in address they experienced. Additionally, Plevoets et al. (2008) looked at address strategies in Dutch and Flemish speech in a corpus of spoken Dutch data, and found national variation between both countries, but also a more uniform address situation in the Netherlands than in Flanders.

This final point also reflects regional variation that exists within the political borders of one country. This type of variation was also found for address practices exhibited in restaurant encounters by speakers of Italian across regions in Italy (Bresin, 2019; Bresin, Hajek, & Kretzenbacher, 2019). Responses to unexpected address behaviour in interregional encounters also affected speakers from different regions in different ways. As an example, the predominant use of the informal address form *tu* in Rome was experienced as showing readiness to become closer by an Emilian speaker, but viewed as intrusive by speakers from Milan and Sardinia, who would prefer being addressed with respectful *lei* (Bresin, 2019). Bresin et al. (2019) found that the region where a respondent lives could influence the frequency of V to T transitions in this setting. For instance, speakers of Salentine dialects tend to mix T and V forms more often in their dialect, which was found to also result in more switching behaviour in their use of Italian address pronouns. This suggests that there was an effect of local dialects on the address practices used by speakers of the variety of Italian used in a certain area. Furthermore, Jouitteau (2021) elicited translation data from native speakers of different dialects spoken in the French Breton region and found regional address variation between various Breton dialect varieties. Alberdi-Larizgoitia (2018) found a third address pronoun to be in use in some dialects across the Basque country, challenging the binary T/V address system proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960). Finally, Kretzenbacher (2011) studied address use in different German-speaking areas, and reported a respondent mentioning that the use of familiar *du* is more prominent in areas where a dialect is spoken: "They use *du* sooner/more in the south, I think that has to do with dialect, in rural areas where dialect is still spoken a lot" (p. 79). Clyne et al. (2006: 313) mentioned that the national and regional variation, as illustrated by the abovementioned studies, "underlines the importance of cultural values and socio-political history in changes and reactions to any changes in the address system" (Clyne et al., 2006: 313).

In case more than one address pronoun is in use in a language system, albeit a regional language or a dialect, a question that was addressed by numerous studies is what the choice between these two forms

then depends on (e.g.). Is this choice purely a reflection of the relation between a speaker and addressee or the situation in which their interaction takes place, or are there other factors at play here? Fernández-Mallat (2020) challenged this static view of relation and context being the only motivations for using T or V with their finding that pronoun selection is a more dynamic process in Chilean Spanish. This way, a Chilean speaker was stated to be able to use the address selection process as a tool to communicate parts of their identity, as well as to achieve specific interactional goals. Moreover, Winchatz (2001) presented a description of the various social meaning a German speaker can express with the use of polite *Sie* or informal *du*, including the age difference between both speakers, closeness, frequency of contact, politeness, and solidarity (i.e., using *du* to express a feeling of unity which is not grounded in the relationship with the other person, but rather in some shared activity, like being part of the same club or organisation). The factors mentioned here align with the potential motivations for address choice presented by Clyne et al. (2009).

Clyne and colleagues (2009) based the proposed pragmatic principles merely on their study of the German, French, and Swedish language. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, however, the principles said to govern the use of address pronouns are not completely identical between languages. Researchers often acknowledge addressee characteristics (such as the person's age and position), the relationship with an addressee, and the context of the interaction as relevant factors (e.g., Brown & Gilman, 1960; Clyne et al., 2006; Clyne et al., 2009; Vermaas, 2002; Vismans, 2018), but other factors could play a role as well in some languages, like the default address form in a language (Norrby & Warren, 2012). Because of the potential relevance to the current study on Limburgian, I will highlight the few studies that mentioned another dominating factor in address choice: the addressee's gender. Gender was declared to play a role in the manner in which one addresses another in Basque (Alberdi-Larizgoitia, 2018; Bereziartua & Muguruza, 2024), Breton dialects (Jouitteau, 2021), Japanese (SturtzSreetharan, 2009), and Korean (Kim, 2015). Alberdi-Larizgoitia stated that two 2SG pronouns are generally used in Basque to address another person, formal *zu* (which was originally a 2PL form) and familiar *hi*, but in some dialects across the Basque country, a third, more historically recent form appears to be in use: an intermediate form *xu*, which is in principal used to address a woman, a young child of any gender, and family members. Moreover, as also described by Bereziartua and Muguruza, the choice for a pronoun is reflected in the agreement on the verb. For the *hi* pronoun, a gender distinction can be made in the verb inflection. Next, Jouitteau distinguished three address systems in Breton dialects: 1) a hierarchical system (in which superiors are addressed with formal V), 2) a gendered system (in which women, regardless of their age, are addressed with V), and 3) a non-dual system that only offers a single address pronoun to be used, similar to English *you*. The gendered and hierarchical system in terms of age and position appeared to interact: a woman is addressed with V, a male friend with T, but a great-grandfather would be addressed with V as well. Besides, SturtzSreetharan described the Japanese address system, in which there are pronouns exclusively used for males, but no such pronouns for female addressees. Although the use of address terms is avoided where possible due to the ease with which one could offend another via inappropriate pronoun selection, it is still notable that all pronouns used for women might also be used for men, but this is not true vice versa. Finally, another study illustrating that male and female speakers are not addressed in a similar manner was carried out by Kim. She described the emergence of a solidarity term of address to be used among Korean married women. The standard way of addressing another Korean married woman was to refer to her child's name, like 'Ken's mom'. This address form is not only used by someone who has gotten to know this woman through contact with her child (like other parents at a school), but also by her friends. The novel address term, *caki*, allows Korean married women to address one another directly without referencing their child. *Caki* has not been adopted as an address form by men, since they appear to prefer using job titles and a male second person pronoun *caney* to address one another. Because of the emergence of *caki*, it appears that rather than seeing women's chat as useless gossip, "women's talk and networks have emerged as a socially recognized power" (p. 579).

Turning to the methodological factors to be considered when studying address practices as well as the factors underlying the choice between address pronouns, it is also relevant to examine how researchers approached the study of address pronouns use until now. In several studies, the authors have described the use of a survey design (e.g., Vermaas, 2002; Vismans, 2013, 2018; see also Schoenmakers et al., forthcoming), which allowed for data collection from a large sample of the population of interest, which was the Dutch-speaking population in these studies. Vermaas (2002) collected data from about

1,500 people over three generations (old, middle, young) to get a better understanding of Dutch address practices employed by Dutch people, allowing for a cross-generational comparison in the use of address forms. She asked respondents for their address use with different addressees: parents, teachers, an unfamiliar helper (e.g., a carpenter or plumber), and acquaintances (e.g., parents' colleagues or neighbours). Respondents were from various regions in the Netherlands to not limit the area studied to one particular region of the country, and they answered questions about their use of V/T in different relationships and situations, and with varying general relational factors. This way, the author collected a large-scale dataset consisting of information representing multiple generations and regions in the Netherlands in terms of their address practices. She stated that the choice between both address options largely had to do with the relation between speaker and addressee, as well as with the situation or context in which a conversation takes place, and general relational factors (interlocutor characteristics, such as their age, gender, and social position, and the level of respect for and familiarity with said addressee).

Vismans (2013, 2018) aimed to extend Vermaas' questionnaire results and asked native speakers of Dutch (students and their parents) to specify their pronoun use with 20 addressees representing different social domains (family, education, acquaintances, and service encounters, the latter being divided further into three sub-domains: medical, leisure, and other): 1) always *u*, 2) always *je/jij*, or 3) sometimes *u*, sometimes *je/jij*. Vismans also asked respondents to motivate the choice between both address forms. The quantitative analyses are presented in Vismans (2013), followed by a discussion of the qualitative analysis of motivations underlying the choice between the two address pronouns in Vismans (2018). To this end, all comments provided by respondents about reasons for choosing either V or T with a certain addressee were manually coded. Differences were found between both age groups in how they addressed interlocutors from several domains, and making a comparison to Vermaas' results, Vismans found a gradual shift towards T in the family, acquaintances, and service encounter domains.

A similar study was performed by Schoenmakers et al. (forthcoming). Since this study has not yet been published, it was not officially part of the literature review, but it will be discussed here anyway due to its relevance to the current study. Schoenmakers and colleagues looked into address practices of Surinamese and Caribbean Dutch speakers. Respondents reported on their choice of address pronouns (always V, always T, or mixed use) and other nominal address forms with eight addressees. Results were compared across different social domains to which the addressees belonged as well as across different age groups. As in Vismans (2018), in case mixed address use was reported for an addressee, respondents were asked to reflect on their choice for one address pronoun or the other. Comments were manually coded again for presence of certain themes and subthemes in the discussions with a coding scheme, which was slightly adapted from the categories coded for by Vismans (2018) to better match their data set.

### 2.3.2 Limburgian address pronouns

From the little information published on Limburgian address practices, three interesting points can be made. First of all, regional variation seems to exist in the number of address pronouns available to speakers of Limburgian. Vermaas (2002) briefly discussed questionnaire results related to dialect use and found that the use of Dutch formal *u* was more prominent in areas where less dialect was spoken. As an explanation, she stated that dialects do not display a binary choice in address pronouns, resulting in the more frequent use of the T form *jij/je*. However, the situation is a bit different in Dutch Limburg, where she found much dialect use and much *u* use. The existence of a single address pronoun is indeed found for some parts of Limburg, but in other regions, the binary choice between address pronouns does exist. Paardekooper (1969) mentioned that Limburgian speakers can choose between 2SG T *d*-forms (*doe*, *dich*, or *diech*) and 2SG V *g*-forms (*geer* and *geej*), the latter also being the 2PL form.

Second, as becomes evident from the multiple different T and V pronouns mentioned above, regional differences appear to exist in the specific pronouns in use. Van Hout (2006) provided a description of Limburgian pronouns in general in three varieties of Limburgian (the dialect spoken in Gennepe in the north, and Heerlen and Maastricht in the south of Dutch Limburg), also specifically describing the use of second person pronouns: *gij* in Gennepe, *doe* in Heerlen, and *diech* in Maastricht.

Looking at results from a dialect questionnaire administered in 1920 and findings from more recent data (but still published in a study from last century, see Goossens, 1994), van Hout found another form in use in Venlo: *dich*. Originally, this was the object form, which raised the question where and how this subject *dich* emerged. This type of shift of pronouns from object to subject form has occurred before in various languages and dialects, (e.g., Goossens, 1994, 1996), for example, with the Dutch 3PL *hun* quickly shifting from object to subject use (van Hout, 2003). Goossens (1994) found that the first instances of *dich* in subject position occurred near Venlo, where it partly replaced the *d*-form in use there.

Third, besides regional variation in what address forms are used, we also find differences in how address forms are used, i.e. which factors underly the choice between two address forms. Vossen (1958), Weijnen (1966), and Paardekooper (1969) briefly mentioned the existence of a binary distinction in 2SG pronouns based on the gender of the addressee, meaning that women and men receive a different address pronoun. This distinction, which has never been described as such for the Dutch address system, is said to exist in Weert (Weijnen, 1966; Paardekooper, 1969) and Nederweert (Vossen, 1958; Weijnen, 1966), where in general, a V pronoun is used for male addressees, but a T pronoun is used for female (and neuter) addressees. Moreover, Weijnen (1966) discussed that no polite form exists for Limburgian speakers from Nederweert.

Whether these descriptions are still accurate for present-day use of address pronouns in Limburgian is yet to be confirmed. To this end, speakers of Limburgian have filled out a questionnaire on their address use in Limburgian and Dutch with different addressees. The survey methods and results are elaborated on in Chapter 3. The results found in the current and next chapter are further discussed in Chapter 4.

## Chapter 3. Questionnaire

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on findings from a questionnaire administered to speakers of Limburgian to assess their address strategies in Limburgian as well as in Dutch. These results will provide insights relevant to the second and third sub-question formulated in Chapter 1: *which forms of address are used by speakers of Limburgian in different regions of Dutch Limburg?* and *how are different Limburgian and Dutch forms of address used by speakers of Limburgian in their regional language and Dutch?*

Following earlier studies discussed in Chapter 2 (Vermaas, 2002; Vismans, 2013, 2018; Schoenmakers et al., forthcoming), the current study will adopt a survey method to explore Limburgian speakers' address strategies, which will allow for large-scale data collection (although rather modest in comparison to Vermaas' study) across the entire Dutch province of Limburg. With this information, a regional comparison of the way in which speakers of Limburgian address others can be made. The aim of this study is to elicit information about which pronouns Limburgian speakers from different regions of Limburg use when addressing others. As mentioned before, speakers of some dialect variations of Limburgian do not seem to make a binary distinction in address forms. For this reason, respondents are asked to indicate which forms of address exist in the dialect they speak. Additionally, respondents' use of these address pronouns is studied. More specifically, they are asked to indicate which address pronoun they would use in Limburgian and in Dutch for different addressees (e.g., their parents, supervisor, neighbour, or dentist). This allows for a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses to be performed on respondents' self-reported use of address forms, which will provide insight into Limburgian address practices with conversational partners from different social domains. Moreover, a cross-linguistic comparison can be made between Limburgian speakers' address practices in their regional language and in Dutch.

Despite the limited availability of information on this topic and the exploratory nature of this study, a few expectations can be formulated for these research questions. With regard to the second sub-question, the survey data are expected to reveal at least *d*-forms (*doe, dich, diech*) as possible singular T forms and *g*-forms (*geer, gier, geej*) as possible singular V subject (nominative) forms (Paardekooper, 1969, but see also van Hout, 2006). Potentially, quite some orthographic variation will exist for these pronouns. Additionally, However, not all regions of Limburg will exhibit this binary choice in address forms, with, for instance, inhabitants of Horst and Venray in the north of the province showing a different pattern. In a dictionary of the Venray dialect (Schols & Linssen, 1991), only one address pronoun is presented: *gij* (without accent: *ge*; with accent: *geej*; object form: *òw*; question form: *-de* or *-te*, as in *gaon* 'to go' – *godde* 'are you going' or *wieëte* 'to know' – *wette* 'do you know').

For the third sub-question, which concerns the way in which pronouns are used for addressing others, we investigate address strategies in Limburgian and Dutch with a set of 21 different addressees. On the one hand, one could expect speakers of Limburgian to be quicker to use a more informal address form in Limburgian than in Dutch if this form exists in their variety of Limburgian. Limburgian is learnt and used in more informal settings, like at home or in social settings rather than at school (e.g., Piepers, Backus, & Swanenberg, 2023). As a result, simply the use of Limburgian instead of the standard language in a context could, at least for some part, already imply some level of familiarity, hence allowing the use of an informal pronoun. On the other hand, the 2SG polite form *geej* matches the 2PL form, and the higher frequency with which this form is produced might facilitate the use of this pronoun as a singular form. Moreover, if Limburgian is mainly used in more informal contexts, there may be a need to express politeness or formality through address forms. Besides, it could be the case that the Limburgian V pronoun itself is associated with formality to a lesser extent than the Dutch V pronoun. Participants' questionnaire responses will shed light on their proportional use of T/V/mixed address forms with addressees in different social domains, but their motivations for choosing either the T or V form in case of mixed use are expected to be even more informative for deducing the underlying mechanisms for choosing an appropriate address form in Limburgian and Dutch by speakers of

Limburgian. Again, note that very little is known about this topic, so any expectations formulated are speculative, and the data collected from Limburgian respondents should reveal their actual address strategies.

Proportions of T/V/mixed address pronoun use are expected to vary based on several factors. First of all, the age of respondents is hypothesised to play a role in pronoun use. Vermaas (2002) and Vismans (2013) found differences for some social domains in address strategies adopted by respondents from different ages. Vermaas also found indications of some influence of sex and education level, but these effects appeared to be more marginal in Vismans' study. Plevoets et al. (2008) found a difference in address strategies employed by male and female speakers, in the sense that women were more likely to always use familiar forms, whereas men would switch more between informal and polite forms. Moreover, Vermaas found that mainly the older generation of male speakers clearly distinguished between female and male addressees, in the sense that they indicated to always use V more often with female than with male addressees. This was not the case for younger speakers nor for older women. Regarding education level, Plevoets and colleagues found high education levels to be associated with polite address forms, middle education levels with familiar address forms, and low education levels somewhere in between. Vermaas discovered some variation between lower and higher educated people, who differed across relations, situations, and general relational factors (e.g., smaller generational difference for the lower than for the higher educated respondents, mainly on the factors *unfamiliarity* and *formality*). Based on the results found by Plevoets et al. and Vermaas, age, gender, and education level are expected to play a minor role in address strategies, but the direction of this effect may differ depending on the specific relation/situation.

Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, no recent studies have thoroughly studied differences in address strategies between dialect areas in the Dutch province of Limburg, which makes it difficult to formulate clear hypotheses for this factor. Although variations in which and how many Limburgian address forms are used by speakers from different areas are expected, I do not hypothesise strong effects of respondents' childhood or residence place. Moreover, there is no empirical evidence for expecting a difference between Limburgian speakers' address practices in Limburgian and Dutch. Any cross-linguistic difference might also be driven by the fact that speakers from some domains are most often spoken to in Limburgian (more plausible for *family*, *acquaintances*, and *service encounter* relations), whereas interlocutors from other domains are usually addressed in Dutch (could be expected for the *education/work* domain, since Dutch dominates Limburgian at school and some workplaces). However, when a respondent has moved away from Limburg, their Dutch address use might have diverged from their earlier use as a result of adaptation to better match the use of T/V of people in their surroundings. For this reason, we might find a discrepancy in address use of respondents who are currently still living in Limburg versus respondents who are not.

Based on previous work on Dutch address pronoun use (e.g., Vermaas, 2002; Vismans, 2013), different address strategies are expected to be employed with addressees from different social domains. Fasold (1984) described domains as specific contexts, based on the location, topic, and participants in which an interaction take place, with different views on what is seen as appropriate language/address use. There is no fixed classification of domains, but for deciding on different domains for this study, I turned to earlier related studies. Clyne et al. (2009) employed the domains family, school, university, workplace, and (retail) transactions, which are largely in line with Vismans' (2013) domains family, education, acquaintances, and service encounters, based on Vermaas' (2002) relations parents, teachers, acquaintances, and unknown helpers. Following Vismans (2013), but including work relations (cf. Clyne et al., 2009) as another kind of institutional association, the domains central to this study are *family*, *education/work*, *acquaintances*, and *service encounters*. It is likely that some variation in address pronoun use will also be found within a single social domain, since one domain comprises addressees from different generations (e.g., sibling and grandparents within the *family* domain) and positions (e.g., colleague and teacher or supervisor within the *education/work* domain).

With regard to the motivations given for selecting a T or V pronoun, one difference to be expected between Limburgian and Dutch is the presence of the theme gender in the responses (Vossen, 1958;

Weijnen, 1966); Paardekooper, 1969). The gender theme is hypothesised to solely be mentioned in the discussion of Limburgian address practices, but note that it has been quite a while since publishing of these papers took place, so these statements are yet to be confirmed in the current study.

In sum, very little is known about the way in which speakers of Limburgian go about addressing another person, so the current study is of an exploratory nature. Some speculative hypotheses were formulated, but the relationship between the use of address forms in Limburgian and the predictors under study here – respondents' age, education level, gender, childhood place, residence place (Limburg or not), language (Limburgian/Dutch), and the social domain of the addressee – will be modelled using a conditional inference tree and a conditional random forest analysis. Rather than merely providing frequency distributions per domain, as was opted for in the earlier survey studies mentioned, this statistical method will allow for interpretation of the relationships between Limburgian address strategies and various predictor variables and the relative relevance of said predictors to T/V/mixed address use.

The methods are described in more detail in section 2, followed by an overview of the results from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the questionnaire data in section 3. A discussion of the study and the results found is provided in section 4, and, finally, a conclusion of this chapter is given in section 5.

## 3.2 Methodology

An online survey was distributed among speakers of Limburgian, in which they were asked to report on their use of address pronouns in Limburgian and Dutch with different addressees. Recruitment of respondents took place by sending invitations via e-mail and through social media platforms (LinkedIn, Whatsapp, Facebook, and Instagram). Responses were collected between 10 and 22 April 2024.

### 3.2.1 Participants

Out of 722 respondents who started the questionnaire, 565 respondents completed all questions. Thirty-nine participants were excluded for various reasons. One respondent did not give consent and was thus directed to the end of the questionnaire, just like seven respondents who indicated that they are not a speaker of Limburgian, and three respondents who were younger than 16 years old. Additionally, 16 respondents entered the Dutch pronouns of address *jij* and/or *u* as possible Limburgian address forms and were thus excluded. With regard to the Limburgian address pronouns entered, seven respondents entered multiple address pronouns that did not signify a T/V distinction, but rather a shorter version (*ge/de* instead of *geej/dich*;  $N = 1$ ), or they entered two T-pronouns or two V-pronouns (e.g., *doe* and *dich* or *geer* and *uur*;  $N = 7$ ). However, cases of double T or V forms entered were also removed if reasons for the choice between both forms included any sensible comments pointing towards a T/V distinction, because it was unclear which form would then be used in which case. Moreover, two respondents entered two address forms in one cell, which made it impossible for them to provide any relevant information about the choice between the two later on. Three respondents entered unclear Limburgian address forms, namely *J*, *X*, or *2* and *2*, and were therefore removed from the data set. Finally, one respondent actually entered three Limburgian pronouns of address, namely *dich* and *jea/gea* and added a comment mentioning that *gea* can be seen as the V form and *dich* and *jea* as a T form. Although the T/V distinction is thus not represented correctly in the two forms provided, the reasoning behind the use of the three different address pronouns is relevant for the current study, so data from this participant were excluded from the quantitative analyses but included in the qualitative analyses.

After data cleaning, a total of 525 respondents (325 female, 199 male, 1 non-binary), who were all speakers of (a variety of) Limburgian, were included in the dataset to be analysed. Their mean age was 43.2 ( $SD = 16.9$ ), ranging between 16 and 84 years. With regard to education level, 40 had attended or

completed secondary education, the others secondary vocational training (75), applied university education (190), or university (220). To allow for comparisons across speakers of Limburgian from different ages, the respondents were divided into five age groups based both on conceptual grounds and on the age distribution found in the data set. These groups, including information about age and education level, are specified in Table 5.

**Table 5**

*Descriptive information per age group*

Age group	Number of respondents	<i>M</i> age	<i>SD</i> age	Education level	<i>N</i>
16-25	107 (70 F, 37 M)	22.7	2.0	Secondary education	5
				Secondary vocational training	7
				Applied university education	31
				University	64
26-35	110 (67 F, 42 M, 1 X)	29.8	3.0	Secondary education	5
				Secondary vocational training	13
				Applied university education	32
				University	63
36-50	111 (81 F, 30 M)	42.7	4.6	Secondary education	0
				Secondary vocational training	18
				Applied university education	46
				University	47
51-60	97 (58 F, 39 M)	55.9	2.7	Secondary education	12
				Secondary vocational training	19
				Applied university education	43
				University	23
61-84	100 (49 F, 51 M)	68.0	5.7	Secondary education	21
				Secondary vocational training	18
				Applied university education	38
				University	23

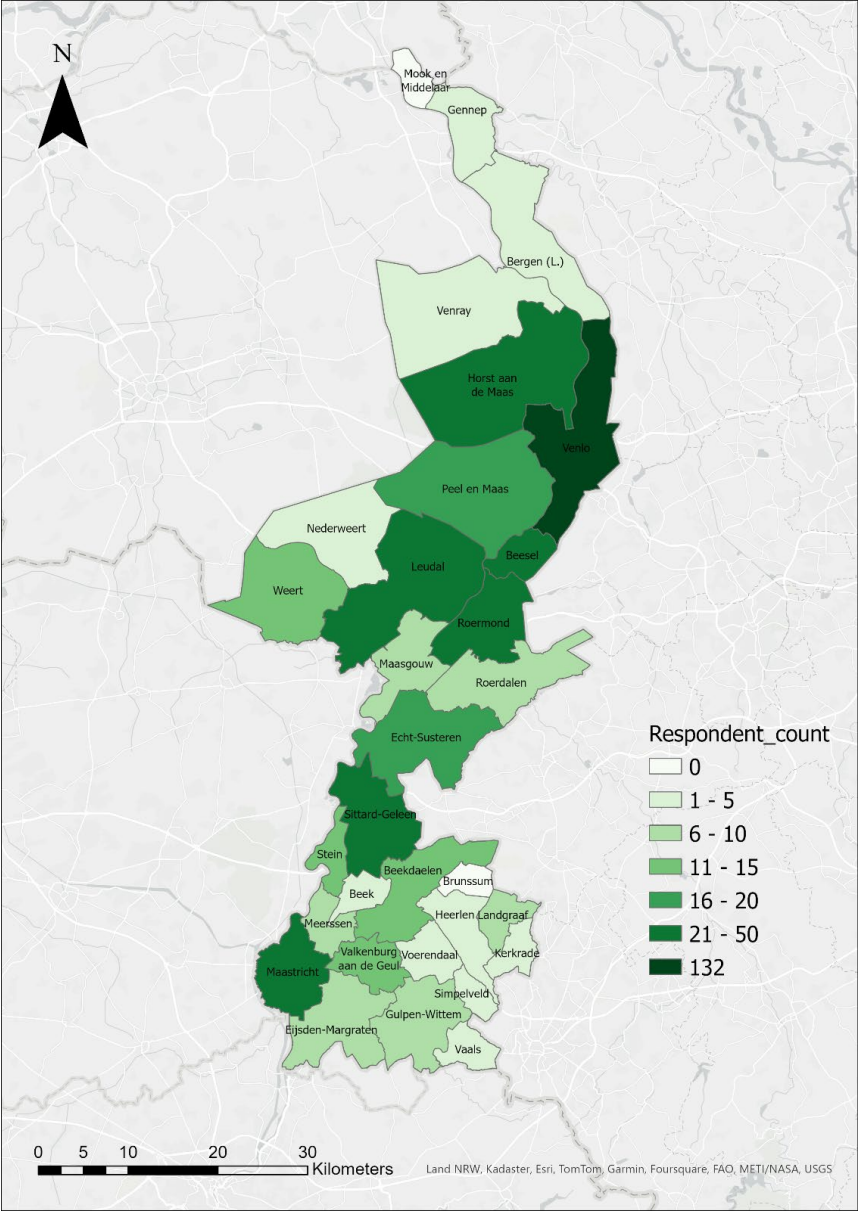
Next, we will have a look at the distributions of respondents' childhood (where they grew up) and residence places (where they are currently living) across the Dutch province of Limburg, which are visualised in Figure 4 and Figure 5, respectively. An overview of all place names and the respective municipalities and dialect areas these belong to is presented in Appendix B.

Note that not all respondents are represented in these figures, since it was not possible for every respondent to pin the place where they grew up and the current place of residence to one location in Limburg. Of course, not all respondents grew up in Limburg and are currently living in Limburg, and even if they did, not all respondents necessarily lived in the same city or village in Limburg during their entire childhood. Therefore, some changes to the raw data set were implemented. If respondents entered more than one city/village, but these different places are located in the same dialect area (e.g., *Nieuwenhagen* and *Landgraaf*, or *Blerick* and *Venlo*) with a distance of maximally five kilometres between them (due to high levels of regional variation), then the address practices were not expected to substantially differ between both places, so the first place name entered was selected as the place of birth/residence. If this was not the case, the childhood/residence location was changed to *multiple*, like for *Venlo* (*Mich*-quarter) and *Tegelen* (East Limburgian). Furthermore, some of the placenames entered were unclear, like *buiten Limburg* ('outside of Limburg') or *Alpp*. These instances were all changed to 'other' in the data set, as it was impossible to place these respondents on a map.

Moreover, some adjustments were made to the age of onset of learning to speak Limburgian as well as to the length of residency in Limburg. Some respondents entered more than one number (e.g., a range), and for the purposes of this study, the median of this range was then used. In case a respondent provided text rather than a number for these questions, or a number that did not seem to make sense given the other information provided by the respondent, their age of onset value was changed accordingly. For instance, one respondent said that both their age and their age of onset is 66, but they grew up in Limburg, were currently living in Limburg, and have lived in Limburg for 66 years; their age of onset was thus changed to 0.

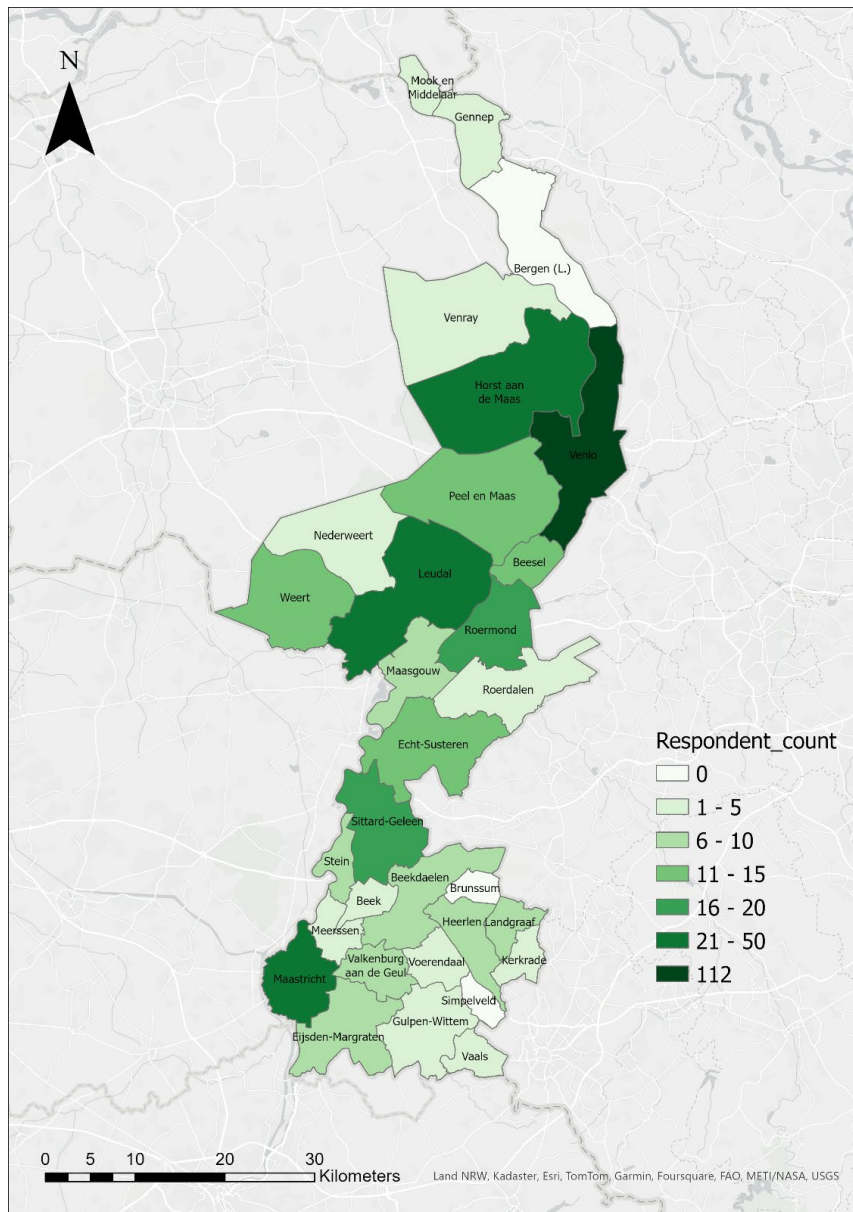
With all adjustments taken into account, 486 out of 525 respondents were native speakers of Limburgian, and respondents that were not native speakers started learning to speak Limburgian between the age of 4 and 38 ( $M = 10.2, SD = 6.92$ ). Taken together, respondents' mean residency length was 33.3 years ( $SD = 18.0$ ).

**Figure 4**  
*Distribution of respondents' childhood places across Limburg*



**Figure 5**

*Distribution of respondents' residency places across Limburg*



### 3.2.2 Questionnaire design

Respondents filled out an online survey via Qualtrics (2020). Survey responses were recorded in an anonymised manner, meaning that no IP address and further location and contact information was collected. The complete survey can be found in Appendix C.

The survey consisted of several parts. First, we ensured that the respondent was a speaker of Limburgian. Since a mere binary question on respondents' ability to speak Limburgian would not provide us with much insight into the degree to which they actually spoke this regional language, the Limburgian speaker check question was followed by demographic questions concerning not only their age, gender, and education level, but also the place where they grew up, the place where they were currently living, their age of onset of learning to speak Limburgian (which was 0 in case Limburgian was (one of) the respondent's native language(s)), and the number of years they had lived in the Dutch

province of Limburg. These questions would provide us with substantially more information on respondents' use of Limburgian without posing much of a challenge for respondents to answer them and without severely increasing response time. After the demographic questions, they were asked about which address pronouns can be used in the variety of Limburgian this person speaks (one or two forms to be entered), followed by two blocks of questions about address strategies in Limburgian and Dutch, respectively. For each of the two address blocks, respondents were asked about their use of address forms with a set of 21 addressees representing four different domains. The addressees and their distribution across the domains are specified below:

- *Family*: father, mother, brother, sister, grandfather, grandmother, aunt/uncle, cousin
- *Education/work*: teacher, colleague, supervisor
- *Acquaintances*: neighbour, friend, parent of a friend, friend of a parent
- *Service encounter*: dentist, general practitioner, doctor's assistant, hairdresser, waiter/waitress, home service encounter (e.g., a plumber/painter)

First, they were asked to select the interlocutors that they address (or have ever addressed) in Limburgian. The list of addressees was presented in a randomised order. For all selected interlocutors, respondents indicated how they would address this person. If a respondent entered only one address form to be used in their variety of Limburgian, response options for this question were: 1) always with the address form they entered, or 2) with a different form. In the exceptional case that the latter option was selected, they were asked to elaborate on which form this would be. If a respondent entered two possible Limburgian address forms, they indicated whether they would address this person: 1) always with the first address form entered, 2) always with the second form, or 3) sometimes with the first and sometimes with the second form. For all addressees for which the third option applied, respondents were then asked to motivate what their choice between the two address forms depends on in an open-ended question per addressee. The question block on the use of Dutch address forms followed the same setup as the one employed with two Limburgian pronouns of address entered but using *u* and *jij* rather than the two Limburgian address forms entered. Response options for Dutch address strategies thus included 1) always with *u*, 2) always with *jij*, or 3) sometimes with *u*, sometimes with *jij*. Finally, respondents were asked for any further remarks on their use of address forms.

### 3.2.3. Analyses

First, I looked at all pronouns respondents entered as possible address forms. Then, for all respondents who indicated to use a binary address system, T/V/mixed pronoun use was quantitatively analysed using a conditional inference tree and conditional random forest analysis (Hothorn, Hornik, & Zeileis, 2006) using the *party* package (Hothorn, Hornik, van de Wiel, & Zeileis, 2006; Strobl, Boulesteix, Zeileis, & Hothorn, 2007). In the present study, the approach as described by Levshina (2020) was employed, with the exception of the minimal *p*-value criterion (*mincriterion*; standard 0.95, here 0.99) for a stricter data splitting criterion, and *minsplit* (standard 20, here 700) and *minbucket* (standard 7, here 225) due to the large amount of data points. With this method, the complete data set is repeatedly split into smaller subsets with predictor variables specified beforehand. Initially, the most optimal factor (like age of the respondents) is selected to split the data on, after which the next best split is made based on another factor for each of these two new data subsets, and so on, until no significant split can be made anymore in the subset. An assumption of this method is independence of data points. In case this assumption is not met, the *grouping factor* of the data set as a way to deal with this. However, doing so is problematic for factors with a high number of levels (Baayen et al., 2013), which is the case in the current study with data from over 500 participants. Therefore, the choice was made to not include the *grouping factor* as a predictor in the model.

This way, one inference tree is modelled. However, every tree is different, and to ensure that the tree modelled in this analysis gives an accurate representation of the actual factors at play, one can additionally model a conditional random forest. For this analysis, a set number of trees is modelled ( $N = 2000$  in the present study, following Levshina, 2020), after which the 'mean' influence of each

predictor variable for all trees is calculated. The predictor variables included in these analyses are the addressee group/domain (family, education/work, acquaintances, or service encounters), the language (whether it concerns address use in Limburgian or Dutch), and the respondent's age, education level, gender, dialect area of their childhood location (Cleves dialects, *Mich*-quarter, Central Limburgian, East Limburgian, Ripuarian transitional area, or Ripuarian), and current residency location (whether they are currently living in or outside Dutch Limburg).

For the qualitative analyses of the questionnaire, all responses to the open-ended questions concerning the motivation for T/V per addressee were manually coded for themes using a data-driven approach. All results are presented in the next section.

### 3.3 Results

#### 3.3.1 Address pronouns used in Limburgian

Respondents entered a maximum of two address forms, which were meant to represent one form similar to Dutch formal *u* (V) and one similar to informal *jij/je* (T). First, I indicated for each form whether it concerned a V or T form (see van Hout, 2006). Second, all responses were further 'cleaned' to contain only the pronoun. That is, a response like *bisse/biss dig* was changed to '-se/dig' and additional information — for instance, on the context in which this pronoun is to be used — was removed.

Overall, V address was most often expressed with a *g*-form (following the pattern of a *g* in onset position, followed by an apostrophe or a vowel cluster of one to three characters, and potentially a *r/j/y/h* in coda position: *gae/ge/gé/gè/gea/gear/gee/geej/geej/geer/géer/g'r/geey/geh/geij/gej/géj/ger/gèr/gêr/geur/gieër/gier/gij*;  $N = 474$ ). In a small number of cases, a form starting with *d* (*daer/dear/der/dier/dir/d'r/dür/duur*), a form that seemingly originated from German *ihr* (*iehr/ier/uer/uur*), or an object pronoun (*och/uch/uche/ug/uuch*) were entered. T address was generally expressed with a *d*-pronoun (*dich/diech/dieg/dig/do/doe/doé/doo/doow/dow/du*;  $N = 456$ ). Less often, an enclitic form (*-se/-stig*) was mentioned, as in *haesse* instead of *haes dich* 'have you[T]'. What already becomes apparent from these findings is the amount of variation, and also specifically orthographic variation, in Limburgian address pronouns. Respondents not always provided two address forms: in 64 cases only a *g*-form was entered, often perceived as Limburgian V form, and in 17 cases only a *d*-form was entered, which tends to be seen as T. The provided address forms contained both stressed and unstressed forms (resp. *geej* versus *ge* and *dich* versus *de*) and respondents varied in their use of capitalisation for the first character of a form.

Next, I studied the address pronouns entered per city/village, municipality, and dialect area. Since the childhood location is the place where a respondent acquired Limburgian, these place names were used to study which address pronouns are produced by Limburgian speakers. To give the purest reflection of the data, no changes were made to the orthographic representations of the Limburgian T and V forms entered by respondents. Table 6 gives an overview of the forms mentioned by at least three respondents from one place in Limburg. The municipality, dialect area, and number of times these specific forms were mentioned is also indicated. The Ripuarian transitional area is not represented here, since the number of times one set address pronouns was mentioned was never three or more. In case multiple sets of T/V pronouns were entered equally often, the sets were both included (split by a comma). A complete version of this table can be found in Appendix D.

**Table 6**

Address forms entered (by minimally three respondents) per place name, municipality, and dialect area

Place name	Municipality	Dialect area	Address pronouns	<i>N</i>
Broekhuizenvorst	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-	3
Horst	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-	13
Meterik	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-	7
Grubbenvorst	Horst aan de Maas	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich	3
Blerick	Venlo	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich	7
Hout-Blerick	Venlo	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich	3
Velden	Venlo	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich	3
Venlo	Venlo	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich	60
Echt	Echt-Susteren	Central Limburgian	geer-doe, geer-du	3
Maastricht	Maastricht	Central Limburgian	geer-diech	24
Elsloo	Stein	Central Limburgian	geer-dich, geer/uch-dich, geer-dich, geer-doe, geer-du	4
Stein	Stein	Central Limburgian	geer-dich	3
Weert	Weert	Central Limburgian	gae-dich	4
Beek	Beek	East Limburgian	geer-doe	3
Reuver	Beesel	East Limburgian	geur-doe	10
Neer	Leudal	East Limburgian	gae-doe	3
Meerssen	Meerssen	East Limburgian	geer-dich	3
Baarlo	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian	geej-dich	7
Roermond	Roermond	East Limburgian	geer-doe	15
Sittard	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian	geer-doe	7
Valkenburg	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian	geer-doe	3
Belfeld	Venlo	East Limburgian	geej-dow	5
Steyl	Venlo	East Limburgian	geej-dich	3
Tegelen	Venlo	East Limburgian	geej-dich	7
Kerkrade	Kerkrade	Ripuarian	uur-du	3
Landgraaf	Landgraaf	Ripuarian	ier-doe	3

*Note.* Shading used to facilitate differentiation of the six dialect areas, matching colour use in Figure 2.

Looking at the different dialect areas, it becomes clear that only one address pronoun, *geej*, is used in the Cleves dialects, whereas dialects in the other areas do seem to make a binary distinction between a V and T pronoun. Speakers in the *mich*-quarter show consistent use of V pronoun *geej* and T pronoun *dich*. More variation is displayed in the other dialect areas: *geer/gae* (V) versus *doe/du/dich/diech* (T) in Central Limburgian, and *geer/geur/gae/geej* (V) versus *doe/dich/dow* (T) in East Limburgian. Finally, Ripuarian shows clear influences of both German *ihr* (V) and *du* (T), with V pronouns *uur/ier* and T pronouns *du/doe*.

### 3.3.2 Quantitative analyses

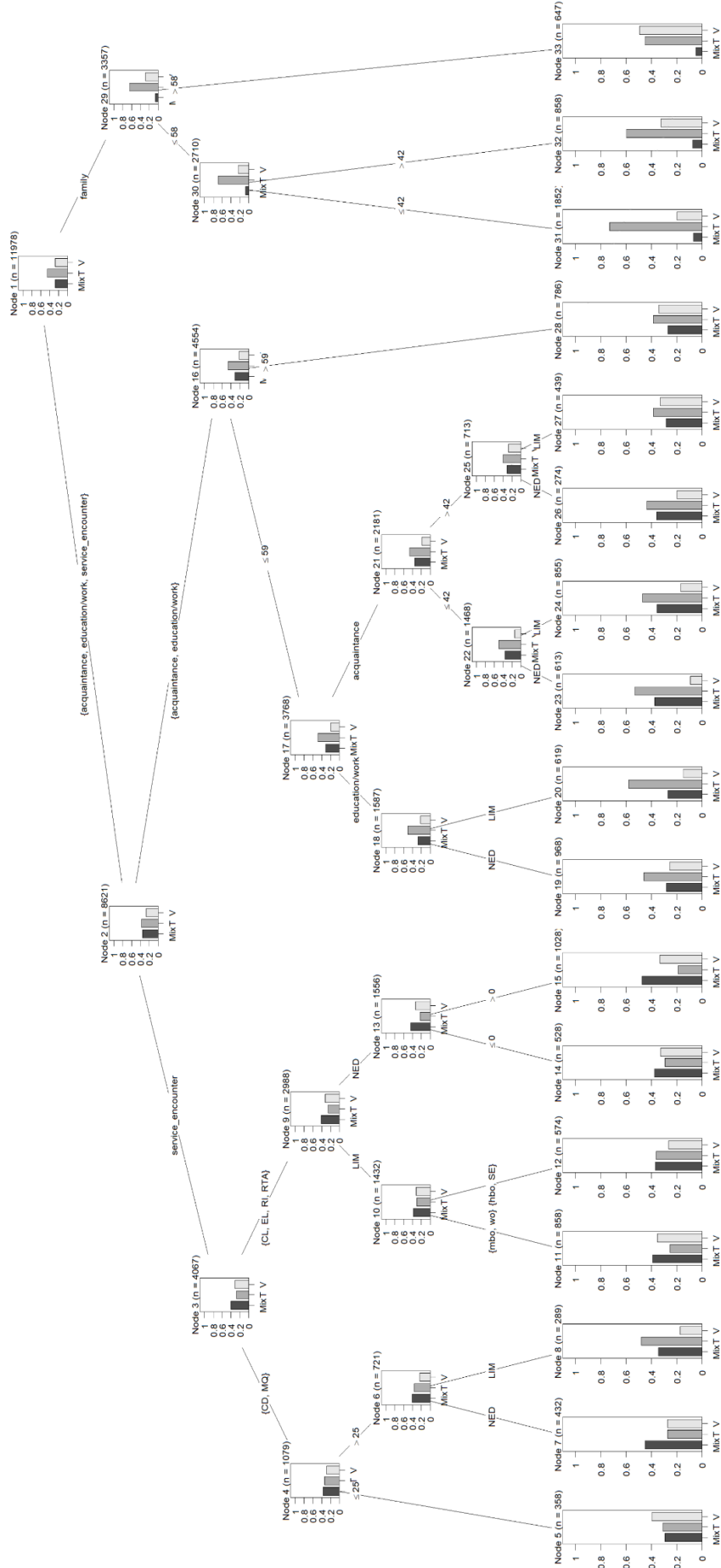
The distribution across the three categories of pronoun use (T/V/mixed) were quantitatively analysed in *R* by modelling a conditional inference tree and a conditional random forest. The results of these analyses are presented below.

### *3.3.2.1 Conditional Inference Tree*

The conditional inference tree for the outcome factor, in this case the distribution across T, V, and mixed pronoun use, is presented in Figure 6. Each node represents a point at which the data are split in two parts, starting with splitting the data based on the largest difference in the data at node 1 (the number of each node is shown in a square at the top of each circle). The graphs shown at the bottom of Figure 6 represent the final nodes of this analysis. The accuracy of this model was .50 for a three-level outcome variable (T/V/mix). Although this is a mediocre accuracy score, the model thus performed better than chance.

**Figure 6**

*Conditional inference tree for the relationship between the use of Limburgian address pronouns and selected predictor variable*



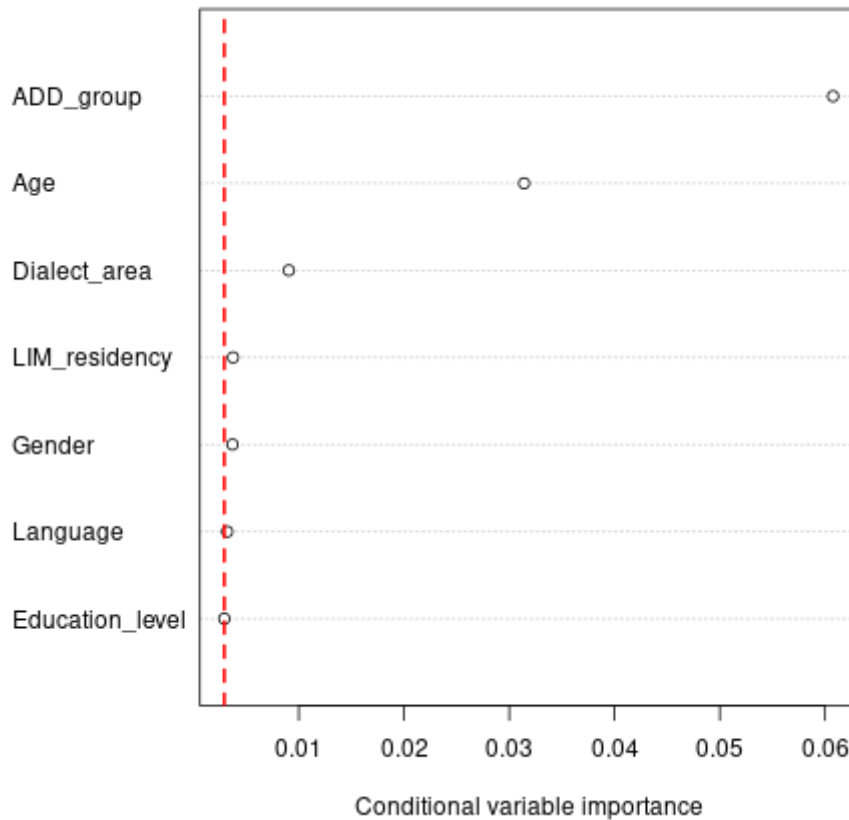
*Note.* Abbreviations for *Dialect area* (CD = Cleves dialects, MQ = Mich-quarter, CL = Central Limburgian, EL = Eastern Limburgian, RI = Ripuarian, RTA = Ripuarian transitional area), *Education level* (Mbo = secondary vocational training, wo = university, hbo = applied university education, SE = secondary education), and *Language* (LIM = Limburgian, NED = Dutch) were used for the sake of visibility.

### 3.3.2.1 Conditional Random Forest

The importance of each predictor/conditional variable of all trees in the conditional random forest taken together are presented in Figure 7.

**Figure 7**

*Conditional variable importance of all predictors in the conditional random forest*



*Note.* Variables with an importance score to the right of the red dotted line are deemed important predictors of the outcome variable.

This figure shows that the domain to which an addressee belongs (*ADD\_group* at the top of the graph) was the most important predictor of T/V/mixed pronoun use, followed by the respondent's age, dialect area, current place of residence (in/outside Limburg), gender, and, finally, language (Limburgian/Dutch) and education level, which hardly seemed to play a role. The accuracy score for this model was .52, again performing better than chance. The effect of each predictor variable on address choice can be interpreted by looking at the conditional inference tree. Regarding addressee domain, family members were addressed with T more often than addressees from other social domains. In addition, older respondents made more use of V for addressees in the *family*, *education/work*, and *acquaintances* domain. Finally, the Cleves dialects and *mich*-quarter area were associated with a higher proportion of T use at the cost of ambivalent address strategies compared to the other dialect areas.

### 3.3.3 Qualitative analyses

All responses to the open-ended questions about motivations for the choice between two address forms were manually coded using ATLAS.ti Windows (24.1.0.30612), a software programme designed for performing qualitative analyses (ATLAS.ti Scientific Software Development GmbH, 2024). First, the data from all 525 participants were imported into the programme, creating 525 separate documents. Each document contained all comments provided by a single respondent. If no further motivations for the choice between multiple address forms were given because the respondent had not selected mixed address option for any of the addressees in both Limburgian and Dutch, the document was empty. Taken together, the 525 respondents provided a total of 3680 free response comments, also including any final remarks entered at the end of the questionnaire.

All comments were manually coded for key words that give an indication of what principles govern the choice between two address forms in case of mixed address pronoun use with a specific addressee. For this purpose, a data-driven approach was employed. With the coding categories defined earlier by Vismans (2013, 2018) and Schoenmakers et al. (forthcoming) and Clyne's (2009) principles driving a switch in address mode in mind as a starting point, senseful coding categories were defined for this particular data set, and the annotation scheme was improved gradually based on new insights found in the data. The final coding scheme was applied to all 3680 free response comments. To facilitate a more efficient coding process, ATLAS.ti offers a 'Search & code' feature with which the user can search for specific text, possibly also multiple text strings combined with an AND or OR operator and apply codes to all hits at once. However, all comments still had to be checked individually, since this way of coding was not always without error and since one comment could contain key words pointing to multiple coding categories. One comment could receive more than one code only if the respondent specifically discussed multiple themes in one comment.

To ensure the reliability of the coding scheme, a second coder provided annotations for ten percent of the data to be able to determine an intercoder reliability score. If respondents mentioned multiple reasons to motivate their choice between two address pronouns, these comments received multiple codes. It could occur that the two coders agreed only partly on the annotations attached to such a comment. One way of determining agreement between both coders was to calculate a percentage of agreement between codes for each comment in such a way that if the coders applied two the same codes out of three, their agreement on this comment was 66.7%. If one coder applied two codes and the other one only selected one of those two, their agreement was 50%. This way of determining the intercoder reliability led to an agreement score of 91.5% between both coders.

If a stricter calculation was applied, which was to score all comments as either 100% agreement between the coders in case their applied codes completely overlapped or 0% in case they did not, the two coders reached an intercoder reliability of 86.2% agreement. Since some coherence between codes could exist, especially between sub codes within a main category, the decision was made to apply the stricter calculation of the agreement between coders as a more pure measure of the intercoder reliability. With this agreement, inter-rater agreement was found to be almost perfect (Landis & Koch, 1977) and yielded a reliability score of Cohen's  $\kappa = .93$  ( $p < .001$ ).

#### 3.3.3.1 Reflections on address pronoun use

The total number of 3680 comments was coded manually to create an overview of what motivations for the choice between address pronouns were provided by the respondents in case they entered two address pronouns. Employing a data-driven approach for the coding process in combination with previous qualitative work on the choice between address pronouns (e.g., Vismans, 2013, 2018; Schoenmakers et al., forthcoming) resulted in a coding scheme made up of eight main themes. All themes, including subthemes, are clarified with examples from the data below. The examples presented in these sections are all unmodified copies of the original comments provided by the respondents. English translations of the comments rather than glosses are provided to render the sense of the examples. For each example,

the language (*LIM* for Limburgian, *NED* for Dutch) and addressee is given, followed by the respondent's number, gender, age, and place where they grew up between brackets, split by a semicolon.

## 1. Addressee identity

The first main theme consists of all comments about the identity of the hearer, relating to characteristics like their age, gender, or position within a company or within the family. Subcategories of this main theme are discussed below.

### *Age*

The category *Age* comprises all comments in which the age of the addressee is mentioned, either focusing on the other's age (see (1a) or on the addressee's age relative to one's own age (see (1b)). At times, respondents even mentioned a specific absolute age (as in (1c)), or a specific relative age, so a number of years the person has to be older than the respondent for the formal address pronoun to be used, as in (1d). Note that if merely 'leeftijd' *age* or 'leeftijdsgebonden' *age-related* was stated, as in (1e), it was also assumed that this concerned the addressee's age. Finally, some respondents commented on the fact that it can be difficult to estimate another's age, as in (1f).

- (1) a. LIM\_motivation\_waitress-waiter (#448; F; 50; Venlo)  
*Afhankelijk vd leeftijd die ik inschat*  
'Depending on the age I estimate'
- b. LIM\_motivation\_neighbour (#318; F; 63; Roermond)  
*Leeftijd: als het iemand betreft die duidelijk ouder is dan ik: geer, anders: doe*  
'Age: if it involves someone clearly older than me: *geer*[V], otherwise: *doe*[T]'
- c. NED\_motivation\_neighbour (#314; F; 27; Panningen)  
*Bij ouder dan 65 ongeveer met u, anders jij*  
'For older than about 65 with *u*[V], otherwise *jij*[T]'
- d. LIM\_motivation\_colleague (#119; M; 27; Belfeld)  
*Oudere collega, 20 of 30 jaar ouder zeg je dear. Anders zeg je doe.*  
'Older colleague, 20 or 30 years older you say *dear*[V]. Otherwise you say *doe*[T].'
- e. NED\_motivation\_neighbour (#194; F; 27; Maastricht)  
*leeftijdsgebonden*  
'age-related'
- f. NED\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#345; F; 36; Panningen)  
*Leeftijd, zover dat in te schatten is aan de telefoon*  
'Age, as far as that can be estimated on the phone'

### *Position*

All remarks about the position of the hearer driving the choice between different address pronouns were coded as *Position*. This position could be related to hierarchy within an enterprise (see (2)). Additionally, it could concern family ties, like how closely related certain family members are to you (3a), to which parent's side of the family this person belongs (3b), and whether they are a member of in-law family or not (3c), although one could argue that the former might also be primarily linked to a difference in age

between great-uncles/aunt and direct uncles/aunts rather than different positions within the family. However, since this was not explicitly mentioned in the comment, I decided to categorise it as *Position*.

- (2) a. NED\_motivation\_supervisor (#348; F; 47; Born)  
*Afhankelijk van de leeftijd en de statuur. Een ouder iemand is u. Een directeur op hoger niveau is u.*  
 ‘Depending on age and stature. An older person is u[V]; a higher-level director is u[V].’
- b. NED\_motivation\_dentist (#362; F; 23; Steyl)  
*Bij de tandarts assistentes zeg ik altijd jij en bij de tandarts zelf u. Bij de tandarts speelt het gevoel van belangrijkheid mee waarom ik u zeg.*  
 ‘With dental assistants, I always say jij[T] and with the dentist himself I say u[V]. With the dentist, the sense of importance plays a role in why I say u[V].’
- (3) a. LIM\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#219; M; 27; Welten)  
*Meestal met 'doe'. Afhankelijk of dit een directe oom/tante betreft, of juist oudoom/oudtante (dan 'dūr/dier') uit respect en beleefdheid.*  
 ‘Usually with doe[T]. Depending on whether this is a direct uncle/aunt, or rather a great-uncle/oudtante (then dūr/ier[V]) out of respect and politeness.’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#416; F; 45; Velden)  
*Afhankelijk van welke kant van de familie*  
 ‘Depends on which side of the family’
- c. LIM\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#165; M; 58; Nieuwenhagen)  
*Aangetrouwde familie is uer*  
 ‘In-law family is uer[V].’

### Gender

Interestingly, a factor that was mentioned multiple times by speakers of Limburgian as a reason for mixed T/V use was the gender of the addressee. In example (4a), we can see that what was earlier defined as the T form, *dich*, is used for female addressees, while *Gee*, usually seen as the more formal V form, is used for male addressees. However, in reflections on this use by a speaker from Weert given in (4b), another division becomes evident: *dich* is the female T form, *gae* is the male T form, and *gae* is also the V form. This suggests that *gae* is polysemous: its orthography as a singular male address form is identical to that of the V form, but the intentions behind its use are distinct. Moreover, in (4c), we see that both male and female addressees can receive *dich*. However, another form (*jea*) might be used, but only to men.

- (4) a. LIM\_motivation\_friend (#502; F; 57; Weert)  
*Dich is vrouwelijk Gee is mannelijk*  
 ‘Dich is female Gee[V] is male’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_colleague (#507; F; 28; Weert)  
*in het stad-weerts wordt dich gebruikt voor vrouwen als jij-vorm, gae voor mannen als jij-vorm, ik zou hier niet snel een u-vorm gebruiken afhankelijk wellicht van de afstand en leeftijd (gae)*  
 ‘in city-weerts, dich[T] is used for women as jij[T]-form, gae[T] for men as jij[T]-form, I would not be quick to use a u[V]-form here depending perhaps on distance and age (gae[V])’

- c. LIM\_motivation\_cousin (#525; M; 73; Weert)  
*Een vrouw met dich. Een man met dich of jea afhankelijk uit welk dorp hij komt.*  
 ‘A woman with *dich*. A man with *dich* or *jea*[T] depending on which village he is from.’

In the example above, not only the addressee's gender, but also their age seems to play a role in the address choice. This becomes apparent in example (5) as well.

- (5) LIM\_motivation\_cousin (#284; M; 65; Weert)  
*Bij jongere vrouw/meisje dich, anders gae*  
 ‘With younger woman/girl *dich*[T], otherwise *gae*[V]’

This example shows that the respondent distinguishes between younger women and all other people when selecting an adequate address pronoun. However, this is not true for all respondents who make a difference between addressing male and female hearers, which becomes apparent in example (6). Here, we can see that gender, but not age, is a factor underlying the choice for an address pronoun.

- (6) LIM\_motivation\_cousin (#237; F; 58; Nederweert)  
*tegen alle vrouwen zeggen we in nederweert 'dich'*  
*tegen alle mannen 'gae' (dus jong en oud, mijn neefje van 12 ook bv)*  
 ‘to all women we say *dich*[T] in nederweert  
 to all men *gae*[V] (so young and old, my 12-year-old nephew too, for example)’

Moreover, just like the variety in Limburgian address pronouns in general, there are also regional differences to be found in the specific address pronouns used for male versus female conversational partners. Until now, we have seen the use of *dich* versus *gae*, but a novel distribution is introduced in example (7): *dich*, *jea*, or *gea*. The binary distinction in address forms is challenged here by a threefold differentiation within the address system, namely one form for women, one form for men, and another for both women and men of an older age.

- (7) LIM\_motivation\_waitress-waiter (#525; M; 73; Weert)  
*Vrouw met dich. Man met jea. Oudere vrouw of man met Gea.*  
 ‘Woman with *dich*[T]. Man with *jea*[T]. Older woman or man with *Gea*[V].’

Already looking at one of the general remarks due to its relevance to the current category, another factor (besides age) challenging a true binary gender distinction is the relation between speaker and hearer. In example (8), we can see the same three address forms are used (*gea*, *jea*, and *dich*), but siblings are addressed with the same pronoun (*dich*) regardless of their gender.

- (8) Remarks (#525; M; 73; Weert)  
*De aanspreekvormen zijn per dorp verschillend. Over het algemeen kun je stellen dat Gea overeenkomt met U. Het Nederlandse jij veranderd in jea voor een man en dich voor een vrouw. Broer en zus spreek je aan met dich.*  
 ‘The forms of address vary from village to village. In general, you can say that *Gea*[V] corresponds to *U*[V]. The Dutch *jij*[T] changes to *jea*[T] for a man and *dich*[T] for a woman. Brother and sister are addressed with *dich*[T].’

This raises the question what the reason for any difference made in addressing another based on the other's gender is. Is it related to a different status for male and female members of society, and is the use of the (in general seen as the) more formal pronoun of address *geej/gae/gea* for male hearers a way of subsequently showing more respect for men (for a study that found lower professional respect for men than for women in leadership positions, see Wolfram, Mohr, & Schyns, 2007)? Or is this choice based not merely on the other person's gender, but also on the quality of the relationship that exists between the two conversational partners as a result of that? An example supporting this idea is given in (9), which is also the only response provided for Dutch rather than Limburgian address forms.

- (9) NED\_motivation\_dentist (#9; M; 61; Nuth)  
*Afhankelijk van vertrouwelijkheid. Nu ben ik dat meer met vrouwen dan met mannen, dus vrouw eerder jij.*  
 ‘Depends on confidentiality. Since I am more confidential with women than with men, woman rather *jij*[T].’

### *Descent*

The subcategory *Descent* contains comments about where the addressee comes from, albeit distinguishing people from within or outside the Netherlands (as in (10)), from Limburg versus non-Limburg (see (11)), or from different places in Limburg (see (12); example (4c) repeated here as (12d)).

- (10) a. NED\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#289; M; 33; Maasbree)  
*Dat hangt/hing af van de persoon. Bij de ouders van Afghaanse vrienden voel ik altijd enige afstand en is het contact ook iets minder amicaal, mogelijk door de culturele of taalverschillen, en vind ik het netter om ze met u aan te spreken. Bij ouders van vrienden in Nederland zijn geboren en die ik al lange tijd ken, is die afstand er niet. Die spreek ik altijd aan met jij*  
 ‘It depends/depended on the person. With the parents of Afghan friends, I always feel some distance and the contact is also slightly less amicable, possibly due to cultural or language differences, and I find it more polite to address them with *u*[V]. With parents of friends born in the Netherlands and whom I have known for a long time, there is no such distance. I always address them as *jij*[T].’
- b. NED\_motivation\_colleague (#424; M; 46; Venlo)  
*Mijn Belgische collega spreek ik met u aan, omdat dit in België gebruikelijk is*  
 ‘I address my Belgian colleague with *u*[V], because this is customary in Belgium’
- (11) NED\_motivation\_waitress-waiter (#438; M; 78; Belfeld)  
*Limburgse jij*  
*Nederlandse u*  
 ‘Limburgian *jij*[T]  
 Dutch *u*[V].’
- (12) a. LIM\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#53; F; 48; Horn)  
*In midden-Limburgs zeg ik wel dich maar tegen noord-Limburgse ooms en tantes zeg ik Geej*  
 ‘In middle Limburg I say *dich*[T] but to northern Limburgian uncles and aunts I say *Geej*[V].’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_home-service-provider (#270; F; 24; Horst)  
*Of de persoon in kwestie het horster dialect tegen me spreekt (geej) of een ander dialect in de buurt (dich)*  
 ‘Whether the person in question speaks the Horster dialect to me (*geej*[V]) or another dialect nearby (*dich*[T]).’
- c. LIM\_motivation\_friend (#499; M; 20; Blerick)  
*Locatie afhankelijk, dich in Venlo en omstreken, geej in Horst of Sevenum*  
 ‘Location dependent, *dich*[T] in Venlo and surrounding areas, *geej*[V] in Horst or Sevenum’
- d. LIM\_motivation\_cousin (#525; M; 73; Weert)  
*Een vrouw met dich. Een man met dich of jea afhankelijk uit welk dorp hij komt.*  
 ‘A woman with *dich*[T]. A man with *dich*[T] or *jea*[T] depending on which village he is from.’

The last four examples clearly show evidence of regional differences in how speakers of Limburgian address one another, but also, maybe even more importantly, respondents' awareness of the existence of this variation across Limburg. They distinctly mention that their mode of address depends on where the addressee is from, specifying that *dich* would be used in Venlo and surrounding areas, and *geej* in Horst and its environs.

### *Unclear*

Any remarks that do not clearly denote one of the subthemes mentioned above, but that certainly mention the identity of the addressee as a motivation for the address pronoun choice were included in the subcategory *Unclear*. This category contains, amongst other things, comments along the lines of whether the addressee speaks Limburgian or not without any further clarification. In this case, it is unclear whether the respondent actually discriminates between people that do and do not speak Limburgian in their use of either Dutch or Limburgian address pronouns, or whether they might have misunderstood the question, and are making a distinction between their address pronoun use in Limburgian and in Dutch (using Limburgian pronouns for speakers of Limburgian and Dutch pronouns for non-speakers of Limburgian). In the latter case, their comments do not concern reasons for the choice between V and T pronouns in one of the two languages and are thus not relevant to the current study. Examples of this category are presented in (13) and (14).

- (13) NED\_motivation\_home-service-encounter (#185; M; 52; Maashees)  
*ligt aan de leeftijd en of hij/zij een Limburger is*  
 'depends on the age and whether he/she is a Limburgian person'
- (14) NED\_motivation\_home-service-encounter (#246; M; 70; Neer)  
*spreekt de persoon geen limburgs maar is hij amicaal en toegankelijk dan zal ik hem denk ik met jij aanspreken*  
 'if the person does not speak Limburgian but he is amicable and approachable then I think I will address him with *jij*[T]'

## **2. Addressee behaviour**

The second main theme contains all comments made by respondents relating to how the addressee acts rather than to the specific aspects of their identity mentioned earlier. This category is split up further into the addressee's attitude, their permission/preference, and reciprocal use of address forms.

### *Attitude*

Any expressions of which attitude the addressee adopts towards the respondent was listed in the category *Attitude*. On the one hand, if the addressee displayed a positive attitude (e.g., friendly or approachable) toward the respondent, this facilitated the use of an informal address form, as in (15).

- (15) a. NED\_motivation\_home-service-encounter (#112; F; 34; Landgraaf)  
*In eerste instantie zeg ik u. Het hangt ook af van hoe joviaal zo iemand is. Dan tutoyeren we al gauw.*  
 'Initially, I say *u*[V]. It also depends on how jovial such a person is. Then we use *jij*[T] pretty soon.'
- b. LIM\_motivation\_teacher (#274; M; 18; Obbicht)  
*Hoe de band met die specifieke docent is. Sommige docenten zijn amicaler dan andere, dus daar kan ik "du" tegen zeggen.*

‘How the relationship with that particular teacher is. Some teachers are more amicable than others, so I can say *du*[T] to them.’

On the other hand, if the addressee displayed a more formal or distant attitude, the respondent felt more inclined to also address this person more formally, as in (16).

- (16) a. NED\_motivation\_teacher (#232; M; 33; Meterik)  
*Dat ligt eraan hoe ze tegen mij praten. Als het mensen zijn die heel formeel praten gebruik ik u, anders jij.*  
‘That depends on how they talk to me. If they are people who talk very formally I use *u*[V], otherwise *jij*[T].’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#260; F; 21; Susteren)  
*Geer als ze ouder of netjes zijn, doe als ik ze goed ken.*  
‘*Geer*[V] if they are older or decent, *doe*[T] if I know them well.’

At times, the particular attitude displayed by the addressee and the subsequent manner of addressing this person were not made explicit. However, it was clear that these comments, like the ones in (17), were about the attitude of the other as a cause for using one pronoun of address or the other.

- (17) a. LIM\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#354; F; 20; Stein)  
*ik begin met geer, afhankelijk van de vibes van de ander ga ik wel/niet over op du*  
‘I start with *geer*[V], depending on the vibes of the other I will/won't switch to *du*[T]’
- b. NED\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#507; F; 28; Weert)  
*hoe goed ik ze ken, hoe oud ze zijn, hoe ze overkomen*  
‘how well I know them, how old they are, how they come across’

In contrast, one respondent also mentioned to deal with a certain attitude in the opposite manner than one would expect, namely to address someone who is acting arrogant or unkind in a more informal way, as displayed in (18).

- (18) a. NED\_motivation\_waitress-waiter (#204; F; 26; Bunde)  
*Leeftijd (oud is 55+ en u) en of iemand uit de hoogte doet dan zeg ik je om de afstand te verkleinen*  
‘Age (old is 55+ and *u*[V]) and whether someone is acting out then I say *je*[T] to reduce distance’
- b. NED\_motivation\_home-service-encounter (#204; F; 26; Bunde)  
*hangt af van de houding van de persoon, vriendelijk gezicht: U en onaardig je om afstand te verkleinen*  
‘Depends on the person's attitude, friendly face: *U*[V] and unfriendly *je*[T] to reduce distance’

### *Permission/preference*

Respondents also commented on using a different form of address if the addressee indicated to allow or prefer a certain address form (usually more informal T, see (19)), as well as on the agreement that two conversational partners come to together in terms of the address form used, possibly after the speaker asks whether it is allowed to use T (see (20)).

- (19) a. LIM\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#34; F; 41; Belfeld)  
*Vrijwel altijd dow tenzij ik hem/haar nog niet ken. Dan begin in met geej en dan zeggen ze eigenlijk altijd dat ik dow mag zeggen.*  
 ‘Almost always *dow*[T] unless I don't know him/her yet. Then I start with *geej*[V] and then they actually always say I can say *dow*[T].’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_general-practitioner (#318; F; 63; Roermond)  
*Ik heb 2 huisartsen. De ene ken ik al heel lang en hem spreek ik aan met 'doe', de andere, die weliswaar een stuk jonger is maar die ik nog maar net ken, spreek ik aan met 'geer'. Vooral ook omdat zij mij ook aanspreekt met 'geer'. Als ze me zou voorstellen elkaar te tutoyeren, zou ik wel 'doe' kunnen zeggen.*  
 ‘I have 2 general practitioners. One I have known for a long time and I address him as *doe*[T], the other, who is a lot younger but whom I have only just met, I address as *geer*[V]. Especially because she also addresses me as *geer*[V]. If she were to suggest to say *doe*[T] to each other, I could say *doe*[T].’
- c. LIM\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#448; F; 50; Venlo)  
*Als ik weet dat die dich prettiger vinden dan zeg ik dich, anders altijd geej*  
 ‘If I know that they find *dich*[T] more pleasant then I say *dich*[T], otherwise always *geej*[V]’
- (20) a. NED\_motivation\_colleague (#312; F; 69; Roermond)  
*De oudere collega met "U", in overleg ga ik "jij" zeggen.*  
 ‘The older colleague with *u*[V], by mutual agreement I'll start saying *jij*[T].’
- b. NED\_motivation\_teacher (#521; F; 57; Bunde)  
*Vroeger meestal met u omdat dat gewent was tegenwoordig meer met jij. Het is voor mij vaak n gevoelskwestie, ik vraag meestal om te tutoyeren.*  
 ‘In the past usually with *u*[V] because that was desired nowadays more with *jij*[T]. It is often a matter of intuition for me, I usually ask to use *jij*[T].’

### *Reciprocal*

The final subcategory of this theme concerns the situation in which the respondent mentioned to copy their conversational partner's choice for an address pronoun. Usually, the use of T by the other person ensures that the speaker feels allowed to respond in a more informal way as well. In (21), examples of responses exhibiting this situation are provided.

- (21) a. NED\_motivation\_dentist (#69; M; 71; Roermond)  
*hij begon met tutoyeren*  
 ‘He started using *jij*[T]’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#161; M; 29; Landgraaf)  
*Meestal afhankelijk van de leeftijd, ook wel afhankelijk van of iemand met tutoyeren begint (dan voelt het als: nu mag je het ook terug doen)*  
 ‘Usually depends on age, also depends on whether someone starts with using *jij*[T] (then it feels like: now you can also do it back)’
- c. NED\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#275; F; 77; Haelen)  
*die spreekt mij vaak met 'jij' aan en dan vind ik het gek om haar met u aan te spreken.*  
 ‘they often address me with *jij*[T] and then I find it strange to address her with *u*[V].’

### 3. Relation

Rather than merely focusing on the addressee, respondents also commented on their relationship with the addressee. Different subcategories within this theme are discussed below.

#### *Familiarity*

In case respondents mentioned to differentiate in address use between familiar addressees and strangers, the comment was coded as *Familiarity*. Being either familiar or unfamiliar with a person in turn affects the pronoun used to address this person, as becomes apparent in (22). In (23), respondents also mentioned to take the age of the unfamiliar person into account. Note that for mentions of the degree to which the respondent knows the person rather than simply being familiar or unfamiliar with the other, we turn to the next subcategory within this theme.

- (22) a. NED\_motivation\_dentist (#4; M; 52; Grubbenvorst)  
*Mijn eigen tandarts met jij. Een invaller of nieuwe tandarts met U*  
'My own dentist with *jij*[T]. A substitute or new dentist with *U*[V]'
- b. LIM\_motivation\_home-service-provider (#187; M; 56; Maastricht)  
*Deze ken je meestal niet en uit beleefdheid is het dan 'Geer'.*  
'You usually don't know them and out of courtesy it's *Geer*[V] then.'
- (23) a. LIM\_motivation\_home-service-provider (#118; F; 63; Mechelen)  
*Onbekend iemand zeg je dear vooral als ze ouder of evenoud zijn. Jonger iemand zeg je sneller doe.*  
'To an unfamiliar person you say *dear*[V] especially if they are older or the same age. To a younger person you are quicker to say *doe*[T].'
- b. NED\_motivation\_general-practitioner (#318; F; 63; Roermond)  
*Mijn eigen huisarts spreek ik aan met 'jij' omdat we elkaar goed kennen, maar als het een vreemde huisarts is, zou ik degene, ongeacht leeftijd, aanspreken met 'u'*  
'I address my own general practitioner with *jij*[T] because we know each other well, but if it is an unfamiliar general practitioner, I would address them, regardless of age, with *u*[V]'
- c. NED\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#410; F; 37; Venlo)  
*Beleefdheidsvorm u omdat je de persoon niet kent. Maar als het een jonger persoon is, gebruik ik je.*  
'Polite form *u*[V] because you don't know the person. But if it's a younger person, I use *je*[T].'

#### *Quality*

Respondents also mentioned the quality of the relationship between respondent and addressee to play a role, that is, comments about how well the respondent knows the addressee (see (24a)), how good the relationship is (see (24b)), what type of relationship it is (e.g., formal or amicable, as in (24c)), how often they have seen the person or for how long they have known them (see (24d and 24e)), the level of closeness they experience with this person (see (24f)), and so on.

- (24) a. LIM\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#252; F; 26; Helden)  
*ligt eraan hoe goed ik de ouders ken (goed = doe, niet goed = geej)*  
'depends on how well I know the parents (well = *doe*[T], not well = *geej*[V])'

- b. LIM\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#272; M; 22; Offenbeek)  
*De oom en tante waarmee ik een betere band heb, spreek ik vaak met 'doe' aan, de rest meestal met 'geej'*  
 ‘The uncle and aunt with whom I have a better relationship I often address with *doe*[T], the others usually with *geej*[V].’
- c. NED\_motivation\_teacher (#367; M; 42; Kelpen-Oler)  
*Leeftijd en amicale of zakelijke band*  
 ‘Age and amicable or formal relationship’
- d. LIM\_motivation\_friend-of-a-parent (#112; F; 34; Landgraaf)  
*Hoelang ik die persoon ken en hoe vaak ik die persoon zie. Als ik kennissen van mijn ouders één keer in de zoveel jaar zie, zal ik eerder 'ier' zeggen.*  
 ‘For how long I have known that person and how often I see that person. If I see acquaintances of my parents once every few years, I am more likely to say *ier*[V].’
- e. NED\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#413; M; 25; Velden)  
*Ouders van vrienden die ik in het Nederlands aanspreek wonen vaak buiten Limburg (anders zou ik Limburgs met ze spreken), hierdoor zie ik ze heel weinig tot nooit, waardoor de relatie erg pril met ze is en ik uit beleefdheid u zou gebruiken.*  
 ‘Parents of friends whom I address in Dutch often live outside Limburg (otherwise I would speak Limburgian to them), because of this I see them very little to never, so the relationship with them is very young and I would use *u*[V] out of politeness.’
- f. LIM\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#236; F; 53; Simpelveld)  
*Mate van afstandelijkheid gevoelsmatig*  
 ‘Degree of distance felt’

### *Dynamic*

All comments relating to a shift in T/V use as a result of a changing relationship with the addressee over time were coded as *Dynamic* (examples presented in (25)). Note that in case both familiarity or quality of the relationship and a dynamic relationship are mentioned, this instance is only coded as *Dynamic*, as what is seen as the main reason for using either T or V is the dynamic aspect of the comment, which signifies a switch in the address pronoun used. Remarks in which an initial use of one pronoun when meeting a person and a subsequent switch to another pronoun is mentioned were also included in this category, as becoming more familiar with a person then led to a different mode of address.

- (25) a. NED\_motivation\_service-encounter (#14; M; 37; Meerssen)  
*U bij kennismaking. Komt een dienstverlener vaker dan jij.*  
 ‘*U*[V] upon acquaintance. If a service provider visits more often than *jij*[T].’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_waitress-waiter (#98; M; 51; Gulpen)  
*Ik gebruik der meestal standaard als ik iemand niet ken, tenzij deze persoon echt duidelijk jonger is (als in tientallen jaren). Maar dan begin ik nog vaak in eerste instantie met der, maar ben ik eerder geneigd om op du over te stappen, dan wanneer het leeftijdsverschil klein is, of wanneer iemand ouder is.*  
 ‘I usually use *der*[V] by default when I don't know someone, unless the person is really obviously younger (as in decades). But then I still often start with *der*[V] initially, but am more likely to switch to *du*[T], than when the age difference is small, or when someone is older.’

- c. LIM\_motivation\_neighbour (#368; F; 25; Elsloo)  
*Geer bij eerste kennismaking of oudere buurman/buurvrouw (senior). Dus vooral uit beleefdheid. Bij buurman/buurvrouw van gemiddelde leeftijd gewoon dich.*  
'Geer[V] at first introduction or older neighbor (senior). So mostly out of politeness. With average-aged neighbor just *dich*[T].'
- d. NED\_motivation\_dentist (#459; F; 25; Venlo)  
*Begonnen met u maar ken hem al langer dus nu jij*  
'Started with *u*[V] but have known him for longer so now *jij*[T].'
- e. LIM\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#496; M; 61; Heythuysen)  
*geh in het begin van het gesprek. Later met dich omdat je haar kende en omdat ze daar zelf om vroeg om te tutoyeren*  
'geh[V] in the beginning of the conversation. Later with *dich*[T] because you knew her and because she asked herself to be addressed with *dich*[T].'

#### *Unspecified*

A comment was included in the subcategory *Unspecified* in case the relationship with the addressee is mentioned in a general sense, not specifically describing any particular aspect of the connection, which is illustrated in examples (26a) to (26e).

- (26) a. NED\_motivation\_supervisor (#81; M; 65; Maastricht)  
*Afhankelijk van de relatie*  
'Depends on the relationship'
- b. LIM\_motivation\_home-service-provider (#157; F; 50; Koningsbosch)  
*Ligt aan de verstandhouding en leeftijd*  
'Depends on the relationship and age'
- c. NED\_motivation\_teacher (#415; M; 42; Venlo)  
*afhankelijk van leeftijd en onderlinge relatie*  
'depends on age and relationship'
- d. NED\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#466; M; 26; Venlo)  
*Situatie en band met oom/tante*  
'Situation and relation with uncle/aunt'
- e. NED\_motivation\_dentist (#470; M; 60; Venray)  
*Afhankelijk van t soort contact*  
'Depends on the type of contact'

#### **4. Speaker**

All comments that contained information relating to characteristics of the speaker were included in this category. The subcategories associated with this main theme are clarified below.

##### *Age*

The age of the speaker, which in this case is the respondent who completed the questionnaire, is a deciding factor for which pronoun of address to use, suggesting that this use changed over time as the speaker got older. This change can take different directions, like using informal *dich* as a child and more

formal *geej* at an older age, as shown in (27). Examples (28a) and (28b), however, show the opposite shift. Additionally, some respondents did not elaborate on the particular change in address form use over time (see (29)).

- (27) a. LIM\_motivation\_grandmother (#7; F; 32; Baarlo)  
*Als kind dich, later geej*  
 ‘As a child *dich*[T], later *geej*[V]’
- (28) a. LIM\_motivation\_mother (#81; M; 65; Maastricht)  
*Dat had met mijn leeftijd te maken. Toen ik ouder werd ging het naar verloop van tijd van "geer" naar "diech"*  
 ‘That had to do with my age. As I got older, over time it went from *geer*[V] to *diech*[T].’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_father (#254; M; 47; Heel)  
*In de kinderjaren met 'geer', rondom 14/15e levensjaar is dit naar 'du' veranderd*  
 ‘During childhood with *geer*[V], around the age of 14/15 this changed to *du*[T]’
- (29) a. LIM\_motivation\_neighbour (#283; F; 32; Kessel-Eik)  
*Eigen leeftijd en die van de burens*  
 ‘My own age and the neighbours’ age’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_neighbour (#443; M; 56; Venlo)  
*Afhankelijk hoe oud ze zijn en hoe oud ik zelf op dat moment ben/was*  
 ‘Depends on how old they are and how old I am/was myself at that time’

#### *Expected permission/preference*

Rather than discussing the address pronoun the hearer has stated to allow or prefer, which is true for the category permission/preference belonging to the *Addressee behaviour* theme, this category consists of comments about the expectation of which address pronoun the hearer values. Examples are presented in (30).

- (30) a. NED\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#6; F; 55; Swalmen)  
*Ik gebruik meestal jij, maar als ik denk dat degene meer formeel wil worden aangesproken of een stuk ouder is gebruik ik u*  
 ‘I usually use *jij*[T], but if I think the person wants to be addressed more formally or is a lot older I use *u*[V]’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_neighbour (#308; F; 29; Reuver)  
*Afhankelijk van welke buur het is, hoe goed ik ze ken, en mijn eigen inschatting van wat ik denk dat zij kunnen waarderen*  
 ‘Depending on which neighbour it is, how well I know them, and my own assessment of what I think they can appreciate’

#### *Feeling*

The category *Feeling* comprises all mentions of the choice for an address mode being driven by, possibly amongst other aspects, the speaker’s intuition for using a certain pronoun. What this feeling or intuition is based on was often not clarified by the respondents. Examples are shown in (31).

- (31) a. NED\_motivation\_dentist (#240; M; 60; Heythuysen)  
*Eigen tandarts jij*  
*Vreemde op gevoel u of jij*  
 ‘Own dentist *jij*
- Stranger by instinct *u*[V] or *jij*[T]’
- b. NED\_motivation\_general-practitioner (#382; M; 83; Tegelen)  
*In de goede verstandhouding met de huisarts zeg ik altijd jij. Als ik me onzeker of erg ziek voel gebruik ik ook wel u*  
 ‘On good terms with the doctor, I always say *jij*[T]. If I feel uncertain or very ill I could also use *u*[V]’

### *Taught*

Whenever respondents commented on their address pronoun use being the result of how they were taught to address another, for instance by their parents or at school, this was coded as *Taught*. See (32) for examples of this category.

- (32) a. LIM\_motivation\_friend-of-a-parent (#27; M; 19; Beek)  
*Ik gebruik Geer als ik ze niet ken of als mijn ouders me dat instrueren, ik gebruik Doe als ze vaker langkomen of als ik ze wel ken*  
 ‘I use *Geer*[V] if I do not know them or if my parents instruct me to, I use *Doe*[T] if they visit more often or if I do know them’
- b. NED\_motivation\_teacher (#88; F; 29; Geleen)  
*Uit respect voor een docerende functie en omdat het "etiquette" is zeg ik tegen een docent "u" tenzij de docent mij verbetert*  
 ‘Out of respect for a teaching position and because it is etiquette I say *u*[V] to a teacher unless the teacher corrects me’

### *Formality*

If a respondent mentioned wanting to express a certain degree of formality towards the addressee, for instance because of the relationship (see (33a)), or because of the addressee’s age or position (as in (33b)), this was coded as *Formality*. This category falls under the main theme *Speaker*, since it reflects the respondent’s idea of an adequate address strategy. Contrastively, if the respondent reported using a T pronoun because another pronoun feels too formal, as in (33c), the comment was also included in this subtheme.

- (33) a. LIM\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#90; F; 35; Landgraaf)  
*Iehr is beleefder en formeler. Op het moment dat mensen bekender zijn dan kan het informeler*  
 ‘*Iehr*[V] is more polite and formal. The moment people are more familiar then it can be more informal’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_home-service-provider (#206; F; 37; Slek)  
*Geer is formelere, respectvol vanwege leeftijd of beroep. Doe is informeel, voor leeftijdsgenoten.*  
 ‘*Geer*[V] is more formal, respectful because of age or profession. *Doe*[T] is informal, for peers.’
- c. NED\_motivation\_neighbour (#426; F; 39; Venlo)  
*Hoofdzakelijk leeftijd; als deze een stuk ouder is, dan kies ik voor u. In andere gevallen voelt u heel formeel en kan ik ook kiezen voor je.*

‘Mainly age; if this person is much older, I choose *u*[V]. In other cases, *u*[V] feels very formal and I may also choose *je*[T].’

### *Politeness*

Similar to *formality*, this subtheme comprises all comments in which the respondent has indicated that the choice for an address form depends on a feeling of courtesy, which is true for the examples in (34). This also includes the mere mentioning of politeness or the polite form of address, as in (35), since this implies that the choice for a pronoun is based on wanting to express politeness or not.

- (34) a. LIM\_motivation\_hairdresser (#260; F; 21; Susteren)  
*Meestal gebruik ik doe maar als ik de kapper niet goed ken wil ik liever net zijn en dan gebruik ik geer.*  
‘Usually I use *doe*[T] but if I don't know the hairdresser well I prefer to be polite and then I use *geer*[V].’
- b. NED\_motivation\_grandmother (#446; F; 22; Venlo)  
*Uit beleefdheid starten met u, daarna vaak goedkeur om je te zeggen*  
‘Start with *u*[V] out of politeness, then often approval to say *je*[T]’
- (35) a. LIM\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#212; M; 68; Maastricht)  
*Beleefdheid*  
‘Politeness’
- b. NED\_motivation\_father (#186; F; 37; Oirsbeek)  
*Beleefdheidsvorm*  
‘Polite form’

### *Respect*

Again, similar to *formality*, for all comments in this subtheme, a respondent has referred to expressing respect to the addressee by using a certain address form. Once more, the choice is based on the speaker’s need to address the hearer in a respectful way because of their age (see 36a)), their position (see (36b)), or the speaker’s relationship with them (see (36c)).

- (36) a. LIM\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#305; F; 40; Belfeld)  
*Een ouder iemand spreek je met geej aan uit respect*  
‘You address an older person with *geej*[V] out of respect’
- b. NED\_motivation\_doctor’s-assistant (#305; F; 40; Belfeld)  
*Uit respect voor voor iemand met die functie*  
‘Out of respect for someone with that function’
- c. NED\_motivation\_doctor’s-assistant (#421; F; 63; Venlo)  
*Respectvol u tenzij ik ze beter ken en zij mij ook kennen, dan jij*  
‘Respectful *u*[V] unless I know them better and they know me too, then *jij*[T]’

### Other

All remaining comments that did specifically include some reference to the speaker's choice for an adequate address form but were not covered by the above subcategories were coded as *other*. Some examples can be found below in (37).

- (37) a. LIM\_motivation\_dentist (#164; F; 26; Landgraaf)  
*Afhankelijk van toeval, als ik eenmaal met de ene variant begin in het gesprek, dan houd ik dat meestal aan*  
'Depends on coincidence, once I start with one variation in the conversation, I usually stick to it'
- b. NED\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#204; F; 26; Bunde)  
*Is maar net wat me op dst moment invalt. Soms ben ik al een hele dag aan het praten met klanten met u en dan zeg ik ook u*  
'It's just what comes to mind at that moment. Sometimes I have been talking to customers all day with *u*[V] and then I also say *u*[V]'
- c. LIM\_motivation\_grandmother (#396; F; 25; Beek)  
*Ene oma wel, andere niet (gewenning)*  
'With one grandmother yes, with the other one not (habituation)'

### 5. Context

The category *Context* comprises all comments about the situation in which respondent and addressee find themselves. This situation can, for instance, be related to the type of setting or conversation (e.g., formal/informal, as in (38), or in real life/on the phone, as in (39)).

- (38) a. LIM\_motivation\_supervisor (#308; F; 29; Reuver)  
*In formelere gevallen geur, in informele/gezellige momenten met doe*  
'In formal situations *geur*[V], in informal/cosy moments with *doe*[T]'
- b. LIM\_motivation\_teacher (#403; M; 25; Maastricht)  
*In formele situaties Geer (vonden vaakst plaats). Uitzondering bij schoolcabaret, waar het informeler was. Op basisschool wel meer Diech gebruikt.*  
'In formal situations *Geer*[V] (took place most often). Exception is school cabaret, where it was more informal. In elementary school I did use *Diech*[T] more often.'
- (39) a. LIM\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#128; M; 32; Stein)  
*Of ik de assistente in persoon of aan de telefoon spreek*  
'Whether I speak to the assistant in person or on the phone'
- b. LIM\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#336; F; 33; Sint Geertruid)  
*Aan de telefoon zou ik u zeggen, maar als ik op locatie zie dat ze mijn leeftijd of jonger is zou ik tutoyeren.*  
'On the phone I would say *u*[V], but if I see that they are my age or younger on location, I would use *jij*[T].'

Respondents also commented on the location where the conversation is taking place, including comments about varying address practices between teachers/schools (see (40)), or between locations (see (41)). Interestingly, one respondent also discussed adjusting their dialect (and consequently their way of addressing another) to the variety of Limburgian spoken at their workplace (see (42)), which shows awareness of regional differences.

- (40) a. NED\_motivation\_teacher (#517; X; 29; Roggel)  
*Op de basisschool spraken we leraren aan met de voornaam en jij. Op de middelbare was het achternaam en u. Op de bacheloropleiding ook achternaam/u, en op de master weer voornaam/jij.*  
 ‘In elementary school, we addressed teachers by first name and *jij*[T]. In high school it was last name and *u*. [V] In undergraduate school it was also last name/*u*[V], and in graduate school it was first name/*jij*[T] again.’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_teacher (#354; F; 20; Stein)  
*middelbare schooldocenten geer, maar andere docenten (muziek, hobby) du*  
 ‘high school teachers *geer*[V], but other teachers (music, hobby) *du*[T]’
- (41) a. NED\_motivation\_waitress-waiter (#188; M; 22; Reuver)  
*Wederom afhankelijk van de setting, een chiquere plek krijgt u, waar een bruine kroeg meer de "jij" krijgt*  
 ‘Again depending on the setting, a fancier place gets *u*[V], whereas a brown pub gets *jij*[T] more’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_supervisor (#393; M; 24; Maastricht)  
*Situatie, op de werkvloer formeel daarbuiten informeel*  
 ‘Situation, in the workplace formal outside informal’  
 ‘On the phone I would say *u*[V], but if I see that they are my age or younger on location, I would use *jij*[T].’
- (42) LIM\_motivation\_colleague (#499; M; 20; Blerick)  
*Ik woonde in Blerick, maar werkte in Horst, waar enkel 'geej' gebruikt wordt dus koos ik ervoor dat dialect over te nemen als ik daar was, maar soms sprak ik Venloos dialect erdoorheen*  
 ‘I used to live in Blerick, but worked in Horst, where only *geej*[V] is used so I chose to adopt that dialect when I was there, but sometimes I would mix it with the Venlo dialect’

Additionally, the company present during the interaction seemed to matter, that is, whether it is a private or public conversation, which is illustrated in (43).

- (43) a. NED\_motivation\_grandmother (#23; M; 23; Venlo)  
*Ofer anderen aanwezig zijn*  
 ‘Whether there are other people present’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#156; M; 59; Berg en Terblijt)  
*Privé is Dich; publiek is Géer*  
 ‘Private is *Dich*[T]; public is *Géer*[V]’

As a final note, some respondents mentioned adhering to the address mode practiced by other people in a certain context, like within a company or family. This is illustrated in the examples in (44).

- (44) a. NED\_motivation\_teacher (#20; F; 50; Tegelen)  
*Leeftijd en wat gebruikelijk is binnen de school*  
 ‘Age and what is customary within the school’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_grandfather (#194; F; 27; Maastricht)  
*Soms wel, soms niet. Geen touw aan vast te knopen. Vroeger nooit gedaan, maar ik ben dit wat meer gaan doen doordat ik mijn vriend wel "geer" tegen zijn oma heb horen zeggen.*  
 ‘Sometimes yes, sometimes no. No way to make sense of it. Never used to do it, but

I started doing this a bit more because I did hear my friend say *geer*[V] to his grandmother.’

- c. LIM\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#457; F; 37; Venlo)  
*Ouder persoon met geej en afhankelijk van afspraken die daar thuis zijn, wat zegt de vriendin*  
‘Older person with *geej*[V] and depending on agreements at their home, what does the friend say’

## 6. Irrelevant

Some responses only contained information irrelevant to the choice between different address forms (see (45)). Co-occurrence between this annotation and other annotation categories is possible in case only part of a comment was irrelevant, as in (46).

- (45) a. LIM\_motivation\_waitress-waiter (#3; M; 69; Kerkrade)  
*Toch meestal uur*  
‘usually *uur*[V]’
- b. NED\_motivation\_grandfather (#167; M; 24; Broekhuizenvorst)  
*U alleen bij andere opa's*  
‘*U*[V] only for other grandfathers’
- c. LIM\_motivation\_teacher (#318; F; 63; Roermond)  
*Toen ik nog op school zat (als kind, tiener en twintiger) sprak ik de docent sowieso niet aan in het dialect, en altijd met 'u'. Nu ik cursussen doe, en de setting is zo informeel dat we dialect praten onderling, spreek ik de docent altijd aan met 'doe'*  
‘When I was still in school (as a child, teenager and twenty-something) I didn't address the lecturer in dialect anyway, and always with *u*[V]. Now that I am following courses, and the setting is informal enough for us to talk dialect among each other, I always address the lecturer with *doe*[T]’
- d. LIM\_motivation\_service-provider (#333; F; 60; Kronenberg)  
*Geej of dig*  
‘*Geej*[V] or *dig*[T]’
- (46) LIM\_motivation\_general-practitioner (#103; M; 70; Gulpen)  
*afhankelijk van leeftijd en of de huisarts zelf Limburgs praat en verstaat*  
‘depends on age and whether the general practitioner speaks and understands Limburgian themselves’

## 7. Unclear

In case it did not become clear from a comment what the respondent meant and whether that was relevant for making a choice between address forms, a comment was coded as *Unclear*. The examples in (47) provide a selection of comments in this category. As with the *Irrelevant* category, this annotation could also occur together with other codes if only part of the remark was unclear, as in (48).

- (47) a. LIM\_motivation\_hairdresser (#71; F; 49; Sint Joost)  
*Inschatting*  
‘Estimation’

- b. NED\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#110; F; 84; Merum)  
*omdat ik enkel informatie vraag*  
'because I am only asking for information'
  - c. NED\_motivation\_grandfather (#170; F; 27; Roermond)  
*Ene opa u, andere jij.*  
'One grandfather u[V], another jij[T]'
  - d. LIM\_motivation\_supervisor (#460; F; 51; Venlo)  
*Ligt aan persoon*  
'Depends on the person'
- (48) LIM\_motivation\_friend-of-a-parent (#492; F; 23; multiple)  
*Ligt eraan welke vriendin & afhankelijk van leeftijd*  
'Depends on which friend & depends on age'

## 8. Other

All remarks that do contain clear and relevant information, but do not fall under any of the categories mentioned before were coded as *other*. Two subcategories were identified: one for all comments in which respondents make a comparison between their use of address forms in Limburgian and Dutch, and one for all the remaining comments. The former category was thus not concerned with the choice between two address forms in one language, but this information is definitely relevant for contrasting address practices in the two languages under study here. Both subcategories are discussed below.

### LI/NL

As mentioned before, any remark about how address patterns differ between Limburgian and Dutch were included in the subcategory *LI/NL* (*NL* = *Nederlands* 'Dutch'). Respondents could either mention experiencing differences in the use of address pronouns in Dutch compared to Limburgian, of which examples are given in (49), or rather employing the same address strategies in both languages, as in (50).

- (49) a. NED\_motivation\_uncle-aunt (#44; F; 25; Blerick)  
*In het Nederlands vind ik u 'overdrevener' dan geej.*  
'In Dutch, I find u[V] more exaggerated than geej[V].'
- b. NED\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#276; F; 24; Sittard)  
*Ik zou de ouder van een vriendin in het Nederlands eerder aanspreken met "jij" terwijl ik de ouder in het Limburgers wel met "geer" zou aanspreken. "U" klinkt meer afstandelijk dan "geer" en vaak ken ik de ouders wel redelijk goed waardoor ik dan eerder kies voor "jij"*  
'I would rather address the parent of a friend in Dutch with jij[T] while I would address the parent in Limburg with geer[V]. U[V] sounds more distant than geer[V] and I often know the parents quite well so I would rather choose jij[T].'
- c. LIM\_motivation\_parent-of-a-friend (#166; F; 33; Heel)  
*Voorkeur van de persoon, vaak vinden Limburgse boomers zich oud als je geej zegt, vaker dan in de rest van NL merk ik.*  
'Preference of the person, often Limburgian boomers<sup>1</sup> feel old if you say geej[V], more often than in the rest of the Netherlands, I have noticed.'

---

<sup>1</sup> An English term also used in Dutch by younger people to sarcastically target people from the Baby Boom generation.

- (50) a. NED\_motivation\_neighbour (#34; F; 41; Belfeld)  
*Hetzelfde als in het Limburgs. Het is afhankelijk van de leeftijd van de persoon en of ik hem/haar al ken. Tussen het gebruik van u en jij in het Limburgs of Nederlands is er voor mij geen verschil.*  
 The same as in Limburgian. It depends on the age of the person and whether I already know him/her. There is no difference for me between the use of *u*[V] and *jij*[T] in Limburgian or Dutch.
- b. LIM\_motivation\_dentist (#170; F; 27; Roermond)  
*Als ik de tandarts goed ken en in het Nederlands ook jij ipv u zou gebruiken, gebruik ik Doe. (Ik had niet altijd dezelfde tandarts.)*  
 ‘If I know the dentist well and would also use *jij*[T] instead of *u*[V] in Dutch, I use *Doe*[T]. (I didn't always have the same dentist.)’

### Other

Any other relevant and senseful remarks that did not fit in any of the categories mentioned were coded as *Other*. For example, this included comments about the fact that in Limburgian, concatenation of the original verb ending and subject clitic occurs (see (51)), which already became evident in the discussion of the different address forms entered by respondents in section 3.3.1.1. Another recurring topic in this category, illustrated in (52), is that the 2SG pronoun (in this case *geer*, *u* in Dutch) is identical to the 2PL pronoun (*jullie* in Dutch).

- (51) a. LIM\_motivation\_mother (#125; M; 27; Heythuysen)  
*Voor alle situaties geldt: In het geval van een samentrekking gebruik ik een vorm van doe: mosse, wilse, zuuse, etc. Vaak gaat dit over algemeenheden. Wanneer dit de situatie of omschrijving niet past eerder gea. Ook speelt leeftijd en beleefdheid een rol.*  
 ‘For all situations: In case of a contraction, I use a form of *doe*[T]: *mosse*, *wilse*, *zuuse*, etc. Often this is about generalities. When this does not fit the situation or description rather *gea*[V]. Age and politeness also play a role.’
- (52) a. LIM\_motivation\_doctor's-assistant (#199; M; 37; Maastricht)  
*Geer omdat het naast beleefdheid ook meervoud is. Ik maak een afspraak met meerdere mensen daar. Dus meervoud.*  
 ‘*Geer*[V] because besides that it is polite, it is also plural. I make an appointment with multiple people there. So plural.’
- b. LIM\_motivation\_waitress-waiter (#204; F; 26; Bunde)  
*Vaak ‘geer’ omdat het ook jullie betekent maar ‘dich’ als de persoon jong is*  
 ‘Often *geer*[V] because it also means *jullie*[2PL] but *dich*[T] if the person is young’
- c. LIM\_motivation\_grandmother (#259; F; 26; Sittard)  
*Als ik alleen oma aanspreek zeg ik dich, als ik opa en oma samen aanspreek zeg ik geer*  
 ‘If I only address grandma I say *dich*[T], if I address grandpa and grandma together, I say *geer*[V]’

### 3.3.3.2 Other forms of address

In case respondents entered only one pronoun of address, they were asked if they would address a hearer with that form or with another form. If the latter option was selected, the respondent was asked to enter the other form of address. Results for this question usually revealed that there were in fact multiple options for address pronouns, but only one was provided in the question asking for these pronouns.

Hence, these respondents did in fact make a distinction between multiple address forms, but since no two address forms were entered, no information was obtained on the motivations behind their choice for a T or V pronoun. The forms that were entered were as follows:

- Nine times *dich/dig/die/du/doe*[T] (originally entered: *geej/geer*[V])
- Two times *geej/geer*[V] (originally entered: *doe*[T])
- One time *jij*[T] (originally entered: *geej*[V])
- One time *jij/dich*[T] (originally entered: *geej*[V])
- One time *uch*[V] (originally entered: *dich*[T])
- One time *u/jij*[T] (originally entered: *geej*[V])

Other responses included information irrelevant to the choice between T and V, as in (53). In case a respondent did provide clear information related to this choice, as in (54), such an answer was coded just like the answers provided by respondents who did enter two address pronouns, since the reason for either form became evident from these examples.

- (53) a. LIM\_other\_neighbour (#122; M; 65; Venray)  
*Hoi buurman*  
'Hi neighbour'
- b. LIM\_other\_doctor's-assistant (#464; F; 28; Venlo)  
*Geen gebruik hiervan aan telefoon*  
'No use of this on the phone'
- (54) a. LIM\_other\_friend (#505; F; 58; Ospeldijk)  
*Vrouwelijk dich*  
'Female *dich*[T]'

### 3.3.3.3 General remarks

Additionally, all answers to the final free response question, which did not concern any specific addressee, were coded. In their answers to this question, respondents repeated motivations for the choice between two address forms mentioned before or provided additional information on the use of Limburgian (address pronouns), or the Limburgian language. The themes considered in these final remarks largely overlapped with the themes discussed before for respondents' comments on motivations for the T/V choice when addressing a specific hearer. Additionally, several respondents commented on their personal situation in terms of the use of Limburgian (see (55a)), and of Limburgian pronouns of address, including the overlapping formal 2SG and neutral 2PL address form (see (55b) and (55c)), variations of Limburgian with only one address pronoun (55d), and regional differences in Limburgian address pronouns (see (55e)).

- (55) a. Remarks (#3; M; 69; Kerkrade)  
*Thuis werd in mijn jeugd nederlands gesproken. Mijn ouders spraken dialect met elkaar en ook met andere familieleden. Met vrienden sprak en spreek ik dialect.*  
'At home in my childhood, we spoke Dutch. My parents spoke dialect with each other and also with other family members. With friends I spoke and speak dialect.'
- b. Remarks (#17; F; 37; Tegelen)  
*In het Nederlands vermijd ik vaak de woorden u of jij. Ik probeer de zin dan anders te formuleren, bijvoorbeeld naar meervoud (jullie). In het Limburgs gebruik ik bij twijfel "geej", want dat betekent zowel "u" als "jullie" (net als Vous in het Frans).*

‘In Dutch, I often avoid the words *u*[V] or *jij*[T]. I then try to rephrase the sentence, for example to plural (*jullie*). In Limburgish I use *geej*[V] when in doubt, because that means both *u*[V] and *jullie*[2PL] (just like *Vous*[V] in French).’

- c. Remarks (#500; M; 29; Maastricht)  
*De “u-vorm” in het Maastrichts, “geer”, wordt ook gebruikt als “jullie-vorm”. Dit zorgt ervoor dat ik vaker het woord “geer” gebruik in gesprekken dan enkel als de beleefdheidsvorm.*  
 The *u*[V]-form in Maastrichts, *geer*[V], is also used as the *jullie*[2PL]-form. This makes me use the word *geer*[V] more often in conversations than just as the polite form.
- d. Remarks (#233; F; 57; Horst)  
*In het Horster dialect is waarschijnlijk niet zo’n sterk onderscheid in u en jij. Wij gebruiken “geej”. Het onderscheid zit echter wel soms in nuances in de rest van een zin.*  
*Bijvoorbeeld “zudde geej” – zou jij ...*  
*“zudt geej” – zou u ...*  
*Maar voor mijn gevoel was dit onderscheid vroeger sterker*  
 ‘In the Horster dialect, there is probably not such a strong distinction between *u* and *jij*. We use *geej*. However, the distinction sometimes lies in nuances in the rest of the sentence.  
 For example, “*zudde geej*[V]” - would *jij*[T] ...  
 “*zudt geej*[V]” - would *u*[V]...  
 But in my experience, this distinction used to be stronger’
- e. Remarks (#228; M; 26; Meijel)  
*Aangezien mijn vader van Méél is (Limburgs/Brabants dialect) en mijn moeder van De Grashook is (Grashoeks dialect, echt Limburgs), ben ik (naast het Nederlands) met twee dialecten opgegroeid. In het Mééls is er maar één vorm voor jij en u (gėj/òw), en in het Grashoeks zijn er twee vormen, namelijk doe/dich en ook gae/uch. De beleefdheidsvorm spreek ik in het Grashoeks uit naar mensen die ouder zijn dan ik, tegen vrijwel iedereen. Mijn schoonouders blijven mij aanspreken dat ik doe/dich moet zeggen, maar het zit nou eenmaal in mijn systeem.*  
 ‘Since my father is from Méél (Limburgian/Brabants dialect) and my mother is from De Grashook (Grashoeks dialect, really Limburgian), I grew up with two dialects (besides Dutch). In Mééls there is only one form for *jij*[T] and *u*[V] (*gėj/òw*[V]), and in Grashoeks there are two forms, *doe/dich*[T] and also *gae/uch*[V]. I use the polite form in Grashoeks to people older than me, to almost everyone. My in-laws keep telling me to say *doe/dich*[T], but that is simply how my system works.’

Respondents also took the opportunity to comment on the perceived contrast between their address strategies in Limburgian and Dutch, which were either comparable (as in (56)) or not (as in (57)). In the latter case, it was often said to be true that Dutch V is perceived as more formal than Limburgian V. Example (57g) also shows that the abbreviated form *ge* was said to be easier to use than the full formal pronoun *geej*.

- (56) a. Remarks (#343; F; 29; Sint Odiliënberg)  
*Het gebruik van u of jij en Doe en Geer is voor mij qua situaties hetzelfde in NL als in Limburgs*  
 ‘The use of *u*[V] or *jij*[T] and *Doe*[T] and *Geer*[V] is the same for me in terms of situations in Dutch as in Limburgian’

- b. Remarks (#355; F; 51; Stein)  
*Volgens mij gebruik ik in het Nederlands dezelfde aanspreekvormen als in het Limburgs. Als er al verschil is, is dat onbewust, of omdat een bepaalde categorie mensen toevallig altijd dezelfde taal heeft gesproken.*  
 ‘I think I use the same forms of address in Dutch as in Limburgian. If there is any difference at all, it is unconscious, or because a certain category of people happened to have always spoken the same language.’
- (57) a. Remarks (#18; F; 25; Baarlo)  
*Zelf heb ik ook al vaker over dit onderwerp nagedacht, voor mij is het namelijk beleefd om iemand die ouder is of een belangrijke functie heeft met "geej" aan te spreken, ook als teken van respect. Als ik 'geej' gebruik voor bijv. een gerespecteerd persoon, dan voelt dit passend. Echter bij dezelfde situatie in het Nederlands, vind ik het lastiger om "u" te gebruiken, omdat ik "u" meer direct koppel aan iemand die ouder is; waardoor het ook naar mijn mening sneller als belediging opgevat kan worden door de ontvanger, die zegt dan vaak 'oh zeg maar jij hoor, zo oud ben ik niet!'. Dus ik vind geej minder gekoppeld aan leeftijd dan "u", waardoor ik het makkelijker gebruik als een extra teken van respect, het voelt minder zwaarwegend als "u".*  
 ‘I have also thought about this topic many times myself already, because for me it is polite to address someone who is older or holds an important position with *geej*[V], also as a sign of respect. When I use *geej*[V] for, for example, a respected person, it feels appropriate.  
 However, for the same situation in Dutch, I find it more difficult to use *u*[V], because *u*[V] is more directly linked to someone who is older for me; as a result of which, in my opinion, it can also be taken as an insult more quickly by the recipient, who then often says "oh just say *jij*[T], I am not that old!". So I find *geej*[V] less linked to age than *u*[V], making it easier for me to use it as an extra sign of respect, it feels less severe than *u*[V].’
- b. Remarks (#206; F; 37; Sleek)  
*Ik vind het heel prettig dat we in het Limburgs 'geer' als formele vorm hebben. In het Nederlands verdwijnt u gevoelsmatig steeds meer, ook op de werkvloer. Met 'geer' kun je ook een zekere mate van respect uitdrukken, zonder dat het meteen heel formeel klinkt. Het voelt voor mij zachter dan het Nederlandse 'U'.*  
 ‘I really like the fact that in Limburgish we have *geer*[V] as a formal form. In Dutch, *u*[V] is instinctively disappearing more and more, also in a work environment. With *geer*[V], one can also express a certain degree of respect, without immediately sounding very formal.  
 To me, it feels milder than the Dutch *U*[V].’
- c. Remarks (#220; M; 25; Roermond)  
*Ik zou zeggen dat ik over het algemeen sneller de informele vorm (je/jij) in het Nederlands gebruik dan dat ik dat in het Limburgs doe.*  
 ‘In general, I would say that I am quicker to use the informal form (*je/jij*[T]) in Dutch than in Limburgian.’
- d. Remarks (#271; F; 59; Sittard)  
*Het maakt voor mij ook uit of ik mondeling of schriftelijk met Limburgers communiceer. Waar ik in het Limburgs 'geer' zeg in gesproken taal, zou ik ik in geschreven taal - Nederlands en niet Limburgs - soms ook 'jij' gebruiken tegen diezelfde persoon. Dat gold bv voor kaartjes en brieven aan mijn moeder. Ik vond 'u' dan te afstandelijk en koos daarom voor 'jij'. Dit voelde niet helemaal goed, maar wel beter dan 'u'. Dus blijkbaar is het Limburgse 'geer' voor mij minder formeel dan het Nederlandse 'u'.*

‘It also matters to me whether I communicate with Limburgians orally or in writing. While I say *geer*[V] in Limburgian in spoken language, in written language – in Dutch and not in Limburgian - I would sometimes use *jij*[T] with the same person. That was, for instance, true for postcards and letters to my mother. I thought *u*[V] was too distant and thus chose *jij*[T]. This didn't feel quite right, but it was better than *u*[V]. So apparently for me, the Limburgian *geer*[V] is less formal than the Dutch *u*[V].’

- e. Remarks (#301; F; 23; Reuver)  
*In het nederlands spreek ik bij twijfelgevallen deze mensen vaak niet aan met u of jij, maar probeer ik dit te omzeilen, of zal ik het een beetje onduidelijk uitspreken. Dit omdat ik u zo formeel vind klinken in het Nederlands. Ik vind het veek makkelijker om geur te zeggen, dit heeft voor mijn gevoel een minder zware lading*  
 ‘In Dutch, when in doubt, I often do not address these people with *u*[V] or *jij*[T], but try to get around this, or I will pronounce it a little unclearly. This is because I think that *u*[V] sounds very formal in Dutch. I find it much easier to say *geur*[V], which, I feel, has a less heavy connotation.’
- f. Remarks (#402; F; 30; Steyl)  
*Ik heb altijd al ervaren dat het limburgse ‘gee’ minder formeel voelt als het Nederlandse ‘u’. Gee gebruik ik sneller dan u. Ook als ik een verjaardagskaart aan mijn opa stuur, vind ik het moeilijk om daar in het Nederlands ‘gefeliciteerd met uw verjaardag’ te schrijven omdat dat te formeel voelt. We praten dialect tegen elkaar en ‘proficiat met ugge verjeurdaag’ voelt minder formeel.*  
 ‘I have always found that Limburgian *gee*[V] feels less formal than Dutch *u*[V]. I am quicker to use *gee*[V] than *u*[V]. Even when I send a birthday card to my grandfather, I find it difficult to write "congratulations with your (*uw*[V]) birthday" in Dutch because it feels too formal. We speak in Limburgian to each other and "congratulations with your (*ugge*[V]) birthday" feels less formal.’
- g. Remarks (#426; F; 39; Venlo)  
*Een voordeel van het dialect vind ik, dat ‘se’ en ‘ge’ veel op elkaar lijken. Daardoor klinkt ‘ge’ niet meteen zo formeel als in het Nederlands ‘u’. In het Nederlands is dit verschil groter en is het duidelijker dat je een andere aanspreekvorm gebruikt.*  
 ‘An advantage of the dialect, I find, is that *se*[T] and *ge*[V] are very similar. This makes *ge*[V] not sound as formal as in Dutch *u*[V]. In Dutch, this difference is greater and it is more obvious that you are using a different form of address.’

Moreover, one respondent pointed out in the final remarks (see (58)) the feeling of familiarity that emerges whenever they are talking to another Limburgian speaker, which facilitates adopting informality in conversation.

- (58) Remarks (#363; M; 31; Heythuysen)  
*Ik voel dat in beide gevallen - of het nu Gee en Du is of U en Jij - het veelal aankomt op de leeftijd van personen, de bekendheid met elkaar, en ook een verschil in de situatie, bij de tandarts en dokter, twee beroepen in een hogere sociaal-economisch klasse, of uit beleefdheid bij een duur restaurant. Voor mij geldt ook dat wanneer ik met iemand Limburgs praat of kan praten, er direct een gevoel van herkenning en comfort is die het makkelijker maakt om informeler met elkaar te communiceren.*  
 ‘I feel that in both cases - whether it is *Gee*[V] and *Du*[T] or *U*[V] and *Jij*[T]- it mostly comes down to the age of persons, familiarity with each other, and also a difference in situation, at the dentist and doctor, two professions in a higher socioeconomic class, or out of politeness at an expensive restaurant.

For me it is also true that when I talk or can talk with someone in Limburgian, there is immediately a sense of recognition and comfort that makes it easier to communicate with each other more informally.’

A brief overview of all main themes and the absolute and relative frequencies with which these were mentioned by the five age groups is presented in Table 7. In this table, each age group is represented by three columns, namely 1) *N*, which indicates the number of comments in a certain theme category, 2) *% Theme*, which gives the percentage of all codes in a certain theme/code category belonging to this age group (percentages of all age groups for this theme add up to 100%), and 3) *% Group*, which denotes the percentage of all codes in this specific age group belonging to this theme (percentages of all themes for this age group add up to 100%). Columns 2-4 in Table 7 thus represent age group 1, columns 5-7 represent age group 2, and so on. Note that for all three columns per age group, the amounts noted in the subcategories add up to the number presented in the main category to which these subcategories belong. For example, 17.33% of all codes in the theme *Addressee identity* belonged to comments made by age group 1, and 21.70% of the codes on comments made by this age group belonged to the theme *Addressee identity*. Hence, Table 7 enables us to make observations about the contribution of each age group to the comments within a theme, as well as about the relative contribution of each theme to the total. The total number of comment codes was 9420, of which 1825 (19.4%) were provided by age group 1 (ages 16-25), 2198 (23.3%) by age group 2 (ages 26-35), 2202 (23.4%) by age group 3 (ages 36-50), 1662 (17.6%) by age group 4 (ages 51-60), and 1533 (16.3%) by age group 5 (ages 61-84). The distribution of comment codes across age groups is roughly in line with the number of respondents per age group (cf. Table 5). A complete version of this table, including all subthemes, is shown in Appendix E.

**Table 7**

*Overview of main themes and the most relevant subthemes (in italics) mentioned in responses about motivations for choosing T/V*

Theme	Age group 1			Age group 2			Age group 3			Age group 4			Age group 5			Total <i>N</i> (%)
	<i>N</i>	% Theme	% Group	<i>N</i>	% Theme	% Group	<i>N</i>	% Theme	% Group	<i>N</i>	% Theme	% Group	<i>N</i>	% Theme	% Group	
<i>Addressee identity</i>	396	17.33	21.70	470	20.57	21.38	590	25.82	26.79	444	19.43	26.72	385	16.85	25.33	2285 (24.29)
<i>Age</i>	370	17.29	20.27	444	20.75	20.20	572	26.73	25.98	397	18.55	23.89	357	16.68	23.49	2140 (22.75)
<i>Gender</i>	0	0.00	0.00	10	14.49	0.46	9	13.04	0.41	31	44.93	1.87	19	27.54	1.25	69 (0.73)
<i>Addressee behaviour</i>	137	26.45	7.51	186	35.91	8.46	83	16.02	3.77	73	14.09	4.39	39	7.53	2.57	518 (5.51)
<i>Relation</i>	257	21.74	14.08	255	21.57	11.60	268	22.67	12.17	199	16.84	11.97	203	17.17	13.36	1182 (12.57)
<i>Quality</i>	147	21.94	8.06	161	24.03	7.33	146	21.79	6.63	114	17.01	6.86	102	15.22	6.71	670 (7.12)
<i>Speaker</i>	54	17.65	2.96	71	23.20	3.23	85	27.78	3.86	44	14.38	2.65	52	16.99	3.42	306 (3.25)
<i>Context</i>	63	23.60	3.45	62	23.22	2.82	63	23.60	2.86	49	18.35	2.95	30	11.24	1.97	267 (2.84)
<i>Irrelevant</i>	28	11.86	1.53	58	24.58	2.64	34	14.41	1.54	38	16.10	2.29	78	33.05	5.13	236 (2.51)
<i>Unclear</i>	18	15.79	0.99	27	23.68	1.23	11	9.65	0.50	34	29.82	2.05	24	21.05	1.58	114 (1.21)
<i>Other</i>	7	15.56	0.38	26	57.78	1.18	8	17.78	0.36	1	2.22	0.06	3	6.67	0.20	45 (0.48)
<b>Total</b>	1825	19.40	100.00	2198	23.37	100.00	2202	23.41	100.00	1662	17.67	100.00	1520	16.16	100.00	9407

Looking at the relative frequencies per theme, we can see that the identity of the addressee was most often mentioned as a motivation for the choice between T and V, with almost a quarter of the all codes

falling under the main theme *Addressee identity* (24.29%), followed by the categories *Relation* (12.57%) and *Addressee behaviour* (5.51%). Across all age groups, *Addressee identity* and *Relation* were found to be the first and second most frequently mentioned themes. Minor differences between themes discussed by the five age groups were found, such as *Speaker* being the third largest category for the middle age group, and *Irrelevant* being the third largest category for the oldest age group. The results of the questionnaire data will be further discussed in the next chapter. Regarding the subcategories, *Age* and *Quality* of the relationship were most frequently mentioned. An interesting finding were the mentions of *Gender* of the addressee playing a role in T/V selection, which were most frequent for the two older age groups and was not commented on at all by the youngest age group.

## Chapter 4. General discussion

### 4.1 Summary of experimental findings

#### 4.1.1 Systematic literature review

The objectives of the literature review reported on in Chapter 2 were to provide an overview of the research on address pronouns in Limburgian (as far as possible), Netherlandic Dutch and Flemish, German, French, and on dialectal address practices, as well as to consequently identify research gaps for the current study and future work to focus on. To this end, a three-step literature search was performed to analyse potentially relevant works in a systematic manner: a keyword search, a manual database search, and a twofold reference search. Based on the results, an answer to the first subquestion is formulated: *what is already known about address practices in Limburgian as well as in languages spoken by people in areas located close to Dutch Limburg?*

In Netherlandic Dutch, German, and French, binary T/V systems are in use for addressing another individual. In Netherlandic Dutch, speakers can select either formal *u* or informal *jij/je* (full vs. reduced form; *jullie* as 2PL form) to address another speaker, whereas in Belgian Dutch, a third address system can be distinguished, signified by the use of *gij/ge* (again, full vs. reduced; equal forms as 2PL pronoun). In German, one chooses between informal *du* (plural *ihr*, object *dich*) and formal *Sie* (plural *Sie*, object *Sie*). In French, a speaker can choose between informal *tu* or polite *vous* as 2SG pronouns, and the only 2PL pronoun to be selected is *vous*.

Factors governing the choice between two address pronouns in such a binary T/V system were first mentioned by Brown & Gilman (1960) to be related to the constructs of power and solidarity, and this framework was extended by Clyne et al. (2009) who identified six pragmatic principles driving this choice: 1) familiarity, 2) maturity, 3) relative age, 4) network membership, 5) social identification, and 6) address mode accommodation. Studies investigating motivations for either T or V (e.g., Winchatz, 2001; Vermaas, 2002; Vismans, 2018) were largely in line with these principles, but other factors like a language's default address form (Norrby & Warren, 2012) and the gender of the addressee were also found to play a crucial role in Basque (Alberdi-Larizgoitia, 2018; Bereziartua & Muguruza, 2024), Breton dialects (Jouitteau, 2021), Japanese (SturtzSreetharan, 2009), and Korean (Kim, 2015).

Additionally, several studies revealed national variation in address use, for instance, in German and Swedish (Clyne et al., 2006) and in Dutch (Vandekerckhove, 2005; Vismans, 2015; Plevoets et al., 2008). With regard to Dutch, address practices and speakers' reasons for selecting polite *u* or informal *jij/je* were the focus of several studies adopting a questionnaire design (Vermaas, 2002; Vismans, 2013, 2018). This allowed the authors to gain insight into address use by ample respondents and make statements about the current patterns of pronoun use in a language based on a large sample of speakers of this language.

Several more recent studies showed the existence of regional variation within the political borders of one country, namely Italy (Bresin, 2019; Bresin et al., 2019), France (Jouitteau, 2021), Germany (Kretzenbacher, 2011), and the Basque country/Spain (Alberdi-Larizgoitia, 2018). Just like address practices differ cross-linguistically, unexpected address behaviour might also occur in interactions between speakers from different regions in the same country, and address practices present in the dialect one speaks could in turn affect what is perceived as appropriate address use in the dominant language. Speakers of different dialects could make use of different address systems with alternative pronouns, and different motivations for the choice between multiple address forms in what is an appropriate pronoun to use in a given situation, leading to more or less prominent use of either address pronoun. Finally, speakers reported on dialectal variation in address systems, indicating that they are aware of these differences. These differences could exist due to various developments in socio-political history and variations in how a speech community responds to and effectuates such changes, with different cultural values and, in turn, address practices as a result.

Importantly, this literature review revealed no studies that were focused on the use of address pronouns in Limburgian. However, several studies found outside of the Web of Science databases

provided some information on this topic, which were also discussed. Three main points were made based on these studies: 1) regional variation was to be expected in the number of address pronouns (one or two) available to Limburgian speakers (Paardekooper, 1969; Vermaas, 2002; van Hout, 2006), 2) the specific pronouns in use (also in orthographic representation) were hypothesised to show regional variation (Goossens, 1994, 1996), and 3) the use of these forms was hypothesised to differ, i.e., which factors govern the choice between two address forms. An example of this is the finding that different address strategies are employed for male than for female hearers (Vossen, 1958; Weijnen, 1966; Paardekooper, 1969). The body of literature presented as a result of this literature review is lacking recent empirical research on Limburgian address practices. From this review, it thus became clear that more information is needed to be able to formulate an answer to the general research question concerning the use of Limburgian address forms. This information was collected by means of a questionnaire on address practices administered to speakers of Limburgian.

#### 4.1.2 Questionnaire

In Chapter 3, I discussed results from a questionnaire filled out by Limburgian speakers on address forms they use in Limburgian and Dutch to provide insights into the current usage patterns of pronouns of address by Dutch speakers of Limburgian. The aims of this chapter were to find out which address forms are used by Limburgian speakers in different regions of the Dutch province of Limburg (subquestion 2) and how address forms are used by speakers of Limburgian in Limburgian and Dutch (subquestion 3).

The online questionnaire consisted of demographic questions, also inquiring about respondents' dialect use and their current and former place of residence, and two question blocks about their address practices in Limburgian and Dutch, respectively. For each of these languages, respondents were asked about the address pronoun they would use when engaging in conversation with an addressee in this language, with a total set of 21 different addressees representing various social domains (family, school/work, acquaintances, and service encounters). If the choice between T and V for an addressee was ambivalent, the respondent was asked to reflect on the reasoning behind the choice for an address pronoun. Data from a total of 525 respondents were analysed both quantitatively, modelling relationships between address practices and predictor variables in a conditional inference tree and a conditional random forest, and qualitatively, by coding all motivations provided for using either T or V by respondents in case of mixed T/V use.

Focusing on the variety of Limburgian address pronouns currently in use, we can look back at the three Dutch address systems described by Plevoets et al. (2008), namely the *U*-, *J*-, and *G*-system of address. While all three systems are still in use in Belgian Dutch, and in Netherlandic Dutch only the *U*- and *J*-system persevere, Limburgian completes the set by mainly employing only the *G*-system of address, with *g*- and *d*-forms of address in use which both belong to this system. As an exception, forms influenced by German *ihr*[V] are employed by some speakers, which is not surprising given that Limburg is bordering Germany. Additionally, respondents noted down both stressed (*geej*[V]/*dich*[T]) and unstressed forms (*ge*[V]/*de*[T]), also commenting on the lesser degree of formality exhibited by use of the latter forms. Contrastively, the results showed that speakers of Cleves dialects tend to use only one *g*-pronoun. This raises the question how this system of available pronouns came to be. Aalberse (2009) did discuss the loss of *du* in Dutch, which did not happen for Limburgian, but apparently, it might have for the Cleves dialects region. ... This confirms earlier descriptions of a single 2SG address pronoun in use in some dialects of Limburgian. However, one respondent from this area pointed out that despite only being able to use one address pronoun, they do have a possibility of distinguishing between formal and informal address in the verb inflection. In other words, the finite verb is different for V and T use, but the pronoun remains the same. We also find such a pattern in Dutch for the use of *zij* 'she/they' as a female 2SG or gender neutral 2PL pronoun depending on the verbal inflection, and in German for the use of *sie* 'she' as a female 2SG pronoun and *sie/Sie* 'they/you[V]' with 2PL marking on the verbal morpheme.

For the quantitative analyses, a conditional inference tree and conditional random forest were created to model the relationship between T/V/mixed pronouns and various predictor variables. The social domain an addressee belonged to was found to be the most important factor, followed by the respondent's age and the dialect area where they grew up. Whether the respondent was currently living in Limburg or not, their gender and education level, and the language (Limburgian/Dutch) had a very minor impact on address choice. As far as hypotheses could be formulated for these analyses (based on, e.g., Plevoets et al., 2008; Vermaas, 2002; Vismans, the results were in line with what was expected. The conditional inference tree revealed that family members were addressed with T more often than addressees from the other social domains. Moreover, an older age was generally associated with a higher proportion of V use, and respondents from the Cleves dialects and *mich*-quarter area used more T at the cost of mixed address use compared to the other dialect areas.

The finding that language did not play a major role on T/V/mixed pronoun use was to be expected from the absolute and relative frequencies of pronoun use, presented per language in Appendix F. These tables show that the overall patterns of pronoun use are similar between both languages, although the proportional use of T was found to be higher for Limburgian (49.31%) than for Dutch (39.38%) at the cost of mixed pronoun use. However, this difference might be driven by the more frequent use of Limburgian with family members, who are often addressed with T (as was found in the conditional inference tree model). In case a larger proportion of the Limburgian data are related to family members than is true for Dutch, this could explain the different proportions, and also the conditional random forest result that language did not play a major part in address choice.

For the qualitative analyses, reasons underlying address choice in case of mixed T/V use were identified by coding all free-response comments provided by respondents and drawing up a coding scheme (following Vismans, 2018; Schoenmakers et al., forthcoming). Adopting a slightly different classification of coding categories, the most common factors underlying the choice between T and V were related to the identity of the addressee, the relationship between speaker and addressee, and the behaviour for the addressee. More specifically, age and quality of the relationship were major subthemes. These patterns were roughly found for all age groups. For the most part, the themes discussed were in line with Clyne et al.'s (2009) pragmatic principles. A noteworthy finding, diverging a bit from these principles, was the *gender* theme: respondents mentioned to use a different address pronoun for male and female addressees. This finding is in line with the hypotheses, based on several studies discussing a binary gender distinction made in address use in some varieties of Limburgian (Vossen, 1958; Weijnen, 1966; Paardekooper, 1969). Previous research on Limburgian has already shown Limburg to show some peculiar trends relating to aspects of gender, such as the use of male and neuter possessive pronouns to refer to a woman (Piepers & Redl, 2018) and the use of a neuter pronoun *het* to refer to a woman when a perfectly functional female pronoun *ziej* exists as well (Piepers, Backus, & Swanenberg, 2021; Piepers, Barking, Backus, & Swanenberg, forthcoming). However, this study provides the first empirical findings confirming this binary gender distinction in some Limburgian address systems. Note that mentions of this theme were most frequent for the two oldest age groups, and non-existent for the youngest age group. However, since this pattern was only found for speakers from Weert and Nederweert, and the youngest group did not include any respondents from these cities, that is only logical.

Another point worth mentioning is that respondents seemed to be aware of differences in address practices and actually consequently adapt their own address use. One respondent mentioned living in a place where a binary address system is used, but working in a place where only one address form is in use, and chose to adopt the latter system when at work. Another respondent mentioned growing up with two systems varying in the number of address pronouns, showing that they are fully aware of this difference, but also indicating that both systems are often mixed, which leads them to experience some mismatching expectations from their surroundings. Another conscious thought on address forms expressed by some respondents is the difference between the Limburgian and Dutch address system in the sense that Limburgian V feels less formal or 'exaggerated' than Dutch V. However, not all respondents shared this opinion: some claimed to use Limburgian and Dutch address forms in the exact same way.

For the ones who did, it is interesting to deduce what this difference could be based on. One possibility is the use of Limburgian V as both the polite 2SG and the 3PL form (just like French *vous*). This pronoun could thus be seen as a way to avoid having to make a choice between address pronouns. Such avoidance behaviour was also commented on by respondents: when in doubt about which address form is appropriate in Dutch, they mentioned attempting to evade the use of an address pronoun completely. In Limburgian, they would then use the homonymous V form. The more frequent use of this pronoun was said to facilitate its use in another sense, namely as the polite 2SG pronoun. However, Dutch 2SG V pronoun *u* might also be used in a plural sense, as in *u allen* ‘all of you’ or *een van u* ‘one of you’. Sadowski et al. (2024) found such instances to indeed be interpreted that way in a small follow-up experiment carried out as part of their study. Nonetheless, the true 2PL Dutch form seems to be *jullie* rather than *u*, but *geej* in Limburgian, which might explain the less heavily connotated use of *geej* compared to *u*.

## 4.2 Practical implications

In recent years, numerous studies have focused on the application and processing of address pronouns, showing effects of T/V use in, for instance, recruitment advertisements (den Hartog et al., 2022), Dutch HR communication (de Hoop et al., 2023), advertisement slogans (Schoenmakers, Hachimi, & de Hoop, 2024), and job advertisements (den Hartog et al., 2024). The findings that the use of an appropriate address can, for example, affect reader immersion (Sánchez Carrasco et al., 2024) and people’s willingness to donate to a good cause (Sadowski, de Hoop, & Meijburg, 2024) illustrate the importance of this seemingly easy choice. In the current study, we have seen the myriad of social constructs governing address choice, making in anything but an easy task to select an appropriate address pronoun in a given situation. Moreover, this study focused on the use of address pronouns in a regional language, Limburgian, which is rich in regional linguistic variation. This makes the manner in which Limburgian speakers address one another a particularly interesting topic for studying language diversity. Limburgian address practices showed some peculiar patterns, such as speakers from Weert/Nederweert using a different address form for male and female conversational partners.

## 4.3 Limitations and future research

A number of limitations of the present study have been identified. The first point is related to the survey design of this study. A common issue with this type of research is that self-reported data might not provide a true reflection of the constructs under study (e.g., Vismans, 2018; Bresin, 2019). Instead, the importance of some factors might be overestimated, whereas other factors are (unconsciously) ignored. Moreover, SturtzSreetharan (2009) mentioned that speakers often know how they should speak, but to a lesser extent how they actually speak, and speakers also might just not do what the researcher intended to ask from them. In the present study, for instance, multiple respondents entered only one address form, whereas all other respondents from their city or village entered two. It is then unclear whether they correctly filled out the questionnaire. However, this method offered the opportunity to collect data from a rather large sample of Limburgian speakers from all over the province, which matches this study’s aim of providing initial insights into address practices employed by Limburgian speakers. Moreover, numerous examples were provided per category to offer a representative overview of the variation present in the responses.

Second, a methodological choice that would have facilitated data processing was to have explicitly asked respondents to enter a T and V pronoun in the first and second cell, respectively. This way, it would have been instantly clear which pronoun was supposed to represent the formal/informal pronoun. However, this might have caused some confusion for speakers who only use a single address pronoun.

Third, the classification of addressees into four social domains is up for discussion. Addressees belonging to one social domain were sometimes rather different in age (siblings vs. grandparents) and position (teacher vs. colleague). Therefore, variation within a single domain was likely, which raises the question how sensible comparing address use with interlocutors from different social domains is. In contrast, the domains utilised in this study were defined following previous studies (Clyne et al., 2009; Vermaas, 2002; Vismans, 2018).

Fourth, a comparison was made between six different dialect areas, but this classification was purely based on phonological aspects, so it is unclear to what extent this division in dialect areas is appropriate for the present study. However, this topic was treated with caution, excluding respondents who entered multiple place names that were located too far apart or in different dialect areas. Moreover, especially for the different address pronouns used, the results did show different patterns for different dialect areas, which suggests that this classification of dialect areas was sensible, at least to some extent. Related to this is the location which was used for studying the effect of dialect area on address use. Since there is so much regional variation in Limburgian dialects, respondents could have been asked for the dialect variant they think they speak rather than for the place where they grew up and where they are currently living. However, since most respondents learned to speak Limburgian from birth, the place where they grew up was used as an indication for the dialect area they belong to, and in case multiple place names were entered, a proper choice between selecting either one of the place names or *multiple* was made.

Fifth, a high agreement score was found for the consensus annotations, but rather than using a completely random sample of 10% of the data, comments from a random 10% of the respondents were coded by both annotators. In case a respondent provided multiple highly similar comments, this might have facilitated reaching a high agreement score. However, this is of course also true vice versa, so any disagreements are then also copied for all similar comments. Since the total number of respondents whose comments were included in the consensus annotation is over 50, this is not expected to have severely influenced the agreement score.

Follow-up research could make use of alternative research methods, such as, interviews with speakers from different areas and age groups to gain more in-depth information on Limburgian address practices to be able to compare Limburgian speakers' address practices in Limburgian and Dutch, as well as Limburgian and non-Limburgian speakers' Dutch address use. As an example, this could shed light on the use of a single pronoun of address and the degree to which speakers can differentiate between addressees with varying verb inflection, since the current data set provided insufficient information on this matter, with only a single respondent mentioning such marking on the verbal morpheme. Furthermore, this would allow for studying the development of gender as a deciding factor in address choice, and whether this distinction might be losing ground among the younger generations. Moreover, a follow-up experiment could focus on whether Limburgian and Dutch pronouns are perceived in a similar or completely different way, and how this might be associated with different speaker- and hearer-related factors.

## Chapter 5. General conclusion

Taken together, combination of an extensive systematic literature search and questionnaire research properly served the present study's objective of gaining insight into Limburgian address practices, a topic that has thus far received little attention from researchers. First, an overview of scientific literature was provided through a three-step literature review, collecting all relevant published works on the topic. Second, initial findings on Limburgian address practices were discussed based on results from a questionnaire eagerly filled out by over 500 Limburgian speakers from all across Dutch Limburg. This questionnaire concerned Limburgian speakers' use of address forms in everyday conversation with a broad set of addressees in both their regional language and Dutch. The results showed much regional variation in the specific address pronouns to be selected, the number of available address pronouns, and factors influencing the choice between a formal and informal form in case of ambivalent address use. Whereas speakers from most areas of the province distinguished between a formal *g*-form and a more informal *d*-form, speakers from the Cleves dialects area generally only entered a single *g*-pronoun. Looking at the distribution across T/V/mixed use in case of a binary address system, the most important factors of influence were found to be the social domain the addressee belonged to, the age of the respondent, and the dialect area they grew up in. In cases of ambivalent address selection, the factors mentioned most often by respondents to influence the choice between T and V were related to the identity of the addressee (mainly driven by the age of the addressee), the relation between speaker and hearer, and the behaviour of the addressee. Interestingly, gender appeared to play a role in a limited proportion of respondents' address use: female addressees received a different pronoun than male addressees. This finding appeared for speakers from Weert/Nederweert and was also found for some other languages, as described in studies included in the literature review.

In conclusion, this study provided some initial insights into the use of address pronouns by speakers of an understudied regional language, namely Limburgian as spoken in the Dutch province of Limburg. Address strategies are highly reflective of social and cultural values and can thus learn us much more than we would expect from a seemingly simple choice between *geej* and *dich*. This study once again showed: Limburg may be small in size, but it is grand in linguistic variation.

## References

- Alberdi-Larizgoitia, X. (2018). Forms of address in Basque. *Pragmatics*, 28(3), 303-332. <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.00009.alb>
- ATLAS.ti Scientific Software Development GmbH. (2024). ATLAS.ti Windows (version 24.1.0.30612) [Software]. Retrieved from <https://atlasti.com>
- Auer, P., Hinskens, F., & Kerswill, P. (2005). *Dialect Change. Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*. Cambridge University Press.
- Baayen, R. H., Endresen, A., Janda, L. A., Makarova, A., & Nessel, T. (2013). Making choices in Russian: Pros and cons of statistical methods for rival forms. *Russian Linguistics*, 37, 253–291. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11185-013-9118-6>
- Bakker, F. & van Hout, R. (2012). De afgrenzing tussen de noordelijke en zuidelijke dialecten in Noord-Limburg. *Taal & Tongval*, 64(2), 159–193. <https://doi.org/10.5117/TET2012.2.BAKK>
- Bakker, F. (1997). Wat is Limburgs? [What is Limburgian?]. *Onze Taal*, 66, 107–109.
- Bennis, H. J., & Hermans, B. J. (2013). Supraregional patterns and language change. In F. Hinskens, & J. Taeldeman (Eds.), *Language and Space: An international handbook of Linguistic variation. Volume 3: Dutch* (pp. 602-624). Walter De Gruyter.
- Bereziartua, G., & Muguruza, B. (2024). ‘Are you man enough?’. Gender as an increasingly decisive factor in the choice of Basque personal pronouns. *Language & Communication*, 94, 28-40. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2023.11.004>
- Bresin, A. (2019). Perceptions of address practices in Italian interregional encounters. A case study of restaurant encounters. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 143, 185-200. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2019.03.004>
- Bresin, A., Hajek, J., & Kretzenbacher, H. L. (2019). Transition from V to T address among restaurant customers and waiters in Italy. In B. Kluge & M. I. Moyna (Eds.), *It's not all about 'you': New research perspectives on address research* (pp. 221-250). John Benjamins.
- Brown, R., & Gilman, A. (1960). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In T. A. Sebeok (Ed.), *Style in language* (pp. 252-281). MIT Press.
- Camps, D. M. (2017). Legitimizing Limburgian: The reproduction of heritage. In *Standardizing Minority Languages* (pp. 66-83). Routledge.
- Clyne, M. G., Norrby, C., & Warren, J. (2009). *Language and human relations: Styles of address in contemporary language*. Cambridge University Press.
- Clyne, M., Kretzenbacher, H. L., Norrby, C., & Schüpbach, D. (2006). Perceptions of variation and change in German and Swedish address 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 10(3), 287-319. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-6441.2006.00329.x>
- Cook, M. (2014). Beyond T and V—Theoretical reflections on the analysis of forms of address. *American Journal of Linguistics*, 3(1), 17-26.
- Cornips, L., de Rooij, V., Stengs, I., & Thissen, L. (2016). Dialect and local media: Reproducing the multi-dialectal hierarchical space in Limburg (the Netherlands). *Style, media and language ideologies*, 189-216.
- de Hoop, H., Levshina, N., & Segers, M. (2023). The effect of the use of T or V pronouns in Dutch HR communication. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 203, 96-109. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2022.11.017>

- den Hartog, M., Bras, S., & Schoenmakers, G. J. (2024). The Impact of Pronouns of Address in Job Ads from Different Industries and Companies. *Languages*, 9(3), 110. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages9030110>
- den Hartog, M., van Hoften, M., & Schoenmakers, G. T. (2022). Pronouns of address in recruitment advertisements from multinational companies. *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, 39(1), 39-54. <https://doi.org/10.1075/avt.00060.har>
- Falagas et al., 2008: Falagas, M. E., Pitsouni, E. I., Malietzis, G. A., & Pappas, G. (2008). Comparison of PubMed, Scopus, web of science, and Google scholar: strengths and weaknesses. *The FASEB journal*, 22(2), 338-342. <https://doi.org/10.1096/fj.07-9492LSF>
- Fasold, R. (1984). *The sociolinguistics of society*. Basil Blackwell.
- Fernández-Mallat, V. (2020). Forms of address in interaction: Evidence from Chilean Spanish. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 161, 95-106. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2020.03.006>
- Goossens, J. (1994). *Sprachatlas des nördlichen Rheinlands und des südöstlichen Niederlands "Fränkischer Sprachatlas" (FSA)* (2nd ed.). N. G. Elwert.
- Goossens, J. (1996). Een geïsoleerd voornaamwoord: Limburgs doe, dich, dijn. *Mededelingen van de Vereniging voor Limburgse Dialect- en Naamkunde*, 88.
- Greenhalgh, T., Robert, G., Macfarlane, F., Bate, P., & Kyriakidou, O. (2004). Diffusion of innovations in service organizations: systematic review and recommendations. *The milbank quarterly*, 82(4), 581-629. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0887-378X.2004.00325.x>
- Hothorn, T., Hornik, K., & Zeileis, A. (2006). Unbiased recursive partitioning: A conditional inference framework. *Journal of Computational and Graphical Statistics*, 15(3), 651–674. <https://doi.org/10.1198/106186006X133933>.
- Hothorn, T., Hornik, K., van de Wiel, M. A., & Zeileis, A. (2006). A Lego system for conditional inference. *The American Statistician*, 60, 257–263. <https://doi.org/10.1198/000313006X118430>.
- Jouitteau, M. (2021). The politeness systems of address, variations across Breton dialects. *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 69(11S), 107-127.
- Kim, M. (2015). Women's talk, mothers' work: Korean mothers' address terms, solidarity, and power. *Discourse studies*, 17(5), 551-582. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445615590720>
- Kretzenbacher, H. L. (2011). Perceptions of national and regional standards of addressing in Germany and Austria. *Pragmatics. Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPRA)*, 21(1), 69-83. <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.21.1.04kre>
- Landis, J. R., & Koch, G. G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33, 159-74. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2529310>
- Levshina, N. (2020). Conditional Inference Trees and Random Forests. In M. Paquot & S. T. Gries (Eds.), *A Practical Handbook of Corpus Linguistics* (pp. 611-643). Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46216-1\\_25](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46216-1_25)
- Norrby, C., & Warren, J. (2012). Address practices and social relationships in European languages. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 6(4), 225-235. <https://doi.org/10.1002/lnc3.331>
- Paardekooper, P. C. (1969). Aanspreekvormsystemen in mnl. taal en tekst. *De Nieuwe Taalgids, Jaargang 62*, 441-455. Retrieved March 7, 2024, from [https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/\\_taa008196901\\_01/\\_taa008196901\\_01\\_0083.php](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_taa008196901_01/_taa008196901_01_0083.php)
- Piepers, J., & Redl, T. (2018). Gender-mismatching pronouns in context: The interpretation of possessive pronouns in Dutch and Limburgian. *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, 35(1), 97-110. <https://doi.org/10.1075/avt.00007.pie>

- Piepers, J., Backus, A., & Swanenberg, J. (2021). Ziej is a woman and het is a girl: A referent's age guides pronominal gender variation in Limburgian. *Taal & Tongval*, 73(1), 1-44. <https://doi.org/10.5117/TET2021.1.PIEP>
- Piepers, J., Backus, A., & Swanenberg, J. (2023). 'It' is not for everyone: Variation in speakers' evaluation of sociopragmatic pronouns in Limburgian. *Languages*, 8(4), 253. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages8040253>
- Piepers, J., Barking, M., Backus, A., & Swanenberg, J. (submitted). Awkward pronouns in language contact. Investigating interference of Standard Dutch in Limburgian pronoun use.
- Plevoets, K., Speelman, D., & Geeraerts, D. (2008). The distribution of T/V pronouns in Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch. In K.P. Schneider & A. Barron (Eds.), *Variational Pragmatics: A focus on regional varieties in pluricentric languages* (pp. 190–209). John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.178.09ple>
- Qualtrics. (2020). Qualtrics (version April 2024) [Software]. Retrieved from <https://www.qualtrics.com>
- van Hout, R. (2006). Limburgse voornaamwoorden. In J. Kruijsen (Ed.), *Een eeuw lang Limburgs: SGV-enquête 1914 – Veldeke 2006* (pp. 129-138). TIC/Veldeke Limburg.
- Sadowski, S., de Hoop, H., & Meijburg, L. (2024). You Can Help Us! The Impact of Formal and Informal Second-Person Pronouns on Monetary Donations. *Languages*, 9(6), 199. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages9060199>
- Sánchez Carrasco, P., van Hoften, M., & Schoenmakers, G. T. (2024). What I Can Do with the Right Version of You: The Impact of Narrative Perspective on Reader Immersion, and How (in)Formal Address Pronouns Influence Immersion Reports. *Languages*, 9(8), 265. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages9080265>
- Schmeets, H., & Cornips, L. (2022). Taaldiversiteit in Nederland: Language diversity in the Netherlands. *Taal & Tongval*, 74(1), 75-106. <https://doi.org/10.5117/TET2022.1.004.SCHM>
- Schoenmakers, G. T., Hachimi, J., & De Hoop, H. (2024). Can you make a difference? The use of (in) formal address pronouns in advertisement slogans. *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*, 36(2), 99-114. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08961530.2023.2215472>
- Schoenmakers, G. T., Opheij, E. S., de Hoop, H., Vismans, R. (forthcoming). Forms of address in Surinamese and Caribbean Dutch. In M. I. Moyna & V. Fernández-Mallat (Eds.), *Beyond Binaries in Address Research*.
- Schols, W., & Linssen, G. (1991). *Venrays woordenboek: woordenschat, klankkarakter, systeem, structuur en gebruik van de Venrayse taal*. Veldeke Venray.
- Strobl, C., Boulesteix, A.-L., Zeileis, A., & Hothorn, T. (2007). Bias in random Forest variable importance measures: Illustrations, sources and a solution. *BMC Bioinformatics*, 8, 25. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2105-8-25>.
- SturtzSreetharan, C. L. (2009). Ore and omae: Japanese men's uses of first-and second-person pronouns. *Pragmatics*, 19(2), 253-278. <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.19.2.06stu>
- van Hout, R. (2003). Hun zijn jongens. In J. Stroop (Ed.), *Waar gaat het Nederlands naartoe? Panorama van een taal* (pp. 277-286). Bert Bakker.
- Vandekerckhove, R. (2005). Belgian Dutch versus Netherlandic Dutch: New patterns of divergence? On pronouns of address and diminutives. *Multilingua*, 24(4), 379-397. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mult.2005.24.4.379>

- Vermaas, J. A. M. 2002. *Veranderingen in de Nederlandse aanspraakvormen van de dertiende t/m de twintigste eeuw*. LOT.
- Vismans, R. (2013). Address choice in Dutch 1: Variation and the role of domain. *Dutch Crossing*, 37(2), 163-187. <https://doi.org/10.1179/0309656413Z.00000000035>
- Vismans, R. (2015). Negotiating address in a pluricentric language: Dutch/Flemish. *Address practice as social action: European perspectives*, 13-32. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137529923\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137529923_2)
- Vismans, R. (2018). Address choice in Dutch 2: Pragmatic principles of address choice in Dutch. *Dutch Crossing*, 42(3), 279-302. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03096564.2015.1136122>
- Vossen, A.F. (1958). Het persoonlijk voornaamwoord van de tweede persoon enkelvoud in het Nederweerts. *Taal & Tongval*, 10, 131-147.
- Weijnen, A. A. (1966). *Nederlandse dialectkunde*. Van Gorcum.
- Winchatz, M. R. (2001). Social meanings in German interactions: An ethnographic analysis of the second-person pronoun Sie. *Research on language and social interaction*, 34(3), 337-369. [https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327973RLSI34-3\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327973RLSI34-3_3)
- Wolfram, H. J., Mohr, G., & Schyns, B. (2007). Professional respect for female and male leaders: influential gender-relevant factors. *Women in Management Review*, 22(1), 19-32.

# Appendices

## A. Systematic literature review

### Step 1. Keyword search

Author(s)	Year	Title	Source	Incl.	Based on	Exclusion reason(s)
Williams, L and van Compernelle, RA	2009	Second-person pronoun use in French language discussion fora	Journal of French Language Studies	No	Full paper	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Stenroos, M	2010	The pronoun of address in Piers Plowman Authorial and scribal usage	Journal of Historical Pragmatics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in present-day natural language contexts
Schoenmakers, GT; Hachimi, J and de Hoop, H	2023	Can You Make a Difference? The Use of (In)Formal Address Pronouns in Advertisement Slogans	Journal of International Consumer Marketing	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Douglass, K	2009	Second-person pronoun use in French-language blogs Developing L2 sociopragmatic competence	Electronic Discourse in Language Learning and Language Teaching	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers in natural language contexts
Vismans, R	2013	Address Choice in Dutch 1: Variation and the Role of Domain	Dutch Crossing-Journal of Low Countries Studies	Yes	Title, keywords, abstract	
Vismans, R	2015	Negotiating Address in a Pluricentric Language: Dutch/Flemish	Address Practice as Social Action: European Perspectives	Yes	Title, keywords, abstract	
Belz, JA and Kinginger, C	2003	Discourse options and the development of pragmatic competence by classroom learners of German: The case of address forms	Language Learning	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
van Compernelle, RA and Kinginger, C	2013	Promoting metapragmatic development through assessment in the zone of proximal development	Language Teaching Research	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Beaulieu, S	2018	What Is the Target for L2 Learners when Descriptive, Textbook, and Subjective Norms Widely Differ?	Canadian Modern Language Review- Revue Canadienne des Langues Vivantes	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Vismans, R	2018	Address Choice in Dutch 2: Pragmatic Principles of Address Choice in Dutch	Dutch Crossing-Journal of Low Countries Studies	Yes	Title, keywords, abstract	
de Hoop, H and Hogeweg, L	2014	The use of second person pronouns in a literary work	Journal of Literary Semantics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Kuepper, MC and Feryok, A	2019	Concept-based Pragmatics Instruction: Teaching German Address Pronouns to New Zealand Tertiary Students	Language and Sociocultural Theory	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Williams, L	2009	Navigating and interpreting hypertext in French New literacies and new challenges	Electronic Discourse in Language Learning and Language Teaching	No	Full paper	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
BURSTON, JL	1977	PRONOUNS OF ADDRESS IN MODERN STANDARD FRENCH - MALEY, CA	Modern Language Journal	No	Full paper	Book review

Vismans, R	2009	Advanced Learners' Use of Dutch Second Person Pronouns During Residence Abroad	Journal of Germanic Linguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Corver, N	2008	Uniformity and diversity in the syntax of evaluative vocatives	Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
van Compernelle, RA	2010	Towards a Sociolinguistically Responsive Pedagogy: Teaching Second-Person Address Forms in French	Canadian Modern Language Review- Revue Canadienne des Langues Vivantes	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Jucker, AH	2004	From pragmatics to grammar: tracing the development of respect in the history of the German pronouns of address.	Journal of Pragmatics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Book review
van Compernelle, RA	2011	Developing second language sociopragmatic knowledge through concept-based instruction: A microgenetic case study	Journal of Pragmatics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
den Hartog, M; Bras, S and Schoenmakers, GT	2024	The Impact of Pronouns of Address in Job Ads from Different Industries and Companies	Languages	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Williams, L and van Compernelle, RA	2009	Second-person pronoun use in on-line French-language chat environments	French Review	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Duplicate
Warren, J	2006	ADDRESS PRONOUNS IN FRENCH VARIATION WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE WORKPLACE	Australian Review of Applied Linguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
de Caro, PM	2011	Pronouns switching in Bogota speech	Enunciacion	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Not in English/Dutch
Engelking, TL	2021	Navigating Pronouns of Address as Speakers and Teachers of French: Pedagogical Implications of a Tu/Vous Survey	French Review	No	Full paper	Not available
Hanser, WE; Mark, RE and Vingerhoets, AJJM	2022	Music and Lyric Characteristics of Popular Dutch Funeral Songs	Omega-Journal of Death and Dying	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
MASON, PE	1990	THE PRONOUNS OF ADDRESS IN MIDDLE-FRENCH	Studia Neophilologica	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in present-day contexts
Kayne, RS	2018	Clitic doubling, person and agreement in French hyper-complex inversion	46th Annual Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL)	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
van Compernelle, RA	2008	Second-person pronoun use and address strategies in on-line personal ads from Quebec	Journal of Pragmatics	No	Full paper	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Kretzenbacher, HL; Hajek, J; (...); Bresin, A	2019	Now you Sie me, now you don't The history and remnants of the 3pl V address pronoun calque in Slovak (onikanie) and in Czech (onikani)	It's Not All About You: New Perspectives on Address Research	No	Full paper	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in the selected languages
Dan, X	2021	Tracing the Case Forming in Sinitic Languages and Varieties in the Gansu Qinghai Linguistic Area	Yuyan Kexue-Linguistic Sciences	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Not in English/Dutch

Burt, SM	2002	Maxim confluence	Journal of Pragmatics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Belz, JA and Kinginger, C	2002	The cross-linguistic development of address form use in telecollaborative language learning: Two case studies	Canadian Modern Language Review- Revue Canadienne des Langues Vivantes	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
de Hoop, H and Tarensken, S	2015	It's all about you in Dutch	Journal of Pragmatics	No	Full paper	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns as referring to the addressee
Gruber, B	2017	Temporal and atemporal uses of 'you': indexical and generic second person pronouns in English, German, and Dutch	Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns as referring to the addressee
SturtzSreetharan, CL	2009	ORE AND OMAE: JAPANESE MEN'S USES OF FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON PRONOUNS	Pragmatics	Yes	Full paper	
van Compernelle, RA; Williams, L and McCourt, C	2011	A corpus-driven study of second-person pronoun variation in L2 French synchronous computer-mediated communication	Intercultural Pragmatics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Lyster, R	1996	Question forms, conditionals, and second-person pronouns used by adolescent native speakers across two levels of formality in written and spoken French	Modern Language Journal	No	Full paper	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Morel, MA	2013	Paratax and Graft in French Oral Dialog. Preamble - Rheme. Intonation, Gaze and Gesture	Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai Philologia	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Not in English/Dutch
Lühr, R	2011	"Focus pronouns" in Old Latin reflexive constructions	Stuf-Language Typology and Universals	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
van Compernelle, RA	2015	Native and non-native perceptions of appropriateness in the French second-person pronoun system	Journal of French Language Studies	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Jouitteau, M	2021	THE POLITENESS SYSTEMS OF ADDRESS, VARIATIONS ACROSS BRETON DIALECTS	Roczniki Humanistyczne	Yes	Title, keywords, abstract	
Johansen, SH	2021	"I guess anyone would do that wouldn't they?" How do native speakers of Norwegian and English hedge in informal conversations?	Languages in Contrast	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Blattner, G and Williams, L	2009	Linguistic and social dimensions of French-language discussion forums	Electronic Discourse in Language Learning and Language Teaching	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
van Compernelle, RA and Pierozak, I	2009	Teaching language variation in French through authentic chat discourse	Electronic Discourse in Language Learning and Language Teaching	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Kaan, E and Vasic, N	2004	Cross-serial dependencies in Dutch: Testing the influence of NP type on processing load	Memory & Cognition	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns

Mella, MS and Gutiérrez, CS	2023	Language immersion effects in the use of tu and usted by L1-French and L1-European Portuguese learners of Spanish	Studies in Second Language Acquisition	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Heap, D	2008	MORPHOSYNTACTIC THEORY NEEDS IBERIAN LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY (AND VICE-VERSA)	Dialectologia	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Liebscher, G; Dailey-O'Cain, J; (...); Reichert, T	2010	NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES THROUGH PRONOUNS OF ADDRESS IN AN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY	Pragmatics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Bresin, A; Hajek, J and Kretzenbacher, HL	2019	Transition from V to T address among restaurant customers and waiters in Italy	It's Not All About You: New Perspectives on Address Research	Yes	Full paper	
MASON, K and NICELY, K	1995	PRONOUNS OF ADDRESS IN SPANISH-LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS - THE CASE FOR VOS	Foreign Language Annals	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Derible, A	2019	From a linguistics of politeness to a didactic of familiarity. "When should we say you or you in French?"	French Studies in Southern Africa	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Not in English/Dutch
Norby, C	2006	VARIATION IN SWEDISH ADDRESS PRACTICES	Australian Review of Applied Linguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in relevant languages
Strahan, TE	2011	A typology of non-local reflexives in the Scandinavian languages	Nordic Journal of Linguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
van Compernelle, RA and Henery, A	2014	Instructed Concept Appropriation and L2 Pragmatic Development in the Classroom	Language Learning	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Lesho, M	2018	Folk perception of variation in Cavite Chabacano	Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Isosavi, J	2023	The use of forms of address in intercultural interactions authentic perceptions and discussions between French and Finnish speakers	Discours-Revue de Linguistique Psycholinguistique et Informatique	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Not in English/Dutch
Wu, JF	2021	Demonstrative Pronouns in Yuexi Dialect of Anhui Province	Yuyan Kexue-Linguistic Sciences	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Not in English/Dutch
Salih, AA	2015	The Effect of Distancing in Father Goriot by Balzac	International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Not in English/Dutch
van Gelderen, E	2019	THE NORTHUMBRIAN OLD ENGLISH GLOSSES INTRODUCTION	Nowele-North-Western European Language Evolution	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Kato, MA and Ordóñez, F	2019	Topic Subjects in Brazilian Portuguese and Clitic Left Dislocation in Dominican Spanish: The Role of Clitics and Null Subjects	Syntax	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Ricard, M; Girouard, PC and Décarie, TG	1999	Personal pronouns and perspective taking in toddlers	Journal of Child Language	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns

Chen, CM	2009	Documenting Paiwan Phonology: Issues in Segments and Non-Stress Prosodic Features	Concetric-Studies in Linguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Van Olmen, D; Andersson, M and Culpeper, J	2023	Inherent linguistic impoliteness: The case of insulting YOU plus NP in Dutch, English and Polish	Journal of Pragmatics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Smiley, PA; Chang, LK and Allhoff, AK	2011	Can Toddy Give Me an Orange? Parent Input and Young Children's Production of I and You	Language Learning and development	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Winchatz, MR	2001	Social meanings in German interactions:: An ethnographic analysis of the second-person pronoun Sie	Research on Language and Social Interaction	Yes	Title, keywords, abstract	
Betsch, M	2019	Address forms in grammars and textbooks of West and South Slavic languages in the eighteenth and nineteenth century	Politeness in Nineteenth-Century Europe	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in present-day natural language contexts
Truan, N	2022	(When) Can I say Du to You? The metapragmatics of forms of address on German-Speaking Twitter	Journal of Pragmatics	No	Full paper	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Hübl, A; Maier, E and Steinbach, M	2019	To shift or not to shift Indexical attraction in role shift in German Sign Language	Sign Language & Linguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Gaillard, J	2023	'Je te crois' ('I believe you'): Pragmatics of a feminist slogan, or silencing and the scene of address in post-#MeToo France	European Journal of Cultural Studies	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Vismans, R	2019	Address negotiations in Dutch emails	It's Not All About You: New Perspectives on Address Research	No	Full paper	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Norby, C and Warren, J	2012	Address Practices and Social Relationships in European Languages	Language and Linguistics Compass	Yes	Title, keywords, abstract	
Köder, F and Maier, E	2016	Children mix direct and indirect speech: evidence from pronoun comprehension	Journal of Child Language	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Van De Mierop, D; Zenner, E and Marzo, S	2016	Standard and Colloquial Belgian Dutch pronouns of address: A variationist-interactional study of child-directed speech in dinner table interactions	Folia Linguistica	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
RABAINJAMI N, J and SABEAU JOUANNET, E	1989	PLAYING WITH PRONOUNS IN FRENCH MATERNAL SPEECH TO PRELINGUAL INFANTS	Journal of Child Language	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Yampolskaya, S	2021	Evidence of a T/V distinction in European Hebrew	Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in relevant languages
Yusof, M	2018	The Trend of Malay Personal Pronouns in The Context of Social Media	Jurnal Komunikasi-Malaysian Journal of Communication	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
van Compernelle, RA and Williams, L	2012	Variationist sociolinguistics, L2 sociopragmatic competence, and corpus analysis of classroom-	Pragmatic Variation in First and Second Language Contexts: Methodological Issues	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers

		based synchronous computer-mediated discourse		No		
Ezgeta, M	2012	From the Streets to the White House: The Influence of Social Factors on Interspeaker Variation in African-American Vernacular English	Croatian Journal of Philosophy	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Kaan, E	2001	Effects of NP type on the resolution of word-order ambiguities	Journal of Psycholinguistic Research	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Burridge, K and Musgrave, S	2014	It's Speaking Australian English We Are: Irish Features in Nineteenth Century Australia	Australian Journal of Linguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Ollier, J; Nissen, M and von Wangenheim, F	2022	The Terms of "You(s)": How the Term of Address Used by Conversational Agents Influences User Evaluations in French and German Linguaculture	Frontiers in Public Health	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Piepers, J; van de Groep, M; (...); de Hoop, H	2021	"Amsterdam, you're raining!" First-hand experience in tweets with spatio-temporal addressees	Journal of Pragmatics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Cubillos, LMH	2009	The expression of impersonality in the Spanish of Chile	Cuadernos de Linguística Hispanica	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Not in English/Dutch
Alberdi-Larizgoitia, X	2018	Forms of address in Basque	Pragmatics	Yes	Title, keywords, abstract	
Pérez-Sabater, C and Moffo, GM	2018	The public discourse of the university: A contrastive sociopragmatic discourse analysis among Cameroon, France and Spain	Circulo de Linguística Aplicada a la Comunicación	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Not in English/Dutch
Naborn, L; Van De Mierop, D and Zenner, E	2022	Emotion in multivarietal family language policy in Flanders	International Journal of Bilingualism	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Rosseeel, L; Zenner, E; (...); Van Landeghem, B	2024	The (Lack of) Saliency of T/V Pronouns in Professional Communication: Evidence from an Experimental Study for Belgian Dutch	Languages	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Kotzé, EF	2020	Authority and solidarity: Forms of address and pronominal personal references in the Afrikaans Bible translation of 2020	Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Claudel, C	2015	APOLOGIES AND THANKS IN FRENCH AND JAPANESE PERSONAL EMAILS: A COMPARISON OF POLITENESS PRACTICES	Vestnik Rossiiskogo Universiteta Druzhby Narodov-Seriya Lingvistika-Russian Journal of Linguistics	No	Title, keywords, abstract	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns

## Step 2. Manual database search

1) Journals found through keyword search					
Journal	Ranking	H-index	Number of potentially interesting results		
Language and Linguistics Compass (Wiley)	Q1	58	0		
Australian Review of Applied Linguistics (John Benjamins)	Q1	22	0		
Pragmatics (John Benjamins)	Q1	31	0		
Research on Language and Social Interaction (Taylor & Francis)	Q1	72	0		
2) Additional journals found through manual search in journal databases					
Journal	Ranking	H-index	Number of potentially interesting results		
Journal of Sociolinguistics (Wiley)	Q1	64	1		
Journal of Pragmatics (Elsevier)	Q1	120	4		
Lingua (Elsevier)	Q1	73	0		
Language and Communication (Elsevier)	Q1	52	1		
Language Sciences (Elsevier)	Q1	51	1		
Applied Pragmatics (John Benjamins)	Q2	6	0		
International Journal of Applied Linguistics (John Benjamins)	Q1	53	0		
Journal of Linguistics (Cambridge University Press)	Q1	48	0		
Journal of Germanic Linguistics (Cambridge University Press)	Q2	17	0		
Annual Review of Applied Linguistics (Cambridge University Press)	Q1	62	0		
Language Variation and Change (Cambridge University Press)	Q1	56	0		
Language in Society (Cambridge University Press)	Q1	74	0		
Language and Cognition (Cambridge University Press)	Q1	18	0		
3) Results					
Journal	Author(s)	Year	Title	Inclusion	Exclusion reason(s)
Journal of Sociolinguistics (Wiley)	Clyne, Kretzenbacher, Norrby, & Schüpbach	2006	Perceptions of variation and change in German and Swedish address	Yes	
Journal of Pragmatics (Elsevier)	de Hoop, Levshina, & Segers	2013	The effect of the use of T or V pronouns in Dutch HR communication	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Journal of Pragmatics (Elsevier)	Aalberse & Stoop	2015	The exceptional loss of the pronoun T	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Journal of Pragmatics (Elsevier)	Bresin	2019	Perceptions of address practices in Italian interregional encounters. A case study of restaurant encounters	Yes	
Journal of Pragmatics (Elsevier)	House & Kádár	2020	T/V pronouns in global communication practices: The case of IKEA catalogues across linguacultures	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns by native speakers
Language and Communication (Elsevier)	Bereziartua & Muguruza	2024	'Are you man enough?'. Gender as an increasingly decisive factor in the choice of Basque personal pronouns	Yes	
Language Sciences (Elsevier)	Martiny	1996	Forms of address in French and Dutch: a sociopragmatic approach.	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns

### Step 3a. Backward reference search

Original paper	Number of potentially interesting results*
Vismans (2013)	2
Vismans (2015)	1
Bresin, Hajek, & Kretzenbacher (2019)	1
Winchatz (2001)	1
Norrby & Warren (2012)	2
Bereziartua & Muguruza (2024)	4
den Hartog, Bras, & Schoenmakers (2024)	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>

\*0 for all papers not shown in this table.

Original paper	Author(s)	Year	Title	Incl.	Exclusion reason(s)
Vismans (2013)	Vermaas, J.	2002	Veranderingen in de Nederlandse aanspreekvormen van de dertiende t/m de twintigste eeuw	Yes	
Vismans (2013)	Clyne, M.G., Norrby, C., Warren, J.	2009	Language and human relations: Styles of address in contemporary language.	Yes	
Vismans (2015)	Brown, R. and Gilman, A.	1960	The pronouns of power and solidarity.	Yes	
Bresin, Hajek, & Kretzenbacher (2019)	Ashdowne, R.	2016	Address systems.	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in relevant languages
Winchatz (2001)	Braun, F.	1988	Terms of address: Problems of patterns and usage in various languages and cultures.	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Norrby & Warren (2012)	Kretzenbacher, H.L.	2011	Perceptions of national and regional standards of addressing in Germany and Austria.	Yes	
Norrby & Warren (2012)	Svennevig, J.	1999	Getting acquainted in conversation. A study of initial interactions.	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
Bereziartua & Muguruza (2024)	Bruns, H. and Kranich, S.	2021	Terms of address: a contrastive investigation of ongoing changes in British, American and Indian English and in German.	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in relevant languages
Bereziartua & Muguruza (2024)	Domonkosi, Á.	2019	The role of gender in the use of Hungarian address forms.	No	Not in English/Dutch
Bereziartua & Muguruza (2024)	Echeverria, B.	2016	Harlots and whores but not lovers. Dressing down the pronoun for a female addressee in a Basque Old Testament.	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Bereziartua & Muguruza (2024)	Kim, M.	2015	Women's talk, mothers' work: Korean mothers' address terms, solidarity, and power.	Yes	
den Hartog, Bras, & Schoenmakers (2024)	Plevoets, K., Speelman, D., and Geeraerts, D.	2008	The distribution of T/V pronouns in Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch.	Yes	
den Hartog, Bras, & Schoenmakers (2024)	Vandekerckhove, R.	2005	Belgian Dutch versus Netherlandic Dutch: New patterns of divergence? On pronouns of address and diminutives.	Yes	

### Step 3b. Forward reference search

Original paper	Number of potentially interesting results*
Vismans (2015)	2
Warren (2006)	1
SturtzSreetharan (2009)	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>

\*0 for all papers not shown in this table.

Original paper	Author(s)	Year	Title	Incl.	Exclusion reason(s)
Vismans (2015)	Fernández-Mallat, V	2020	Forms of address in interaction: Evidence from Chilean Spanish	Yes	
Vismans (2015)	Formentelli, M and Hajek, J	2016	Address Practices in Academic Interactions in a Pluricentric Language: Australian English, American English, and British English	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns in natural language contexts
Warren (2006)	Clyne, M	2009	Address in intercultural communication across languages	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns
SturtzSreetharan (2009)	Miyazaki, A	2023	Masculine pronouns are not only for boys: Japanese girls breaking traditional relationships between gender and language in a school context	No	Does not specifically discuss the use of address pronouns

### Results table

Paper	Language discussed	Topics and aims	Address system & methods	Main results/discussion
Vismans (2013)  Address Choice in Dutch 1: Variation and the Role of Domain	Netherlandic Dutch	Survey design, quantitative study.  Look into the present-day use of Dutch address forms <i>u</i> and <i>je/jij</i> by Dutch students and their parents with a variety of addressees to study changes in the use of address pronouns in the last two decades and to find out how the domain to which an addressee belongs influences the choice for an address pronoun.	Formal <i>u</i> and informal <i>je/jij</i> .  Questionnaire administered to Dutch students and their parents. For 20 addressees representing different domains, respondents were asked to indicate if they addressed this person 1) always with <i>je/jij</i> , 2) always with <i>u</i> , 3) sometimes with <i>T</i> sometimes with <i>V</i> , or 4) not applicable, because they never address this person. In case the third option was chosen, they were additionally asked to motivate their choice; when would they use <i>u</i> and when <i>je/jij</i> ? This paper focuses on the quantitative analyses, looking at the distribution across the response options per addressee and comparing both age groups using a chi-square test.	Differences were found between the two age groups (students vs. their parents) in how these groups addressed their family, a friend's and partner's parent, a doctor or dentist, and a trainer, baker, and plumber. Except for the last two addressees, the young generation used more <i>T</i> than <i>V</i> , unlike the older age group. Comparing these results to Vermaas' (2002), we can see a gradual shift towards using <i>T</i> in the family and acquaintances domain, and an even greater shift towards <i>T</i> for some service encounters. In the education/work setting, this shift did not appear. The trend of <i>V</i> to <i>T</i> for the domains mentioned is expected to continue. However, many respondents were ambivalent in their <i>T/V</i> choice, and the motivation for either address form in this case are discussed in Vismans (2018).
Vismans (2015)  Negotiating Address in a Pluricentric Language: Dutch/Flemish	Netherlandic/Belgian Dutch	Pluricentric language.  To analyse what happens when the two address systems of Netherlandic (northern) and Belgian (southern) Dutch meet. Dutch is a pluricentric language, as it is spoken in two different countries (the Netherlands and Belgium) in a discontinuous area. The relationship and growing familiarity between the interviewer and interviewee and their use of address pronouns and other markers of (in)formality are followed. Other factors that could influence the use of address forms, like the age and gender	Standard Dutch informal: subject <i>je/jij</i> , object <i>je/jou</i> , possessive <i>je/jouw</i> . Standard Dutch polite: subject <i>u</i> , object <i>u</i> , possessive <i>uw</i> . (Colloquial) Belgian Dutch: subject <i>ge/gij</i> , object <i>u</i> , possessive <i>uw</i> .  Three interviews between a Dutch journalist and a Flemish academic were analysed for this study and the author took Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an inspiration source for qualitatively analysing the interview transcripts.	In the interviews, we find that use of <i>u</i> after both parties got more familiar can be labelled as southern, where the Dutch interviewers are quicker to use <i>je/jij</i> . The interview was broadcasted on Dutch radio and because the Dutch interviewer generally controls the conversation, and because of the setting and the dynamic between interviewer and guest, it occurred that the interviewer commented on the southerner's linguistic behaviour, but not the other way around. In one interview, the interviewer also uses <i>u</i> and then comments on his own use of <i>u</i> saying that this address pronoun is used because of the serious topic of the conversation.

		of both parties, are also included in the analyses.		
Vismans (2018)  Address Choice in Dutch 2: Pragmatic Principles of Address Choice in Dutch	Netherlandic Dutch	Survey design, qualitative study.  Look into the present-day use of Dutch address forms <i>u</i> and <i>je/jij</i> by Dutch students and their parents with a variety of addressees to study changes in the use of address pronouns in the last two decades and to find out what mechanisms underly the choice for either pronoun in case of mixed use with an addressee.	Formal <i>u</i> and informal <i>je/jij</i> .  Questionnaire administered to Dutch students and their parents. For 20 addressees representing different domains, respondents were asked to indicate if they addressed this person 1) always with <i>je/jij</i> , 2) always with <i>u</i> , 3) sometimes with T sometimes with V, or 4) not applicable, because they never address this person. In case the third option was chosen, they were additionally asked to motivate their choice; when would they use <i>u</i> and when <i>je/jij</i> ? This paper focuses on the qualitative comments provided in case the third option was selected.	The most important principles governing the choice between T/V in Dutch were found to be (relative) age of and familiarity with the addressee. Moreover, meta-sociolinguistic awareness of the mechanisms behind the choice for an address pronoun seemed to exist for the respondents.
SturtzSreetharan (2009)  Ore and Omae: Japanese Men's Uses of First- and Second-Person Pronouns	Japanese	Regional variation, gender.  To study the use of 1st and 2nd person pronouns by non-standard Japanese male speakers (from a dialect region of Japan, the Hanshinkan Dialect).	Japanese has been described as lacking a pronominal system, as the use of pronouns is generally avoided in conversation. When used, they reflect differences both in gender and in hierarchy. Focusing on 2nd person pronouns, there are exclusively male pronouns ( <i>otaku, ansan, otakusan, ouchi, kimi, omae, omahan, ware, kisama &amp; teme</i> , of which <i>ouchi, omahan, and ware</i> are the pronouns of Hanshinkan Dialect) but not exclusively female pronouns (only <i>anata, anta, and jibun</i> , which can also be used as male pronouns). Moreover, Kurokawa (1972) reported that men use <i>kimi</i> and <i>omae</i> for male friends, but <i>anata</i> for female friends.  Data were drawn from recordings of eight informal friendly conversations between Japanese males from various ages (19-68 y/o). They were free to talk about any topic, and no specific guidelines (besides a minimum of 45 minutes of recording) were communicated to the participants.	Given the casual context of the conversations, expectedly, few formal address pronouns were used. Middle-aged men were found to avoid pronoun use compared to the older and student participants. For junior high school students, girls reported a higher avoidance rate than boys. Rather than using pronouns to recognise that another person is of the same or a different hierarchy level, male speakers of the Hanshinkan Dialect to achieve conversational goals like distancing, masculinity, politeness, etc. For these dialect speakers: more complexity demonstrated than previously found for male Japanese speakers, but no different address pronouns used than noted before.
Jouitteau (2021)  The Politeness Systems of Address, Variations Across Breton Dialects	Breton dialects	Regional variation, gender.  To map the address systems in use across Breton dialects.	The author distinguished three address systems: 1) hierarchical T-V (superiors are addressed with V), 2) gendered T-V (women, regardless of their age, are addressed with V), and 3) non-dual (only one address pronoun in use, like English <i>you</i> ).  The author used data from the first and second Atlas (Atlas Linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne) and from field work eliciting data (translations of texts featuring addresses to different addressees, like their great grandfather or a 5-year-old sister or cousin) from native speakers of different Breton dialects.	The classification of three address systems signifies much variation between the dialects in how one addresses another. For example, <i>te</i> is used with close male friends in one area (near Kerne), whereas <i>te</i> is used with complete strangers in another (near Leon). With regard to the gendered area (Kerne to Gwenedeg), T is used to address men, V is used to address women (of all ages), and women vary in their addresses to men. The hierarchical system is blind to gender and rather focusses on age and social hierarchy. Gendered rules are compatible with ageist rules: one decides on the appropriate address form based on the other's and one's own gender and age. As an example, a 69-year-old man from Douarnenez addresses all women with V, a male close friend with T, but his great grandfather with V (if he were still alive). This way, gender and hierarchy in terms of age and position interact in an address system. This is similar to the Welsh system, described by Watkins (1977: 164-65), who mentioned that women are always addressed with the polite V form, and they also always use the polite form to address

				<p>others. This way, even between a husband and wife the polite form is used. The familiar form is only used by a male person to address a close male friend or a male person of a family they feel close to.</p> <p>Funny: a woman in her seventies from Plonevez-Porzhe uses V to address girls, women, men with a high social position, and God, and uses T to address other men, cats, and spiders.</p>
<p>Bresin, Hajek, &amp; Kretzenbacher (2019)</p> <p>Transition from V to T address among restaurant customers and waiters in Italy</p>	Italian	<p>Regional variation.</p> <p>To study the transition from V to T in restaurant encounters in Italy. They also looked at the effect of region (5 distinct regions in the country: Emilia in the north, Umbria and Lazio in the center, Salento in the south, and the major island of Sardinia) to check for regional variation in V to T transitions.</p>	<p>Polite form <i>lei</i> and informal form <i>tu</i>.</p> <p>Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected for this study. The quantitative data entail questionnaire data from 519 customers from five different regions of the country. In this questionnaire, respondents were asked about the frequency of address shifts, who would initiate such a shift, etc. The qualitative data were collected from comments provided by the respondents who filled out the survey, and from individual interviews (N = 39) with waiters and costumers from one of the five regions mentioned earlier.</p>	<p>The interaction between a customer and waiter, especially in more modest restaurant and establishments in small towns, was found to facilitate a switch from more formal V to informal T use between both parties. Focusing on results particularly relevant to the current study, regional variation in V to T transitions in restaurant encounters was found. Possibly, the relationship between use of address pronouns in local dialects/languages and the occurrence of V to T transitions in a certain variety of Italian which is spoken there could explain this variation. For instance, in the Salentine dialects, V and T forms are often mixed, which could lead to uncertainty in selecting an appropriate address pronoun in the variety of Italian spoken in Salento, consequently leading to a higher frequency of shifts to T. Moreover, morphological aspects of a regional dialect could influence the switching behaviour. The finding that the region where a respondent lives can influence the frequency of V to T transitions thus seems to indicate that there is an effect of local dialects/languages spoken in a region on the regional variety of Italian used there.</p>
<p>Winchatz (2001)</p> <p>Social meanings in German interactions: : An ethnographic analysis of the second-person pronoun Sie</p>	German	<p>Factors governing address choice.</p> <p>To give an overview of the various social meanings one can express with the use of the German pronoun Sie.</p>	<p>Formal <i>Sie</i> and informal <i>du</i>.</p> <p>The author carried out 24 semi-structured/"reflexive" interviews with a total of 50 participants (some single interviews, some in pairs, some in larger groups). They were asked about situations in which they noticed the choice for either <i>du</i> or <i>Sie</i> posed somewhat of a challenge, or in which they were addressed by another with an unexpected pronoun. The researcher then aimed to find out which social meaning they linked to the use of either address pronoun through asking guiding questions, without influencing their opinion with the researcher's own ideas about the address terms. Additionally, field notes of participant observations (of Germans using personal pronouns or reflecting on this use) were used. In these data, the researcher searched for expressions of <i>Sie</i> or participants' reasons for using it.</p>	<p>The following reasons for using Sie instead of du were formulated: age difference between the speaker and the addressee, adulthood (reached when a person is grown up both physically and mentally), anger (which can be expressed both by the use of Sie and of du), arrogance (thinking that an addressee who addresses you with Sie instead of du thinks they are too good to be addressed with the familiar pronoun), authority (the addressee's status or influence over you leads you to use a formal address pronoun, for instance with a professor), closeness (how strongly united two people feel through love, respect, or honor shared between the two, addressing people you don't feel that close to with Sie), coldness (using Sie to express a cold feeling towards the addressee), conversableness (one's ability to have a conversation with another person, using Sie when a conversation is more serious, official, less spontaneous, etc.), dignity (using Sie to recognise that the other person has self-worth that should be recognised, or to express having respect for the other person's worth), distance (Sie used to express distance or to keep the distance which already exists between two speakers), frequency of contact (Sie used for people one only occasionally comes into contact with), friendship (using <i>du</i> with people one considers friends), intimacy (expressing no intimacy with <i>Sie</i>), isolation (using <i>Sie</i> to express isolation of</p>

				<p>an individual, for instance from a group), knowing other (expressing that someone is a stranger with <i>Sie</i>), liking (using <i>Sie</i> to express not liking another person), personal (meaning that <i>Sie</i> does not allow for discussing anything personal), politeness (expressing good manners towards someone with <i>Sie</i>, for instance because this person is a stranger), power (using the same pronoun expresses that both people are on the same hierarchical level and one of them does not have power of the other, whereas an asymmetrical use of pronouns between two people shows that one has power over the other, expressed through the use of <i>du</i> by the former and <i>Sie</i> by the latter), rejection (expressed through <i>Sie</i>), relationship (using <i>Sie</i> to express a certain type of relationship, like a business relationship), respect (expressed through the use of <i>Sie</i>), solidarity (using <i>du</i> to express a feeling of unity between two people, which is grounded in something that does not have to do with the relationship between the two, for instance when both people are part of a club or organisation), status (referring to the position or level of a person, which is the same for two people in case of symmetrical use of <i>Sie</i> or <i>du</i>, but does not match in case one person addresses the other with <i>Sie</i> but the other addresses that one person with <i>du</i>), structured (expressing something relating to the interaction itself, using <i>Sie</i> if the conversation does not run very smoothly, for instance).</p>
<p>Norrby &amp; Warren (2012)</p> <p>Address Practices and Social Relationships in European Languages</p>	<p>French, German, and Swedish</p>	<p>Factors governing address choice.</p> <p>To provide an overview of research on address forms, to study how the French, German, and Swedish address systems have changed over time, and which factors underly the choice for either address pronoun.</p>	<p>French: <i>tu</i> and <i>vous</i>. German: <i>du</i>, <i>ihr</i>, and <i>Sie</i>. Swedish: <i>du</i> and <i>ni</i>.</p> <p>Literature review.</p>	<p>For an elaborate overview of address literature, see the paper. Long story short: Brown and Gilman (1960) first described the T/V address system as it exists in many languages, and they mentioned that hierarchy/power was the driving factor behind the choice between the two forms, but since then, this system has often been challenged. Clyne et al. (2009) argued that social distance is an important factor in the choice between the two forms. They also mentioned other factors, like the default address form in a language, preferences of the speaker, and the context of the conversation, that play a role in selecting an appropriate address pronoun. In recent years, the presence of hierarchy in Western human relations has decreased, and address practices have changed accordingly. The authors mentioned that social distance and common ground play a central role in deciding on an appropriate address form in the three languages this paper focused on, and that the use of address forms highly reflect cultural values and human relationships and attitudes, hence acting as a marker of social and communicational change.</p>
<p>Alberdi-Larizgoitia (2018)</p> <p>Forms of address in Basque</p>	<p>Basque</p>	<p>Minority language, regional variation, gender.</p> <p>Identify address forms in Basque currently in use as well as the most relevant sociolinguistic factors that condition their use and</p>	<p>Second-person pronouns: 2SG <i>hi</i> (connotes closeness), 2SG <i>zu</i> (connotes formality/politeness), 2PL <i>zuek</i>. <i>Zu</i> is said to be an original plural form that developed into a singular form, as in Spanish and French, for instance. In some dialects across the Basque country, a third form is in use, the historically more recent intermediate 2SG form <i>xu</i>, which is in principal used to address a</p>	<p>Some speakers of Basque (in different areas, both North and South) do not use the familiarity pronoun <i>hi</i>, but rather only the polite form <i>zu</i> (if the speaker is lacking familiarity with the inflected verb corresponding to it or if, for instance, the parents haven't passed down the use of that form to their children, but they do use it in some social circles themselves). There has been a tendency towards simplification of</p>

		distinctive aspects of this address system.	woman, a young child (of any gender), and family members in general. The choice for an address pronoun is reflected in the agreement on the verb. For <i>hi</i> , a gender distinction is made in the agreement on the verbal morpheme: male (- <i>k</i> ) and female (- <i>n</i> ).  Data collected through a structured dialogue questionnaire with 210 adult respondents from different areas, representing different dialects to gain insight into the dialectal systems of address in Basque (also considering other factors that could have an influence on address pronoun use, like sex, age, and rural/urban region). These data allowed the author to scrutinise and compare the rules of address across dialectal variants.	the Basque address system. In all dialects, <i>hi</i> is the weakest mode of address. It is seen as the marked form and <i>zu</i> could become the neutral address pronoun for the majority of the speakers in the future.
Bresin (2019)  Perceptions of address practices in Italian interregional encounters. A case study of restaurant encounters	Italian	Regional variation.  To study individuals' perceptions of address practices between Italian regions in the situation when an Italian person goes to another region in Italy (for a temporary visit or to move there) with a different address system, with a focus on restaurant encounters.	<i>Tu</i> (2SG), <i>voi</i> (2PL), and <i>lei</i> (2SG).  This study consisted of a quantitative component (519 questionnaire responses provided by restaurant customers) and a qualitative component (37 individual interviews, 10 focus groups, 25 restaurant observations).	Apart from the influence of factors like formality of the setting, age, personal preference, or familiarity with the addressee on address practices, regional differences in waiters' address practices across Italy were perceived by Italian speakers. Moreover, receiving an unexpected address pronoun in interregional encounters can cause a hearer from one region to respond in a positive way, while someone from another area in Italy reported negative reactions. Finally, the pragmatic behaviour shown by waiters can lead to speakers creating representations of regional cultures and identities. As an example, the predominant use of an informal address form in Rome were viewed as showing readiness to become closer by an Emilian speaker, but viewed as intrusive by speakers from Milan and Sardinia, who would prefer being addressed with <i>lei</i> . "Representations of regional identities based on perceptions of address practices may follow typical associations between <i>lei</i> and respect on one side, or between <i>tu</i> and <i>confidenza</i> (closeness or familiarity) on the other side, but may also reflect common beliefs or broader cultural paradigms, such as a preference for closeness in Mediterranean cultures (Cenni, 2015; Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2005)."
Clyne et al. (2006)  Perceptions of variation and change in German and Swedish address	German and Swedish	Variation and change in address systems.  To compare the use of German address forms in Germany and Austria and the use of Swedish address forms in Sweden and Finland.	German: less formal <i>du</i> and more formal <i>Sie</i> . Swedish: less formal <i>du</i> and more formal <i>du</i> or <i>ni</i> .  Using data from focus groups and participant observations from German speakers in Austria and Germany and Swedish speakers from Sweden and Finland, factors influencing the degree of social distance between two speakers and consequent address pronoun use were identified. Variation between two countries for one language is more substantial in Swedish than German.	These initial focus groups were the first step of a larger project, so findings are preliminary. For both German and Swedish, national variation exists. For Swedish, the authors found that V is used way more often in Finland than in Sweden, where the context (service encounters), the medium (written language) and the age of the other person influenced V use. In Finland, besides status and age difference between both speakers, these factors also seemed to play a role. Regarding the German speakers, the differences between Germany and Austria were less profound, but the authors did find higher proportions of T use in Austria. Especially in the older generations in Germany, speakers find it difficult to accept this use of T (so they also found generational differences there). "This underlines the importance of cultural values and socio-political history in

				changes and reactions to any changes in the address system".
Bereziartua & Muguruza (2024)  'Are you man enough?'. Gender as an increasingly decisive factor in the choice of Basque personal pronouns	Basque	Minority language, gender.  To find out about the association between gender and the informal address pronoun <i>hika</i> in Basque.	There used to be 4 address forms in Basque, but currently there are only two still in use: formal <i>zu(ka)</i> and informal <i>hi(ka)</i> . In case of <i>hika</i> , the gender of the addressee is also encoded in the verb inflection (male <i>toka</i> and female <i>noka</i> ).  The use of <i>hika</i> is in decline (because of a tendency towards a simplified address system in Basque), and the existence of the informal address pronoun in the future is uncertain. This study was carried out in the town of Azpeitia, where <i>hika</i> is still in use. Here, focus group discussions and interviews were carried out to gain insight into the acquisition process of <i>hika</i> , its use and practices and ideologies towards it, and gender issues.	The relationship between <i>hika</i> and masculinity was confirmed in this study, and this relationship has become stronger over the past one or two generations. <i>Hika</i> is mostly used by male speakers when addressing a male addressee, to establish some relationship of brotherhood. Younger female participants hardly ever use the informal address form anymore, but those that do see it as a means of empowerment, also to strengthen the bonds between women (just like for men using <i>hika</i> ).
Vermaas (2002)  Veranderingen in de Nederlandse aanspreekvormen van de dertiende t/m de twintigste eeuw	Netherlands Dutch	Survey design, variation and change in address systems, factors governing address choice  To investigate how the Dutch address system has changed over the past centuries, as well as the current use of address pronouns by native Dutch speakers.	Currently: T/V system with <i>u</i> as the formal and <i>jij/je</i> as the familiar pronoun.  Historical analysis of changes in the Dutch address system and administration of a questionnaire to Dutch speakers in the Netherlands (of three different generations to also be able to study change in address practices over time). Vermaas collected a large-scale dataset consisting of information representing multiple generations and regions in the Netherlands in terms of their address practices with different addressees, namely parents, teachers, an unfamiliar helper (e.g., a carpenter or plumber), and acquaintances (e.g., parents' colleagues or neighbours). Respondents were from various regions in the Netherlands as to not limit the area studied to one particular region of the country, and they answered questions about their use of <i>u/jij/je</i> in different relationships and situations, and with varying general relational factors.	Initially, the formal <i>u</i> pronoun was only used as the object variant of the <i>ghi</i> pronoun, but due to some development ( <i>u</i> as a subject from other older address forms, like <i>Uwe Edelheid</i> , or from the accusative, or a combination of both, which is most likely), <i>u</i> became the necessary shorter and novel polite address pronoun in use. The informal <i>jij/je</i> pronoun was first used in the northern part of the Netherlands and stems either from the enclitic variant- <i>i</i> of <i>ghi</i> or from a coastal form of <i>gij</i> . After these developments, the Dutch T/V system became evident. <i>gij/je</i> remained in use in the southern part of the Netherlands, and it still is in Flanders and in the southern dialect areas of the Netherlands. The decreasing use of <i>gij/je</i> mostly meant an increase of <i>jij/je</i> , which also decreased the use of <i>u</i> -forms. Moreover, based on survey results, she stated that the choice between both address options largely had to do with the relation between speaker and addressee, as well as with the situation or context in which a conversation takes place, and general relational factors (addressee characteristics, such as the addressee's age, gender, and position).
Clyne, Norrby, Warren (2009)  Language & human relations: Styles of address in contemporary language.	French, German, and Swedish	Factors governing address choice, national variation.  To study address practices in national varieties of German (Mannheim, Leipzig, Vienna), Swedish (Gothenburg and Vaasa), and French (Paris and Toulouse). All of these three languages are pluricentric languages, meaning that they have multiple interacting center points, or national varieties, which all have their own set of linguistic norms. Consequently, the authors wanted to define pragmatic principles underlying the choice between T and V.	French: <i>tu</i> and <i>vous</i> . German: <i>du</i> , <i>ihr</i> , and <i>Sie</i> . Swedish: <i>du</i> and <i>ni</i> .  A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (focus groups, chat groups, interviews, and participant observations) was employed.	The authors found national variation in address practices, for instance more use of V in Finland-Swedish (Vaasa) than Swedish-Swedish (Gothenburg) due to contact with the more conservative address system in Finland. Moreover, the following six pragmatic principles were defined: familiarity (whether the speaker and addressee know each other), maturity (whether the addressee comes across as an adult), relative age (whether the speaker is older or younger than the addressee), network membership (whether the addressee belongs to the same social group), social identification (whether the speaker feels they are similar to and thus can identify with the addressee, and address mode accommodation (which address pronoun is used by the addressee, and whether this address behaviour is copied by the speaker; p. 158). Besides these pragmatic principles, they mentioned two other interacting components: 1) language-specific elements, such as the

				grammatical possibilities for expressing address forms and the degree to which distance and common ground are marked in a language, and 2) contextual factors.
Brown & Gilman (1960)  The pronouns of power & solidarity.	English, French, Italian, Spanish, and German (conclusions tested against other Indo-European and "unrelated" languages)	Factors governing address choice.  To create a framework for motivations relevant to the choice between the T and V address form.	The development of two 2SG address pronouns from Latin <i>tu</i> and <i>vos</i> in European languages: English <i>thou</i> and <i>ye</i> (later <i>you</i> ) French <i>tu</i> and <i>vous</i> Italian <i>tu</i> and <i>voi</i> (later largely replaced by <i>lei</i> ) Spanish <i>tu</i> and <i>vos</i> (later <i>usted</i> ) German <i>du</i> and <i>Ihr</i> (later <i>er</i> and then <i>Sie</i> ). All address forms will be designated with <i>T</i> and <i>V</i> (from Latin the familiar pronoun <i>tu</i> and the polite pronoun <i>vos</i> ).  The authors give a description of address systems in European languages and the semantic evolution of <i>T</i> and <i>V</i> , after which they will make a comparison between the address systems in these languages and other (Indo-European and non-Indo-European) languages.	Two main factors were mentioned to define which address pronoun is appropriate in a given situation: power and solidarity. The power semantic is defined as the relationship between at least two people, in which one person has control over the other. In this case, the superior uses <i>T</i> and receives <i>V</i> from the inferior person. Only one can have power in this context, which makes it a nonreciprocal relationship. Power can have its origin in the age, wealth, sex, physical strength, or position within (a part of) society or the family. The power semantic led to the rule that two people of equivalent levels of power used mutual <i>T</i> or <i>V</i> , whereas people of unequal power used nonreciprocal <i>T-V</i> . Besides power, Brown and Gilman mentioned a factor to be able to distinguish between people from equal power levels with the use of address forms: solidarity. This term is described as the general relationship between two people, based on topics like family, religion, political preference, profession, sex, and place of birth, but also frequency of contact, although seeing each other often does not necessarily lead to the use of the solidarity <i>T</i> . This second factor can be seen as a way to differentiate between people of equal power through the use of address pronouns.
Kretzenbacher (2011)  Perceptions of national & regional standards of addressing in Germany & Austria.	German	National and regional variation.  To study the diatopic variation (occurring in more than one geographical location) of German address practices.	T pronoun <i>du</i> (plural <i>ihr</i> ) and V pronoun <i>Sie</i> (plural <i>Sie</i> )  Data from the Melbourne address project were used, which include focus group discussions, network interviews, and participant observations between German speakers (from Leipzig, Mannheim, and Vienna) to reveal perceptions of their own German address practices and those employed by speakers of other national and regional varieties. Moreover, the author looked at online German discussion fora for relevant articles. However, this type of data collection did not allow the author to determine the social, regional, and gender aspects of the group of authors contributing to the discussion fora under study.	In core situations (e.g., with close friends, or strangers), German speakers from all three research sites make unequivocal use of <i>T</i> or <i>V</i> , respectively, whereas the author did find regional differences in the workplace domain (German speakers from Vienna used much more <i>T</i> with superiors, colleagues, and clients than speakers from Germany, for which we can find socio-historical motivations). Moreover, in Austria, the use of titles and <i>T</i> address forms can occur in the same context, whereas these two address forms are mutually exclusive in Germany.
Kim (2015)  Women's talk, mothers' work: Korean mothers' address terms, solidarity, & power.	Korean	Gender, change in address system.  To study which address terms are used to index closeness by female married Korean speakers.	In Korean, there is no generic second person pronoun like English <i>you</i> , and using a first name is not seen as an appropriate way of addressing another. They have the choice between a number of second person pronouns and kinship terms and job titles, and the choice for one form over the other gives them the opportunity to define their relationship with the hearer. Korean women are traditionally addressed with a reference to their child, like 'Ken's mom'. This is not only done so by people who have gotten to know them through contact with their child (for instance by other parents at a school), but also by their friends. As an alternative, another address term <i>caki</i> 'you' has emerged to	The female second person pronoun <i>caki</i> is a solidarity term used among Korean married women instead of addressing each other by referencing the name of their child. The main reason for married women to use this form is the lack of a proper way to address each other, so this term gives women the chance to address one another directly (without reference to their child). This in turn strengthens mothers' network, among which information relevant to children's education is circulated. The use of <i>caki</i> among these networks is promoted. Rather than seeing women's chat as useless gossip, "women's talk and networks have emerged as a socially recognized power".

			<p>express solidarity. This term was originally a reflexive pronoun, which developed into a second person pronoun in the 16th/17th century. This term is also used to express integration in the 'Married Women's Network', for Korean mothers to share information on, most importantly, children's education. Caki is not used by male Korean speakers, since they have the alternative male second person pronoun <i>caney</i> to use at work.</p> <p>The author analysed which address terms were used by Korean married women in 400 minutes of natural conversations. In total, 13 conversations between 12 participants were analysed.</p>	
<p>Plevoets, Speelman, &amp; Geeraerts (2008)</p> <p>The distribution of T/V pronouns in Netherlandic &amp; Belgian Dutch.</p>	<p>Netherlandic/Belgian Dutch</p>	<p>Pluricentric language.</p> <p>To compare the use of address pronouns by speakers from the Netherlands and Flanders.</p>	<p>U-system of address (polite): subject <i>u</i>, object <i>u</i>. J-system of address (familiar): subject <i>je/jij</i>, object <i>je/jou</i>. G-system of address (merger of familiar <i>du</i> -&gt; <i>de</i> and polite <i>ghi</i>, which used to be the formal address form in Middle Dutch): subject <i>ge/gij/-de/-degij</i>, object <i>u</i>.</p> <p>The Spoken Dutch Corpus was used for comparing the address systems in Flanders and the Netherlands. This corpus contains spoken data from 15 different speech situations (like spontaneous conversations and lessons recorded in the classroom). The author studied the relation between six variables - register (speech situation), region, age, sex, educational level, and occupational level - and use of address forms. Per variable, the use of different address forms was plotted.</p>	<p>The address situation was, in general, found to be more uniform in the Netherlands than in Flanders. Little regional variation was found in the Netherlandic area, which was not true for the Flemish regions. For age, gender, educational/occupational level, both countries acted very similar. From the late 1960s onwards, social distance became smaller, with more informal interactions as a result. Women were found to be quicker to use familiar address forms, whereas men tended to switch between informal and polite address forms. Regarding educational/occupational level, the higher levels were associated with using the polite forms, and the use of these forms was very uncommon for the lower levels.</p>
<p>Vandekerckhove (2005)</p> <p>Belgian Dutch versus Netherlandic Dutch: New patterns of divergence? On pronouns of address &amp; diminutives</p>	<p>Netherlandic/Belgian Dutch</p>	<p>Regional variation.</p> <p>To study to what extent the address system (and diminutive forms, but not very relevant here) in Belgian (Colloquial) Dutch is similar to/different from Standard (Northern) Dutch and these varieties are becoming more or less like the other in terms of address pronoun use.</p>	<p>Standard Dutch informal: subject <i>je/jij</i>, object <i>je/jou</i>, possessive <i>je/jouw</i>. Standard Dutch polite: subject <i>u</i>, object <i>u</i>, possessive <i>uw</i>. (Colloquial) Belgian Dutch: subject <i>ge/gij</i>, object <i>u</i>, possessive <i>uw</i>.</p> <p>Data were drawn from the Spoken Dutch Corpus, a digital database with spoken language data provided by adult speakers from the Netherlands and Flanders. For this study, the orthographic transcriptions of the face-to-face conversation data were employed.</p>	<p>Differences could be found between various regions of Belgium where Southern (Colloquial) Dutch is spoken and between Standard and Colloquial Dutch. Comparing Northern and Belgian Dutch subject pronoun use, for instance, the proportion of speakers' use of <i>je/jij</i> is much larger for the regions of West-Flanders than for East-Flanders, Brabant, and Limburg (with a growing proportion of <i>ge/gij</i>-use across these different regions). The use of Standard Dutch <i>je/jij/jou/jouw</i> forms has not been assimilated in Colloquial Dutch, and the younger generation of participants showed an even higher preference for using the Belgian Dutch address system than the Netherlandic address forms, which are still seen as a Netherlandic import. This is striking, since the younger generation comes into contact with Standard Dutch to a higher extent, so the lack of convergence of the address systems is not a result of speakers' limited command of Standard Dutch. The fact that this address system is diverging from Standard Dutch could be a sign of "a growing Flemish self-confidence or a growing anti-Hollandic attitude" (p. 394).</p>
<p>Fernández-Mallat (2020)</p>	<p>Chilean Spanish</p>	<p>Variety of Spanish, achieving interactional goals through pronoun use.</p>	<p><i>Ustedeante</i>, <i>tuteante</i>, and <i>voseante</i> forms.</p> <p>Data from everyday conversation (at a casual family reunion) and institutional</p>	<p>The address system in Chilean Spanish was found to not be as static as what was thought earlier. Pronoun choice was said to be purely based on the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, and</p>

<p>Forms of address in interaction: Evidence from Chilean Spanish</p>	<p>To study how address forms are used in Chilean Spanish to check whether this use is indeed purely a reflection of the relationship between speaker and addressee and the context, or whether this process is more dynamic and a Chilean speaker can select address pronouns to achieve a certain pragmatic goal in a conversation.</p>	<p>talk (emergency service call and television interview) were used for conversation analysis to check for address shifts and how these reflect aspects of one's identity, which allow the speaker to achieve specific conversational goals during an interaction.</p>	<p>the setting in which the conversation takes place. In this study, the author found that selecting an appropriate address pronoun in Chilean Spanish is a dynamic process, and speakers are able to achieve their specific interactional goals using address pronouns as a tool.</p>
---	---	--	--

B. Respondents' childhood/residence locations (including municipalities and dialect areas)  
presented in alphabetical order

Place name	Municipality	Dialect area
Asselt	Roermond	East Limburgian
Baarlo	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian
Beegden	Maasgouw	East Limburgian
Beek	Beek	East Limburgian
Beesel	Beesel	East Limburgian
Belfeld	Venlo	East Limburgian
Berg aan de Maas	Stein	Central Limburgian
Berg en Terblijt	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian
Beringe	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian
Blerick	Venlo	Mich-quarter
Born	Sittard-Geleen	Central Limburgian
Buggenum	Leudal	East Limburgian
Bunde	Meerssen	Central Limburgian
Castenray	Venray	Cleves dialects
Dieteren	Echt-Susteren	East Limburgian
Echt	Echt-Susteren	Central Limburgian
Eckelrade	Eijsden-Margraten	East Limburgian
Eijsden	Eijsden-Margraten	East Limburgian
Einighausen	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian
Ell	Leudal	Central Limburgian
Elsloo	Stein	Central Limburgian
Eygelshoven	Kerkrade	Ripuarian
Eys	Gulpen-Wittem	Ripuarian transitional area
Geleen	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian
Gennep	Gennep	Cleves dialects
Geulle	Meerssen	Central Limburgian
Grathem	Leudal	Central Limburgian
Grevenbicht	Sittard-Geleen	Central Limburgian
Grubbenvorst	Horst aan de Maas	Mich-quarter
Gulpen	Gulpen-Wittem	Ripuarian transitional area
Haelen	Leudal	East Limburgian
Heel	Maasgouw	East Limburgian
Heerlen	Heerlen	Ripuarian transitional area
Helden	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian
Herkenbosch	Roerdalen	East Limburgian
Heythuysen	Leudal	East Limburgian
Hoensbroek	Heerlen	East Limburgian
Holtum	Sittard-Geleen	Central Limburgian
Horn	Leudal	East Limburgian
Horst	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects
Hout-Blerick	Venlo	Mich-quarter
Houthem Sint Gerlach	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian
Hunsel	Leudal	Central Limburgian
Kelpen-Oler	Leudal	Central Limburgian
Kerkrade	Kerkrade	Ripuarian
Kessel	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian
Kessel-Eik	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian
Koningsbosch	Echt-Susteren	East Limburgian
Kronenberg	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects
Landgraaf	Landgraaf	Ripuarian
Leveroy	Nederweert	Central Limburgian
Limbricht	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian
Maasbracht	Maasgouw	East Limburgian
Maasbree	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian
Maastricht	Maastricht	Central Limburgian
Margraten	Eijsden-Margraten	East Limburgian

Mechelen	Gulpen-Witterm	Ripuarian transitional area
Meerlo	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects
Meerssen	Meerssen	East Limburgian
Melick	Roerdalen	East Limburgian
Merum	Roermond	East Limburgian
Meterik	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects
Montfort	Roerdalen	East Limburgian
Mook	Mook en Middelaar	Cleves dialects
Munstergeleen	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian
Nederweert	Nederweert	Central Limburgian
Neer	Leudal	East Limburgian
Neeritter	Leudal	Central Limburgian
Nieuwenhagen	Landgraaf	Ripuarian transitional area
Nunhem	Leudal	East Limburgian
Nuth	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian
Obbicht	Sittard-Geleen	Central Limburgian
Offenbeek	Beesel	East Limburgian
Oirsbeek	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian
Ospel	Nederweert	Central Limburgian
Panningen	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian
Pey	Echt-Susteren	Central Limburgian
Posterholt	Roerdalen	East Limburgian
Puth	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian
Ransdaal	Voerendaal	Ripuarian transitional area
Reuver	Beesel	East Limburgian
Roermond	Roermond	East Limburgian
Roggel	Leudal	East Limburgian
Schimmert	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian
Schin op Geul	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian
Schinnen	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian
Schinveld	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian
Sevenum	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects
Sibbe	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian
Siebengewald	Bergen	Cleves dialects
Simpelveld	Simpelveld	Ripuarian
Sint Geertruid	Eijsden-Margraten	East Limburgian
Sint Joost	Echt-Susteren	East Limburgian
Sint Odiliënberg	Roerdalen	East Limburgian
Sittard	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian
Slek	Echt-Susteren	East Limburgian
Stein	Stein	Central Limburgian
Steyl	Venlo	East Limburgian
Stramproy	Weert	Central Limburgian
Susteren	Echt-Susteren	East Limburgian
Swalmen	Roermond	East Limburgian
Tegelen	Venlo	East Limburgian
Thorn	Maasgouw	Central Limburgian
Vaals	Vaals	Ripuarian
Valkenburg	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian
Velden	Venlo	Mich-quarter
Venlo	Venlo	Mich-quarter
Venray	Venray	Cleves dialects
Vijlen	Vaals	Ripuarian
Vlodrop	Roerdalen	East Limburgian
Voerendaal	Voerendaal	Ripuarian transitional area
Weert	Weert	Central Limburgian
Welten	Heerlen	Ripuarian transitional area
Wessem	Maasgouw	East Limburgian

---

## C. Questionnaire on address use of Limburgian speakers (in Dutch)

--- Informed consent ---

### **Informatie en toestemming**

#### *Aanspreekvormen in het Limburgs*

Dit is een uitnodiging om mee te doen aan een wetenschappelijk onderzoek van de Radboud Universiteit. Deelname aan het onderzoek is vrijwillig en anoniem.

#### **Beschrijving en doel van het onderzoek**

Dit onderzoek gaat over hoe personen elkaar aanspreken in het Limburgs, zoals in het Nederlands met *u* of *jij*. Het doel van het onderzoek is om inzicht te krijgen in het gebruik van zulke aanspreekvormen in (varianten van) het Limburgs, omdat daar nog niet zo veel over bekend is. Hiervoor zijn we op zoek naar sprekers van het Limburgs. U hoeft zeker niet (meer) dagelijks Limburgs te spreken, maar u dient (een variant van) het Limburgs wel te beheersen. Alleen kunnen verstaan is dus niet voldoende.

#### **Door wie wordt het onderzoek uitgevoerd?**

Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd door Elsa Opheij, masterstudent Linguistics and Communication Sciences (research) aan de Radboud Universiteit, begeleid door prof. dr. Helen de Hoop en Joske Piepers.

#### **Wat houdt deelname aan het onderzoek in?**

Meedoen aan het onderzoek betekent het invullen van een online vragenlijst. De vragen hebben betrekking op het gebruik van aanspreekvormen in het Limburgs. Het invullen van de vragenlijst kost ongeveer 10-15 minuten.

#### **Vrijwilligheid**

Deelname aan dit onderzoek is vrijwillig. Deelname en toestemming kan op elk moment tijdens het onderzoek stopgezet worden. Hiervoor hoeft geen reden opgegeven te worden.

#### **Welke gegevens verzamelen we en hoe gaan we hiermee om?**

In dit onderzoek verzamelen we onderzoeksgegevens, die anoniem worden gemaakt. Deze worden voor wetenschappelijke doeleinden gebruikt en kunnen van belang zijn voor ander wetenschappelijk onderzoek. De anonieme onderzoeksgegevens zijn daarom ten minste 10 jaar beschikbaar voor andere wetenschappers. Omdat de onderzoeksgegevens anoniem zijn, kunnen ze niet tot de participant herleid worden. We bewaren alle onderzoeksgegevens op beveiligde wijze volgens de richtlijnen van de Radboud Universiteit.

#### **Inzage voor controle**

Sommige personen moeten inzage kunnen hebben in de onderzoeksgegevens. Dit is nodig om te kunnen controleren of de gegevens volgens de regels zijn opgeslagen. Personen die deze controle uitvoeren zijn bijvoorbeeld de dataofficer en aangewezen medewerkers datamanagement van de Radboud Universiteit. Zij zullen alle gegevens geheimhouden.

#### **Toestemming**

Gegevens mogen alleen voor ons onderzoek gebruikt worden als hiervoor toestemming gegeven wordt. Omdat de data meteen geanonimiseerd worden, is het na het voltooien van het experiment niet mogelijk om onderzoeksgegevens te laten verwijderen.

## Vergoeding

Aan deelname aan dit onderzoek is geen vergoeding verbonden.

## Vragen over het onderzoek

Voor vragen of meer informatie over het onderzoek kan contact opgenomen worden met Elsa Opheij, [elsa.opheij@ru.nl](mailto:elsa.opheij@ru.nl). Voor overige vragen over dit onderzoek (bijvoorbeeld de verwerking van gegevens) kan contact opgenomen worden met [privacy@let.ru.nl](mailto:privacy@let.ru.nl).

## Ethische toetsing en klachten

Dit onderzoek is goedgekeurd door de Ethische Toetsingscommissie Geesteswetenschappen (ETC-GW) van de Radboud Universiteit (ETC-GW nummer 2024-4792). Voor klachten over het onderzoek kan contact opgenomen worden met de onderzoeker. Ook kan een klacht ingediend worden bij de secretaris van de ETC-GW Radboud Universiteit ([etc-gw@ru.nl](mailto:etc-gw@ru.nl)).

## TOESTEMMING

Door te klikken op de knop 'Ik ga akkoord' geef ik aan dat ik:

- bovenstaande informatie gelezen heb
- instem met deelname aan het onderzoek zoals in bovenstaande informatie is beschreven
- vrijwillig meedoe aan het onderzoek
- begrijp dat de onderzoeksgegevens ten minste 10 jaar beschikbaar zijn voor controle en hergebruik in toekomstig wetenschappelijk onderzoek
- ermee akkoord ben dat de dataofficer en aangewezen medewerkers datamanagement van de Radboud Universiteit mijn gegevens kunnen inzien
- 16 jaar of ouder ben
- spreker van (een variant van) het Limburgs ben

- Ik ga akkoord
- Ik wil niet meedoen

## --- Demographic questions ---

Voor dit onderzoek is het van belang dat u (een variant van) het Limburgs beheerst. U hoeft zeker niet (meer) dagelijks Limburgs te spreken, maar alleen kunnen verstaan is helaas dus niet voldoende. Hieronder kunt u bevestigen dat u spreker van (een variant van) het Limburgs bent.

- Ja, ik spreek Limburgs
- Nee, ik spreek geen Limburgs

---<sup>2</sup>

Nu volgen eerst enkele vragen over u en uw gebruik van het Limburgs.

---

Wat is uw gender?

- Man
- Vrouw
- Non-binair

---

<sup>2</sup> Three dashes signify a page break.

- Wil ik liever niet zeggen

Wat is uw hoogst genoten of huidige opleiding?

- primair onderwijs
- vmbo
- havo
- vwo
- mbo
- hbo
- wo

Wat is uw leeftijd?



---

In welke stad/welk dorp woont u op dit moment?

In welke stad/welk dorp bent u opgegroeid?

Als u pas op latere leeftijd (een variant van het) Limburgs heeft leren spreken, vanaf welke leeftijd (in jaren) was dat dan?

Indien u het Limburgs als moedertaal heeft, dan kunt u hier 0 invullen.

Hoeveel jaren heeft u in totaal in Limburg gewoond (tot nu toe)?

--- LIM block: 1 form entered ---

Op de volgende pagina's wordt telkens gevraagd hoe u een bepaalde persoon zou aanspreken in het Limburgs.

Er komen 21 gesprekspartners aan bod. Voor elke gesprekspartner wordt gevraagd om te bevestigen dat u deze persoon in het Limburgs inderdaad altijd met  $\{q://QID22/ChoiceTextEntryValue/4\}$  aanspreekt.

---

Welke personen spreekt/sprak u wel eens **in het Limburgs** aan?

U kunt meerdere antwoorden aankruisen.

- uw vader
- uw moeder
- uw broer
- uw zus
- uw opa
- uw oma
- uw oom/tante
- uw neef/nicht
- uw docent
- uw leidinggevende
- uw collega
- uw buurman/buurvrouw
- een ouder van een vriend(in)
- een vriend(in) van uw ouders
- een vriend(in)
- de tandarts
- de huisarts
- de doktersassistent(e), bijvoorbeeld aan de telefoon
- de kapper
- een serveerster/ober
- een dienstverlener aan huis (bijvoorbeeld een loodgieter/schilder)

---

Bevestig hieronder dat u deze persoon/personen in het Limburgs inderdaad met {Vorm 1} aan zou spreken. Indien dit toch niet het geval is, kies dan voor de andere optie.

	Altijd met {Vorm 1}	Toch met een andere vorm
<i>Selected IL1</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>Selected IL2</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
...	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

---

Geef hieronder aan welke andere aanspreekvorm u dan gebruikt.

*Selected IL1*

*Selected IL2*

...

--- LIM block: 2 forms entered ---

In het Nederlands kunnen we voor het aanspreken van een persoon kiezen tussen *u* en *jij*.

Afhankelijk van de situatie kun je in het Nederlands dus zeggen 'U bent morgen jarig, toch?' of 'Jij bent morgen jarig, toch?'

Welke vormen gebruikt u in het Limburgs in zo'n geval? Zijn er twee vormen zoals u en jij in uw variant van het Limburgs?

Vorm 1

Vorm 2 (laat dit vakje leeg als u maar één vorm gebruikt)

---

Op de volgende pagina's wordt telkens gevraagd hoe u een bepaalde persoon zou aanspreken **in het Limburgs**.

Er komen 21 gesprekspartners aan bod. Voor elke gesprekspartner wordt gevraagd om aan te geven of u deze persoon wel eens in het Limburgs aanspreekt, en vervolgens of u deze persoon:

- 1) in het Limburgs altijd met de ene vorm aanspreekt,
- 2) altijd met de andere vorm aanspreekt, of
- 3) soms met de ene vorm, en soms met de andere vorm aanspreekt.

Vervolgens wordt gevraagd om uit te leggen waar deze eventuele keuze van afhangt.

---

Welke personen spreekt/sprak u wel eens **in het Limburgs** aan?

U kunt meerdere antwoorden aankruisen.

- uw vader
- uw moeder
- uw broer
- uw zus
- uw opa
- uw oma
- uw oom/tante
- uw neef/nicht
- uw docent
- uw leidinggevende
- uw collega
- uw buurman/buurvrouw
- een ouder van een vriend(in)
- een vriend(in) van uw ouders
- een vriend(in)
- de tandarts
- de huisarts
- de doktersassistent(e), bijvoorbeeld aan de telefoon
- de kapper
- een serveerster/ober
- een dienstverlener aan huis (bijvoorbeeld een loodgieter/schilder)

---

Hoe zou u deze personen aanspreken in het Limburgs? Klik aan welke optie van toepassing is.

	Altijd met {Vorm 1}	Altijd met {Vorm 2}	Soms met {Vorm 1}, soms met {Vorm 2}
<i>Selected IL1</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>Selected IL2</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

...

○

○

○

---

Schrijf hieronder zo precies mogelijk op waar die keuze tussen de verschillende aanspreekvormen ({Vorm 1} of {Vorm 2}) van afhankelijk is. Wanneer gebruikt u {Vorm 1} en wanneer gebruikt u {Vorm 2}?

*Selected IL1*

*Selected IL2*

...

--- NED block ---

Nu willen we graag weten hoe u verschillende personen **in het Nederlands** aanspreekt, waarbij u kunt kiezen tussen *u* en *jij*.

Voor elke gesprekspartner wordt gevraagd om aan te geven of u deze persoon:

- 1) in het Nederlands altijd met *u* aan zou spreken,
- 2) in het Nederlands altijd met *jij* aan zou spreken, of
- 3) in het Nederlands soms met *u* en soms met *jij* aan zou spreken.

Vervolgens wordt wederom gevraagd om uit te leggen waar deze eventuele keuze van afhangt.

---

Welke personen spreekt/sprak u wel eens **in het Nederlands** aan?

U kunt meerdere antwoorden aankruisen.

- uw vader
- uw moeder
- uw broer
- uw zus
- uw opa
- uw oma
- uw oom/tante
- uw neef/nicht
- uw docent
- uw leidinggevende
- uw collega
- uw buurman/buurvrouw
- een ouder van een vriend(in)
- een vriend(in) van uw ouders
- een vriend(in)

- de tandarts
- de huisarts
- de doktersassistent(e), bijvoorbeeld aan de telefoon
- de kapper
- een serveerster/ober
- een dienstverlener aan huis (bijvoorbeeld een loodgieter/schilder)

---

Hoe zou u deze personen aanspreken in het Nederlands? Klik aan welke optie van toepassing is.

	Altijd met u	Altijd met jij	Soms met u, soms met jij
<i>Selected IL1</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>Selected IL2</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
...	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

---

Schrijf hieronder zo precies mogelijk op waar die keuze tussen de verschillende aanspreekvormen (*u* of *jij*) van afhankelijk is. Wanneer gebruikt u *u* en wanneer gebruikt u *jij*?

*Selected IL1*

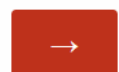
*Selected IL2*

...

--- End of survey ---

Dit was de laatste vraag. Bedankt dat u de moeite heeft genomen om deze vragenlijst in te vullen! Heeft u vragen of opmerkingen over de vragenlijst of zijn er dingen die u nu nog te binnen schieten? Vul deze dan gerust hieronder in. U kunt ook contact opnemen met [elsa.opheij@ru.nl](mailto:elsa.opheij@ru.nl).

Klik op het pijltje rechtsonder om uw antwoorden op te slaan.



## D. V/T address pronouns used per place name, municipality, and dialect area

Place name	Municipality	Dialect area	Address pronouns	N
Siebengewald	Bergen	Cleves dialects	geej-	1
Well	Bergen	Cleves dialects	geej-	1
Gennep	Gennep	Cleves dialects	geej-dich	1
Ottersum	Gennep	Cleves dialects	-dich	1
Broekhuizenvorst	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-	3
Hegelsom	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-	1
Horst	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-	13
Kronenberg	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-, geej-dich	2
Meerlo	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-, geej-dich	1
Melderslo	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	gej-	1
Meterik	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-	7
Swolgen	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-	1
Tienray	Horst aan de Maas	Cleves dialects	geej-	1
Meijel	Peel en Maas	Cleves dialects	gej-	1
Blitterswijk	Venray	Cleves dialects	gej-	1
Venray	Venray	Cleves dialects	gee/geej-, geej-, geej-	1
Wanssum	Venray	Cleves dialects	geej-	1
Grubbenvorst	Horst aan de Maas	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich	3
Lottum	Horst aan de Maas	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-	2
Sevenum	Horst aan de Maas	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich, geej-doow/dich, geej-uch, geej-dich	1
Blerick	Venlo	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich	7
Hout-Blerick	Venlo	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich	3
Lomm	Venlo	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-	1
Velden	Venlo	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich	3
Venlo	Venlo	<i>Mich</i> -quarter	geej-dich	60
Echt	Echt-Susteren	Central Limburgian	geer-doe, geer-du	3
Pey	Echt-Susteren	Central Limburgian	geer-doe	2
Ell	Leudal	Central Limburgian	gae-dich	1
Grathem	Leudal	Central Limburgian	gè-doe/dich, geer-dich	1
Hunsel	Leudal	Central Limburgian	gae-doe	1
Kelpen	Leudal	Central Limburgian	gae-dich/du	1
Neeritter	Leudal	Central Limburgian	gae-du, gee-du	1
Thorn	Maasgouw	Central Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Maastricht	Maastricht	Central Limburgian	geer-diech	24
Bunde	Meerssen	Central Limburgian	geer-dich	2
Leveroy	Nederweert	Central Limburgian	gea-du/doe	1
Nederweert	Nederweert	Central Limburgian	gae-dich	2
Ospel	Nederweert	Central Limburgian	gae-dich	1
Ospeldijk	Nederweert	Central Limburgian	gee-	1
Born	Sittard-Geleen	Central Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Grevenbicht	Sittard-Geleen	Central Limburgian	geer-dich, geer-doe	1
Holtum	Sittard-Geleen	Central Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Obbicht	Sittard-Geleen	Central Limburgian	geer-dich, geer-du	1
Berg aan de Maas	Stein	Central Limburgian	geer-dich, geer-doe	1
Elsloo	Stein	Central Limburgian	geer-dich, geer/uch-dich, geer-dich, geer-doe, geer-du	4
Stein	Stein	Central Limburgian	geer-dich	3
Stramproy	Weert	Central Limburgian	gae-dich	2
Weert	Weert	Central Limburgian	gae-dich	4
Beek	Beek	East Limburgian	geer-doe	3
Merkelbeek	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian	geer-	1
Nuth	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian	geej-du, geer/tiuch-dich/du, geer-dich, gieër-doe	1
Oirsbeek	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Puth	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian	geer/euch-du/dich, geer/ger-doe/dich, geer-doe, geer-du	1
Schimmert	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian	geer-dich	2
Schinnen	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Schinveld	Beekdaelen	East Limburgian	gier-du	1
Beesel	Beesel	East Limburgian	geur-dich, geur-se/du, uch-doe	1
Offenbeek	Beesel	East Limburgian	geej-doe	1
Reuver	Beesel	East Limburgian	geur-doe	10
Dieteren	Echt-Susteren	East Limburgian	geer-dich	1
Koningsbosch	Echt-Susteren	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Sint Joost	Echt-Susteren	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Slek	Echt-Susteren	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Susteren	Echt-Susteren	East Limburgian	geer-doe	2
Eckelrade	Eijsden-Margraten	East Limburgian	geer-dich	1
Eijsden	Eijsden-Margraten	East Limburgian	geer-dich	1
Margraten	Eijsden-Margraten	East Limburgian	geer-dich, geer-doe/dich	1
Sint Geertruid	Eijsden-Margraten	East Limburgian	geer-dich, gier-dich	2
Hoensbroek	Heerlen	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Buggenum	Leudal	East Limburgian	gea-doe	1
Haalen	Leudal	East Limburgian	gae-doe, gae-doe, gae-doe/dig	1

Heythuysen	Leudal	East Limburgian	gae-dich, gae-dich, gae-du, gea-dich, gea-doe, gee/ge-doe/de, gee-du, geh-dich	1
Horn	Leudal	East Limburgian	gae-doe	2
Neer	Leudal	East Limburgian	gae-doe	3
Nunhem	Leudal	East Limburgian	gae/uch-dig/doe	1
Roggel	Leudal	East Limburgian	gae-doe	1
Beegden	Maasgouw	East Limburgian	gae-dich	1
Heel	Maasgouw	East Limburgian	geej-doe/dich, geer-du	1
Maasbracht	Maasgouw	East Limburgian	geer-doe	2
Wessem	Maasgouw	East Limburgian	geer-dig, geer-du	1
Meerssen	Meerssen	East Limburgian	geer-dich	3
Ulestraten	Meerssen	East Limburgian	-diech	1
Baarlo	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian	geej-dich	7
Beringe	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian	ge-dig	1
Helden	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian	geej-doe	1
Kessel	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian	geej-dich	1
Kessel-Eik	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian	geej-dich	1
Maasbree	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian	geej-dich, geej-dig	1
Panningen	Peel en Maas	East Limburgian	gea-dich, gee-du	1
Herkenbosch	Roerdalen	East Limburgian	geer-dich	1
Melick	Roerdalen	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Montfort	Roerdalen	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Posterholt	Roerdalen	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Sint Odiliënberg	Roerdalen	East Limburgian	geer/uch-doe/dich, geer-doe, geer-du, ger-se	1
Vlodrop	Roerdalen	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Asselt	Roermond	East Limburgian	gêr-doe	1
Merum	Roermond	East Limburgian	geer-doe	1
Roermond	Roermond	East Limburgian	geer-doe	15
Swalmen	Roermond	East Limburgian	geur-doe	2
Einighausen	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian	geer-doe, geer-du	1
Geleen	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian	-dich	1
Limbricht	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian	geer-dich	1
Munstergeleen	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian	geer-	1
Sittard	Sittard-Geleen	East Limburgian	geer-doe	7
Berg en Terblijt	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian	gêr-dich, geer-doe/dich	1
Houthem Sint Gerlach	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian	geer-doe/diech	1
Schin op Geul	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian	geer-dich	1
Sibbe	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian	geer-dich	2
Valkenburg	Valkenburg aan de Geul	East Limburgian	geer-doe	3
Belfeld	Venlo	East Limburgian	geej-dow	5
Steyl	Venlo	East Limburgian	geej-dich	3
Tegelen	Venlo	East Limburgian	geej-dich	7
Eys	Gulpen-Wittem	Ripuarian transitional area	geer-doe	1
Gulpen	Gulpen-Wittem	Ripuarian transitional area	daer-dich, der-doe, der-du, geej-dich	1
Mechelen	Gulpen-Wittem	Ripuarian transitional area	dear-doe, der-doe	1
Wijlre	Gulpen-Wittem	Ripuarian transitional area	geer-	1
Heerlen	Heerlen	Ripuarian transitional area	geer-dich	1
Welten	Heerlen	Ripuarian transitional area	dür/dier-doe	1
Nieuwenhagen	Landgraaf	Ripuarian transitional area	uer-du	1
Ransdaal	Voerendaal	Ripuarian transitional area	dir-du	1
Voerendaal	Voerendaal	Ripuarian transitional area	geer-doe	1
Eygelshoven	Kerkrade	Ripuarian	dier-du	1
Kerkrade	Kerkrade	Ripuarian	uur-du	3
Landgraaf	Landgraaf	Ripuarian	ier-doe	3
Simpelveld	Simpelveld	Ripuarian	dier-du, dur-doe, duur-du, duur-du/doe	1
Vaals	Vaals	Ripuarian	geer-doe	1
Vijlen	Vaals	Ripuarian	gêr-du	1

E. Overview of themes (in bold) and subthemes mentioned in responses about motivations for choosing T/V

Theme	Age group 1			Age group 2			Age group 3			Age group 4			Age group 5			Total
	N	% Theme	% Group	N	% Theme	% Group	N	% Theme	% Group	N	% Theme	% Group	N	% Theme	% Group	
<b>Addressee_identity</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>17.33</b>	<b>21.70</b>	<b>470</b>	<b>20.57</b>	<b>21.38</b>	<b>590</b>	<b>25.82</b>	<b>26.79</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>19.43</b>	<b>26.72</b>	<b>385</b>	<b>16.85</b>	<b>25.33</b>	<b>2285</b>
Age	370	17.29	20.27	444	20.75	20.20	572	26.73	25.98	397	18.55	23.89	357	16.68	23.49	2140
Position	16	16.49	0.88	37	38.14	1.68	23	23.71	1.04	11	11.34	0.66	10	10.31	0.66	97
Gender	0	0.00	0.00	10	14.49	0.46	9	13.04	0.41	31	44.93	1.87	19	27.54	1.25	69
Descent	13	54.17	0.71	1	4.17	0.04	2	8.33	0.09	3	12.50	0.18	5	20.83	0.33	24
Unclear	0	0.00	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	6	40.00	0.36	9	60.00	0.59	15
<b>Addressee_behaviour</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>26.45</b>	<b>7.51</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>35.91</b>	<b>8.46</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>16.02</b>	<b>3.77</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>14.09</b>	<b>4.39</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>7.53</b>	<b>2.57</b>	<b>518</b>
Attitude	44	35.77	2.41	42	34.15	1.91	19	15.45	0.86	16	13.01	0.96	2	1.63	0.13	123
Permission/preference	69	22.11	3.78	119	38.14	5.41	44	14.10	2.00	63	20.19	3.79	17	5.45	1.12	312
Reciprocal	27	26.21	1.48	27	26.21	1.23	22	21.36	1.00	4	3.88	0.24	23	22.33	1.51	103
<b>Relation</b>	<b>257</b>	<b>21.74</b>	<b>14.08</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>21.57</b>	<b>11.60</b>	<b>268</b>	<b>22.67</b>	<b>12.17</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>16.84</b>	<b>11.97</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>17.17</b>	<b>13.36</b>	<b>1182</b>
Familiarity	48	20.96	2.63	26	11.35	1.18	55	24.02	2.50	48	20.96	2.89	52	22.71	3.42	229
Quality	147	21.94	8.06	161	24.03	7.33	146	21.79	6.63	114	17.01	6.86	102	15.22	6.71	670
Dynamic	39	22.67	2.14	37	21.51	1.68	38	22.09	1.73	22	12.79	1.32	36	20.93	2.37	172
Unspecified	27	21.09	1.48	32	25.00	1.46	33	25.78	1.50	18	14.06	1.08	18	14.06	1.18	128
<b>Speaker</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>17.65</b>	<b>2.96</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>23.20</b>	<b>3.23</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>27.78</b>	<b>3.86</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>14.38</b>	<b>2.65</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>16.99</b>	<b>3.42</b>	<b>306</b>
Age	3	7.90	0.16	13	34.21	0.59	8	21.05	0.36	3	7.90	0.18	11	28.95	0.72	38
Expected_permission/ preference	1	6.25	0.05	8	50.00	0.36	5	31.25	0.23	1	6.25	0.06	1	6.25	0.07	16
Feeling	5	27.78	0.27	4	22.22	0.18	0	0.00	0.00	3	16.67	0.18	6	33.33	0.39	18
Taught	3	42.86	0.16	1	14.29	0.04	0	0.00	0.00	2	28.57	0.12	1	14.29	0.07	7
Formality	4	30.77	0.22	2	15.39	0.09	7	53.85	0.32	0	0.00	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	13
Politeness	27	16.98	1.48	36	22.64	1.64	62	38.99	2.82	18	11.32	1.08	16	10.06	1.05	159
Respect	7	12.07	0.38	8	13.79	0.36	7	12.07	0.32	18	31.03	1.08	18	31.03	1.18	58
Other	8	44.44	0.44	9	50.00	0.41	0	0.00	0.00	1	5.56	0.06	0	0.00	0.00	18
<b>Context</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>23.60</b>	<b>3.45</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>23.22</b>	<b>2.82</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>23.60</b>	<b>2.86</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>18.35</b>	<b>2.95</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>11.24</b>	<b>1.97</b>	<b>267</b>
Irrelevant	28	11.86	1.53	58	24.58	2.64	34	14.41	1.54	38	16.10	2.29	78	33.05	5.13	236
<b>Unclear</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>15.79</b>	<b>0.99</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>23.68</b>	<b>1.23</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9.65</b>	<b>0.50</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>29.82</b>	<b>2.05</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>21.05</b>	<b>1.58</b>	<b>114</b>
Other	7	15.56	0.38	26	57.78	1.18	8	17.78	0.36	1	2.22	0.06	3	6.67	0.20	45
L/NL	5	29.41	0.27	5	29.41	0.23	6	35.29	0.27	0	0.00	0.00	1	5.88	0.07	17
Other	2	7.14	0.11	21	75.00	0.95	2	7.14	0.09	1	3.57	0.06	2	7.14	0.13	28
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1825</b>	<b>19.40</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>2198</b>	<b>23.37</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>2202</b>	<b>23.41</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>1662</b>	<b>17.67</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>1520</b>	<b>16.16</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>9407</b>

## F. Distribution across T/V/mixed address use in Limburgian and Dutch

The highest proportions per addressee are marked in green, and slightly lower percentages are marked in light green.

### Limburgian

Addressee	T		V		Mix		Total
Father	282	71,94%	95	24,23%	15	3,83%	392
Mother	291	72,93%	91	22,81%	17	4,26%	399
Brother	292	97,99%	5	1,68%	1	0,34%	298
Sister	280	98,25%	3	1,05%	2	0,70%	285
Grandfather	55	15,90%	263	76,01%	28	8,09%	346
Grandmother	63	16,71%	281	74,54%	33	8,75%	377
Uncle/aunt	168	40,38%	160	38,46%	88	21,15%	416
Cousin	403	96,64%	2	0,48%	12	2,88%	417
Teacher	12	8,45%	90	63,38%	40	28,17%	142
Supervisor	145	50,35%	42	14,58%	101	35,07%	288
Colleague	290	78,17%	4	1,08%	77	20,75%	371
Neighbour	163	39,37%	53	12,80%	198	47,83%	414
Parent of a friend	51	12,26%	214	51,44%	151	36,30%	416
Friend of a parent	90	22,06%	166	40,69%	152	37,25%	408
Friend	421	96,56%	2	0,46%	13	2,98%	436
Dentist	74	29,84%	108	43,55%	66	26,61%	248
General practitioner	27	11,84%	150	65,79%	51	22,37%	228
Doctor's assistant	73	22,81%	128	40,00%	119	37,19%	320
Hairdresser	251	65,36%	43	11,20%	90	23,44%	384
Waiter/waitress	107	26,82%	86	21,55%	206	51,63%	399
Home service provider	93	24,54%	92	24,27%	194	51,19%	379
Grand Total	3631	49,31%	2078	28,22%	1654	22,46%	7363

### Dutch

Addressee	T		V		Mix		Total
Father	61	88,41%	7	10,14%	1	1,45%	69
Mother	57	85,07%	8	11,94%	2	2,99%	67
Brother	51	100,00%		0,00%		0,00%	51
Sister	47	100,00%		0,00%		0,00%	47
Grandfather	23	32,39%	38	53,52%	10	14,08%	71
Grandmother	20	28,99%	42	60,87%	7	10,14%	69
Uncle/aunt	60	50,42%	34	28,57%	25	21,01%	119
Cousin	126	96,92%	2	1,54%	2	1,54%	130
Teacher	27	6,01%	274	61,02%	148	32,96%	449
Supervisor	204	51,91%	56	14,25%	133	33,84%	393
Colleague	310	77,31%	3	0,75%	88	21,95%	401
Neighbour	94	38,68%	16	6,58%	133	54,73%	243
Parent of a friend	60	19,74%	91	29,93%	153	50,33%	304
Friend of a parent	73	29,55%	67	27,13%	107	43,32%	247
Friend	292	97,66%	1	0,33%	6	2,01%	299
Dentist	75	19,33%	192	49,48%	121	31,19%	388
General practitioner	40	9,17%	262	60,09%	134	30,73%	436
Doctor's assistant	97	23,37%	151	36,39%	167	40,24%	415
Hairdresser	138	57,50%	18	7,50%	84	35,00%	240
Waiter/waitress	119	27,29%	53	12,16%	264	60,55%	436
Home service provider	108	26,15%	69	16,71%	236	57,14%	413
Grand Total	2082	39,38%	1384	26,18%	1821	34,44%	5287