

The dialect of Weert: use, appreciation and variation within the dialect

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Abstract

The topic of the current study was the dialect of the town of Weert. The first aspect of study was the (reported) domains of use and the beliefs about the appreciation of the dialect. The second aspect involved an empirical assessment of a described fairly systematic variation in so-called long close-mid vowels within the dialect. Use and appreciation were found to be highest within the family circle. Also, dialect speakers reportedly speak dialect less frequently with the younger generation than with their own and the older generation within the family. Regarding the distinction (varieties) in the dialect, there appears to be an age effect. Older dialect speakers seem to adhere more to the variety that is presumably spoken in their part of town than younger dialect speakers. A small effect of gender was found: male dialect speakers adhere more strongly to the dialect variety spoken in the part of town in which they live.

Keywords: Weert, dialect, dialect use, appreciation, *Stadsweerts*, *buitenijen*, long close-mid vowels

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1. Dialect in the Netherlands and Limburg

In the Netherlands - and in the Flemish language region in Belgium - Dutch is the official standard language. With regard to dialect varieties, the Netherlands (and Flanders) are by no means an exceptional dialect area. In virtually every nation in the world, language varieties are spoken, besides the standard language. Weijen says that given the fact that dialect formation (*dialectvorming*) is in the essence of the speaking human being, diversities (*verscheidenheden*) will remain despite a new unifying layer standard language continuously sliding over the dialects.

Rážová (2008) states that the Netherlands has an extraordinarily large number of dialect varieties within its language area, which makes it unique among other European countries. Despite this unique situation and despite the low esteem and unfavourable view on dialect use in general, the speakers of Limburgish dialects show enthusiasm for their dialect. Dialects in the province of Limburg are in a particularly good state in comparison to other dialects in the Dutch language area, in that they are still used for communication relatively often today. The dialect constitutes an important part in the everyday lives of dialect speakers in the province of Limburg, regardless of their age or the social class they belong to.

The main points of research in the current study on the dialect spoken in the town of Weert have some overlap with Rážová's research (2008), which consisted of a survey involving dialect use among dialect speakers in Limburg. In the current study, speakers of the dialect of Weert were asked about the situations in which they either speak their dialect or Dutch, and about their appreciation of the dialect.

1.1. The definition of *dialect*

Rážová (2008) cites a description of a *dialect*¹: 'A *dialect* is a natural language system (i.e. no normalization through education or writing), which is passed down orally and which is a continuation of Middle-Dutch.' This description, which can be found in many places in the dialectological literature, is a bit romantic and lacks the geographical dimension. In geographical terms, a dialect is a language system that is used by a group of speakers in a particular location or region.

Another, more general concept in defining linguistic distinctions is that of a variety (*variëteit* in Dutch), which is defined as a subsystem of a language which it resembles in many features, but from which it does deviate in other linguistic features. This implies that both the standard language and a dialect are varieties of language, having a corresponding structure characteristic of that language, but also having distinguishing features in their grammar. Nortier states that linguists often prefer to use the concept 'variety', which is more neutral than 'language' or 'dialect' (Nortier, 2009, p. 13).

Finally, there is the concept of regional language, which is *streektaal* or *regionale taal* in Dutch. The Limburgish dialects have the official status of a regional language since it has been recognized under Part II of the European Charter for the Regional or Minority Languages ("Europees Handvest voor regionale talen of talen van minderheden,")² Take note that the

¹ Rážová retrieved the citation of this definition of the concept of *dialect* from the webpage: <http://www.huisvalalijn.be/taalkamer/pdf/infodialecten.pdf>.

² According to the Wikipedia page, the Belgian government has never signed the treaty for the reason that it refuses to recognize the French- and Dutch-speaking minorities within the Belgian communities ("Europees Handvest voor

'Limburgish regional language' is not one single language variety, but rather a collection of local varieties spoken in the Dutch province of Limburg.

Bakkes (2013) wrote about Jo Hansen, a writer who was born in Roermond in the 20th century. Bakkes observes that Hansen believed that the Limburgish dialect is not inferior to any language, nor solely bound to the countryside. Bakkes claims that Hansen's statement in 1949 was a point of view that great linguists did not claim until the seventies (Bakkes, 2013, p. 174). People of his time considered a standard language far more important than a dialect.

Kroon and Vallen (2004) refer to the results of a large-scale survey in the Dutch province of Limburg, the *Grote Limburg-Enquête*, which was administered between August 2001 and April 2002 (Belemans, 2002). One statement in this survey was as follows: 'dialect is mainly the colloquial language of the oldest generation' [my translation from Dutch]. Kroon and Vallen found it remarkable that a broad majority of the respondents aged above 60 agreed with this statement whereas a broad majority of those aged below 30 disagreed. They conclude that, in line with Belemans (2002), youngsters in Limburg disagree with the older generation of dialect speakers, who view themselves as the users and keepers of the true dialect (*hét dialect* – note the emphasizing accent on *het*) and say that the youngsters do no longer speak dialect.

Kroon and Vallen (2004) also describe Standard Dutch (*Standaardnederlands*) as a variety of Dutch with maximal communication radius and functional use within the national language community. A Dutch dialect may, by extension, be characterized as a variety of the Dutch language that, in comparison with Standard Dutch, has a more restricted, local communication radius and functional use (2004, p. 1).

The results of the *Grote Limburg-Enquête* showed that 83 percent of the respondents had indicated to be able to speak dialect that is spoken in their place of residence. Over 80 percent of the respondents indicated to mostly use the dialect with their parents, friends and other dialect speakers living in their place of residence. Between 60 and 80 percent said to usually speak dialect with their partner at home, when strangers are around and with their children (Belemans, 2002; Rážová, 2008, p. 51). These figures are much higher than the figures about dialect use in the Netherlands in general, which suggests that the Limburgish dialect is more resilient than other dialects in the Netherlands. According to a survey conducted by Flycatcher in 2016, 79 percent of the Limburgish people reported to have a good or excellent oral proficiency of Limburgish (*Dagblad de Limburger*, May 5th 2017). This percentage corresponds to the percentage of dialect speakers who mostly speak dialect with their parents and with their partner at home, according to the results of the *Grote Limburg-Enquête* (80 percent).

The situations in which either a standard language or a dialect is used are not arbitrary, but are dictated by fairly strict prescriptions. Dialect speakers are aware that their dialect is inadequate in particular, more formal situations. They sense that their dialect is suitable to talk about everyday affairs, but that its vocabulary is inadequate when discussing more formal matters, such as science and art. Such matters require them to use words from the standard language, or even the conversation to take place in the standard language, which contributes to the sense that the standard language is in higher esteem. Although more specialized matters are more suitable for a standard language, speakers of a dialect prefer to speak their dialect in many other situations. Rážová (2008) draws the conclusion that the difference between a standard language and a dialect is situation-dependent. Nortier claims that speakers very well know

regionale talen of talen van minderheden,"). In her PhD paper, Alessia Vacca confirms that Belgium has yet to sign the Charter, as well as Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Turkey (Vacca, 2011, p. 352).

whether they use one or two varieties and that these are two distinct systems, which may – and often have to be – used in different situations and environments, with different interlocutors and depending on the subjects to be discussed (Nortier, 2009, p. 13). These distinctions are corroborated by the findings in Belemans (Belemans, 2002). Dialect use is low when talking to a stranger on the phone and low with one's general practitioner. When a stranger addresses a dialect speaker dialect, dialect speakers predominantly respond in the dialect. Dialect speakers almost always speak dialect in a conversation with other dialect speakers in their place of residence.

Kroon and Vallen (2004) agree that the situations in which the standard language or the dialect is used are not arbitrary. In areas where dialect use is considerable, such as in Limburg, dialect and the standard language are frequently complementary, dialect being predominantly used in everyday informal oral communication. Typical of the bilingual state found in the province of Limburg, which is called diglossia, is the discrepancy in status between the two languages or language varieties involved.

In an article in the monthly magazine (ten issues per year) *Onze Taal*, it is stated that there are no strong scientific arguments to declare a certain group of language forms a language or a dialect. The most important criterion is a social and political one: a dialect is a language when its speakers wish to and exert enough pressure to achieve what they want (Van Oostendorp, 2017).

On the educational website *Kennislink*, Mathilde Jansen, co-author of the *Atlas van de Nederlandse taal* ('Atlas of the Dutch language'), says that it is difficult to determine a clear explanation for the relative persistence of the Limburgish and Frisian regional languages. She thinks that being open-minded about multilingualism is important. Another factor that she mentioned was that both provinces are in the peripheral of the country, relatively far removed from the *Randstad* in the west of the Netherlands. She also supposed that people in Friesland and Limburg are more home-loving and less inclined to move to other provinces. The most important factor, according to Jansen, may be however that Limburgians and Frisians are proud of their language (Kraaijvanger, 2017).

1.2. The current study

The current study revolved on the dialect of Weert, general, but also on the existence of two local varieties: the *Stadsweerts* variety, (presumably and globally) spoken in the town centre of Weert, and the *buitenijen* variety, which is spoken in the outside part of the (old) town (and virtually the entire municipalities of Weert and Nederweert, see 3.2.1. The dialect of Weert and the surrounding area). Typical of the two varieties are the two distinct sets of vowel pronunciations representing the three long mid-close vowels. These sets of vowel sounds constitute [iə], [uə] and [yə] in the *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety and [e.], [o.] and [ø.] in the *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety. These vowel sounds differ systematically between the two varieties, although not throughout the entire vocabulary of words containing these vowel sounds. One exception is the word *woeëning* or *wuuëning* ('residence', 'house'). Both word forms consist of vowel sounds (centralizing diphthongs) that are typical of the vowel sound set assumed to occur in the *Stadsweerts* variety: [uə] and [yə]. If this word adhered to the two systems of the vowel sound set, it would have been *woeëning* or *wuuëning* in the *Stadsweerts* variety and *woning* or *weuning* in the *buitenijen* variety.

The social factors that were investigated in my study were 'gender', 'age' and 'part of town'. The factor 'gender' was part of the study in order to find out whether there would be a relation between the frequency of use of the designated vowel sounds in each variety and the

gender of the dialect speaker. The factor 'age' involved the comparison in the frequency of the vowel sounds by dialect speakers according to their age. The factor 'part of town' was included to distinguish two dialect speaker groups: dialect speakers living in the town centre area (the town centre and the two adjacent neighbourhoods Fatima and the Biest), and dialect speakers living in the remaining parts of the town of Weert.

Regarding the age of the speaker, Rážová observes that dialect use is declining in the Netherlands and that the younger generation speaks dialect less frequently than their parents and the older generations (2008, p. 14). In the current study, this comparison of the younger and the older generation has been concretized in the form of the set-up of the study, namely in the age factor. A potential observation would be that, among the younger age group, the frequencies of the long close-mid vowel sounds in the *buitenijen* variety were high in proportion to the concerning frequencies in the *Stadsweerts* variety. This high proportion of the vowel sounds assigned to the *buitenijen* variety would be observed because these vowel sounds are nearly identical in the *buitenijen* variety and the Dutch standard language: [e.], [o.] and [ø.].

About the factor 'gender' of the speaker, Rážová states that women are more likely to speak the standard language than men. A possible explanation is that women used to be more bound to stay at home, while men were exposed to other language variants, increasing the chance of influencing their language use. Another reason might be that women show a higher tendency to speak properly, and therefore find it more suitable to speak the standard language. In the survey by Belemans, it is said that the finding that the subgroup of men aged over 60 speak more dialect than women demonstrates the *klassieke beeld* 'classic picture' of men speaking more dialect than women (2002, p. 13). This factor was implemented next to the 'age' factor in the current study: through a comparison of the production of the long close-mid vowel sounds in the *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* varieties. Since these vowel sounds in the *buitenijen* variety resemble those in standard Dutch, female dialect speakers may produce a higher amount of *buitenijen* vowel sounds in comparison to male dialect speakers.

Attitude of others towards dialect is another aspect that in the current study. Kroon and Vallen (2004) state that language differences are cause for commotion, not only because they inhibit communication and cooperation, but even more so because of the strong inclination of people to articulate strong evaluative judgements about their own language use and that of others. These differences may vary among groups of people, because they arise during the upbringing and education and other contexts of socialization. Judgements about languages and language varieties primarily relate to the social status of the group of language users (2004, pp. 3-4).

In the current study, dialect speakers from Weert were asked about the (general) appreciation of dialect and the relation with the standard language (Dutch). Another question regarded associations the dialect speaker has with the (Limburgish) dialect. These questions aimed to reveal presumed attitudes of others and of dialect speakers themselves towards dialect in general and to the local dialect.

One question in the survey *Grote Limburg-Enquête*, (Belemans, 2002) consisted of thirteen statements with which a majority of the respondents (highly) agreed and six statements with which the majority disagreed. The percentages of the statements that were met with broad agreement demonstrated that the majority of the Limburgians experiences that speaking dialect creates a more convivial atmosphere than communicating in the standard language, that the Limburgish dialects are more beautiful than standard Dutch, and that the dialect is part of the identity of the Limburgians (Belemans, 2002, p. 14). The agreement with this final statement is

endorsed by the conclusion in the survey by Flycatcher that the dialect is the most prominent element of the Limburgish identity (outlined in an advertisement in *Dagblad de Limburger*, May 5th 2017). Results in this thesis may point in the same positive direction in the findings in the surveys presented here.

In the next chapter, the history of the town of Weert and the surrounding area will be outlined. In the third chapter, the classification of the dialect of Limburg and of the dialect of the town of Weert will be sketched. The two varieties that are distinguished within the dialect of Weert are characterized. In particular, a systematic distinction in the phonology between the two varieties is fleshed out as a point of study. The study consists of two parts with the first part concerning the reported use of the dialect of Weert and the presumed attitudes towards the dialect, and the second part covering the systematic distinction between the two varieties within the dialect of Weert.

Chapter 4 describes my study on the dialect of Weert that was conducted as part of this thesis. The results from this study are split up into Chapter 5 and 6. Chapter 5 comprises the results on the use and the appreciation of the dialect, whereas Chapter 6 covers the results on the observed variation in words that is grounded on the differing phonology in the two varieties within the dialect of Weert. The thesis is completed with the discussion and conclusion in Chapter 7.

2. Historical background

This chapter outlines the history of the town of Weert. The information was retrieved from two books in an unfinished three-volume series on the history of Weert, written by Jean Coenen (Coenen, 2007, 2009). Whenever information has been retrieved from work of another source, the source will be referred to explicitly.

The name ‘weert’ derived from the word ‘waard’, which is an alternative spelling of ‘weert’. The word ‘waard’ means ‘lower land entirely surrounded by rivers’, ‘foreland’ (Van Dale Online, (den Boon & Hendriks, 2015, 2016), a definition that does not completely match the geographical setting of Weert, since Weert (or Nederweert for that matter) does not have a river. Another definition is given by Coenen (2007): ‘the name Weert means land amidst of water or a swamp’ [own translation], which Coenen took from Renes (1999). A convincing definition should include the presence of peat grounds, which really belongs to the historic environment of the region. Coenen (p. 50) said that it is believed that ‘weert’ derived from *wertha*, which means ‘land by the water’ or ‘island’. As of the 14th century, the name ‘Overweert’ was used, in order to distinguish it from Nederweert. The old name ‘Weert’ nowadays refers to the combined territory of Weert and Nederweert.

The outer area of Weert includes eight former hamlets: Altweert, Boshoven, Hushoven, Laar, Leuken, Keent, Tungelroy and Swartbroek. Although the name ‘Altweert’ assumes the foundation of the settlement prior to the foundation of the town of Weert, any evidence pointing to that assumption is lacking (p. 51). On page 141, Coenen calls Overweert a village, comprising the town within the embankments (at the time referred to as *kerkhof*, ‘cemetery’), and seven hamlets: Keent, Altweert, Tungelroy, Boshoven, Hushoven, Laar and Leuken. The current village of Stramproy was not included as a hamlet of the Overweert region. The (probable) reason for this exclusion is accounted for by the historical geography of the region: Weert and Nederweert were located on one single ‘island’ in the marsh. Stramproy, Tungelroy and some more hamlets were located on another ‘island’. A creek cut through this area, separating Tungelroy and Stramproy, making Tungelroy part of the Weert region (p. 12).

In the introduction of their book, Adriaens et al. (2001) state that settlements were built on sandy ridges of land in a vast marsh. These settlements were built on the higher grounds of this ridge and developed into hamlets. The hamlets on the far-east end of the ridge lay on lower ground than those to the south-west, in the area of the current region of Weert. The difference in height explains the names of *Nederweert* and *Weert* or *Overweert*, since ‘neder’ is the (topographical) equivalent of ‘lower’³ The denomination of Nederweert and Overweert is ‘Land van Weert’.

The oldest writing that mentions ‘weert’ dates from the year 1066. In that year, the count Otto van Orlamünde and his consort Adela donated their country estate of *Wertha* (the old denomination of Weert) to the Chapter of Saint Servaas in Maastricht⁴ The Lords of Hornes (*Heren van Horn(e)*) acquired their first possessions in Weert in 1242 and increased their wealth soon afterwards. After solving their administrative disputes with the Chapter in Maastricht, the Lords settled in Weert and controlled their entire administration from here. Under their

³ The authors argue that the resemblance of the grounds on which the settlements were built is reflected in the similar dialect varieties of the towns of Weert and Nederweert. The hamlets of Tungelroy, Swartbroek and Stramproy are said to have been founded by settlers from the south, giving an explanation for the deviating dialects on these places (Adriaens et al., 2001, p. 7).

⁴ Coenen (2007, p. 45) claims that this document is not the original certificate, but was made in the next century.

administration, Weert gained a lot of wealth and acquired city rights in 1414. The town flourished and entered a local 'Golden Age', during which the textile and cloth industry and trade were the major pivot of wealth. The authors also explained that the Eighty Years' War and its aftermath were devastating for Weert; the town declined into an economic depression and was reduced to poverty. Weert would remain an economically declined rural town, leaning predominantly on agriculture until the 19th century.

Adriaens et al. (2001) state that the digging of the canal (the *Zuid-Willemsvaart*)⁵ in 1825, and to a greater extent the connection to the railway from Antwerp to the Ruhr area in 1879, followed by the railway connection with Eindhoven in 1913 revived the town from its slumbering isolation. The town gradually transformed from a purely agricultural society into an industrial and trading centre. After the end of World War II, the industry and trade grew intensively, causing the town to expand to a regional urban centre with about 50,000 inhabitants.

The hamlet of Keent, in the south of Overweert, was known under the name of *de Keenteracker* and *de Dijkeracker*, which resemble the names of roads in the outskirts of the town. The current neighbourhood Moesel was considered to be part of the hamlet of Keent. The hamlet of Leuken also included the Biest, nowadays a neighbourhood, where two monasteries were located. The hamlet of Swartbroek was gradually turning into a distinct community, with a separate notation in the accounts. The names given to this region all indicated the presence of a swamp.

2.1. Roman era and early Middle-Ages

The information about Weert during the Roman era is scarce, although relatively a lot is known in comparison with other places in Limburg. The discovery of several small settlements point out that at least ten small settlements existed in the area around the town centre of Weert during the Roman era. Agricultural fields area around Weert and Nederweert were inhabited, as evidenced by the fertile soil (Coenen, 2007, p. 31). No people inhabited the area west of the Meuse during the 4th to the 7th century. During the Roman era, the area around Weert was part of the so-called *Civitas Tungrorum*, the name of the geo-political division with the current Belgian city of Tongeren as the capital.

2.2. Late Middle-Ages

Around 1100, Weert was made up of a number of small hamlets with farms. Until the revival of the trade in the 12th and 13th century, the farms in the current town centre started distinguishing themselves from those in the other hamlets. The geographical position at the edge of the Peel⁶ (a natural area of peat) was particularly convenient, mostly for the transport of goods coming from the Meuse river.

In the 14th century, the Land van Weert belonged to the county (and as from 1338 dukedom) of Gelre. Throughout the ages, the lords of Horne were vassals of multiple counts and the duke of Brabant, forcing them to combat in battles between bishopric, counts and dukes. Even though Weert was of strategic importance due to the trade route from Antwerp to Cologne, no attempts have been taken to occupy Weert and Nederweert. The crossroad of important trade routes provided a strategic position near the Peel and contributed to the economic development

⁵ The uncompleted 'Canal du Nord' (*Noordervaart*) was foreseen in digging of the *Zuid-Willemsvaart*. The 'Canal du Nord' was part of a bigger project (named the 'Grand Canal du Nord') to connect the rivers the Scheldt, the Meuse and the Rhine under reign of Napoleon I. ("Noordervaart,").

⁶ According to Coenen (p. 11), the 'Peel' formed a frontier between the provinces of North-Brabant and Limburg. It was an impenetrable marsh, which could only be crossed via a few scattered sand ways.

of Weert. The trade routes passed through Venlo and Roermond, respectively leading to the Rhine area and to Cologne, both in Germany. The urbanisation of Weert was probably stimulated by the textile and wool industry, of which the products were also traded in Antwerp and Cologne. Renes (2005) explains late urbanisation of Weert by the absence of a nearby river, despite other factors favouring urbanisation.

During the 16th century, the territory of Weert included the town and the administrative entities of the *buitenij* (the *buitenijen* area), which are the same as the current neighbourhoods and villages (Keent, Altweert, Boshoven, Hushoven, Laar, Leuken, Swartbroek and Tungelroy) (2007, p. 216).

2.2.1. Lord Philips de Montmorency⁷ and the castle of the Van Horn family

In 1541, Philip de Montmorency, count of Horne ("Horn" or "Hoorn", ("Philip de Montmorency, Count of Horn,")) took on the title of lord of Weert. He became page at emperor Charles V's Spanish court. In 1546, he joined an army under command of Maximilian of Egmont. Philip de Montmorency often joined crown prince Philip II on his journeys, which were costly. Lord Philip was assumed also had to pay the war-related costs. Philip de Montmorency had a lot of debts, and regularly complained about the refusal of the prince and later king Philip II to compensate him for his costs. When the duke Alva invited Philip to Brussels, Philip had to sell his castle farm in Weert. Alva had devised a ruse to capture Philip de Montmorency and count Lamoraal van Egmond (also spelled Egmont). Both were sentenced to death for conspiracy against the king and promoting and allowing Protestantism. Six days after the decapitation of the counts on 5 June 1568, Alva ordered the confiscation of their possessions. When the family left Weert, the civilians were beat, but also outraged about the high debts the family left to the town (pp. 242-257).

The period 1500-1568 was rather fortunate, despite the diseases and disasters that struck the Land of Weert. After that period, a lot of employment was lost and the town lost its international trading position. Weert was burdened with Spanish garrisons that were stationed in the town and looting armies also swept through the town (2007, p. 301).

No accurate statements of the number of inhabitants of the town of Weert exist for the period of 1568 to 1648 (the period of the Eighty Years' War). The map as drawn by Jacob van Deventer appears to show that the town was approximately the same size as in 1811, the year of the first land register (2007, p. 11). Thanks to statements on the number of communicants within the parish that the pastors reported during their visitations of the bishopric of Roermond, rather reliable estimations of the number of inhabitants can be made. In 1584, the pastor of Weert mentions 4,160 inhabitants (communicants), which leads to an estimation of 5,660 inhabitants (including an estimated number of at least 1,500 children under the age of 12). This estimation increases to over 6,000 when accounting for the possibility that children took the Communion at the age of 13 or 14 (instead of 12 as was usual in the second half of the 18th century). The

⁷ Whereas Coenen (2007) employs the name *Philips de Montmorency*, the name is spelled *Filips van Montmorency* on the website of the University of Leiden ("Horn, Filips van Montmorency, graaf van,"). On the web page of Bible Encyclopedias (Chisholm, 1910), the English name is also *Philip de Montmorency*. However, Encyclopædia Britannica refers to *Filips van Montmorency, count of Horne*, and provides alternative titles ("Filips van Montmorency, count of Horne," 2012). The title 'count of Hoorne' is also found on the web page about the Revolt and Reformation of the Republic. On a webpage of *Erfgoedcluster Weert*, the name *Philips de Montmorency* is used, whereas on a PDF file from that webpage, the name *Philips van Montmorency* ("Philips de Montmorency," 2017; "Philips de Montmorency deel 1," 2013).

number gradually declined until 1648, for an important part caused by people moving to province of Holland and its environs, and the outbreak of the plague epidemic in 1635 and 1636.

The 5,000 to 6,000 inhabitants lived in the town, including the ones living near the gates outside of the town and the surrounding hamlets. The number of inhabitants in these hamlets was roughly equal to the number of inhabitants in the town and near the outer gates combined.

In the second half of the 17th century, the castle functioned as a fortified fortress for garrisons and as a residence. The drastic change in warfare in the late 17th century rendered the embankments and canals around the town obsolete. In 1702, a bombardment by the *staatse leger* ('state army') and a consequential fire largely destroyed the castle (2009, pp. 177-179).

2.3. Weert during the Eighty Years' War (or Dutch Revolt) (1568-1648)

In the early part of the 15th century, the town of Weert had been completely fortified by embankments, walls and six town gates. The embankments were encompassed by canals or ramparts.

As mentioned before, the Eighty Years' War was a period of decline and of unrest for the town of Weert. The town got involved in the war from the very beginning, in 1568. Its strategic position between Maastricht and 's-Hertogenbosch effected several occupations of the town and the castle during the first period of conflict. In 1568, king Philip II of Spain confiscated Weert, denying the town its neutrality. The duke of Alva (or Alba) (Koenigsberger, 2011), governor(-general) of the Netherlands, stationed a garrison in the castle and in the town. The occupation of the town marked a significant transition from a trading town to a fortified town, entailing more involvement in the warfare. For decades, the town of Weert was part of a belt of garrison towns in and around the duchy of Brabant. Passing armies and garrisoned soldiers caused trouble to the inhabitants of the town, by plundering, committing murder and rape. Spanish mercenaries as well as soldiers under command of the Prince of Orange, later denoted as the *staatse leger* ('state army'), were guilty of these crimes (2009, pp. 77-79).

After the Peace of Münster of 1648, Weert emerged relatively unscathed compared to plenty of other towns in the area that had sustained substantially more damage. The trade and industry in some towns had collapsed completely. In Weert, the trade in cloth had endured heavy blows, but the cloth was still sold in the Netherlands only. After the war, the town remained under Spanish rule. It experienced hinder in trading relations with the Republic of the United Netherlands, even though the Land of Weert was seated near the border with the Republic. The town had to reorient its trading relations with Brabant towards other towns within the Spanish territories (2009, p. 141).

2.4. Spanish Netherlands

The number of inhabitants in Weert during the 17th century fluctuated, although it was lower in the second half of that century than it had been in the preceding century. A statement by the pastor of the parish, comprising both the town and the *buiten*, in 1715, provides a count of 3,300 communicants, excluding children under the age of thirteen. The total number of inhabitants is estimated between 4,000 and 4,500 (2009, pp. 165, 287).

The size of the *buiten* slightly exceeded that of the town and the outer gates, comprising a higher number of houses and a larger population in the late 17th century. The fact that the town administration consisted of people living in the town, and the *buiten* was often burdened with the costs caused high tensions between the town and the *buiten*, often leading to (costly) legal proceedings (2009, pp. 180, 211).

In 1702, the Republic of the United Netherlands conquered the Spanish Netherlands and held it under their rule until 1715⁸, when the War of the Spanish Succession ended with the signing of the Treaties of Utrecht⁹ (1713), and the subsequent Treaty of the Barriers in 1715 (2009, p. 345).

2.5. Austrian Netherlands and French occupation

Whereas the Spanish Netherlands fell under the rule of the Republic of the United Netherlands during the Spanish Succession War (1701-1713/1714), Austria gained control of the Spanish Netherlands (among others) as compensation for the war against Spain (2009, p. 345). The Treaty of the Barrier (1715)¹⁰ ensured that the Republic of the United Netherlands obtained the disposition of the so-called barrier towns. These barrier towns were eight fortified towns in the former Spanish Netherlands that the Republic of the United Netherlands wished to keep for the defence against France (2009, p. 333).

In the 18th century, the population of Weert was smaller than during the first half of the 17th century. Still, with 3,500 to 4,100 inhabitants, which for the largest part lived in the *buiten*, it was a rather large town compared to surrounding towns. Around 1800, it was the fourth largest town in the district (*departement*), even larger than the district capital Roermond. Other towns in this district were Maastricht (the largest in numbers of the population), Venlo, Heerlen and Tongeren (the last town is in present-day Belgium) (2009, pp. 287-288). In 1792, French revolutionists declared war to Austria and definitely conquered the Austrian Netherlands in 1794.

In 1815, the European powers, England, France, Russia and Austria, determined that the Austrian Netherlands and the Dutch kingdom formed a buffer zone vis-à-vis France. Within the kingdom of the Netherlands, Weert belonged to the Belgian part. As town in the former Austrian Netherlands, Weert was considered part of Belgium. This allocation of Weert within the kingdom explains the attitude of the town during the revolt of 1830 (2009, p. 401).

The uncompleted *Canal du Nord* (*Noordervaart*), which was initiated under the command of Napoleon, was integrated into the digging plans for a canal between Maastricht and 's-Hertogenbosch. This canal, the *Zuid-Willemsvaart*, was dug in 1822-1823 (*Vrakker: namen en bijnamen*, 1994) and would prove its economic importance to the town of Weert.

2.5.1. Growth in the 19th and 20th century

Although the *Zuid-Willemsvaart* canal, which was completed in 1825, improved the accessibility of Weert for agricultural goods and modern transportation of people by steam boat, the expected industrial growth was a long time coming. Weert counted only 74 jobs in the industry sector on a population of nearly 7,000 in 1868. The construction of a railroad (named *De IJzeren Rijn*, 'the iron Rhine'), between Antwerp in Belgium and Mönchengladbach in Germany, initiated the establishment of heavy industry in Balen-Wezel, Lommel, Overpelt in Belgium and Budel in the Dutch province of North-Holland. Between 1880 and 1920, an increasing number of enterprises settled in Weert. Many farmer sons found employment in the mine industry in Southern Limburg. In 1913, a railroad connection between Weert and Eindhoven was completed, and this railroad boosted the industrialisation (Deben, 2003, pp. 211-213, 215).

⁸ Whereas Coenen (2009, p. 335) said that the period during which the Republic of the United Netherlands ruled over Weert ran from 1703 until 1715, he said that the Republic had the power from 1702 until 1715 on page 345.

⁹ On Encyclopædia Britannica, the Treaties of Utrecht, having the alternative name of Peace of Utrecht, are said to be a series of treaties between France and other European powers and another series between Spain and other powers. These treaties concluded the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14) ("treaties of Utrecht," 2014).

¹⁰ "Austrian Netherlands", Encyclopædia Britannica ("Austrian Netherlands," 2008).

Maes, Nouwen & Weerts (2006, p. 3) state that the economic development of Weert globally that of other towns in the region, but that the town nevertheless did not seem to profit from the prior built rail- and waterway until the late 19th and 20th century. The economic development appeared to fall behind on the demographic growth.

Maes, Nouwen & Weerts (2005) conclude that, up to the 20th century, the buildings were mainly centred within the canals, and occasionally found along the canals. Beyond those canals, ribbon building was centred immediately in front of the town gates, the so-called *voorpoorten*¹¹ ('front gates'). It was not until 1934 that the canals were filled in completely, giving space for two adjoining avenues (the current *Wilheminasingel* and *Emmasingel*), where building development was initiated.

The graph in Figure 2.1 shows the (estimations) of the number of inhabitants of the town and the *buiten* during the late 16th until the early 19th century (2009). Accurate numbers were not available until the later 18th century. The periodical numbers are estimations of the mean population over a decade and are based on the number of baptized babies. Coenen's argument for this division per decade was that the number of baptisms per year fluctuated strongly. Historic demographers make the assumption of globally 40 baptized babies per 1,000 inhabitants, which is the point of departure for Coenen (2009, p. 164). There seems to be a discrepancy for the years 1584 and 1648. It is stated that "it is certain that the number of inhabitants of Weert gradually decreased until 1648" (2009, p. 11), while the graph clearly shows an increase during that period. Weert must have had a population figure of at least 6,200 inhabitants in 1648, based on the assumption of 40 baptized babies per 1,000 inhabitants (2009, p. 164). Nevertheless, the numbers represent estimations, so no strong conclusions can be drawn from them. The high population figure of the year 1784, 5,583, is doubtful, since in a census carried out by the French in 1796, 4,553 inhabitants were registered (p. 287), which is a difference of over a thousand inhabitants over the course of twelve years.

The figure of 1839, 6199, was found in a contribution in *Weert in woord en beeld. Jaarboek voor Weert 1989* by Cor Tubée (Tubée, 1989). This author gave a detailed overview of the composition of the population of Weert (town, *voorpoorten* and hamlets), obtained from the census register. This register was, according to Tubée, the most extensive of the censuses since 1796. The information may, however, be incomplete due to addition and removal of people on the register. In a foot note, Tubée mentioned a discrepancy between the statement of the register and Tubée's calculation. Whereas the register states that the municipality counted 6,285, Tubée counted 6,299, the number included in the graph. (Tubée, 1989). The hamlets in this register included the eight hamlets (2009), plus Boshoverbeek (south of the rail road and north-western border to the *Zuid-Willemsvaart*) and Moesel (east of the neighbourhood of Keent).

¹¹ The *voorpoorten* were the streets that were directly adjoined to the town (the present town centre): Beekpoort, Biest, Dries (encompassing the current Stationsstraat and its continuation), Maaspoort and Molenpoort.

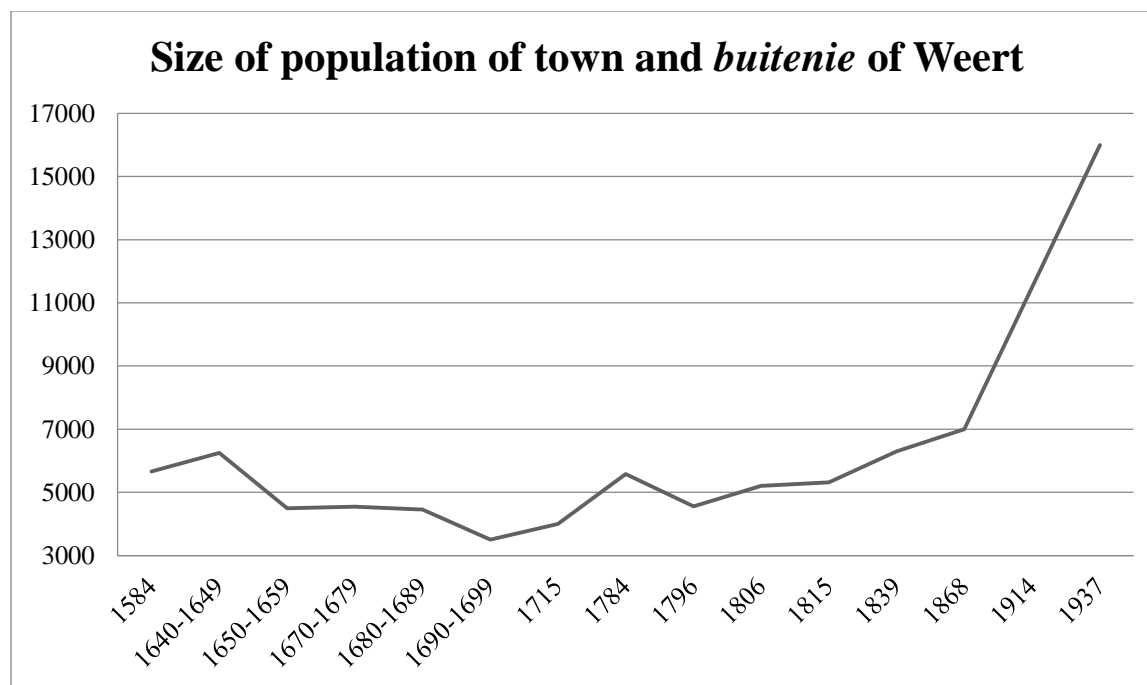


Figure 2.1 The development of the population of the town and the *buiten* of Weert. The periodical numbers are mean numbers of inhabitants per decade based on estimations with 40 baptized babies per 1,000 inhabitants. The number for the year 1584 is the number of communicants plus an estimated 1,500 children up to the age of 12 in the parish of Weert, which enclosed the entire territory of Weert (including the hamlets). The figure of 1784 may be doubtful considering that the French registered 4,553 inhabitants in a census in 1796, which is a decrease of over 1,000 in twelve years. The figure of 1839, 6,299, is from a census register, published in a contribution from Tubée in a yearbook of a society in Weert (*Weert in woord en beeld*). Tubée gave an extensive overview of the composition of the population. Nevertheless, the population figure may be inaccurate, due to additions and removals of names during the draw up of the register (Tubée, 1989). In 1868, Weert had nearly 7,000 inhabitants.

The strong reliance of the town of Weert on agriculture comes to the fore in the comparison of branches of employment in Maastricht and Weert in 1930. The share of agriculture was 4.5% in Maastricht and 39% in Weert. Over half of working force in Maastricht worked in the industry, while this percentage was equal to that of agriculture in Weert (34) ("Weert als deel van een groeiend Benelux Industriegebied en als meest centraal gelegen in N.-Brabant-Limburg," 1949)¹². The proportion of the people working in the agriculture remained stable, and was passed by the proportion in the industry in the period 1930 through 1946 ("Groeiend Weert heeft grootse plannen," 1949).

2.6. Post-war expansion

The first large post-war expansion was planned near the industrial area along the *Zuid-Willemsvaart* canal. Soon, the town expanded towards the east and in the 1950s, building projects resulted in mass numbers of houses in the neighbourhood Keent. Around 1900, the

¹² The title *Weert als deel van een groeiend Benelux Industriegebied en als meest centraal gelegen in N.-Brabant-Limburg* is used in multiple issues of *Het Kanton Weert* in January 1949. The concerning articles cover different aspects that play a role in the development of the town, such as population growth and catering industry.

municipality¹³ had a population of 8,800 inhabitants, while it had increased to over 28,000 inhabitants in 1959. In that year, the state assigned Weert as a primary centre of development, and subsequently, the administration of Weert devised a plan for constructing seven industrial sites around the town. These industrial sites led to the growth of the town to an industrial town.

The town rapidly expanded with the newly built neighbourhoods such as Leuken, Groenewoud in the eastern part, and Moesel and Graswinkel in the southern part of the town. The former hamlets Altweert, Moesel, Leuken, Boshoven and Vrakker vanished as a consequence of this expansion (Wassink & Verstraelen, 2002, p. 30).

In an issue of a local newspaper published on January 7 1949, the overview of demographic statistics demonstrates the high population growth in Weert – a mean birth surplus of 516.33 in the years 1946 to 1948 (with a population of 21,553 on December 31 1948). In the accompanying account, it is stated that the population growth has not only been absorbed, but has also been gained up on in terms of housing in 1948 ("Bevolkingscijfers Weert 1948," 1949). In the subsequent issue, on January 14, the housing shortage was ascribed to the centuries of stagnation, decline and isolation of the town. It was argued that this period had ended with the completion of the railroad to Eindhoven ("Groeiend Weert heeft grootse plannen," 1949).

Whereas the population of the town of Weert was 47,959 in the year 2000, it has increased to 49,105 in 2016 ("Gemeente in Cijfers - Weert - Work," 2017). The composition of the population of Weert in terms of ethnicity was as follows in 2016: 53.5% Western, 21.4% Moroccan 6.3% Turkish, and 3.5% and 1.6% from the Dutch Antilles and Surinam respectively (van Bijsterveld, 2017). The dispersion of the immigrant population among the areas in Weert relative to the entire population is given in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Percentages of the immigrant population of areas (neighbourhoods) of the town of Weert in 2016. The town centre area, where the *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety is spoken does not comprise the Biest in this table. Source: weert.incijfer.nl

Area of the town of Weert	Percentage of immigrants	Comprises the neighbourhoods
South east	25.5%	Altweert, Keent, Moesel
East	23.0%	Groenewoud and Leuken
Town centre	21.5%	Town centre, Fatima
Boshoven	20.1%	Boshoven
North	11.5%	Laar, Hushoven and Molenakker

¹³ As mentioned, the village of Stramproy used to be a separate municipality until 1998, when it assimilated into the municipality of Weert.

These percentages show a considerable dispersion of the immigrant population in the town of Weert. Although the immigrant population is not significantly higher in one area than in other town areas, the percentage of 11.5 in the 'North' area is noticeably low in comparison to the other town areas. Based on an assumption that immigrants are unlikely to speak dialect of Weert (or a Limburgish dialect), it may be presumed that the proportion of dialect speakers in the neighbourhoods and parishes categorized as the 'North' area is higher than in the other areas of the town.

Molenakker is, in contrary to the two parishes (former hamlets) Laar and Hushoven, a relatively young neighbourhood: it was built between 1985 and 1995, according to Wikipedia ("Molenakker (Weert)"). It is therefore – suggestively – less likely that dialect speakers moved from another neighbourhood of the town to Molenakker. They may have moved to other town areas during the rapid (post-war) expansion of the town in the second half of the 20th century. Nor is it likely that immigrants in large numbers have moved to Molenakker, since an influx of immigrants to Weert would most likely have been the result of the rapid expansion and (simultaneous) industrialization of the town. Such an influx would, however, partly explain the rather high proportion of immigrants in the town centre area (21.5%): people, both with an immigrant and a Dutch background, likely migrate to the centre of a town. A group that potentially moved to Molenakker consists of people who moved from outside of Weert (and Limburg). This group from outside of Weert and Limburg likely consists of non-dialect speakers, or speakers of a different Limburgish dialect if they moved from elsewhere in Limburg.

3. The dialect of Limburg and Weert

3.1. The dialect region of Limburg

The dialect area of the Limburgish dialects stretches across the Dutch and Belgium provinces of Limburg (having the same name in both countries, *Limburg*). The dialect varieties spoken in the Dutch and Belgian provinces of Limburg are often called *Limburgs* ('Limburgish'). The notion 'Limburgish dialect' actually entails a large diversity of dialect varieties. Each of these varieties may be categorized into a larger group of proximate dialects that share a number of characteristics. The *Woordenboek van de Limburgse Dialecten* ('Dictionary of the Limburgish dialects') the *WLD* in short (Crompvoets, 2001; *Riek van klank*, 2007), identifies seven dialect areas in which the dialects in the two provinces may be categorized. One of these areas is called the *Centraal-Limburg* ('Central Limburgish') dialect area, which will be discussed in more detail below, as it includes the dialect of Weert and its surrounding dialects.

According to *Riek van klank* (Van de Wijngaard & Keulen, 2007) Limburgish dialects are traditionally those dialects that are characterized by the occurrence of *ich maak* 'I make', which is a combination of the non-standard form *ich* instead of the standard Dutch form *ik* and the standard Dutch form of the finite verb 'to make' *maak* (or the variant *ich maak'*). Under this definition, the so-called *Ripuarian* and *Kleverlands* dialects, respectively found in the south-east corner and the northern part of the Dutch province of Limburg, are not regarded as Limburgish dialects. The *Ripuarian* dialects resemble the standard German forms for both 'I' and 'to make': *ich* and *machen*, while the *Kleverlands* dialects resemble standard Dutch with *ik* and *maken* ('I' and 'to make')¹⁴. The dialect varieties in the Central Limburg area comply with the characteristics of 'Limburgish' dialects, thus speakers would say *ich maak* 'I make'.

3.1.1. Dialect area of Central Limburgish

The term *Centraal-Limburgs* ('Central Limburgish') refers to the more or less central area of the Limburgish dialect area in the Netherlands and Belgium. The largest part of the Central Limburgish dialect area stretches out in Belgium, where the so-called *Panninger zijlinie* defines the western boundary of the dialect area. In Belgium, this isogloss runs from the border of the Dutch province of North-Brabant to the south up to the Dutch-French language region frontier west of Tongeren. The *Panninger zijlinie* is a branch of the *Panninger linie* isogloss, which marks the east boundary of the Central Limburgish area with the *Oost-Limburgse* ('East Limburgish') dialect area, which is entirely located in the Dutch province of Limburg. This *Panninger linie* largely runs along the Meuse river in the Netherlands. To the north, near Panningen, this isogloss diverges from another dialect isogloss, the *Uerdinger linie*. This isogloss crosses the Dutch province of Limburg from Germany in the east to the west, and a small part of the province of North-Brabant, where it runs across the border with Belgium.

Figure 3.1 shows the division of the Limburgish dialect areas as found in *Riek van klank*. The Central Limburgish dialect area is marked blue and is demarcated by the *Uerdinger linie* in the north, the *Panninger zijlinie* to the west and the *Panninger linie* to the east. Note that the town of Weert and the area around the town lie north of the *Panninger zijlinie*, but are still grouped into the Central Limburgish dialect area.

Besides the 'typically Limburgish' *ich maak* ('I make') characteristic, the Central Limburgish dialects are characterized by the occurrence of *sp-*, *st-*, *sm-*, *sn-* and *zw-* in word onset, which are the word onset forms in standard Dutch, while the dialects east of the *Panninger linie* employ *sj* in word onsets. In words that have an onset of *sch-* in standard

¹⁴ Besides these two dialect regions, the dialects found in the 'transition' area on the border between the Belgian provinces of Brabant and Limburg, also fall outside the definition of Limburgish dialects, because of the occurrence of *ik* 'I' in standard Dutch (*Riek van klank*, 2007).

3. The dialect of Limburg and Weert

Dutch, however, both the Central Limburgish and the East Limburgish dialects employ *sj-* in the onset.

The dialect of Weert, as well as a number of dialects spoken in nearby places, differ, to a certain extent, from this characterization of Central Limburgish dialects. These differences will be discussed in the section 3.2.1. *The dialect of Weert and the surrounding area.*

3.2. Town and dialect of Weert

The town of Weert is located in the Dutch province of Limburg, in the south-east of the Netherlands. It lies near the border with the Dutch province of North-Brabant to the west and the national border with Belgium to the south. It is the main town in the municipality with the same name which also comprises the following official places (*kernen*): Altweerderheide, Boshoven, Laar, Stramproy, Swartbroek, Tungelroy. Boshoven actually is the largest neighbourhood in the town. To the north lies the neighbouring municipality of Nederweert, with the village of Nederweert as its main place. In the categorization of dialect areas, the dialects of Weert and Nederweert are classified as Central Limburgish.

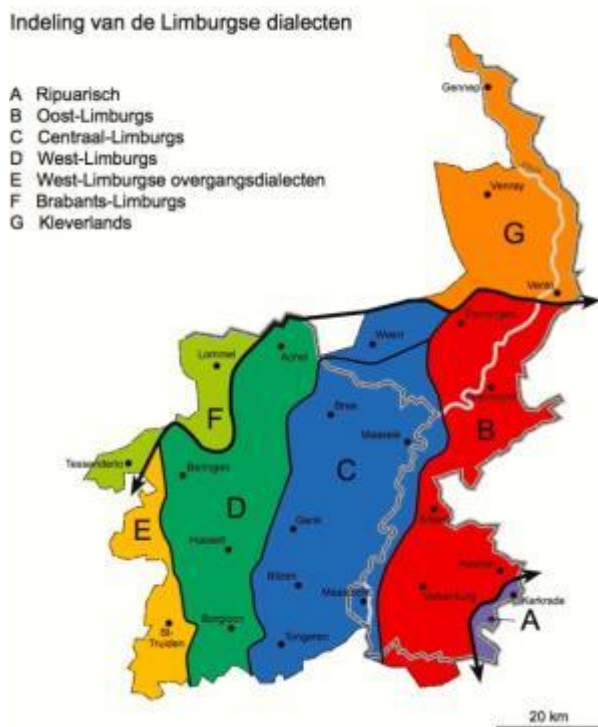


Figure 3.1 Division of the Limburgish dialects. Published in 'De indeling van de Limburgse dialecten', in *Riek van Klank*. Retrieved from: <http://e-wld.nl/about> (April 17, 2017) ("Indeling van de Limburgse dialecten,"). **Legend:** A: Ripuarian, B: Eastern Limburgish, C: Central Limburgish, D: Western Limburgish, E: Western Limburgish transition dialects, F: (Belgian) Brabant Limburgish, G: Kleverlands.

3.2.1. The dialect of Weert and the surrounding area

Whereas the *Panninger zijlinie*, the isogloss marking the western boundary of (the greater part of) the Central Limburgish dialect area, Weert and the village of Nederweert lie north¹⁵ of this isogloss. The notion *Weertlands* is used as a collective name for the so-called *Overweertse* and *Nederweertse dialecten*. The first group (*Overweerts*) includes the dialects spoken in the

¹⁵ In *Zoeë kalle vae*, a dictionary of dialect varieties in the Weert area (Feijen, 2013), it is said that the area of Weert lies west of the *Panninger zijlinie*, but judging on the image on page 15 of *Riek van klank* (Kaart 1) (the same image as [Figure 3.1](#)), I would say that Weert and Nederweert lie north of this isogloss.

municipality of Weert, excluding the villages Tungelroy, Swartbroek and Stramproy.¹⁶ The second group (*Nederweerts*) includes the dialects spoken in the municipality of Nederweert, except the dialect spoken in the village of Leveroy (Van de Wouw, 1986, 2006). Van de Wouw is likely the first one to bring up the notions of the *Overweertse* and *Nederweertse dialecten*.

is a topographical map of the area of Weert and Nederweert from Google Maps[®]. The triangle demarcates the town centre area of Weert, where the *Stadsweerts* variety is presumed to be spoken (see section 1.2. The current study).

As mentioned above, the dialects in the *Weertland* dialect area differ from the other dialects in the Central Limburgish area as demarcated by the Panninger zijlinie. Whereas the other dialects within the Central Limburgish dialect area employ *sj-* in words with *sch-* in the onset in standard Dutch, the *Weertland* dialects keep the *sch-* in the onset of dialect words. The dialect varieties spoken in Swartbroek, Tungelroy and Stramproy (belonging to the municipality of Weert) resemble the majority of the Central Limburgish dialects in this regard, in that the *sch-* is *sj-* in word onset. The dialect variety that is spoken in the village of Leveroy, which is part of the municipality of Nederweert, also shares this feature of the Central-Limburgish dialect area.

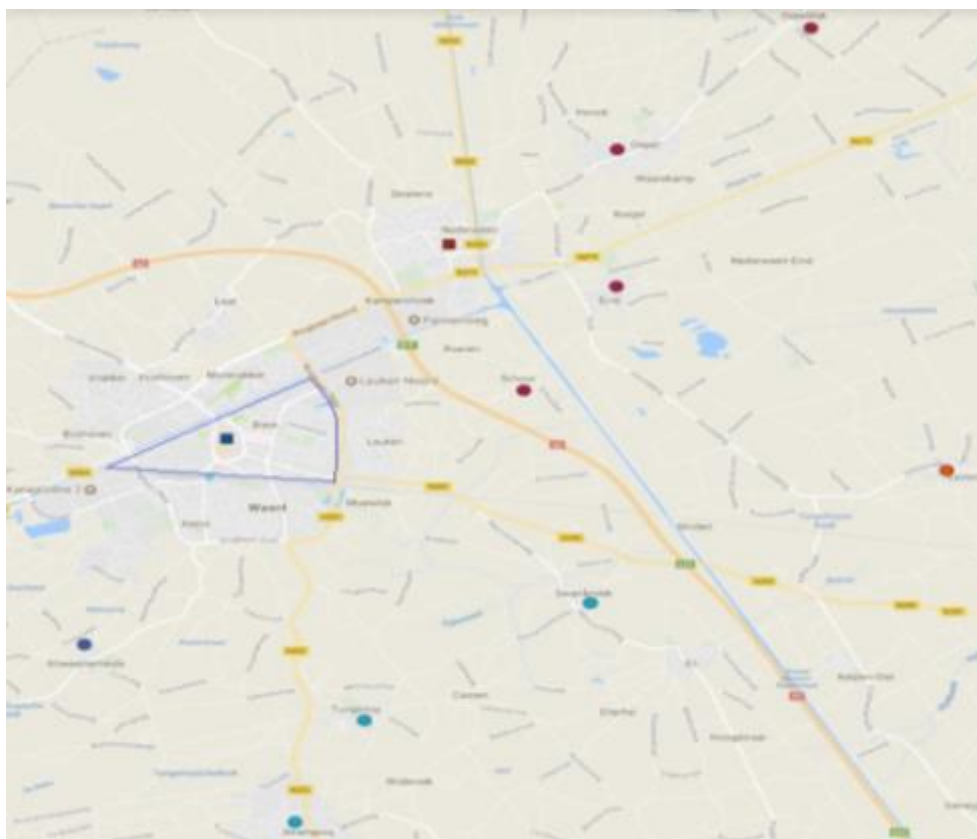


Figure 3.2 Topographical map of the area of Weert. Legend: ■ Town of Weert, ■ Village of Nederweert, ● Altweeterheide, ● from north to south Swartbroek, Tungelroy, Stramproy ● from north to south: Ospeldijk, Ospel, Nederweert-Eind, Schoor, ● Leveroy. The places marked by blue symbols are part of the municipality of Weert, and the places marked by red symbols are part of the municipality of Nederweert. The dark blue- and the dark red-coloured squares and dots mark places that are classified in the *Weertland* dialect area. The light blue- and light red coloured dots mark places where the dialects are not classified as belonging to the *Weertland* dialect area. The blue triangle marks the demarcation of the town centre area (town centre, the neighbourhoods Fatima and the Biest), which is the area where the *Stadsweerts* variety is assumed to be spoken.

¹⁶ Van de Wouw does not mention Stramproy as an exception to the dialects categorized as belonging to the *Weertland* dialect area. This is probably due to the fact that at the time of publishing, in 1986, Stramproy was a municipality of its own. It joined the municipality of Weert in 1998 ("Weert (gemeente),").

3.2.1.1. Variation within the Weertland dialect area

Who thinks that this similarity between the dialects in the *Weertland* dialect area means that there is no local variation is mistaken. In the dictionary *Zoeë kalle vae* (Feijen, 2013), lexical distinctions are made between four varieties, two varieties in the *Overweert* dialect area and two in the dialects in the *Nederweert* dialect area. A more important distinction (at least in regard to this current research) is found within the town of Weert. The variety spoken in the town centre (*Stadsweerts*) differs from the variety spoken in the surrounding town parts and parishes (Heijmans & Gussenhoven, 1998a). Two varieties are distinguished in Heijmans and Gussenhoven (1998a), the *Stadsweerts* variety and the peripheral variety. In Feijen (2013), the surrounding town parts and parishes are referred to by the name *buitenijen*, which is also a term Van de Wouw employs (Van de Wouw, 1986, 2006). Feijen (2013) states that the two varieties systematically differ in the realization of long close-mid vowels, [e:], [o:] and [ø:] (*ee*, *oo* and *eu* in standard Dutch) in the nucleus of a large number of words. In the variety of the town centre (*Stadsweerts*), speakers say [iə], [uə] and [yə], as in *ziəvə* ‘seven’, *duəɐ* ‘through’, ‘by’ and *dyəɐ* ‘door’. Speakers of the *buitenijen* variety respectively pronounce [e:], [o:] and [ø:], (similar to standard Dutch), pronouncing the three words as /zevə/, /dov/ and /døv/. Diphthongs¹⁷ in the *Stadsweerts* variety thus correspond to long close-mid vowels in the rural (peripheral) variety (Heijmans & Gussenhoven, 1998a). The *buitenijen* set of sounds is also found in *Nederweert*, making the town centre variety the exception within the *Weertland* dialect area.

3.2. Town dialects

3.2.1. What is a town dialect?

In their volume on twenty town dialects in the Netherlands and Belgium, Kruijsen and Van der Sijs (1999) point to a distinctive feature of town dialects prior to the nineteenth century, which was a certain superiority over the coarse rural dialect. They argue that the position of town dialects changed radically in the course of the nineteenth century, gaining a distinct social profile. They were no longer primarily defined by the contrast between the town and countryside, but predominantly by social contrasts within the towns. Social differences manifested themselves through linguistic differences. Throughout this process, the town dialect became the language of the lower social classes, demonstrating a sharper distinction from the rural dialect. The bourgeoisie intended to divert to the national unity language in order to express her sense of civilisation and her need for distinction and dissociation with regard to the lower classes. This striving for dissociation created a growing gap between the language of the bourgeoisie and that of the working class. Besides the homogenisation of regional differences within the dialects, town dialects turned into sociolects (pp. 13-15). The authors bring up that some dialects constituted exceptions to this development. The cities in the Dutch province of Limburg are among these exceptions. The ‘most pronounced example’ of a city to which the principle ‘dialects become sociolects’ did not apply is Maastricht (p. 209). Its dialect is not stigmatized as a coarse, inferior language; it is spoken in lower as well as higher local social environments. Apparently, local variants of ‘high’ and ‘low’ dialects have developed in Maastricht and Roermond, ‘proving’ that speaking entails speaking according to one’s rank and social position (pp. 20-21).

Kruijsen and Van der Sijs (1999) claim that research has shown that Dutch town dialects are esteemed more positively the more they differ from the standard language, which

¹⁷ The diphthongs are grouped in ‘*C. Lange klinkers – gesloten* (‘C. long vowels – closed’) in Scheme 2 in (Van de Wouw, 1986, 2006, p. 18).

means that – in the Netherlands – the dialects in the *Randstad* (area around the four largest cities, in the west of the Netherlands) have the lowest appreciation. These are especially regarded as coarse and imperfect realisations of the standard language.

3.2.2. The dialect of Weert: a town dialect?

A preliminary answer to this question may be found on the Wikipedia page on the dialect of Weert ("Weert dialect," 2016). In the first paragraph, the dialect is referred to as *Weert dialect* or *Weert Limburgish*, and it is defined as a “town dialect and variant of Limburgish spoken in the Dutch town of Weert alongside the Dutch language” ("Weert dialect," 2016). It is said that all of its speakers are bilingual, because all dialect speakers speak standard Dutch as well.¹⁸ No features or characteristics are identified however as to what would make the dialect of Weert a town dialect. It is likely that the notion “town dialect” is used because Weert may be considered a town rather than a village.

The general pattern of town dialects developing contrast between social classes, besides the contrast between the city and the countryside will probably not apply to the dialect of Weert. The dialects in the cities in the province of Limburg are said to be exceptions in terms of this development towards sociolects. If the situation in Weert is similar to that in Maastricht, the use of the dialect of Weert would not be restricted to the lower social class. One may suggest that the two varieties in the dialect of Weert do constitute a contrast between the ‘urban’ and the ‘rural’ area and that this contrast manifests itself in the difference between the two varieties.

The investigation of variation in the lexical/phonological domain of a language involves encountering cases that are unexpected given a certain (presupposed) system or consistency, or that might turn out to be individual occurrences. Especially in a predominantly spoken language (variety), individual variation is assumed to be large, since speakers tend to be more capricious in the lexical elements they use. Speakers are not accustomed to 'normative', written forms - if those exist at all. Van de Wouw states that for one word form (of a conjugated verb), multiple so-called *klankvormen* ('sounds forms') co-occur in the *Weertland* dialects. To him, this variation is indicative for the fact that languages develop and that there is no such thing as a standard Weert variety. His intention was not to prove or define anything about the *Weertland* dialects, but rather to bring forward a number of sound aspects in these dialects that are more or less systematic (Van de Wouw, 1986, 2006, p. 2).

3.3. Second person singular personal pronouns

Van Moorsel (1996) makes an observation using ancient fragments written in the dialect of Weert (*Weerter dialect*). He observes that in lines 2 and 3 of an old written fragment, *doe* was found instead of *dich*: *dast doe* instead of *des dich/tich* in line 2 (van Moorsel, 1996, p. 16). In the dictionary *Zoeë kalle vae* (p. 19), *doe* /du/, in contrast to *dich* /dɪx/, is not noted as a second person subject pronoun in the dialect of Weert. Thus, the personal pronoun *doe* used to occur in the dialect of Weert (at least until the nineteenth century, given that the fragment is from a book issued in 1836).

Van Moorsel concludes that the personal pronoun *doe*, as well as other words, at least nowadays, are found in the so-called *ZOML*¹⁹ dialects, to which, among others, the dialects of the villages of Tungalroy and Stramproy belong (1996, p. 20).

Doe and *dich* occur both in a triangular area between Maasbree, Venlo and Arcen, in the north of the Dutch province of Limburg. Further to the north, *ge* is used, which, as *gij*, is a form that goes back to the Middle-Dutch form *gî*. *Gî* in its use for the second person singular

¹⁸ A small side note: depending on the definition of the term 'bilingual', speakers of the dialect of Weert may or may not be considered bilingual with the standard language.

¹⁹ Abbreviation of 'zuidoostmiddenlimburgse (dialecten), south-east-middle Limburgish (dialects) (van Moorsel, 1996, p. vi).

dates back to the period in which the second person plural was used instead of the second person singular form to address someone politely. Some time later, the use expanded to all conversational situations, causing the original second person singular to disappear (Draye, 2007, pp. 35-36). *Dich* as the subject form is also found in Belgian Limburg, where it has replaced the originally stressed form *doe*. In the Dutch province of Limburg, to the contrary, *doe* has maintained, with the exception of towns such as Maastricht, Roermond and Venlo and their surrounding area (p. 36). The current study allows a small inquiry into personal pronouns in the dialect of Weert. The personal pronouns that participants used provide insight into the ‘inventory’ of personal pronouns in the dialect of Weert. In accordance to the dictionary, *doe* should not be a personal pronoun that the participants use, in contrast to *dich*.

3.4. Hypotheses and research question

The current study on the dialect of Weert may be broken up into two parts. One part concerns dialect speakers reporting on their dialect use and on their view on which language variety (Dutch or the dialect) is suitable in certain social domains. This first part also comprises the views of dialect speakers on the appreciation of the local and regional (in Limburg) dialect, and the importance of learning dialect and/or standard Dutch. The second part consists of an inquiry into the occurrence of the two vowel sound sets within the dialect of Weert: [iə], [uə] and [yə] in the *Stadsweerts* variety and respectively [e.], [o.] and [ø.] in the *buitenijen* variety. The primary factor in this inquiry was the part of town where the dialect speakers live. The occurrence of the two sets of vowel sounds was, furthermore, assessed in terms of the factors gender and age of the dialect speaker, i.e. whether the gender and/or the age of the dialect speaker correlates with the vowel sound a dialect speaker tends to produce.

The first part was intended to reveal certain patterns in which social domains either the dialect or the standard language is more suitable or common as the language of communication. These social domains include the family of the dialect speaker, the group of friends and acquaintances, and public environments such as education establishments.

The aim of including the aspects of appreciation and the (relative) relevance of learning Dutch (the standard language) and/or dialect was to elicit perceptions of the dialect speakers themselves and presumed perceptions on other dialect speakers and non-dialect speakers regarding ‘the’ Limburgish dialect. By inquiring about learning and speaking dialect, it was expected to reveal attitudes of the dialect speakers towards the relevance of the dialect, potentially in comparison to the standard language (Dutch). Ražová (2008, p. 26) claims that language users are often aware that their dialect is considered less civilized than the standard language, but that they nonetheless attribute a certain prestige and pride to their dialect. This pride would explain the resilience of dialects in relation to the standard language. This claim may be supported when it is found that dialect speakers think that dialect speakers appreciate the dialect the most and expect that the dialect is still often spoken (and learned).

The second part of the current study centred on the occurrence of two varieties of the dialect of Weert within the town of Weert. Van de Wouw (1986, 2006) provides a scheme of the collection of vowels and diphthongs in the *Weertland* dialects. In a number of interesting examples, moreover, he demonstrated a regular system of sound sets in the three dialects in his examples, two of which are the dialect of Weert (which is – specifically – the *Stadsweerts* variety) and that of Nederweert (p. 5). Each of the three regular systems consisted of a different set of vowels in the three dialects and these systematic differences involve the three vowel sounds that make up the second part of the current study in this thesis. This system is only found in sounds that derived from a supposed West-Germanic vowel in a preceding phase in their evolution.

The aim of the second part of the current study was to pinpoint where both sets of vowel sounds are spoken within the town of Weert (thus the surrounding villages excluded) nowadays (in 2017). The triangle in

demarcates the town centre area.

It was hypothesised that the sets of vowel sounds would be found in their respective areas, although participants living in the outer parts, the *buitenijen*, but who were born in the town centre were assumed to speak the urban variety, and vice versa, that participants living in the town centre and who were born in the *buitenijen* were assumed to speak the rural, *buitenijen*, variety. This expectation was based on the assumption that the dialect variety learnt during childhood would be the variety that the dialect speaker continues to employ, even after moving to a neighbourhood where the other variety is common.

The second aspect was that of age, or more specifically, generation differences. Even though it has been said that dialect is spoken throughout all age groups in the Dutch province of Limburg (among others Rážová, (2008)), it is observed that the younger generation generally speaks a dialect less frequently than their parents. With regard to the two sets of vowel sounds in the current study, it was hypothesised that the younger generation of dialect speakers produces the ‘typically’ urban (‘centre’) set of vowel sounds in fewer word contexts than the older generation of dialect speakers, even though they are found to speak the centre variety (*Stadsweerts*).

This hypothesis was assessed by comparing the number of vowel sounds typical to the *Stadsweerts* variety that each age group produced in their ‘translations’ of the Dutch sentences. Further analysis may reveal that younger dialect speakers produce ‘centre’ vowel sounds equally commonly in certain words, but to a lesser extent in other words when compared to older dialect speakers. Such a potential decline in centre vowel sounds in certain words may be the result of the influence of the standard language on the language use of the – most plausibly – younger dialect speakers. Since the standard language forms of the three vowel sound pairs matches with the peripheral variety forms in many words (i.e. *ee*, *oo* or *eu*), the standard/peripheral forms may be in a stronger position as opposed to the centre forms, leading to a decrease in the use of the centre forms in certain words. A reason as for why the younger generation may demonstrate this decrease to a larger extent than the older generation may lie in the larger amount in which younger speakers are exposed to the standard language as compared to older dialect speakers (e.g. at school, where the standard language is generally the norm nowadays). This exposure to the standard language usually started at an earlier age in the younger generation than it did in older generation(s).

A third aspect that this study aimed to investigate was gender. Since this aspect was included without any specific expectations, no one-sided hypothesis was formulated. In her dissertation, Rážová (2008) mentions gender as a factor for dialect use in general. She claims that women tend to speak the standard language more often than men. One potential explanation involves the larger variation in languages men used to come in contact with. Another possible reason Rážová gives is that women are more inclined to speak correctly and properly than men are. Based on these potential explanations, one may expect to find a difference between male and female dialect speakers in their use of the ‘centre’ variety. Female dialect speakers that are identified as speakers of the ‘centre’ variety (*Stadsweerts*) may produce more peripheral forms in the word contexts in which the three vowel sound pairs occur than male dialect speakers of the centre variety, given that the peripheral and standard forms are often identical.

3.4.1 Research questions

Based on the main goal of the current study, three research questions were formulated. The first and second research questions involve the reported use and presumed appreciation and importance of the dialect of Weert and the province of Limburg. The third research question

3. The dialect of Limburg and Weert

was twofold in that the first component was the occurrence of the two dialect varieties in the town centre and the *buitenijen* area, and the second component constituted the aspects of age and gender.

1. Is there a relation between the reported use of a language variety (dialect or Dutch) and the social environment to speak a variety, and what are the beliefs of dialect speakers regarding the use of the dialect?
2. What are the beliefs of dialect speakers regarding the appreciation and the importance of the (Limburgish) dialect?
3. Do dialect speakers perceive variation in the dialect of Weert, do they produce either of the two sets of long mid-close vowel sounds in the presumed areas and is there is a relation with the factors gender, age and neighbourhood?

With respect to the third research question, the notion of ‘speaker of the *Stadsweerts* variety’ may require further specification. A participant was considered a speaker of the *Stadsweerts* variety in case he or she used to live in the town centre or one of the two adjoining neighbourhoods (Fatima or the Biest) or in case he or she indicated to speak *Stadsweerts*. This latter ‘self-contemplation’ would imply that the dialect speaker is aware of the existence of at least two varieties spoken in the town (or by extension the municipality) of Weert. One question in the questionnaire (undiscussed in this section) may reveal awareness of multiple varieties by inquiring whether and where differences within the dialect exist in the town of Weert (by means of a map of the town, see 4.3. Questionnaire in the Method chapter).

In addition to the occurrence of the two vowel sound set ([e.]/[o.]/[ø.] and [iə]/[uə]/[yə]) and any potential relation with the age and gender of the dialect speaker, the current study involved analyses of (a selection of) words containing one of the concerning long mid-close vowels and of the use of personal pronouns. These analyses fall – strictly taken – outside of the scope of the research questions in this study. The analysis of words consisting of particular vowels may nonetheless provide a tendency in dialect speakers to pronounce certain words (or groups of words) with a particular vowel sound. The analysis of the personal pronouns may provide a cross-section of the personal pronouns that are found in the dialect of Weert. As put forward above, it was expected that the personal pronoun *dich* is found, whereas *doe* was thought to be absent. The third person pronoun *gae* was also expected to be found in the study. *Gae* has both a singular and plural referent and may be considered a politeness form, in contrary to *dich*.

4. Method

The research described in this thesis comprised three components: closed questions on the dialect use and commonness of the dialect, open questions on the appreciation and the status of the dialect (attitudes towards the dialect), and a production task involving the long close-mid vowels (the Translation task, see 4.3.1. Translation task: ten Dutch sentences and selection of words). In the scope of the current study, people from several neighbourhoods of the town of Weert (see 4.2. Participants) were asked questions about their (reported) dialect use, the contexts in which dialect speakers presumably use the dialect, and about the appreciation and status of the dialect of Weert. The participants were also asked to translate Dutch sentences into the dialect (the Translation task, see 4.4. Procedure). The key words in these sentences contained one out of three so-called long-close mid vowels in the nucleus (see 3.2.1.1. Variation within the Weertland dialect area). These long close-mid vowels are [e.], [o.] and [ø.], or *ee*, *oo* and *eu* in Dutch orthography. They were chosen on the basis of the observation that these sounds are more or less systematically distinguished in the *Weertland* variants, as said in the dictionary on the *Weertland* dialects. (Feijen, 2013, p. 18). Whereas the long close-mid vowel sounds [e.], [o.] and [ø.] are assumed to be found in the ‘peripheral’ variety of the dialect of Weert, the vowel sounds *ieë* [iə], *oeë* [uə] and *uuë* [yə] are their counterparts in the ‘centre’ variety of the dialect.

In a personal conversation with Mr. Jan Feijen, the chairman of the local ‘circle’ (*kring*) of the (*kring*) of the (dialect) association *Veldeke*²⁰, it was established that the *Stadsweerts* variety, and thus the first set of vowel sounds (*ieë/oeë/uuë*), is spoken in the town centre (within the so-called *singels*²¹, as the two connected parts of the avenue around the old town are called), and in two neighbourhoods just outside the town centre, *Fatima* to the west and the *Biest* to the east. The area may approximately be demarcated by the railroad in the south and the canal (the *Zuid-Willemsvaart*) to the north-west. The east boundary of the area was more loosely determined as approximately a part of a long avenue, the *Maaseikerweg*, that goes from the canal (the northern boundary) to the railroad (the southern boundary), and lies between the neighbourhoods the *Biest* and *Groenewoud* (see

Appendix II). The second set of vowel sounds (*ee*, *oo* and *eu*) was assumed to be used in the other neighbourhoods around this ‘town centre area’.

4.1. Participant criteria

In order to acquire the most reliant data on dialect vocabulary use, three strict criteria were set, which the participants had to meet.

Have spoken the dialect of Weert since early childhood: since a dialect is usually the first language that dialect speakers acquire – often at the same time or even before the standard language – and almost always in the communication with one’s parents and family, the ‘foundation’ for the language proficiency in a dialect is laid during childhood. Having spoken a dialect since early childhood increases the intuition about the ‘correctness’, or ‘naturalness’ of dialect words and phrases. In the SAND project, six variables were

²⁰ The *Veldeke* association, an umbrella of ten local circles across the Dutch province of Limburg, aims at promoting speaking, reading and writing in the Limburgish dialect (as a collective name for the dialect spoken in the Dutch province of Limburg). Each of the ten local circles is dedicated to promote the local dialect, by organizing activities and issuing books ("Website Veldeke Limburg,").

²¹ The word *singel* means ‘canal’ or ‘boulevard (alongside a city canal)’. Today, the *singels* form a road around the town centre, located where the canal and the adjacent embankment surrounding the old town used to be (the oval-shaped road around the town centre on the map, Appendix II).

“homogenised²²” (Cornips & Poletto, 2005, p. 946), in order to exclude possible factors that might cause variation. This criterion resembled the first ‘homogenised’ social variable, which was indicated as “(i) all subjects are native speakers of the local dialect” (p. 946).

Contrary to the SAND project, the ASIS project (mapping syntactic phenomena in Northern-Italian dialects) included young speakers of the dialect, apart from the older age group (55 to 70 years) to which the SAND project was restricted. By including young speakers, ‘diachronic changes in the phenomena’ (p. 946) could be revealed. This comparison of a younger and an older group of speakers was also part of the current study to the dialect varieties of Weert. By making use of two age groups, potential differences in dialect vocabulary between generations could be found, as has already been mentioned.

Have spent childhood in the town of Weert: this criterion is ‘an addition’ to the first criterion, in that it required that participants have lived in the town where the dialect under investigation is spoken as a colloquial language during at least their (early) childhood. This way, participants have familiarized themselves with the vocabulary and pronunciation that is common in the town of Weert. This criterion is less restricted than the second social variable in the overview by Cornips & Poletto (2005, p. 946), which required that subjects (and their parents) were born and had lived in the same community until adulthood. Defining the period of constant residence until adulthood marks a more tangible boundary for selecting participants than the less definite term ‘childhood’, which could span any period before the age of eighteen. It was believed that excluding dialect speakers whose parents were not born in the town of Weert would complicate the selection of participants. This criterion would mean that participants whose parents were born in villages near Weert and moved to Weert would have to be excluded. The requirement of having spoken the dialect from early childhood was assumed to be sufficient. On the basis of this requirement, the two participants who were born in the municipality of Nederweert would have to be excluded from analysis. The argument to nevertheless include them is the fact that the vowel sounds as (presumably) found in the *buitenijen* (*ee*, *oo* and *eu*) are also the vowel sounds in the dialect spoken in Nederweert, as evidenced by Van de Wouw (1986, 2006).

Have never moved to another neighbourhood of Weert: by posing this criterion, the risk of participants ‘mixing up’ vocabulary and pronunciation of more than one dialect variety in the community is lowered. This criterion could be extended by excluding inhabitants of Weert that have lived in another place where they have spoken – or frequently heard – a different (Limburgish) dialect. Such a stricter criterion would be assumed to prevent direct influence from another dialect (variety) on the dialect of Weert. People who have lived abroad, for instance in relation to their work or study, still qualified as participant in the study, since they will not have come in contact with other Limburgish dialects while living abroad (aside from Limburgish dialects in Belgium, perhaps). Given the second criterion, people have to have moved abroad only after childhood (thus had to be an adult at the time of moving out). The third social variable Cornips & Poletto set involved a period of having lived elsewhere of no more than seven years. No justification was given for any of the six homogenised social variables; the reasoning behind the period of seven years is therefore unknown.

Finding participants, unfortunately, turned out to be a difficult task. The third criterion (restriction on moving to another neighbourhood) was abandoned, since potential participants who contacted me often did not meet the criterion. Eleven participants had moved from one area (town centre area, *buitenijen* area or outside of Weert) to another. Six out of them had moved from one town area in Weert (town centre area or *buitenijen* area) to the other town

²² ‘Homogenising the sample with respect to the social profile or variables of the subjects’ (Cornips & Poletto, 2005, p. 946) is said to ‘minimise to a great extent the risk of finding syntactic variation that cannot be attributed to geographical factors alone but also to social factors’.

area. One potential advantage of this latter group of participants is that an analysis on their data may reveal signs of factors that may influence the use of a particular dialect variety. This is especially interesting regarding participants who were born either in or around the town centre (where the centre variety is assumed to be spoken) or in one of the neighbourhoods in the *buitenijen*, where the peripheral variety is assumed to be spoken, and who moved to the other town area. Analysis of these data sets may, for instance, reveal that the area where a dialect speaker was born is (for a major part) decisive to which variety he or she speaks.

The first and second criterion (having spoken the dialect of Weert since childhood, and having spent the childhood in the town of Weert) were set less stringently, in that three dialect speakers from who used to live outside of Weert (Nederweert and Swartbroek²³) were allowed to participate in the study. These dialect speakers had not spent their childhood in Weert (criterion 2) and had most likely not grown up with the dialect of Weert (criterion 1). The three participants were nevertheless expected to produce the vowel sounds [e.], [o.] and [ø.], thus the vowel sounds in the *buitenijen* area.

Two participants, who were born in the town of Weert, had lived elsewhere for decades. One of them had lived in the province of North-Brabant and the other had lived in Stramproy, a village south of the town of Weert that falls outside the *Weertland* dialect area. They both indicated that they still spoke the dialect. The participant living in North-Brabant even claimed to speak the dialect of Weert as it used to be spoken. The fact that she still spoke the dialect fluently was (indirectly) affirmed by the secretary of the local *Veldeke* circle (such a local department is called a *Veldeke kring* ‘circle’), as it was him who suggested to contact her.

4.2. Participants

The participants in this study were all (native) speakers of the Dutch dialect spoken in Weert. The study involved 31 participants in total (18 males). Participants fell into two age groups, in order to investigate possible age differences in dialect use. About half of the participants was 18 to 35 years old and fell into one group (N = 12), the others were aged 50 to 82 and fell into a second group (N = 17). Two participants who were 40 and 45 years of age at the time of the interview fell, strictly taken, outside of these group ranges, but they were nonetheless grouped into respectively the ‘younger’ group and the ‘older’ group, resulting in a total number of 13 ‘young’ and 18 ‘old’ participants. The participants lived in different parts of the town of Weert.

In Table 4.1, the number of participants in each part of town is given, ordering them according to the part of town where each participant lived when the interview was administered, and on age group and gender combined. Regarding the two female participants who did not live in Limburg anymore, the neighbourhood of Weert where they were born is used instead (in Fatima and Moesel).

Two of the participants were not born in Weert, but in two different parishes in the municipality of Nederweert, namely Schoor and Eind, the latter being also commonly known as Nederweert-Eind. The participant from Schoor has lived there since her childhood; the participant who was born in Eind lived in the town of Weert at the time of the interview (*Altweert*). These two participants speak a different dialect variety than the either the *Stadsweerts* or the *buitenijen* variety).

²³ Swartbroek, like Stramproy is a village within the municipality of Weert, but which falls outside of the *Weertland* dialect area (see Figure 3.2 in 3.2.1. The dialect of Weert and the surrounding area).

Table 4.1

Number of participants, ordered by part of town where each participant lived at time of the interview, and by gender and generation group ('younger' and 'older'). With regard to the two female participants who did not live in Limburg anymore, the neighbourhoods where they were born are used instead, which are Fatima and Moesel. One female participant living in Altweert was not born in Weert, but in a parish of the municipality of Nederweert, namely Eind.

Part of town	Young female	Young male	Old female	Old male	Total per part of town
Town centre	2	2	2	3	9
Fatima	0	0	1	0	1
Biest	0	2	0	0	2
Total town centre area	2	4	3	3	12
Boshoven	0	1	0	1	2
Hushoven	0	1	0	0	1
Molenakker	1	1	0	1	3
Leuken	1	1	0	1	3
Keent	1	0	0	1	2
Moesel	1	0	0	1	2
Altweert	2	1	0	1	4
Schoor	0	0	1	0	1
Stramproy	0	0	1	0	1
Total <i>buitenijen</i> and outside of Weert	6	5	2	6	19
Total	8	9	5	9	31

The town centre lies within the former town embankments, and the current *singels* (two adjoining avenues encircling the town centre). The neighbourhoods of Fatima and the Biest lie respectively west and east of the 'old' town centre (together with the town centre, it largely corresponds to the area demarcated by the triangle in

3.2.1. The dialect of Weert and the surrounding area). Boshoven, Hushoven and Molenakker are all three located across the *Zuid-Willemsvaart* canal, with Boshoven being the largest neighbourhood of Weert. Keent, Moesel are neighbourhoods and Altweert is a hamlet in the south of Weert. Together with Graswinkel, these neighbourhoods are often collectively referred to as Weert-Zuid, in association with their location in the southern part of the town. Schoor is a hamlet east of Weert, which is part of the municipality of Nederweert. Therefore, Schoor does not strictly belong to the town of Weert, as is the case with the village Stramproy, about eight kilometres south of Weert.

In the town centre and the two adjacent neighbourhoods, Fatima and the Biest, the so-called *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety is assumed to be spoken, while people living in the other parts are assumed to speak the *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety. Since the participants living in the town centre, and the neighbourhoods Fatima and the Biest, were assumed to speak the *Stadsweerts* variety, and the participants living in the other neighbourhoods the *buitenijen* variety, the data from the town centre were compared to the data from the other parts of town.

The division in Table 4.1 shows that twelve participants lived in the town centre area (the town centre plus the periphery of the centre, including the two neighbourhoods) at the time of the interview (7 males). Seventeen participants lived in the *buitenijen* ('peripheral') area (11 males), and two lived outside of Weert (both females, in Schoor and Stramproy). An equal division of participants in the 'young generation' group (18 to 45 years old) and the 'old generation' group (50 years and older) was realised for the town centre group (town centre, and the neighbourhoods Fatima and the Biest) in the study (six in the 'young generation' group and six in the 'old generation' group), but not for the *buitenijen* area group (eleven 'young' against eight 'old'). One female dialect speaker who was 49 years old when the interview was held was categorized as belonging to the 'older generation' group. One male participant fell in between the two age groups, since he was 40 years old when the interview was held. Another female participant also fell in between the two age groups, since she was 45 years old when the interview was held. As mentioned, the male participant was categorized as belonging to the 'younger generation' group, while the female participant was categorized as belonging to the 'older generation' group. Although the participants were not equally divided between the *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* groups, it is assumed that a picture of the occurrence of the vowel sound set of the *Stadsweerts* variety (*ieë*, *oeë* and *uuë*) and the *buitenijen* variety (*ee*, *oo* and *eu*) may nevertheless be drawn from the data. The lower age limit of 50 for the 'older generation' group was rather arbitrary, since it was set in order to create an 'age gap' between the 'young generation' group and the 'old generation' group. There was no formal justification for the age categories. The fact that the range in age is much wider for the 'old generation' group than it is for the 'young generation' group was not considered troublesome to the study.

4.3. Questionnaire

The questionnaire that was used in the study consisted of seven questions, with ten Dutch sentences between question 6 and 7 (the Translation task, see the next section 4.3.1. Translation task: ten Dutch sentences and selection of words). The questions of the questionnaire were written in standard Dutch. Question 1 was an 'introduction' question. Questions 2 and 3 were closed questions on the (reported) use of the dialect. Question 4 was an open question on dialect use. Question 5 went into the appreciation of the dialect by others. Question 6 inquired about associations that the participants had with the dialect of Weert or of Limburg, and with question 7, participants were asked whether they knew dialect variants of words in the Dutch sentences of the Translation task. Questions 2, 3 and 4 thus covered dialect use, the theme of question 5 was dialect appreciation and questions 6 and 7 involve dialect variation. Comments that participants made and that were not specifically connected to one question unit in questions 2 or 3 were written down in the component *Opmerkingen bij vraag ...* 'Remarks at question ...' below the question units of the concerning questions on the questionnaire.

For question 1, participants were asked of whom they had learnt to speak dialect and whether they had always spoken dialect (that is, that they had not lived elsewhere where they did not speak dialect for a longer period of time). Questions 2 and 3 involved a list of question units. Question 2 was about with whom (family, friends and people in the street, at work and at school) participants speak either dialect or Dutch. Question 3 was used to inquire participants about their views on with whom and on which occasions it is common (*gangbaar*) to speak either dialect or Dutch.

Question 4 was about the participant's beliefs about the dialect, more specifically about the use of the dialect – mostly in children. 'Beliefs' in this context is defined as how dialect speakers (participants) perceive the status of the dialect use in the community. Two sub-questions

were mutually exclusive, meaning that either of these sub-questions was posed, based on whether the participant had children or not. The subsequent sub-question of question 4 entailed that the participants looked at an image of the town of Weert (Google Earth[®], see Appendix II) and had to say where – in which neighbourhoods – they thought differences in the dialect (variation in words or sounds) may be found. Answers to this sub-question were expected to reveal views on where the ‘real’ dialect of Weert would be spoken, thus whether dialect speakers thought that the dialect is spoken in the entire town (or municipality²⁴), or that they thought that the dialect is more ‘pure’ in some parts than in others. Question 5 was about the appreciation of the dialect, in the participants’ opinion.

For question 6, the participants were asked to provide words that they themselves associated with the dialect of Weert or, in a broader sense, the dialect of Limburg. Limburg in this sense implies the over-arching denomination of the many varieties that are spoken in the Dutch province of Limburg. Question 7, which followed the ten sentences in the Translation task, was posed to assess whether the participants knew any other variants for the words in the ten sentences of the Translation task (the ‘lexical items’, see 4.3.1. Translation task: ten Dutch sentences and selection of words). If participants provided variants, the subsequent sub-questions were posed to inform about which variants the participants used themselves, and which of the variants would be most common in parts of the town.

Questions 4, 5 and 7 consisted of sub-questions, and a few lines below questions 2, 3 and 7 were intended for potential remarks or additional comments. The remarks component below question 7 was particularly intended for comments on answers to the (sub-)question(s) 4 and 5 (see Appendix I for the questions of the questionnaire used).

4.3.1. Translation task: ten Dutch sentences and selection of words

The three sounds in the scope of the current study were the long close-mid vowel sounds [e.], [o.] and [ø.] in the nucleus of a word in the dialect of Weert. As already mentioned, the selection of these vowel sounds was based on the statement that the dialect varieties differ most consistently in these vowel sounds. In the *buitenijen* variety, as well as the variety of both the villages of Nederweert and Ospel (which are not investigated in this study), the corresponding sounds *ee*, *oo* and *eu*²⁵ ([e.], [o.] and [ø.]) are (usually) employed, whereas in the *Stadsweerts* varieties, the sounds *ieë*, *oeë* and *uuë* ([iə], [uə] and [yə] respectively) are (more frequently) employed in the same word contexts.

A word containing one of the three long close-mid vowel sounds was implemented into a sentence (and is called a target lexical item in the remainder of the current thesis). Out of the ten sentences, six had the ‘standard’ subject-verb order (sentences 1, 3, 4, 6 7 and 9). Three sentences, 2, 5 and 10, had the inverted structure ‘verb-subject’: sentence 2 started with the adverb *meestal* (‘most of the time’), sentence 5 started with a subordinate clause with *als* ‘if’, ‘when’, and sentence 10 was a *Wh*-question (containing *wanneer* ‘when’). Sentence 8 was the only sentence that started with a reduced subordinate clause (see Appendix I). Since Dutch and (either variety of) the dialect of Weert are both syntactically acceptable, it was assumed that the sentence structure would be maintained in the translation into the dialect.

²⁴ The municipality is not visible on the map that is used for this sub-question in Appendix II. The parishes of Altweeterheide and Laar (where the ‘peripheral’ variety is presumed to be spoken) are beyond the parts that are on the map.

²⁵ In the dictionary *Zoeë kalle vae* (Feijen, 2013, p. 18), the three sounds in the variants of the *buitenijen* (and of Nederweert and Ospel) are spelled as *ee/eê*, *eu/eû* and *oo/oô*, in which the accent circonflex (^) on the second letter of each sound representation indicates the insertion of a schwa sound.

Words containing the diphthong [œy] (*ui* in standard Dutch spelling), as discussed in the Discussion section, were also investigated. They were, however, not systematically implemented in the study, since the [œy] sound is not systematically different between the *Stadsweerts* or *buitenijen* varieties. An example of a word with the [œy] sound is *uit* ('out (of)'), which is *uut* in the *Stadsweerts* variety and interchangeably *oet* or *uut* in the *buitenijen* variety – as found in the list of words consisting of *oet* and *uut* in the onset that are specified as *BNO* (the acronym for the varieties of *buitenijen*, *Nederweert* and *Ospel* as used in the dictionary *Zoeë kalle vae* (Feijen, 2013)) The [œy] sound in other words than *uit* in standard Dutch seem to usually be *oe* [u] in both the *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* varieties. The [œy] sound in the word *uit* is the only occurrence in the study with the possibility of systematic comparison across all participants, since *uitverkozen* 'selected', 'picked out' is the only lexical item containing [œy] in the ten sentences that the participants had to 'translate'. The target lexical item *uitverkozen* provided the opportunity to analyse the two variants (*uut* and *oet*) with regard to which variant dialect speakers of the *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* varieties tend to use. Further analysis of the [œy] sound relied on coincidental occurrences of the sound in what a participant had told in his or her response to questions 6, 7 and in the part with the ten Dutch sentences, which entails the recorded part of the interview (see 4.4. Procedure).

4.3.2. List of used words

Table 4.2 shows all the Dutch words used in the ten sentences, categorized by each of the three long close-mid vowel sounds [e.], [o.] and [ø.] (first column), and the forms of the *Stadsweerts* (SW, third column) or the *buitenijen* (BW, fourth column) variety. Note that the *Stadsweerts* variety usually differs more from the standard Dutch word than does the *buitenijen* variety, due to the systematic use of deviating sounds (the vowel sounds under study). Moreover, in the Dutch spelling, the -n after a schwa in the coda of the final syllable is maintained, while it is almost always omitted in the spelling of the dialect varieties. The reason for this omission is that there is a spelling rule in the dialect reference work that redundant elements should not be written. Since the -n after a schwa²⁶ in the coda of the final syllable is omitted in speech, in both standard Dutch as in the dialect, this spelling rule applies.

Notice that the transcriptions consist of two representations of a g-sound: one voiced (ɣ) and one unvoiced (χ). Finally, the representation of ʀ differs from the ʁ that Heijmans and Gussenhoven have provided in their elaborate description of the sound system in the dialect of Weert (Heijmans & Gussenhoven, 1998b). The argument to deviate from the ʀ sound was the supposition that the ʀ sound would be closer to the realization of the particular sound in the dialect than the ʁ sound.

²⁶ In an unstressed coda of -en in Dutch, the -n is almost always omitted in speech.

Table 4.2

This table contains all the words with a long close-mid vowel sounds as used in the ten sentences to translate ('lexical items'), categorized by vowel sound. The second column from the left contains the word in Dutch and an English translation in brackets and the two columns to the right contain the words as they are in respectively the *Stadsweerts* variety (SW) and the *buitenijen* variety (BW), in addition to their transcription in line with IPA guidelines.

ee [e.]	Dutch	SW	BW
1	<i>geweer</i> (rifle, gun)	gewieër /ɣəβiə̯/	geweer /ɣəβe̯/
2	<i>heeft</i> (has)	hieët /hiət/	heet /het/
3	<i>zeven</i> (seven)	zieëve /ziə̯və/	zeve /zevə/
4	<i>tevreden</i> (happy, satisfied)	tevrieëje /tə̃vriə̯jə/	tevreeje /tə̃vɾe̯jə/
eu [ø.]	Dutch	SW	BW
1	<i>vuurt</i> (fires)	vuuërtj /vyə̃ɾc/	veurtj /vø̃ɾc/
2	<i>keuken</i> (kitchen)	kuuëke /kyəkə/	keuke /køkə/
3	<i>spelen</i> (to play)	spuuële /spyələ/	speule /spələ/
4	<i>kleuren</i> (colours)	kluuëre /klyəkə/	kleure /klø̃ɾə/
5	<i>keuze</i> (choice)	kuuës /kyəs/ or kuuëze /kyəzə/	keus /køs/ or keuze /køzə/
6	<i>vleugels</i> (wings)	vluuëgels /vlyə̃ɣə̃ls/	vleugels /vlø̃ɣə̃ls/
7	<i>koning</i> (king)	kuuëning /kyənɪŋ/	keuning /kønɪŋ/
8	<i>heup</i> (hip, noun)	huuëp /hyə̃p/	heup /hø̃p/
oo [o.]	Dutch	SW	BW
1	<i>kogel</i> (bullet)	koeëgel /kuə̃ɣəl/	kogel /kõɣəl/
2	<i>woord</i> (word)	woeërd /βuə̃ɾt/	woord /βõɾt/
3	<i>koken</i> (to cook)	koeëke /kuəkə/	koke /kokə/
4	<i>school</i>	schoeël /sxuəl/	school /sxəl/
5	<i>regenboog</i> (rainbow)	reigenboeëg /ɾẽiɣə̃nbuə̃ɣ/	raegenboog /ɾæ̃.ɣə̃nbø̃ɣ/ or raengelboog /ɾæ̃ŋəlbõɣ/
6	<i>vogel</i> (bird)	voeëgel /vuə̃ɣəl/	vogel /võɣəl/
7	<i>noot</i> (nut, noun)	noeët /nuət/	noot /not/
8	<i>uitverkozen</i> (selected, picked)	uutverkoeëze /ytvə̃ɾkuə̃zə/	uutverkoze /ytvə̃ɾkozə/ or oetverkoze /utvə̃ɾkozə/
9	<i>ambtswoning</i> (official/professional) residence	ambtswuuëning /ɑ̃m̃tsβyənɪŋ/ or ambtswoeëning /ɑ̃m̃tsβuənɪŋ/	ambtswuuëning /ɑ̃m̃tsβyənɪŋ/ or ambtswoeëning /ɑ̃m̃tsβuənɪŋ/
10	<i>gebroken</i> (broken)	gebroeëke /ɣə̃bɾuəkə/	gebroke /ɣə̃bɾøkə/

5. Results on dialect use, appreciation and associations with the dialect

The word *notenkraker*, which is not in the table, is identical to the word *noot*, i.e. *noeëtekraker* in SW and *notekraker* (BW). The table does not contain all words in bold from the ten sentences, since they do not differ in the two dialect varieties. The word *uitverkozen* is included in the table in relation to the variation in ‘uit’ and the ‘o’ sound. The word *ambtswoning* is included because *woning* deviates from the systematic division in the *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* varieties.

4.4. Procedure

The interviews with the participant were conducted at the participant’s house. There were two exceptions to this routine – a case in which a café in Weert was the place where the interview was held and in one case, the participant was met at the house of her parents. The entire interview took between one and two hours (with occasional peaks to four hours) and was held in the dialect, thus interviewer and participant both spoke dialect during and after the interview. Cornips and Jongenburger argued that, in dialect research, an interview should be conducted in the local dialect rather than in the standard language in order to “avoid accommodation, i.e. adjustment from the dialect in the direction of the standard-like varieties” (Cornips & Jongenburger, 2001, p. 59). The questions of the questionnaire were presented orally to the participant (in the dialect). On questions 1, 4, 5 and 6, the answers that the participant gave were written down (summarized) in standard Dutch by the interviewer.

On questions 2 and 3, all the question units were also presented orally one by one (except, of course, when the question unit, *beide ouders* ‘both parents’, was ticked, then the next two question units, ‘mother’ and ‘father’ were skipped). If the participant indicated to speak dialect to the person or on the occasion inquired with the concerning question unit, this question unit was ticked. If the participant indicated to speak Dutch to the person or on the occasion, the question unit remained unticked. In case a question unit was not applicable to the (family) situation of the participant – most likely regarding the family circle – *N.V.T.*, the Dutch acronym of *niet van toepassing*, ‘not applicable’, was noted after the concerning question unit on the questionnaire, in order to prevent confusion with an unchecked bullet point, which would indicate the use of Dutch with that person or on that occasion.

If the answers to questions 2 and 3 were more detailed than simply ‘dialect’ or ‘Dutch’, this elaboration would be written down in a short phrase behind the concerning question unit. For instance, if the participant indicated to speak dialect to some of his or her cousins and Dutch to other cousins, this may be rephrased as *met sommige NL*, (‘Dutch with some [of them]’; *NL* is the abbreviation of *Nederlands* ‘Dutch’) behind the question unit *Neven en nichten (kinderen van oom(s) en tante(s))* ‘Cousins (children of uncle(s) and aunt(s))’. When the participant indicated to speak dialect with a part of the concerning group of people or normally on a certain occasion, the concerning question unit was (usually) ticked, since the dialect was used in communication with a part of the concerning group.

Participants were not explicitly asked to make comments on the component *Opmerkingen bij vraag ...* ‘Remarks at question ...’ below the question units of questions 2 and 3. Remarks that related to the topics of the two questions (personal dialect use and presumed commonness of the dialect), but that were not specific to any particular question unit. Since the ‘remarks component’ depended on whether the dialect speaker made a general comment on the personal or presumed dialect use, the component potentially remained empty.

At question 4, the fourth sub-question required that the participant examined a map of Weert (zoomed in on the town of Weert via Google Maps[®] and copied to an A4 page by using the

Print screen function, see Appendix II). The participant was asked to indicate where – in which parts of the town – the dialect of Weert (the *Weerter* dialect) is spoken, and whether there are differences in this dialect of Weert.

From question 6 on, the interview was recorded with the pre-installed speech recording application on my mobile phone, a Samsung Galaxy J5. The application, named *Spraak recorder* ('speech recorder' in Dutch) was set on normal recording quality, with 128kbps and 44.1kHz. The names of the recorded files had the following lay-out: [neighbourhood of birth or previous neighbourhood] (optional), [current neighbourhood], [number in the list/participant number], [age]. An example of a file name: Centrum'Weert-Zuid, 5, 26. The apostrophe between the neighbourhood of birth and the current neighbourhood was employed instead of a comma to separate the two pieces of information. Some participants had not been inquired about their age, therefore the concerning file name did not include a number to indicate the age.

After question 6, ten sentences in standard Dutch were presented (see 4.3.1. Translation task: ten Dutch sentences and selection of words and Appendix I) to the participant, who was told to translate them into the dialect in the way he or she would say it when speaking dialect (the Translation task). After the participant had provided a translation of a sentence, the next sentence was presented. Participants were also told that whatever they said was neither right nor wrong.

After the ten sentences were presented to and provided with an oral translation by the participant, the participant was asked whether he or she knew any dialect variants of the words in the Dutch sentences (question 7). In order to be able to think of any dialect variant, the participant was allowed to read the sentences from the Translation task for him- or herself. In each sentence, two to four words were in bold (the lexical items). The participant was given the oral instruction that these words in bold were the more 'important' words in the sentences, but that he or she should not solely think of dialect variants that he or she knew for these words in bold. A sub-question of question 7, 7b, was which dialect variant(s) – if mentioned any – the participant (intuitively) used most. For the final question, another sub-question of question 7 (7c), the participant had to say which dialect variant(s) he or she thought to be most common and in which neighbourhood or neighbourhoods of the town of Weert the dialect variant(s) is or are most frequent, by using the Google Earth[®] map of question 4 (see Appendix II). After this sub-question, the recording was stopped and the interview was finished.

4.4.1. Use of personal pronouns in dialect of Weert

Regarding the analysis of the use of personal pronouns in the dialect, eight out of the ten presented Dutch sentences contained personal pronouns (sentences 4 and 7 contained no personal pronouns). In four of these sentences, the subject preceded the verb (S-V), while in the other four sentences, the verb preceded the subject (V-S). The reason for this variance in subject-verb order was to investigate the variation in verb-subject forms of some personal pronouns. The personal pronouns in the sentences were the following: *je* (singular simplex form of 'you') (in three sentences), *ze* (the simplex form of 'she', as a Dutch speaker can deduce from the form of the finite verb (in this case *heeft*, indicating singularity), *wij* (complex form 'we'), *ik* 'I', *u* 'you' polite form, and *jij* ('you' in the singular complex form) (see Appendix I). The variation in the personal pronoun forms will be a point of analysis in the Discussion section.

5. Results on dialect use, appreciation and associations with the dialect

In this first Results chapter, the results of the questions 2 to 6 of the questionnaire will be covered. These questions concern dialect use, dialect appreciation and the associations with the dialect. The answers and responses to the questions 2 to 6 of the questionnaire are shown in the following sections. This first Results chapter is divided into four sub-sections: one sub-section for the results of question 2 and 3, the results of the answers to question 4 and the accompanying sub-questions. The third sub-section covers the answers to question 5 and its sub-questions, about the appreciation of the dialect, and the fourth sub-section goes into the associations that participants reported in response to question 6. Question 6 concerns an overview of the words that participants indicated to associate with the dialect, whether this was the dialect of Weert or the dialect of Limburg (in its encompassing meaning for the collection of dialects spoken in the province of Limburg). This question was the first part of the interview that was recorded, thus potentially providing additional information about words that one associates with the dialect.

Questions 2, 3 and 4 involved dialect use, and question 5 focussed on the appreciation of the dialect of Weert, and the Limburgish dialect in general. The following sub-sections will cover ‘dialect use’ and ‘dialect appreciation’ separately. Moreover, since questions 2 and 3 are both closed questions, and question 4 consists of open sub-questions, the answers to questions 2 and 3 are clustered, while the answers to the question 4 are shown separately.

5.1. Dialect use (questions 2, 3 and 4)

Questions 2 and 3: use and commonness of dialect and Dutch

Question 2 regarded the participant’s own reported dialect use, while question 3 was used to inquire when the participant considered it common to speak either dialect or Dutch. Regarding question 2, each participant was asked to indicate whether they tend to speak dialect or Dutch to certain members of their family, to their friends and which of the two languages they usually speak at school, at work and elsewhere (see Appendix I). The similar question 3 involved participants to indicate which of the two language varieties (dialect or Dutch) they considered common to speak in a certain social domain (see Appendix I). The answers to the question units of question 2, on the participant’s own reported dialect use, provide an insight in when and with whom the dialect speaker tends to use either the dialect or Dutch. The frequencies of each choice option (‘dialect’, ‘Dutch’ or ‘not applicable’) and the corresponding percentages, are given in Table 5.1. The question unit ‘Parents’ deviates from the other question units in question 2, in that it consists of four choice options: ‘both ‘Dutch’, which is in fact none of the choice options ticked (0), ‘mother’ (1), ‘father’ (2) and ‘both [parents]’ (3). The numbers in brackets (0-3) refer to the values as used in IBM SPSS Statistics® (version 23). The choice options ‘mother’ and ‘father’ refer to the cases in which the participant speaks solely dialect with either his or her mother, respectively father. None of the participants indicated that he or she spoke dialect with only his or her mother (and not with the father), but one participant declared that he spoke dialect with only his father²⁷. As a result, the coding ‘both Dutch’ (no choice option ticked) from the particular coding set corresponds with ‘Dutch’ in the table, and ‘both dialect’ corresponds with ‘dialect’ in the table for the question unit ‘Parents’.

²⁷ The participant stated that his father spoke Dutch with the participant’s little brother.

5. Results on dialect use, appreciation and associations with the dialect

Table 5.1

Frequencies of answers on question 2 (reported dialect use of participants) and corresponding percentages with regard to the proportions of the answers. The frequencies and percentages in the first row ('Parents') had a coding set that was different from that for the other question units: 0 for 'both Dutch', 1 for 'mother (not selected)', 2 for 'father' (fifth column) and 3 for 'both (dialect)'. As a result, the heads of the second and third column (respectively 'Dutch' and 'Dialect') correspond with (slightly) different coding values for 'Parents': 'Dutch' with 'both Dutch', 'Dialect' with 'both dialect'. 'Not applicable' was not possible as an answer to the question unit 'Parents'. The one participant who indicated to speak dialect with only his father was left out of the table.

Question unit	Dutch (1/0)		Dialect (2/3)		Not applicable (0)	
Parents	1	3.33%	29	96.67%	-	-
Siblings	2	6.67%	28	93.33%	1	
Sibling's partner	8	27.59%	21	72.41%	2	
Sibling's children	12	48.00%	13	52.00%	6	
Own children	6	30.00%	14	70.00%	11	
Grandchildren	6	60.00%	4	40.00%	21	
Uncles and aunts	2	6.45%	29	93.50%	-	-
Cousins	3	10.00%	27	90.00%	1	
Partner	8	29.63%	19	70.37%	4	
Parents-in-law	5	17.24%	24	82.76%	2	
Partner's siblings	9	33.33%	18	66.67%	4	
Neighbours	7	22.58%	24	77.42%	-	-
People living in the same street	3	9.68%	28	90.32%	-	-
Dialect friends	0	0.00%	31	100.00%	-	-
Acquaintances	2	6.67%	28	93.33%	1	
Teachers/lecturers	23	82.14%	5	17.86%	3	
Classmates	7	25.00%	21	75.00%	3	
Superior/boss	18	62.07%	11	37.93%	2	
Colleagues	16	55.17%	13	44.83%	1	
Work relations and clients	22	73.33%	8	26.67%	1	
Outside of (Dutch) province	24	77.42%	7	22.58%	-	-

The one participant who indicated, at the question unit 'Parents', that he spoke dialect with only his father is left out of Table 5.1. The one participant who stated that he spoke Dutch with both his parents also mentioned that although his parents were both dialect speakers, they had decided that they would speak Dutch with him and his sister, with whom he also speaks Dutch. He learnt to speak dialect by himself, and by listening to his dialect-speaking friends. This case is classified as 'Dutch'. This same male participant said that he spoke dialect to the neighbour woman and the woman across the street, Dutch with the neighbour man and the man across the street. A young female participant stated that she and her partner were able to speak dialect, but that they spoke Dutch to one another. This case was coded with 1 'Dutch', because of her reported use of Dutch with her partner. One participant said that he spoke dialect with the

parents of his first wife, but Dutch with the parents of his second wife. The coding value for this case is 1 (Dutch), since it is presumed that his second wife was the one he was married to at the time of the interview. Two participants declared that they spoke dialect with their father-in-law, and one of them added not to speak dialect with his mother-in-law. One young dialect speaker argued that ‘acquaintances’ do not exist for younger people, but for older people. ‘Younger people know friends or strangers’. Another older male participant stated that his use of the dialect depended on the origin of the other person, whether he knew if that person is from Weert. This case was coded as 2 ‘Dialect’.

A male participant indicated ‘Dutch’ for the choice option ‘Teacher’, but that he spoke dialect with them outside of class. A female participant said that she spoke Dutch to teachers until she finished school. The inclination to speak Dutch to teachers at school was also mentioned by another female dialect speaker. A comment given with regard to ‘classmates’ was that the dialect used to be spoken among one another. An older participant stated that the dialect was spoken among boy classmates from Weert, but Dutch with the *interns*, children from outside of Limburg. Regarding the supervisor, one person told that he, as an organisation advisor, would speak dialect with the chefs, but Dutch with provincial chiefs, who were usually *Hollanders*. A woman said that her (then) boss could not speak dialect, but the woman spoke dialect at work in Weert. This ‘restriction’ of dialect speaking in Weert was also put forward by another female dialect speaker, who spoke Dutch at work in North-Brabant.

One participant gave a hard to define answer: that the language used varied because of the many sorts of colleagues. This case was coded as 1 ‘Dutch’. The origin was also factor for an older participant in relation to his colleagues (coded as 1 ‘Dutch’).

Outside of the province of Limburg, one male participant would speak English or the language with the highest chance of intelligibility. Two cases coded as 1 in ‘Outside of province’ ‘Dutch’ contained the comment that the dialect would be spoken in the own setting or among friends. A case of doubt is that one would speak dialect when not too far away. This one case of doubt was assigned the coding value 2 (‘Dialect’).

It is noticeable, but rather unsurprising, that the grand majority of the dialect speakers indicated to speak dialect with his or her parents and with his or her siblings. Dialect is the vernacular language within the family, at least in the generation of the dialect speaker (cousins, siblings and for most part their partners and the speaker’s own partner) and the older generation (parents, uncles and aunts, parents-in-law). When the partner speaks dialect (or is spoken to in dialect), it is nearly as common to speak dialect with his or her siblings (‘Partner’: 19 and ‘Partner’s siblings’: 18). In contrast, Dutch tends to gain more ground in the later generation. The majority of the dialect speakers who have children themselves (20) seem to intend to teach dialect to their children (14). Their siblings, however, seem to choose to speak Dutch and dialect equally often with their children (12 and 13 respectively).

The least common social domain for a dialect speaker to speak dialect appears to be (in conversation) with teachers: five participants indicated to speak (or used to speak) dialect with teachers, either during their own school years or the school years of their children. This is about the same number of participants who said to speak dialect outside of the province (7). Speaking dialect with one’s superior is (almost) as common as with one’s colleagues (respectively 11 and 13), which seems to contradict the existence of a hierarchy in which employees are required to speak Dutch to their superior.

Many of the responses to questions 2 and 3 did not simply point to exclusively dialect or exclusively Dutch in every case. These responses, or additional comments, were written down

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next to the concerning question unit. When a participant made remarks that had no direct connection to one question unit in particular, these remarks were written down in the *Opmerkingen bij vraag 2/3* ('Remarks at question 2/3') below the respective questions.

The number of comments that were written down next to each question unit of question 2 totals 225, with a mean of 10.714 comments on each of the 21 question units. These 225 comments exclude the 16 'general' remarks on question 2 (*Opmerkingen bij vraag 2* 'Remarks at question 2') component. The number of comments to the question units (excluding those in the *Opmerkingen bij vraag 2* component) ranged from 4 ('Parents' and 'Grandchildren') to 20 ('Clients'). The eleven question units regarding family members accounted for a lot fewer comments than the ten question units concerning public environments: The question units 'Parents' up to 'Partner's siblings' totalled 82 comments with a mean of 7.455; the question units 'Neighbours' up to 'Outside of the (Dutch) province of Limburg' totalled 143 comments with a mean of 14.3. Note that this second group of question units includes 'Neighbours', 'Friends' and 'Acquaintances', which are entities that – strictly taken – do not fall into the 'public environment', but would rather be considered more or less intimate relations outside of family. Excluding these question units results in a total of 100 comments with a mean of 13.25 for the remaining seven question units ('People living in the same street', 'Teachers', 'Classmates', 'Superior', 'Colleagues', 'Clients' and 'Outside of province').

In Table 5.2, the frequencies and corresponding percentages of the selected choice options to the different question units of question 3. These frequencies and percentages give an indication of which language variety (dialect or Dutch) the participants consider appropriate in a certain social context. Whereas, in question 2, many question units included household and family members, these units have been merged into two question units ('within the household' and 'within the family') in question 3. In contrast to question 2, the choice options consisted of only 'Dutch' (1), 'dialect' (2) and 'not applicable' (0). One participant filled in question 3 some time after the actual interview, since it was discovered that no question unit in that question had been ticked and no specific comments had been written next to any of the question units of that question. Remarkably, a comment had been written down in the *Opmerkingen bij vraag 3* 'Remarks at question 3' component of the questionnaire. Therefore, question 3, with the exclusion of the remarks component, was sent to the participant by e-mail. The e-mail also included the instruction to add any details to elaborate on question units if the choice options ('Dutch' and 'dialect') did not suffice, i.e. would not apply to every case (circumstance). The six participants who filled in the questionnaire themselves, either manually or by typing (sent back and forth via WhatsApp®) did not receive this instruction to provide more details on the question units. The reason why these six participants did not receive the instruction whereas number 10 did, has to do with the period in which they filled in the questionnaire. Whereas the six participants filled in the entire questionnaire during the data collection phase, the third question was e-mailed to participant number 10 after this phase. Moreover, since question 2 had been filled in during the interview, including written comments, consistency in the answer structure of question 2 and 3 was desirable. One of the two participants who received the questionnaire via WhatsApp® had nevertheless added comments to two question units of question 3 (thus without the specific instruction to do so). This discrepancy will be set out in more detail in the Discussion section.

Table 5.2

Frequencies and percentages of choice options question 3 Frequencies and corresponding percentages on question 3, for which the participants were asked whether they thought that it was more common to speak either dialect or Dutch in a given social domain. ('commonness of use' of dialect or Dutch). The numbers in brackets (0-2) correspond with the coding values as used in IBM SPSS for that question unit. The question unit 'Work relations or clients [who speak dialect]' is its translation as it was noted in Dutch on the questionnaire. When orally presenting that question unit to the participant, the part in square brackets was left out most of the time. Although that part was sometimes mentioned on the side (saying *I actually typed 'who speak dialect'* as an addition), it was nevertheless consistently left out.

Social domain	Dutch (1)		Dialect (2)		Not applicable (0)	
Within the household	2	6.45%	29	93.55%	-	-
Within the family	2	6.45%	29	93.55%	-	-
Friends who speak dialect	-	0.00%	31	100.00%	-	-
Friends who do not speak dialect	27	90.00%	3	10.00%	1	
'Mixed' group of friends	9	30.00%	21	70.00%	1	
Acquaintances	6	20.00%/ 48.28%	24	80.00%/ 51.72%	1	2
At school	14	78.57%	6	21.43%	3	
Teachers	22	34.48%/ 35.50%	19	54.80%/ 64.50%	2	
Class mates or students	10	53.33%	14	46.67%/ 53.33%	1	
At work	16	46.67%	16	45.16%	-	-
Superior/boss	14	54.84%	14	45.16%	-	-
Colleagues	17	25.81%	23	74.19%	-	-
Work relations or clients [who speak dialect]	8	45.16%	17	54.84%	-	-
Everyday affaires	14	75.86%	7	24.14%	2	
Restaurant, café or take-away	22	45.16%	17	54.84%	-	-
Public transport personnel	14	90.32%	3	9.68%	-	-
People in the street	28					
Outside of (Dutch) province of Limburg						

One older male participant gave the same comment on nine question units: that he partly spoke dialect and partly Dutch, depending on the group and whether the dialect is understood. The nine question units at which he made this comment were "'Mixed' group of friends", 'Acquaintances', 'Fellow classmates', 'Superior', 'Colleagues', 'Everyday affaires', 'Restaurant, café or take-away', 'Public transport personnel', and 'Outside of province'. In each case, the assigned code value was 2 'Dialect'.

Regarding the question unit 'Work relations or clients [who speak dialect]', the part in brackets was usually (unintentionally) left out when orally presenting this question unit to the participant, although it was on the questionnaire. Sometimes that part was mentioned as a side note – for instance by adding *I actually typed 'who speak dialect'*. Because that part was left out most of the time, the question unit should be regarded as 'Work relations or clients', thus without the specification part of dialect-speaking.

5. Results on dialect use, appreciation and associations with the dialect

Over the course of the interviews, participants often seemed to base their responses to question 3 on their personal situation, i.e. what they would speak in a given situation, despite being told that the question was about their thoughts on when and with whom it would generally be common to speak dialect. The analysis of the comments to question units may provide some insight in the perspective (on the own dialect use of the dialect speaker or on the dialect use of dialect speakers in general) a participant may have taken.

Regarding the question units ‘Mixed’ group of friends’ and ‘Acquaintances’, a young male participant stated that the language spoken varied; in both cases the question units were coded as 2 ‘Dialect’. A female participant argued that speaking dialect with acquaintances is less common than with family and friends. One male participant commented that the question unit ‘Acquaintances’ could be left out of the questionnaire when interviewing youngsters.

At the question unit ‘Fellow class mates or students’, an older female dialect speaker said that speaking dialect to class mates who live nearby is common, possibly referring to when she would speak (or spoke) dialect.

A female in the ‘old generation’ group said that one starts in Dutch and should sense whether it is suitable to speak dialect at work. Another older female participant told that the language of communication at work was Dutch, but that dialect was spoken during meetings. Because of this habit to speak dialect, the coding value for this case was 2 ‘Dialect’.

At the question unit ‘Clients’, one comment was that conversations were often done by phone and that conversations with parents of pupils were alternately in Dutch and dialect. This case was coded as 2 ‘Dialect’. In stores (‘Everyday affaires’), one older male participant declared that he spoke Dutch, except when the other person spoke dialect. This case was coded as 1 ‘Dutch’, because of the general application of Dutch in stores.

With regard to the question unit ‘Restaurant, café or take-away’, one older female participant argued that she would speak dialect if she knew the owners, but she would not start in dialect if she did not have the intuition that she could speak dialect. For this reason, this case was assigned code 1 ‘Dutch’. One older male participant made the argument that it depended on who serves you; that one ought to adapt. He presumed that the other people understand dialect, unless it was evident that they do not. This case was coded as 2 ‘Dialect’. Another male participant put forward that the desired language would become salient when the other person addresses you. Coding value assigned: 1 ‘Dutch’.

Commenting on the question unit ‘Public transport personnel’, a young male participant said that he probably would go along with the language that the ticket collector speaks (assigned code was 1 ‘Dutch’).

Two participants argued on ‘People in the street’ that one knows which language to speak when one knows the other person. One of them stated that Dutch would be spoken in case one does not know the other person. The other also argued that Dutch is spoken outside of Limburg, but that he speaks dialect in Belgium. Due to this presumption of speaking Dutch outside of Limburg, this case was coded as 1 ‘Dutch’.

The frequencies and percentages in Table 5.2 demonstrate that almost every dialect speaker thinks that dialect is the common language to speak within the household and family (both 29 responses to ‘Dialect’) and undoubtedly the language to speak with dialect-speaking friends. The two participants who gave Dutch as a response to the question units 1, ‘within the household’, and 2, ‘within the family’, (first two rows) were either raised in Dutch or had raised his children in Dutch. The participant, who was raised in Dutch, made the comment that the choice of language was dependent on the family (household), what they choose to speak

(question unit 1), and on the composition of the household or family (question unit 2). The other participant did not make any comment on his responses to these two question units.

The social domains in which speaking dialect is considered least common were outside of the Dutch province of Limburg (3 against 28), with friends who do not speak the dialect (4 against 26), and on an equal level with personnel in public transport and teachers (respectively 7/6 against 22/21). For both the ‘teachers’ and ‘public transport’ question unit, ‘not applicable’ was given as a response twice. Although no further comment had been made, or least written down, as a clarification for the answer to the ‘public transport’ question unit, an explanation may nevertheless be that the participant rarely (or a long time ago) travelled by means of public transport and was therefore not able to think over which language would be used in such (public) environment.

The frequencies of participants that consider the dialect a suitable language to speak with the superior as well with colleagues (14 respectively 16) reflect the individual situation, as shown by the same question units in question 2. About 40 percent of the participants speak dialect with their superior and colleagues, while even 40 to 50% considered it appropriate (common) to speak dialect in both cases. Analysis of the concerning comments may offer a comprehensive picture of the conditions that encourage (or prohibit) the use of the dialect.

The total number of comments on question 3 was slightly lower than the number on question 2: 206, with a mean number of 11.44 comments on each of the eighteen question units. These 206 comments exclude the 19 ‘general’ comments or remarks to question 3 (the *Opmerkingen bij vraag 3* ‘Remarks at question 3’ component). Thus, 19 participants gave remarks to question 3 in this component. The number of comments on a question unit ranged from 1 (‘Within the household’) to 20 (‘In a mixed group of friends’), which may be an indication that talking either one or the other language variety (dialect or Dutch) is (seemingly) not self-evident in certain social situations. When these question units are split up into two groups, one group comprises the ‘intimate’ question units (family, friends and acquaintances) and the other group comprises the question units regarding public institutions and situations. The first group (family, friends, and acquaintances) of six question units accounts for 45 comments with a mean of 7.5 (with 20 comments for the question unit ‘mixed’ friend group’). The second group (‘public institutions and situations’) accounts for a total of 161 comments with a mean of 13.417 comments for each of the twelve question units. A division in the sub-groups ‘institutions’ and ‘public environments’ respectively gives 89 comments (mean ≈ 12.714) for the seven ‘institution’ question units and 69 comments (mean = 17.25) for the four question units regarding public environments. In Table 5.3, the number of question units, the number of comments, and the mean number of comments for each group of question units is displayed.

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Table 5.3

Number and mean number of comments in grouped question units of question 2 and 3. Mean numbers of comments with an asterisk (*) are round numbers with three decimals. The groups in the first column comprise the following question units from the questionnaire (see Appendix I): Question 2: ‘**Family**’: ‘Parents’ up to ‘Partner’s siblings’, ‘**Group 2**’: ‘Neighbours’ up to ‘Outside of (Dutch) province of Limburg’, ‘**Public environment**’: ‘People in the street, ‘Teachers’ up to ‘Outside of province’. Question 3: ‘**Intimate**’: ‘Within household’ up to ‘Acquaintances’, ‘**Public institutions/environments**’: ‘At school’ up to ‘Outside of province’, ‘**Public institutions**’: ‘At school’ up to ‘Clients’, and ‘**Public situations**’: ‘Everyday affaires’ up to ‘Outside of province’.

Column Head	Number of question units	Number of comments	Mean number of comments
Question 2 ‘Family’	11	82	7.455*
Question 2 Group 2	10	143	14.3
Question 2 ‘Public environment’	7	100	13.25
Question 3 ‘Intimate’	6	45	7.5
Question 3 ‘Public institutions/environments’	12	161	13.417*
Question 3 ‘Public institutions’	7	89	12.714*
Question 3 ‘Public situations’	4	69	17.25

The very high number of comments that participants made in their responses to specific question units of questions 2 and 3 (225 and 206 respectively) entailed a rather high number of cases of doubt with regard to the matter whether to interpret an answer as ‘Dutch’ or dialect’. Due to the nature of the comments on question units in question 3, the number of doubtful cases was higher with regard to the question units of question 3 than with regard to the question units of question 2. These doubtful cases were settled, i.e. conclusively given a single coding value by reading the corresponding comments and trying to deduce the preferred language variety to use (Dutch or dialect) in the concerning social context. In an Excel file, comments were organised per question unit (e.g. ‘Friends’ or ‘Outside of Limburg’) in columns, and classed in three or four groups of similar comments by marking cells with different colours. One group consisted of comments specifying conversation setups in which dialect would be spoken (often placed in opposition to setups in which Dutch is spoken). Another group consisted of comments describing ‘factors’ on which dialect use was presumed to be dependent. A more thorough analysis of the comments is provided in the Discussion section.

Question 4: open question on dialect use

Whereas questions 2 and 3 were closed questions that were structured as a set of question units to which either two or three answers were possible (apart from ‘not applicable’), question 4 was an open question about dialect use in Weert. Question 4 was divided into four sub-questions, of which two were mutually excluding, in the sense that either one of the two was filled in, depending on the personal situation of the participant. The first sub-question consisted of multiple questions merged into one, all revolving around the experience of the participants with (the use of) the dialect. The first part of the first sub-question was almost identical to question 3,

in that its topic was when and where the dialect is used. Most answers to the first sub-question did not go into this part of the question. The most important part of the sub-question was whether children still learn to speak dialect, and how well dialect speakers master the dialect.

The second sub-question, which was mutually exclusive with the third sub-question, was posed in case the participant had children. It informed whether the participant and his or her partner only spoke dialect with their children, or Dutch as well, and why they did so. The third sub-question informed whether the participant, in case he or she did not have children, would speak Dutch or dialect with them.

The fourth sub-question required that the participant examined a map of the town of Weert (Google Earth[®], see Appendix II) printed on an A4 page. By means of this map of the town of Weert, the participant was asked to say whether there were differences in the dialect of Weert, and if so, where – in which part of the town – these differences may be observed.

An overview of the most interesting or useful answers will be given, starting with the first sub-question, then answers to the second and third sub-questions will supplement each other. This section covering the questions on dialect use will be completed with the overview of answers to the fourth sub-question.

With regard to where and when the dialect is used, nine participants referred to their own situation. Six of them mentioned that it is often, or even always, spoken in their family (one said it is spoken a lot in his environment). Two stated that they found it important or evident that their children learn to speak dialect. One of them added to this importance of learning to speak dialect that children learn to speak Dutch at school. Another participant said that he addresses a stranger in Limburg in the dialect, and that it somehow gives a sense of affiliation when someone speaks dialect back. Four participants talked about the context in which dialect is spoken: Limburg, within family circles, and *Vastelaovendj*, a popular Limburgish denomination for ‘carnival’. One argued that it depends on where and with whom you are on the shop floor whether dialect is spoken. An older participant stated that the (language) environment was changing because of the growing number of Dutch-speaking people. These results demonstrate that speakers of the dialect of Weert find it important that children learn to speak the language and that they speak it with their family and friends.

Sixteen participants made statements about the dialect among children (and youngsters). Four thought that children still learn to speak dialect, of which one added that parents need to be called to account to pass on the dialect to their children. Four said that children learn to speak dialect less often, or insufficiently which he thought was related to the composition of the household. Two older participants even argued that children learn it much less often, with one saying that the dialect use is leaping backwards. One participant suggested that the decline is caused by the loss of local status of the dialect. According to him, this sentiment (whether this is linked to the decline or to the local status) is strong in the villages, and in the neighbourhoods adjacent to the town centre of Weert. Other answers included that children learn it when at least one parent speaks it and that teaching dialect means passing it on from generation to generation. Children need to be pushed to learn to speak dialect, according to one, who also argued that out of ten children living in his street, five spoke (only) Dutch. One young male participant stated that youngsters understand the dialect, but are less inclined to speak back in the dialect. A final answer with regard to children was that they initially confuse Dutch (words?) with dialect; they still learn it.

Seven answers involved (the role of) the parents. Two participants knew (many) people who pass the dialect of Weert on to their children. Convenience and conjunction with school,

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higher awareness of the choice of language among the same and younger generation, and the lack of one dialect-speaking parent were mentioned as reasons for other people to teach Dutch. The higher awareness of choice would co-occur with the sense of the need of achievement. One older man found it ridiculous that dialect-speaking parents decide to learn Dutch to their children, since the conception of dialect being detrimental to acquiring Dutch would have been superseded.

Nineteen answers may fall into a category of ‘command of dialect’ and some other category. One topic in these answers is shared by three participants: that the dialect is becoming more and more Dutch, that ‘we’ are ‘dutchifying’ it. One talked about the degeneration (*verbastering*) of the dialect. One, however, argued that due to the degeneration of the Dutch language, the command of dialect is generally better than that of Dutch. He supposed that this may be the result of the larger language area in which Dutch is spoken, making Dutch more susceptible to external influences. Six answers included the own command of dialect, or that of their offspring, three of which consider their command well or even fantastic. Out of sixteen answers, seven dialect speakers thought that the use of dialect is going downhill or is less, and is even threatened. Three participants gave an example of Dutch words that are frequently heard in the dialect: *kippen* (‘chickens’), which are *hinnen* or *hoenderen* (‘chickens’, ‘hens’) in the dialect; *jullie* (‘you’ 2.PL) instead of the dialect word *uch* (2.PL.OBJECT), and *vaak* (‘often’), which is *dèk*²⁸ /dæk/ in Limburgish. The dialect speaker who mentioned this latter word (*vaak*) stated that dialect is frequently spoken near him, but that the specific (dialect) words nevertheless disappear. Some appeared to be hopeful, saying that the proficiency in the dialect is generally better than in Dutch; one was very satisfied about the amount of dialect spoken among youngsters. Two young women made opposite statements about the spoken dialect: whereas one stated that the written dialect is badly documented, but reasonably well spoken, the other said that the interest in the dialect had increased, despite a worse oral command of it.

On twenty-two questionnaires, sub-question 2 was filled in, whereas sub-question 3 was filled in on eleven questionnaires. Two participants had filled in both sub-questions, of which one said that he and his partner (who was also a participant in the current study) did not have children, but that they would raise them in the dialect of Weert (*Weerts*). The other participant indicated that his partner did not speak the Limburgish dialect, but understands it well. He declared that she did not notice the difference anymore. His answer to sub-question 3 (the sub-question about which language one would speak in case of having own children) was dialect, since it [dialect] brought him a certain connection (*verbintenis*), so perhaps his children would gain this connection as well. Eleven participants declared that they and their partners spoke dialect, of which six added to (also) spoke it with the children. Three spoke dialect with or to the children, with one being answered in Dutch. Her oldest son spoke dialect with everyone except her. One man used to speak dialect to his children and Dutch to his wife, but spoke Dutch with his children as well nowadays. Two declared to speak Dutch with partner and children; one sometimes talked in the dialect to his children. Two were opposite cases, in that one participant said to speak dialect with his partner and Dutch with his children, whereas the other spoke dialect with her children and Dutch with her husband. Finally, one woman told that she spoke Dutch with her son (and partner), but dialect with her daughter.

²⁸ In the official spelling of the dialect of Weert, it is spelled *dék* (different accent on top of the [æ]) (Bakkes, Cromptvoets, Notten, & Walraven, 2003, pp. 11-12).

Out of the eleven participants who answered to the third sub-question, thus did not have children, eight indicated that they would speak the dialect with their future children. Reasons to speak dialect with future children were the following:

1. the connection that the speaker himself had with the dialect, which his future children may also have with the dialect
2. taking away potential prejudices his (future) children may be confronted with, since he experienced prejudices involving his skin colour himself
3. having grown up with the dialect and thinking that it would feel strange to having to speak Dutch with her own parents (the children's grandparents)
4. Dutch as the official language in education would be sufficient for developing Dutch as the colloquial language, thus speaking Dutch instead of dialect at home was assumed to be unnecessary
5. Importance of passing the dialect on

One participant said she would speak dialect at home, but that it would depend on whether she would live in Limburg or not, whether her partner were Dutch or not, and whether the environment were to speak dialect. Finally, two dialect speakers supposed that they would speak dialect, or had never thought about teaching dialect. In one case, the children would be taught Dutch and would perhaps hear dialect as their grandparents spoke a mix of Dutch and dialect.

5.2. Appreciation of the dialect

Question 5, sub-question 1

Question 5 was about the appreciation of the dialect of Weert, or of Limburg in general. For the first sub-question, participants had to indicate when or in which circles the dialect would be appreciated most and least. In that sense, the question went into a contrast in the appreciation of the dialect. The answers to the first sub-question are categorized according to the highest and lowest appreciation, lower appreciation, general appreciation (who and where), and other comments.

The highest appreciation was considered to be in the family circle and at home (three participants), in one's circle of acquaintances, and in the (private) environment (of a dialect speaker). One participant mentioned parties as an environment where the dialect would be appreciated most. People who celebrate *Vastelaovendj* ('carnival') and inhabitants of Weert (*Weertenaren*) were more general answers given to the sub-question.

In contrast, speaking dialect outside of the province would not be appreciated, according to eight participants, among whom one used the words "dramatically badly". There, the dialect may have a low appreciation. That same participant thought that others wonder why one would speak dialect when one can speak Dutch; that people think that it is dumb and see the dialect as a gimmick or a trick. One participant mentioned in particular people from the neighbouring province of North-Brabant as a population who would not appreciate the dialect, even though the dialect in Brabant has a lot of similarities in words with the dialect of Weert. Three participants thought that people who do not speak dialect would appreciate (speaking) dialect the least, as well as people from outside of Limburg ("*import*") and someone of rank, who may regard it as something low-level or of lesser value. Besides outside of the province, appreciation may also be lower when dialect speakers consistently speak dialect to shop personnel that speaks Dutch, or at work.

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People in Limburg and people in Weert are thought to be generally appreciating the dialect, even to a growing extent, due to a higher awareness. One participant, however, found it unfortunate that there was neutral appreciation and not enough pride in the province. Four participants mentioned that within the circles of family and of acquaintances the dialect is appreciated. According to one, dialect speakers would be required to adapt outside of these circles. Elsewhere (outside of Limburg), it would be considered weird, inappropriate and annoying, although the appreciation was thought to be rising. Although the dialect of Weert is appreciated, one argued that it has to compete with English. Dialect speakers like it very much when they are talked to in the dialect. Three participants mentioned *Vastelaovendj* as a context in which the dialect is common and appreciated, even desired, and where Dutch is taboo. One participant pointed to the middle and lower class, where the dialect would be appreciated because it is something from the old days.

Other comments that were given included the sense of appreciation for people who refuse to renounce their origins, as dialect speakers of Limburgish and any other dialects. One dialect speaker once heard that the dialect of Weert resembles the dialect spoken in the province of North-Brabant, both being rustic. Another dialect speaker also mentioned that the two bear similarities, and that it struck him therefore as strange that, according to him, people in North-Brabant would not appreciate it when dialect speakers from Limburg speak dialect. Two participants argued that dialect speakers are sometimes considered dumb. As mentioned, one of them said that people do not understand why one would speak dialect when you can speak Dutch, that speaking dialect is a trick. Finally, one participant linked level of education with speaking either dialect or Dutch: higher-educated people are more likely to speak Dutch, which would be related to the place where they had studied and to the people they meet. Lower-educated people tend to remain in the region, which would increase the chance that they speak dialect. One stated that people who spend a holiday in Limburg like to hear the dialect, as long as speakers switch to Dutch as soon as one noticed that the dialect is not understood. He said to have never perceived any annoyances about speaking dialect in a group with non-dialect speakers. It was also stated that ‘we’, speakers of the dialect of Weert, are made fun of because of the assumption that all words in the dialect get *-tj* [c] as a suffix. This participant suggested that she perceived no negative judgements of the dialect, but the accent would be, however. Dialect would be used during *Vastelaovendj*, whereas Dutch would be used on official occasions.

Question 5 sub-question 2

The subject of sub-question 2 of question 5 was the relation between Standard Dutch and the dialect. One participant did not provide an answer to the sub-question and another one referred back to her answer on question 4. The answers to this sub-question can be categorized into four topics: use, appreciation, status and other/associations. Eleven participants made statements about the appreciation (or esteem) of the dialect. Two participants stated that Dutch would be appreciated more with regard to mutual respect and dialect less, and just as many stated that the dialect is little accepted and under-appreciated. However, there was one who thought that the dialect was appreciated more, likely because of its decline and one who noted that *Rogstaekers* (members of the carnival association, and the name of the inhabitants of Weert during the carnival period) may over-appreciate the dialect. Another dialect speaker argued that dialect speakers may be positive about the dialect, whereas non-dialect speakers may be little concerned about it. Four other participants mentioned how the dialect of Weert and Limburgians are regarded. Two of them made contrasting statements: whereas one said that the dialect is often

regarded as rustic, the other said that the dialect of Weert is not rude, in her opinion, in comparison with the dialect in North-Brabant. Other words that were assumed to be used to describe the dialect were coarse and harsh, and dumb and rude with regard to Limburgians (“*lomperiken*”, ‘louts’). This latter participant also perceived that famous Limburgians renounce the dialects when they unlearn the accent. Yet another participant said, as a matter of speech, that it is better to meet a rude Belgian person than a rude *Hollander* (‘Dutchman’).

Seven of the eleven statements on the status of the dialect were about the low(er) (or less desirable) esteem of the dialect. In one of these statements, it was believed that the dialect is held in very low esteem, but that every dialect speaker cherishes the own dialect. One participant said that outsiders, more specifically *Hollanders* (‘Dutchmen’), do not hold the dialect in high esteem. A reason for the lower desirability would be the tendency to explore the world, which is becoming smaller. This tendency would be in contrast with the small scale and the intimate nature of the dialect. Reasons why the dialect is held in lower esteem were the supposed view of the dialect as rustic and that Weert was (or still is) a worker’s town. Two argued that the dialect does not have a lower status than Dutch, although Dutch is more universal (and supposed to be understood by everyone) and the main language when serious things are discussed. Some people would nevertheless assign a certain status to Dutch. One dialect speaker strongly disagreed that the dialects of Amsterdam and Utrecht have any status. Finally, one expected that Standard Dutch will overrule the dialect.

An overview of the answers involving the use of the dialect is as follows:

- There is still much dialect in Limburg
- Dialect may be used more in circle of friends
- More dialect than Dutch in Limburg and Weert; dialect will be spoken in truly *Weertse* households
- Dialect [used] more in informal situations; Standard Dutch in formal situations. Standardization leads to devaluation and fewer reasons to speak it
- Dutch is fine, but dialect is preferred in personal environment
- Use is still 50/50, possibly a high estimation
- Absolutely spoken less, impossible to preserve it as it was, due to ‘contacts’ with people from outside, Dutch and dialects will continuously be pushed aside. The more international we become, the more words will become international
- Dialect used to be passed on from mother to daughter or from father to son. People no longer marry with someone from their own community
- Dutch is used more often out of decency

The participant who made the 50/50 estimation told that even dialect-speaking parents taught their children in her generation to speak Dutch. Another claim was that a lot of effort is made to prevent the dialect from disappearing, but that the number of children participating in dialect reading contests is decreasing. Other answers that were difficult to categorize in one of the previous sets had to do with the dialect as is. The linguistic skill of a speaker would be improved by speaking dialect and a child that is learning Dutch from dialect-speaking parents would not speak the ‘pure’ dialect. Two participants put Dutch and the dialect in comparison: Limburgish is not a single language, while Dutch is, and one of these participants viewed Dutch and the dialect as two distinct languages. Related to the status of the dialect was the answer that the stereotypes involving Limburgish are deemed negative. This participant, however, had sympathy for such stereotypes, since he had similar stereotypes regarding the Frisian dialect. A

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similar opinion was that the dialect is used to appear dumber, in for example commercials. This image of being dumb was also linked to the Limburgians themselves. Besides being regarded as ‘quasi-German’, Limburgians would be viewed as expressing good-naturedness and people that like to party. They would be associated with a strong community spirit, brass bands, and rifle clubs (*schutterijen*).

Question 5 sub-question 3

The third and final sub-question of question 5 went into the importance of learning and speaking dialect and/or Standard Dutch. The answers may be categorized using the keywords ‘Linguistic’, ‘Identity’, ‘Culture’, ‘Acceptation and integration’, and ‘Position of Dutch’. To eight participants, the merit of the dialect lay in the linguistic aspect: becoming bilingual, enhanced language sensitivity, improved linguistic skill. Bilingualism would facilitate learning a foreign language, and switching between languages. Bilingualism would also increase interest in multilingualism and it would be beneficial for the brain.

Six participants viewed the dialect as part of one’s identity. Although two argued that a dialect does not have much additional (linguistic) value, it is part of the identity of the people of Weert. It connects the people of Weert, and creates a sense of solidarity. On a social level, dialect has additional value. Through the dialect, one belongs to a select group, which was considered nice, and one is in touch with the past (*het oude*). Dialect means communication, sense of safety and familiarity. Another participant shared that sense of solidarity, and furthermore, dialect evokes the ‘local first idea’, that dialect speakers are ‘one up (on others)’, as well as a sense of home. Speaking a dialect entails that one is able to immediately discern where in Limburg someone comes from. A final identity-related answer was that one’s origin is important, and should not be disguised.

Six participants mentioned ‘culture’ or ‘heritage’ as important aspects of the dialect. The preservation, and passing on, of culture and history was deemed important, for whatever dialect. Another participant supplemented ‘preservation of culture’ with the preservation of tradition. It is important to preserve the heritage of previous generations, which would not necessarily be achieved by means of the dialect, but possibly in the tradition of rifle clubs (*schutterijen*). The dialect was assigned a culture status, a way to gain involvement in the community. *Vastelaovendj* (‘carnival’) was said to revolve around *plat* (frequently used denomination of ‘the Limburgish dialect’).

In five answers, dialect would promote acceptance and integration. Two participants had the opinion that a newcomer should adapt to the region, make an effort to learn to speak the language. Dutch is “a must” or obviously of importance. Learning to speak dialect may be useful for communicating with others, and understanding it was seen as a requirement when living here. For one dialect speaker, her adopted children were to learn both Dutch and dialect, in order to promote their acceptance.

(Standard) Dutch was considered obligatory to learn according to three participants, on one hand to be able to integrate in society (*meedraaien in de maatschappij*), and on the other hand to increase one’s chances in life, which was thought not to be achieved by means of the dialect. The dialect was rather something amusing, without any additional value.

Other answers were the following (own translation from Dutch to English):

- [It is the] dialect to me (‘*voor mij dialect*’). My children will probably speak Dutch to their children
- Learn to speak both. The best thing is when they [children] are able to speak both

- Speaking dialect is not required as such, but if both parents speak it, they ought to teach it to their children. One language may not go at the expense of the other
- One should speak what feels best, whatever brings out the best
- It is always supplemental. I experienced that doing business with a *Hollander* requires a different attitude than with a Limburgian or Belgian person (...)
- I think they [children] should speak both, that is important. Dutch is taught at school. Children would still decide for themselves which of the two they wish to speak
- The dialect of Weert has a larger amount of conjugations

5.1.3. Associations with the dialect of Weert or Limburg (question 6)

This separate sub-section is dedicated to the associations that the dialect speakers had with the dialect of Weert, or the Limburgish dialect in general (question 6 on the questionnaire). This question is discussed separately because it was unrelated to the other questions on the questionnaire, about dialect use (questions 2, 3 and 4), appreciation (question 5) and to the variation components (the Translation task and question 7). In Table 5.4, the associations that the participants provided are categorized according to the kind of word. The words are classified as ‘typical words’ in the dialect of Weert or in the Limburgish dialect, such as *peddemoeëk* (‘frog’), ‘linguistic associations’ and ‘personal sentimental associations’. Since typical words are in Limburgish, the English translations are provided in brackets. These translations are mainly retrieved from the online dictionary of Van Dale © (*Dikke Van Dale woordenboek*) (den Boon & Hendrikx, 2015, 2016), and approximate translation (as indicated with \pm in the online dictionary) are preceded by that symbol ‘ \pm ’. The Limburgish concepts are supplemented with either translations or rough descriptions of the concerning concept. The ‘linguistic associations’ are all dialect words, while the words in the column ‘personal sentimental associations’ are mostly in Dutch, even though the dialect speakers were talking in the dialect during the interview. The numbers in brackets refer to the number of participants that mentioned the concerned association.

Table 5.4 does not include three different associations, which may be named *Limburgish concepts*. These three associations are related: *Vastelaovendj* (‘carnival’) was mentioned four times, *Rogstaekerin* (‘female member of the largest carnival association of Weert’), and *Rogstaekers* (name of the largest carnival association in Weert, and the inhabitants of Weert during the carnival period, *Weertenaar* (Feijen, 2013)).

The column ‘Typical words’ consists of words that are considered typical to the dialect of Weert and of the Limburgish dialect in general. The column ‘Linguistic associations’ comprises dialect words that are not considered ‘typical’ in Limburgish or dialect-specific words, but rather translations of Dutch words. The column ‘Personal sentimental associations’ consists of seemingly unrelated words and concepts that dialect speakers linked to the dialect of Limburg. Translations in English, as retrieved from the online dictionary of Van Dale ©, are in brackets.

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Table 5.4

Associations as provided in response to question 6 of the questionnaire. The classifications are ‘typical words’, ‘linguistic associations’, and ‘personal sentimental associations’. The words and concepts in italic are the dialect words and concepts. The abbreviation *AE* refers to the indication that the translation is common in American English. The ‘SW’ in brackets indicates that the corresponding word is a *Stadsweerts* (‘centre’) variety, according to the dictionary *Zoeë kalle vae* (Feijen, 2013). The arrow symbol (→) indicates a reference to *kwakkert* as an alternatively used word for *peddemoeëk*. The accent symbol ^ marks a lengthening of the vowel sound, for instance ‘oê’ is pronounced as [u:] (note the triangular colon).

Typical words	Linguistic associations	Personal sentimental associations
vlaai	<i>gojendaag</i> (‘good day’)	<i>good gevoel, prima</i> (‘good feeling, fine’)
<i>kroonsele / kroonsel</i> (‘gooseberries’ / ‘~berry’)	<i>boete</i> (‘outside’)	<i>gemoedelijk</i> (‘good-natured’) (2) / <i>gemoedelijkheid</i> (‘good-naturedness’)
<i>kreboêt</i> (‘±scrapple’ AE)	<i>haard</i> ²⁹ (‘hard’, ‘solid’)	<i>vriendelijk</i> (‘friendly’)
<i>meuletentje</i> ³⁰ (‘ladybug’) (5)	<i>verkét / verkèt</i> (‘fork’)	<i>lief</i> (‘sweet’, ‘kind’)
<i>omzeiksel</i> ³¹ (‘ant’) (2) / <i>aomzeiksel</i>	<i>schaol</i> (‘dish’, ‘scale’)	<i>familie</i> (‘family’)
<i>peddemoeëk</i> ³² (‘frog’) (7) → <i>kwakkert</i> (2)	<i>zök</i> (‘socks’)	<i>gewoon doen</i> (‘act normal’)
<i>koêleköpke / koêleköpkes</i> (‘tadpole/~s’)	<i>boks</i> ³³ (‘(pair of) trousers’)	<i>op het gemak zijn</i> (‘being at ease’) / <i>voelen</i> (‘feel’)
<i>nondedjuke</i> (‘bow tie’)	<i>taofel</i> (‘table’)	<i>geborgenheid</i> (‘(sense of) safety’)
<i>snuik</i> (‘candy’)	<i>schoeëtel</i> (SW) (‘dish’, ‘saucer’)	<i>gemaekelik</i> (‘easy’)
<i>schoeëtelset</i> (je) (SW) (‘dishcloth’) (2)	<i>book</i> (‘book’) ³⁴	<i>hoêseleke sfeer</i> (‘home-like, homey atmosphere’) (2)
<i>rinastel(s)</i> (‘shoe string(s)’) (5) / <i>rinasters</i>	<i>lieëpel</i> (SW) (‘spoon’)	<i>moderstaal</i> (‘mother tongue’)
<i>awiel</i> (‘nowadays’)	<i>boeëteram</i> (SW) (‘sandwich’)	<i>thuis voelen</i> (‘feel at home’)
<i>teluuër</i> (‘plate’) (3)	<i>nao boeëve</i> (<i>boeëve</i> : SW) (‘go upstairs’)	<i>vertrouwd</i> (‘familiar’, ‘safe’) (4)
<i>kêlle</i> (‘(sauce)pan’ / casserole)	<i>boeëter</i> (SW) (‘butter’)	<i>thuiskomen</i> (‘coming home’)
<i>slet</i> (‘dishcloth’)	<i>wichter</i> (‘children’)	<i>Stadsweerts</i> heeft echt die ‘oe-

²⁹ The word *haard* is also a word in Dutch, meaning ‘fireplace’, which is also the second meaning in the dialect. However, *haard* in the meaning of ‘hard’, ‘solid’ is not an existing orthography in Dutch.

³⁰ *Meuletentje* is the spelling as it is used in the *buitenijen*, ‘peripheral’ variety. The spelling in the *Stadsweerts*, ‘centre’, variety is *muuëletentje*, of which the frequency is included in the number in the cell *meuletentje*.

³¹ The correct spelling of the word *omzeiksel* is *aomzeiksel* /ɔ.mzeiksəl/ (Feijen, 2013).

³² The [ë] sound in words such as *peddemoeëk* is the [ə] in the IPA transcriptions: /pədəmuək/.

³³ The official spelling of *boks* is *bóks* (note the accent on the ‘o’), but the difference is hard to perceive. The same goes for the word *póppeschruuër* (‘dragonfly’) and *zwók* (‘swing’ noun).

³⁴ *Book* in dialect is pronounced as /bok/ rather than /buk/ as in English.

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Typical words	Linguistic associations	Personal sentimental associations
<i>schiëtschoeëtele</i> (SW) ('make remarks', 'mess about', 'nag') <i>fäöts</i> ('bruise', 'lump') / <i>ruuëfke</i> ³⁵ / <i>korse</i> ('fever')	<i>börre</i> ('to burn'), <i>börtj</i> ('burns') (2) ' <i>t brantj is boeteni-js, neet platwierts</i> (' <i>t brantj</i> ' is <i>boeteni-js</i> variety, not 'Weert dialect')	klank' (<i>Stadsweerts</i> really has that 'oe sound') maakt gelijkwaardig (renders equal) zorgt voor verbinding (connecting)
<i>snuffeltèr</i> ('butterfly') (3)	<i>veur</i> is <i>vuuër</i> of <i>vör</i> (forms for 'for')	de oe-klank in het Weerts dialect (the oe sound in dialect of Weert)
<i>poppeschruuër</i> ('dragonfly') (2)	<i>Hoëselik</i> is niet heel erg bijzonder, afwijkend van het Nederlands (<i>hoëselik</i> is not very special, deviating from Dutch)	herkenbaarheid ('recognisability')
<i>moeër</i> ('steam boiler', 'carrot') <i>schop</i> ('shed' noun), <i>schöp</i> ('spade')		<i>gewèldjige taal</i> ('great language') een taal waarop je trots mag zijn (a language you can be proud of)
<i>zwok</i> ('swing' noun) (2) <i>snoëterkuûk</i> (SW) ('brat', 'rascal') <i>smaerling</i> , <i>maerel</i> ('blackbird') <i>tesseplak</i> , <i>zagkdook</i> / <i>zagdok</i> ('handkerchief') <i>kroekèr</i> ('(wheel)-barrow') <i>moêrepetazie</i> ('±'stew (made of carrots)') <i>boezjieëre</i> (SW) ('react, act')		verbondenheid ('solidarity', 'connection') (2) chauvinisme ('chauvinism') / chauvinistisch ('chauvinistic') gezelligheid ('sociability', 'cosiness') thuis ('home') (2) familie ('family')
<i>sop</i> ('soup')		eigen ('personal', 'typical', 'familiar') (2) drempelverlagend ('making accessible')
Sop, dat is afwaswater ([sop] that is dish water) <i>stechele</i> ('to bicker')		een beetje ons kent ons (a bit like knowing one another) een grote happy familie (a big happy family)
<i>alzelaeve</i> ('always', 'constantly')		<i>gewoeën lekker</i> (just pleasant)

³⁵ *Ruuëfke* was not found in the dictionary *Zoeë kalle vae* (Feijen, 2013), although the presupposed meaning was found in the word *raef* /ʁɛ.f/ /ʁæ.f/ ('scrab'). It may be that *ruuëfke* is the diminutive form of *raef*.

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Typical words	Linguistic associations	Personal sentimental associations
<i>zwieëgelke</i> (SW) ('match' (stick)) <i>kniêp</i> ('pocketknife') <i>poepkernêl</i> ('(spinning) top')		trots ('pride') (2)
<i>zi-jschoeëtel</i> (SW) ('milk sieve' [own translation]) <i>doeërslaâg</i> ('sieve')		Limburg vreemde taal voor mensen buiten Weert (strange language in the eyes of people outside of Weert) <i>hajje</i> (colloquial way to say goodbye) Hebt een klik, een voorsprong, meteen iets gemeen (having a click, a head start, immediately something in common) <i>plat</i> (common name for the Limburgish dialect) onderdeel van mijn identiteit (part of my identity) Moeilijk ('difficult') mooi ('beautiful') verbindend ('connecting') saamhorigheid ('solidarity', 'fellowship') eendrachtszin (sense of unity) identiteit ('identity') gemeenschapszin (sense of community) dagelijkse omgang (daily contact) 't vae-geveul (the sense of 'we') Dat vind ik het mooist aan de woorden die een buitenstander niet herkend (That is what I like most about words that an outsider does not recognize)

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Thirty-seven (37) different associations were classified as words and concepts that are typical to the Limburgish dialect or the dialect of Weert. Nineteen (19) associations were classified as ‘linguistic associations’. A number of associations in this category may also be categorized as ‘typical words’ as they are dialect words, such as *boete* and *verkét*. The reason why these associations were classified as ‘linguistic associations’ was their orthographic and semantic resemblance with the Dutch words. Besides these associations, the table consists of forty-nine ‘personal sentimental associations’, which include additional comments to given associations. The most frequent associations were *peddemoeëk* (‘frog’), *rinastel(s)* (and its alternative *rinaster(s)*) (‘shoe lace(s)’), and *meuletêntje*, and the *Stadsweerts* variety *muuëletêntje* (‘lady bug’). Two similar associations were *verbondenheid* and *saamhorigheid*, which were both translated with ‘solidarity’ and respectively ‘connection’ and ‘fellowship’. These associations are all classified as ‘typical concepts’, which, in addition to their frequency of mentioning, suggests that they truly are considered typical for the dialect.

Twelve (12) associations in the ‘Typical words’ and ‘Linguistic associations’ columns consisted of word forms that are characteristic to the *Stadsweerts* (‘centre’) variety. Ten (10) of the associations were words containing one of the three vowel sounds in the *Stadsweerts* variety (*ieë*, *oeë* or *uuë*). The two other associations included a *buitenijen* and specific vowel sound *veur* and *vuuer* (‘for’) and *brantj* (‘burns’). *Brantj* was mentioned besides *börre* (‘to burn’). The first one was said to be *buitenijen* variety and the second one a *Stadsweerts* variety. This suggests that the two varieties do not only differ in regard to the mid-close vowel sounds specific to the two dialect varieties.

The dialect word *maerel* was said to mean ‘bird’ in general, besides its (dictionary) meaning ‘blackbird’.

One older male participant told that for the reason that no one any longer understood the word *peddemoeëk* (‘frog’), the word *kwakkert* was brought into use. This reference to the ‘alternative’ word *kwakkert* is indicated by the ‘→’ symbol. The comment that ‘*t brantj* is the *buitenijen* variety and not *plat-weerts* is related to the association of the participant, the verb *börre* (‘to burn’).

6. Results on variation within the dialect of Weert

This second Result chapter covers patterns of variation in the dialect. More specifically, the results from the Translation task and the answers to question 7 on the questionnaire (see Appendix I) will be discussed. Besides these questions, an overview of the answers on the presumed variation in the dialect that participants had, are discussed in Section 6.1. Variation within Weert of this chapter as well. Section 6.2. Variation in lexical items is dedicated to the Translation task, focussing on the variation in the word forms of the (target) lexical items (keywords) and phrases in the ten sentences of the Translation task. This section contains many bar graphs in order to visualize the variation in the keywords. The final section in this chapter deals with the dialect variants that participants gave to the (key)words in the ten sentences of the Translation task (question 7 and its sub-questions).

6.1. Variation within Weert

This section sets out with answers to the final sub-question of question 4. The other three sub-questions have been outlined in the previous chapter.

The final sub-question of question 4 involved a map of Weert, taken from Google Earth[®] (see Appendix II). Participants were inquired about the town area or areas in which they thought that the dialect of Weert would be spoken, and whether they assumed that differences in the dialect would exist. Table [6.1](#) provides an overview of the neighbourhoods that participants gave in their responses.

Table 6.1

Different neighbourhoods that participants mentioned in response to sub-question 4 of question 4 about where the dialect of Weert is spoken and about possible differences that are observable in the dialect. The neighbourhoods are ordered as starting from the town centre, the two adjacent neighbourhoods within the ‘triangle’ (Fatima and the Biest), going from west to north, to east and south of the town of Weert (‘clockwise’). The column ‘Dialect different’ shows the number of times a neighbourhood was mentioned as where the dialect of Weert was thought to be spoken, without specifying the *Stadswear*s or *buitenijen* variety, or where the dialect was thought to be different. In the column ‘More Dutch’, the number of times a neighbourhood was mentioned as a neighbourhood where many people from outside of Limburg were assumed to live, or where mostly Dutch was presumed to be spoken.

Neighbourhood	<i>Stadswear</i> s ‘centre’	<i>Buitenijen</i> ‘peripheral’	Dialect different	More Dutch
1 Town centre	18	0	2	0
2 Fatima	8	0	1	0
3 Biest	6	0	1	1
Total <i>Stadswear</i> s area	32	0	4	1
4 Groenewoud	0	3	4	1
5 Boshoven	1	10	6	2
6 Vrakker/Oda	0	1	0	0
7 Hushoven	0	0	1	0
8 Molenakker	0	0	0	4
9 Laar	0	1	5	0
10 Leuken	0	5	10	0
11 Graswinkel	0	0	3	0
12 Moesel	0	2	5	0
13 Keent	1	5	7	1
14 Alweert	0	1	1	3
15 Altweerterheide	0	1	2	0
Total <i>buitenijen</i> area	2	29	44	11
16 Stramproy	0	1	2	0
17 Swartbroek	0	1	2	0
Total elsewhere	0	2	4	0
All town of Weert	0	2 ³⁶	4	0
Total	34	33	56	12

³⁶ An older female participant: “Real *Weerts* in the real/actual centre. Outside of it, the *buitenijen*”. A younger female participant: “Inside the *singels Stadswear*s. The rest is *Buitenijen*, presumably”.

Four participants did not specify the parts of town where they thought the *buitenijen* variety would be spoken. They, for instance, said *buiten de singels* ('outside the *singels*') to loosely demarcate the area where they thought that the *buitenijen* variety was spoken, as opposed to the specific area where *Stadsweerts* variety was argued to be spoken (within the *singels*). These frequencies are left out of the table, since every other part of town outside the specified town part would have to be included in the frequency of the *buitenijen* variety.

The town centre was often mentioned with regard to the *Stadsweerts* variety (18 times). The town centre was frequently referred to as *binnen/tussen de singels* 'within/between the *singels*'. The other two neighbourhoods where the *Stadsweerts* variety is assumed to be spoken were also mentioned a number of times. None of these neighbourhoods were associated with the *buitenijen* variety, which suggests that speakers of the dialect who are familiar with the existence of the *buitenijen* (and *Stadsweerts*) variety, seem to know that the three neighbourhoods are (likely) parts where the *Stadsweerts* variety is spoken. The neighbourhood Boshoven shows the most variation: it seems to be regarded as a neighbourhood where the dialect may be different, which was moreover classified as the *buitenijen* variety. The *Stadsweerts* variety was, however, also mentioned in an exceptional case. Twice, Dutch was regarded as the majority language in Boshoven. The smaller part Vrakker/Oda was mentioned once in that the *buitenijen* variety was said to be spoken here. Leuken and Keent were both mentioned in regard to differences in the dialect, with Keent seen as a neighbourhood where the *buitenijen* variety is spoken. Moesel and Laar are comparable in the frequency with which they were considered parts where the dialect deviates and the single time the *buitenijen* variety was considered the variety in these neighbourhoods.

As mentioned, the town centre was often referred to as *binnen/tussen de singels* ('within/between the *singels*'), which is a correct demarcation of the town's centre. Three participants used the notion *echt Weerts* 'real Weerts'), which is considered to refer to the *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety in this study.

The three frequencies in the cell *Altweert-More Dutch* are the three times that the town part, *Altweert*, was not explicitly mentioned, but rather a specific spot in that town part, knowingly the *bungalowpark* ('bungalow park', 'holiday park') and an avenue.

One participant believed that the dialect is spoken almost everywhere in Weert, but that it is likely lower in the neighbourhoods of Keent and Fatima, in relation with the composition of the population. One participant argued that the dialect resembles Dutch less and less the further one goes towards the village of Stramproy, south of Weert. Towards this village, the dialect has fewer influences from Dutch (less 'dutchified'). Another answer was that many people from outside of Limburg live in the neighbourhood of Molenakker ('import'), in the north of Boshoven (north of a particular road), and in new neighbourhoods. He also argued that the dialects spoken in the nearby villages of Swartbroek, Tungalroy and Stramproy differ very much from that of Weert; resemble more the dialects spoken near the Meuse, east of Weert (*Maaskant*). An older man declared that people who moved from the town centre to other neighbourhoods, and their children, will talk *Stadsweerts* ('centre' variety) or a bastardized variant of *Stadsweerts*. About the village of Swartbroek, it was said that the dialect there differed from that of the *stad*. *Stad* may refer to either the town or the town centre. Since two distinct places seemed to be compared, *stad* has been interpreted as the town of Weert as a whole, and this case is therefore included in the frequencies of *Swartbroek* and *All town of Weert* in the 'Dialect different' column.

One participant suggested a possible three-division: 1 *Boshoven*, 2 *Moesel*, *Keent* and *Graswinkel*, and 3 *Groenewoud*, potentially including the *Biest*. A young woman said that dialect

is spoken in the entire town, but that there are differences between Boshoven as opposed to the town (*Stad*), which is probably the town centre (one of the two frequencies in the cell ‘Town centre-Dialect different’ in Table 6.1), and between Leuken compared to *Weert-Zuid* (most likely referring to the neighbourhoods Keent, Moesel and Graswinkel, and perhaps Alweert, since these are the parts in the south of the town). Her partner had written down that there is a difference between words with ‘ieëre’ and ‘ere’, such as *parkieëre/parkere* (‘to park’) which he – with uncertainty – designated as *stads* (‘urban’), and the neighbourhood Leuken. One participant told about the expansion of Weert, which happened from the *singels* (avenues encircling the town centre) outwards. He also told that the people within the *singels* spoke *hoog-Weerts* (‘high Weerts’), and those outside of the *singels* spoke *plat-Weerts* ‘coarse/dialectic Weerts’). The people in the *buitenijen*, to which he seemingly included the parish of Altweeterheide and the village of Swartbroek, had a dialect linked to *Weerts* (the ‘high Weerts’ variant in his words). According to him, Boshoven, Keent and Laar were parishes (rough translation of *kerkdorpen*, ‘church villages’).

One participant used the notion *Weerts* to classify Boshoven, Keent, Moesel, Groenewoud and Leuken as town parts where one variety would be spoken. Since he also pinpointed the notion *Stadsweerts* in the town centre, it is presumed that, *Weerts* refers to the *buitenijen* variety, unlike the presumed reference to the notion *hoog-Weerts* in one participant. This case is included in the frequencies of the five neighbourhoods in the ‘*Buitenijen* ‘peripheral’ column.

A participant in the ‘old generation’ group believed that *Stads* (‘urban’) is spoken in the neighbourhoods Fatima and the Biest, beside the town centre, completely matching the demarcation as outlined in Chapter 3. One participant declared that he had conducted research on the dialect of Weert. His demarcation of the *Stadsweerts* variety virtually overlaps with the ‘triangle’ area as explained in. The places outside of that triangle used to be individual centres with their own variants of the dialect. An older participant mentioned that there is a difference between the area within and the area outside the *wal*, ‘embankment’ (one of the frequencies in the cell ‘Town centre-Dialect different’ in the Table 6.1). Another demarcation of the *Stadsweerts* variety was given by an older participant. He stated that the borders of the area used to be rigid: the railway was a border. North of the tunnel (*boven de tunnel*) differs from ‘behind the tunnel’ (nowadays *Weert-Zuid*). *Stadsweerts* is spoken downtown. Groenewoud is a rather recently built neighbourhood, where a mix may be spoken.

6.2. Variation in lexical items

The Translation task consisted of ten sentences in Dutch, containing a total of thirty-seven (37) keywords, the lexical items. Six (6) of these keywords are (near) doublets: *heeft* ‘has’ (sentences 2 and 7 in the Translation task), *heb je/jij* ‘have you’ (sentences 8 and 10), and *noot/notenkraker* ‘nut/nutcracker’ (sentence 8), see Appendix I. Six (6) keywords were personal pronouns. Four of these personal pronouns were combined with a verbal keyword (sentences 2, 8, 9 and 10). Each pair was regarded as a lexical item in the analysis (*heeft ze*, *heb je*, *u bent* and *heb jij*).

The number of variants in the translations of the lexical items ranged from two, (*kinderen*, (‘children’), *school*, and *spelen* (‘to play’), to twelve, *uitverkozen* (‘selected’, ‘picked’). Twenty-three (23) target lexical items concerned the division in the two vowel sound sets: *ieë*, *oeë*, and *uuë* in the *Stadsweerts* variety and *ee*, *oo* and *eu* in the *buitenijen* variety. These twenty-three target lexical items include two of the three doublets (*heeft* and *noot/notenkraker*).

In Table 6.2 below, the variation in the translations of the lexical items is given. The personal pronouns are taken together with the verb that they either precede or follow as one

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lexical item in the table and the data in the second portion of this sub-section, except *wij* and *staan*. The personal pronoun *je* is combined with the verb *vuurt* from sentence 1, even though the verb is treated on its own in the data in the second portion.

When applicable (the target lexical items in bold), codes 1 and 2 correspond to the two varieties in this study (respectively *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts*), whereas code 3 corresponds to a third category containing remaining word forms. The number in the first column corresponds with the sentence in the Translation task in which the lexical item occurs. Because of the high amount of variation in the lexical item *uitverkozen* (sentence 9), only the elements of significance are shown for codes 1 and 2 ('o' is the *buitenijen* variety and 'oeë' is the *Stadsweerts* variety).

Table 6.2

Coding of the lexical items in the data analysis (in SPSS). The collection of variants to each lexical item is divided in three codes. Lexical units concerning the *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* varieties were usually assigned either code 1 (*buitenijen* variety sounds (*ee/oo/eu*)), or code 2 (*Stadsweerts* variety sounds (*ieë/oeë/uuë*)). Code 3 contains other ('different') dialect variants. The words and vowels in bold are the words and vowels which concern the division in vowel sound sets of *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* varieties. The target lexical item *regenboog* 'rainbow' was assigned a code based on the morpheme 'boog', which is why the first portion has been replaced by a '~'. Different (deviating) variants were assigned another code value exceeding value 4.

Lexical item	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4
1. Je vuurt ('you fire')	ge/gae veurtj , dich veurs	ge/gae vu(ë)rtj , dich vuurs	scheetj, schitj, dich schits	
1 kogel ('bullet')	kogel	koêgel , koeëgel	kuu(ë)gel	
1 geweer ('rifle')	geweer	gewieër		
2 meestal ('most of the time')	mieëstal	miêstal	meîstal /mɛɪ:stal/	
2 heeft ze	heef ze\se, heet ze\se, heef-t , heet het	hieëf ze\se, hieët ze\se, hieët 't, hieët zeuj	hejje, hieëte, heete	
2 woord ('word')	woord	woeërd , woerd	wuuërd	
3 wij ('we' complex form)	wae	vae	we	ve
3 koken ('to cook')	koke	koeëke , koêke		
3 keuken ('kitchen')	keuke	kuuëke , kuûke		
4 kinderen ('children')	wichter			
4 school	school	schoeël		
4 spelen ('to play')	speule	spuuële		
5 regent ('rains')	raegentj, raengeltj	reigentj, reingeltj	regentj\rêngeltj	
5 zeven ('seven')	zeve	zieëve		
5 kleuren ('colours')	kleure	kluuëre , kluûre		
5 regen boog ('rainbow')	~ boog	~ boeëg	~boech	
6 tevreden ('satisfied')	tevreeje	tevrede	contênt	
6 keuze ('choice')	keuze , keus	kuuëze , kuuës		
7 vogel ('bird')	vogel	voeëgel , voêgel	mös	
7 vleugels ('wings')	vleugels	vluuëgels , vluugels		
7 heeft ('has')	heef , heet	hieëf , hieët		

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Lexical item	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4
8 noot ('nut')	noot	noeët		
8 heb je ('have you need')	hejje	hebse, hesse	mojje...hebbe	
8 nodig ('need')	noeëdig	nuuëdig		
8 notenkraker ('nutcracker')	notekraker	noeëtekraker , noêtekraker		
9 ambtswoning ('official residence')	~woeëning	~wuuëning	~woning	pelîês, kestieël
9 koning ('king')	keuning	kUUëning	koning	
9 uitverkozen ('selected, picked')	uut- o , oet- o	uut- oeë	(uut)genuuëtj, uutgenuudegd, uutgenuuëdigdj, oetgenuuëdichtj	
9 u bent ('you are/have been')	ge\gae zeetj	dich bés	dów bés	
10 Heb jij ('Have/did you')	hejje\hejjae, hejjaer	hes tich\dich, hesse	hebs dich, hebse	
10 heup ('hip')	heup	hUUëp		
10 gebroken ('broken')	gebroke	gebroeëke , gebroêke		

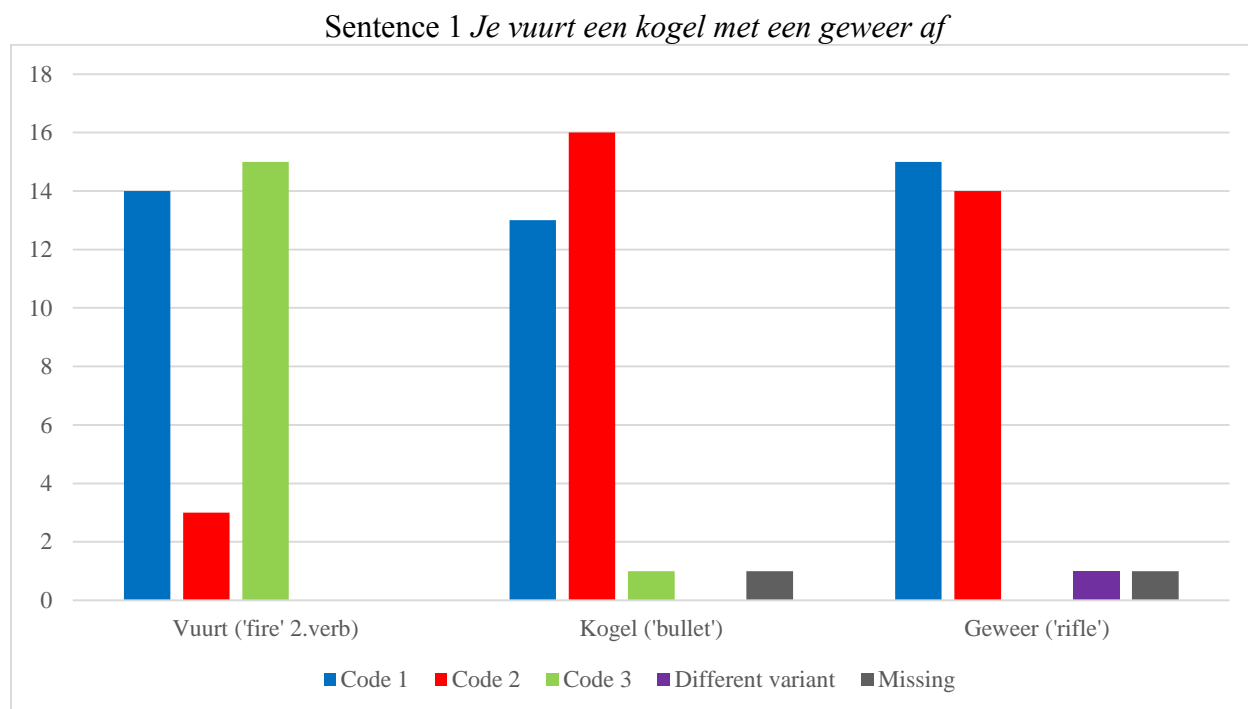


Figure 6.1 Variants of the lexical items in the first sentence of the Translation task *Je vuurt een kogel met een geweer af* ‘You (simplex form) fire a bullet with a rifle’. **Vuurt**: Code 1: *gae\ge veurtj, dich veurs*; Code 2: *gae\ge vuu(ë)rtj* and *dich vuurs*; Code 3: *Scheetj, schits, schitj*. **Kogel**: Code 1: *kogel*; Code 2: *koêgel, koeëgel*; Code 3: *kuuëgel*. **Geweer**: Code 1: *geweer*; Code 2: *gewie(ë)r*. Different variant: *gewaer*.

For *vuurt*, Code 2 does not include all *Stadsweerts* (‘centre variety’) forms; *scheetj* is a form that may be classified as word form common in both the *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* variety. *Veurs* (Code 1) and *vuurs* (Code 2) are forms that co-occurred with the personal pronoun *dich*, whereas *veurtj* and *vuu(ë)rtj* co-occurred with the personal pronoun *gae* or its alternative *ge*. The *veurtj* and *veurs* forms occurred almost as frequently as the ‘shoot(s)’ forms’ (Code 3), while the *vuu(ë)rtj* and *vuurs* forms were very infrequent. One participant mentioned both *veurtj* and *scheetj*. The variant of the target lexical item *kogel* coded as 3, *kuuëgel*, is identical to the plural form of the *Stadsweerts* variety *woeërd*. The two varieties for the target lexical item *geweer* are evenly divided, whereas the proportions for the target lexical item *kogel* are skewed towards the centre variety (*koeëgel*).

The total number of variants (excluding ‘Missing’ cases) for each lexical item in Figure 6.1 is 32 for *vuurt* (one case of two different variants), 30 for *kogel*, and 30 for *geweer*.

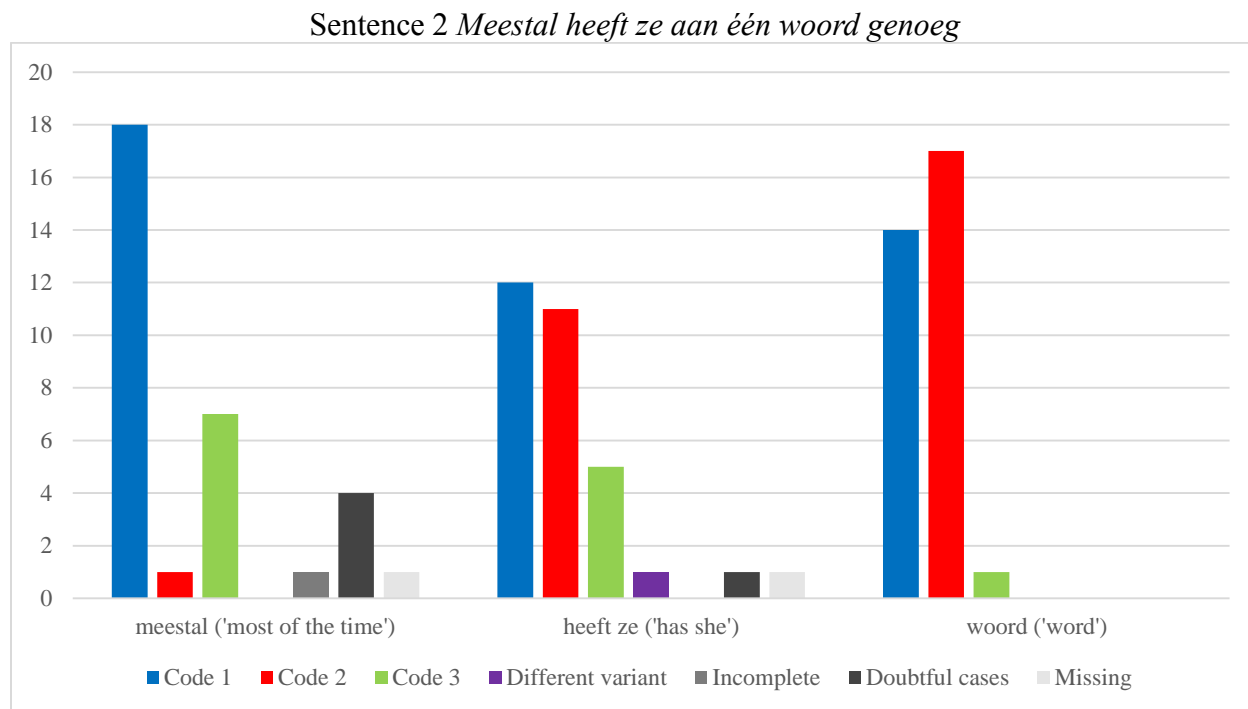


Figure 6.2 Variants of the lexical items in the second sentence of the Translation task *Meestal heeft ze aan één woord genoeg* ‘Most of the time she needs no more than one word’. **Meestal**: Code 1: *mieëstal*; Code 2: *miëstal*; Code 3: *meïstal*. The incomplete lexical item is *meest*. The four doubtful cases consist between *mieëstal* and *miëstal* (Code 1 and Code 2) may most likely be settled as *mieëtal* Code 1. **Heeft ze**: Code 1: *heef ze*\se, *heet ze*\se, *heef-t*, *heet het*; Code 2: *hieëf ze*\se, *hieët ze*\se, *hieët* ‘t, *hieët ze*uj Code 3: *hejje*, *hieëte*, *heete*. Different variant: *gae pagktj* /ɣæ. pagc/. The doubtful case involves *heef se*\hieëf se. **Woord**: Code 1: *woord*; Code 2: *woërd*, *woêrd*, Code 3: *wuuërd*.

One participant provided two versions of the sentence, mentioning *heef se* in one version and *heef ‘t* in the other (both Code 1). He arguably said *mieëstal* (Code 1) in one version and *miëstal* (Code 2) in the other, entailing one of four cases of doubt between *mieëstal* and *miëstal*. The target lexical item variants *heeft ze* in Code 3 are no translations of *heeft ze*: *hejje* refers to an entity in second person, and both *hieëte* and *heete* seem to refer to a male entity. The word variant *hieëte* is the *Stadsweerts* variety, whereas *heete* is the *buitenijen* variety. For the target lexical item *woord*, Code 3 (*wuuërd*) appears to be of the plural form of the *Stadsweerts* variety *woërd*.

The total number of variants (excluding ‘Missing’ cases for *meestal* and *heeft ze*) for each lexical item in Figure 6.2 is 31 for *meestal* (including four cases of doubt between *mieëstal* and *miëstal*, and one case of both variants *mieëstal* and *miëstal*), 30 for *heeft ze* (one case of doubt: *heet*/*hieët*), and 32 for *woord* (one case of two different variants).

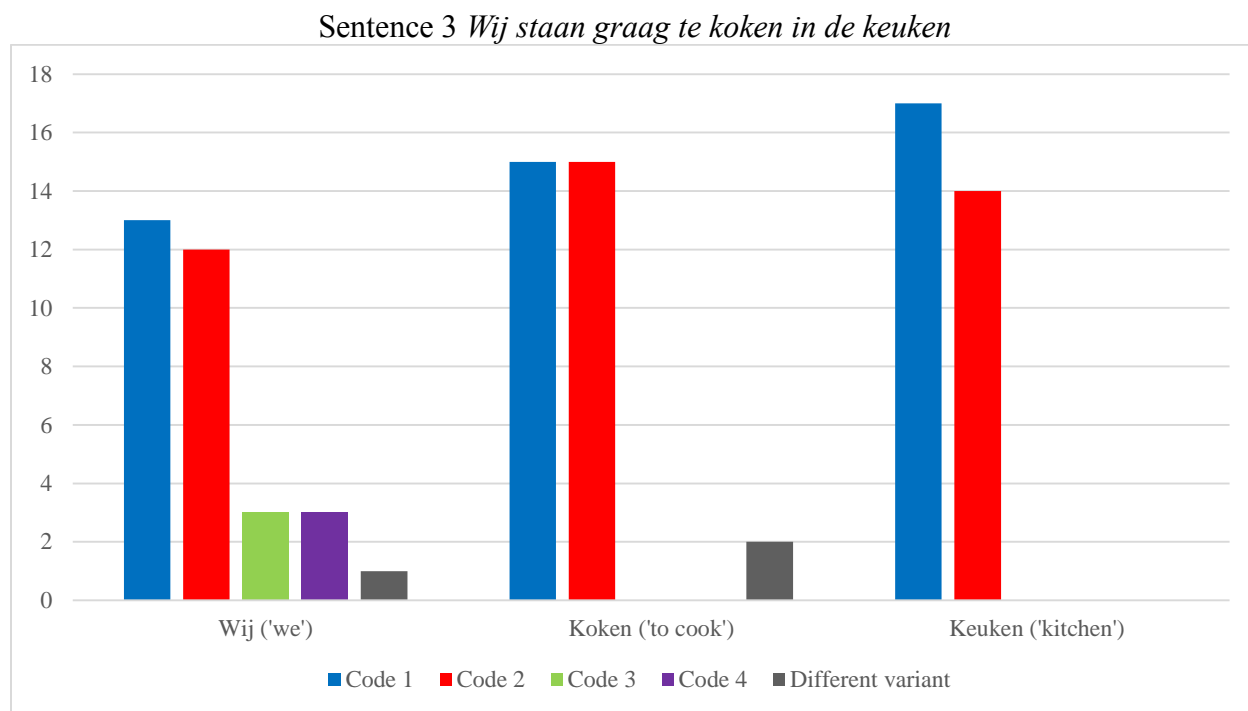


Figure 6.3 Variants of the lexical items in the third sentence of the Translation task *Wij staan graag te koken in de keuken* ‘We (complex form) like to cook in the kitchen’. **Wij**: Code 1: *wae*; Code 2: *vae*; Code 3: *we*; Code 4: *ve*. Different variant: *ich* (‘I’). **Koken**: Code 1: *koke*; Code 2: *koeëke*, *koêke*. Different variants: *potkerre*; *braoje* **Keuken**: Code 1: *keuke*; Code 2: *kueëke*, *kuûke*.

None of the variants in the lexical item *Wij* is specific to either of the two dialect varieties. Codes 1 (*wae*) and 2 (*vae*) are the complex forms, and Codes 3 (*we*) and 4 (*ve*) are their respective simplex forms. The different variant *ich* (‘I’) is the singular form of the first person instead of the targeted plural form. One participant mentioned two variants: *wae* (Code 1) and *vae* (Code 2). The variant *potkerre* of the target lexical item *koken* is an old variant of *koke* or *koeëke*, whereas *braoje* may be translated as ‘to roast’ or ‘to fry’. *Koke* and *braoje* were mentioned both in one case.

The total number of variants for each lexical item in Figure 6.3 are 32 for *wij* and *koken* (both contain one case of two different variants, respectively *wae*+*vae* and *koke*+*braoje*), and 31 for *keuken*.

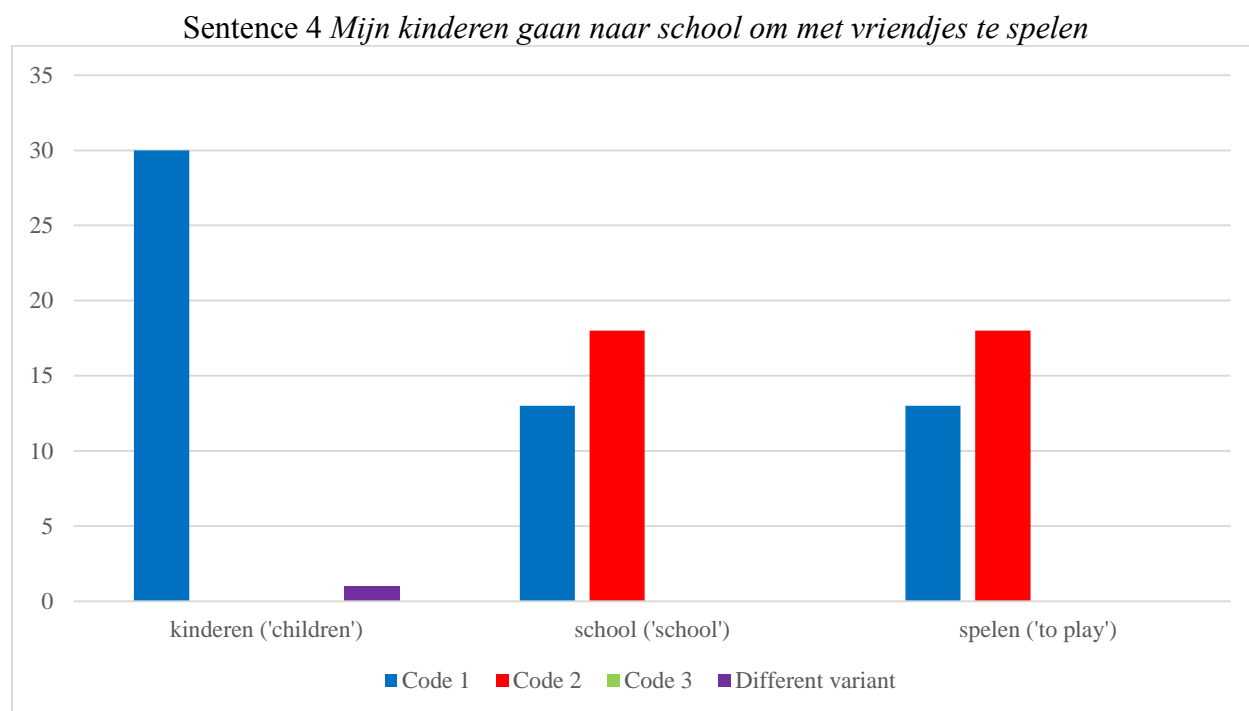


Figure 6.4 Variants of the lexical items in the fourth sentence of the Translation task *Mijn kinderen gaan naar school om met vriendjes te spelen* ‘My children go to school to play with friends’. **Kinderen**: Code 1: *wichter*. Different variant: *jong*. **School**: Code 1: *School*; Code 2: *schoeël* **Spelen**: Code 1: *speule*; Code 2: *spuuële*.

All participants were unanimous in their translation of *kinderen* (‘children’). One participant gave the translation *Os jong*, which roughly translates as ‘our children/kids’. The other two target lexical items show a proper division in the *buitenijen* (Code 1) *Stadsweerts* (Code 2) varieties with the *Stadsweerts* variety being more frequent.

The total number of variants for each lexical item in Figure 6.4 is 31 for *kinderen*, *school* and *spelen*.

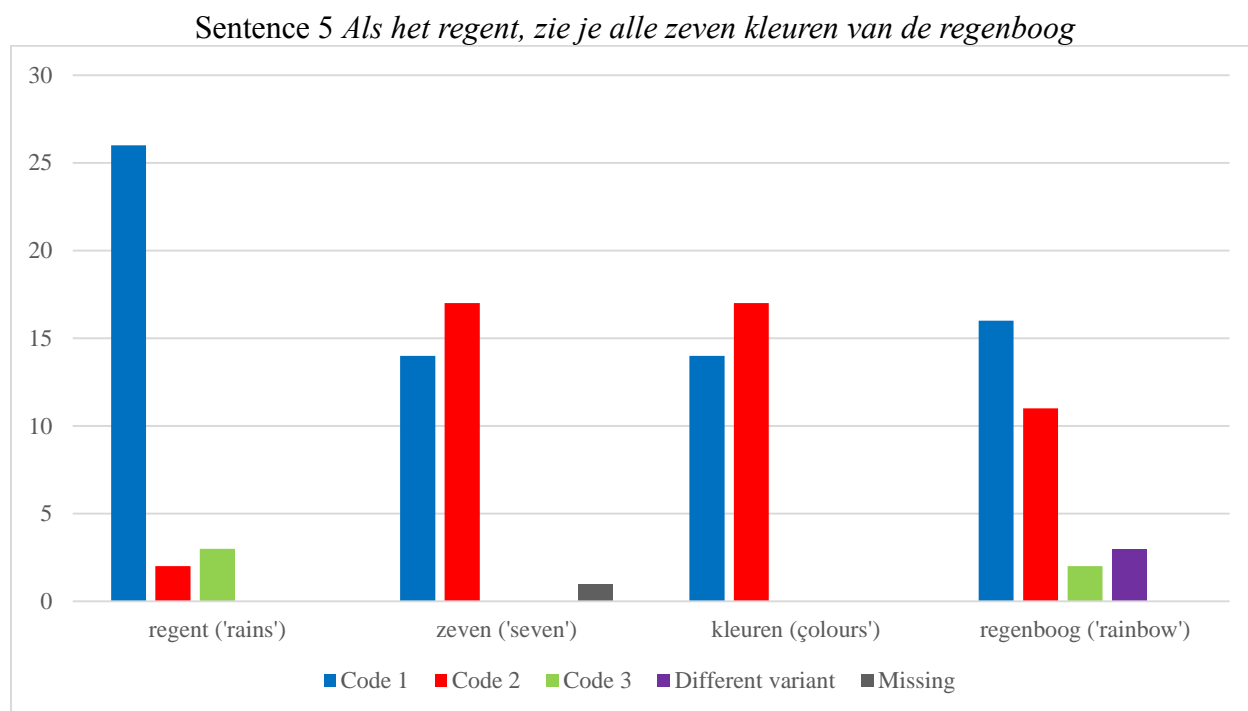


Figure 6.5 Variants of the lexical items in the fifth sentence of the Translation task *Als het regen zie je alle zeven kleuren van de regenboog* 'If/when it rains, you see all seven colours of the rainbow'. **Regent:** Code 1: *raegentj*, *raengeltj*. Code 2: *reigentj*, *reingeltj*; Code 3: *rengeltj* \ *rêngeltj*. **Zeven:** Code 1: *zeve*; Code 2: *zieëve*. **Kleuren:** Code 1: *kleure*; Code 2: *kluuëre*, *kluûre*. **Regenboog:** Code 1: *~boog*; Code 2: *~boeëg*; Code 3: *~boech*. Different variant: *~baug\ch*.

Almost all participants (26) used *raegentj* or *raengeltj* in the lexical item *regen*. The two in Code 2 (*reigentj* or *reingeltj*) used a *Stadsweerts* variety. With regard to the target lexical item *zeven*, one participant did not translate *zeven*, which is the 'Missing' case. Another participant mentioned both *zeve* and *zieëve* in one sentence, thus mentioning both varieties. The target lexical item *regenboog* showed the most variation. Code 1 and 2 are respectively the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety, whereas Code 3, *~boech*, corresponds to the cases of doubt between *~boeëg* and *~boech* (both are probably pronounced with a final [χ] and are variants in the *Stadsweerts* variety). The frequencies of Code 1 and Code 2 also included the two variants from the case of doubt, *~boog* and *~boeëg*, increasing both frequencies by 1. The two cases of doubt involving *boeëg/boech* are not included in Code 2, but may both be regarded as *Stadsweerts* varieties.

Note that *regen-* in *regenboog* was not analysed, since it was analysed separately as the third person verb stem of *regen(+t)*. The same variants of *regen(t)* may be supposed to be used in *regenboog*, hence the '~'.

The total number of variants (excluding the 'Missing' case in *zeven*) for each lexical item in Figure 6.5 is 31 for *regent*, 31 for *zeven* (one case of two different variants), 31 for *kleuren*, and 32 for *regenboog* (including the one case of doubt between Code 1 and Code 2, *boog/boeëg*).

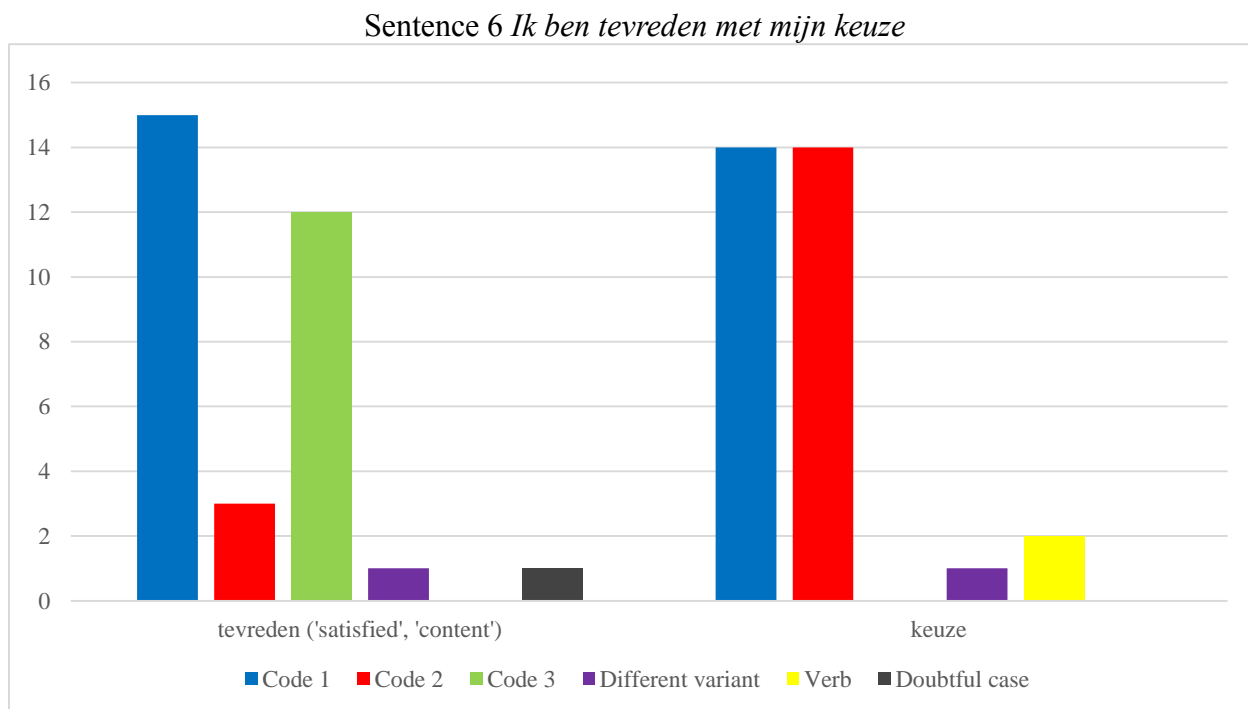


Figure 6.6 Variants of the lexical items in the sixth sentence of the Translation task *Ik ben tevreden met mijn besluit* ‘I am satisfied with my choice’. **Tevreden**: Code 1: *tevreeje*; Code 2: *tevrede*; Code 3: *contênt*. Different variant: *tevrie(ë)je*, Doubtful case: *tevreeje* or *tevrie(ë)je*. **Keuze**: Code 1: *keuze*, *keus*; Code 2: *kueëze*, *kueës*. Different variant: *besloêt*. The two variants coded as *Verb* are *gekoze* and *gekoeëze*.

The lexical item *tevreden* did not demonstrate a division in the two varieties, although one participant seemed to pronounce *tevreeje* (Code 1) as *tevrieëje* (Doubtful case). *Tevreeje* is the *buitenijen* variety, whereas the different variant *tevrieëje* is the *Stadsweerts* variety (Feijen, 2013). One participant produced both *tevreeje* (Code 1) as *tevrede* (Code 2). The two dialect varieties of *keuze* are equally divided among the participants. The different variant *besloêt* (‘decision’) is not specific to one variety or the other. The two different variants designated the ‘Verb code’ are *gekoze* and *gekoeëze*, respectively the *buitenijen* (‘peripheral’) and *Stadsweerts* (‘centre’) variety of the present perfect of the Dutch verb *kiezen* (‘to choose’).

The total number of variants for each lexical item in Figure 6.6 is 32 for *tevreden* (the one case of doubt between *tevreeje* (Code 1) and *tevrie(ë)je* (Different variant), and one case of two different variants) and 31 for *keuze*. For the lexical item *tevreden*, the frequencies of Code 1 and Code 2 do not include the variant frequencies of the case of doubt (*tevreeje/tevrie(ë)je*), as is the case with regard to the target lexical item *regenboog* in sentence 5.

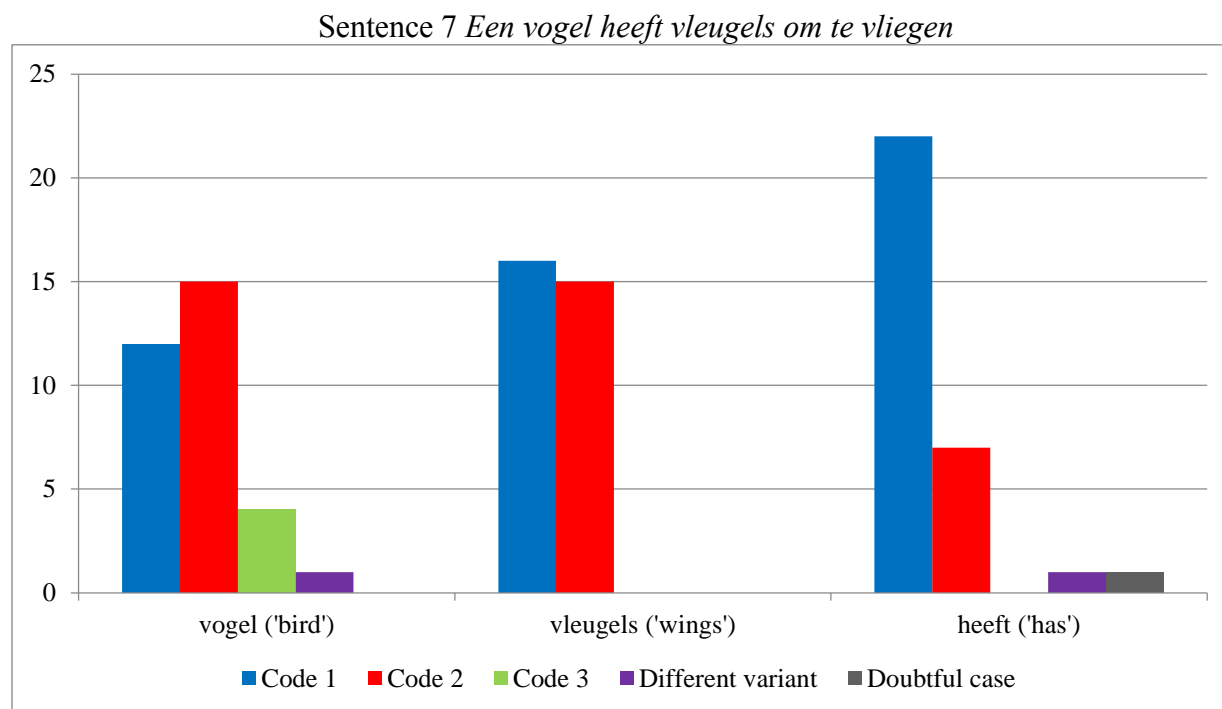


Figure 6.7 Variants of the lexical items in the seventh sentence of the Translation task *Vogels hebben vleugels om te vliegen* ‘Birds have wings to fly’. **Vogel**: Code 1: *vogel*; Code 2: *voeëgel*, *voëgel*; Code 3: *mös*. Different variant: *veugel* (plural form of *vogel*). **Vleugels**: Code 1: *vleugels*; Code 2: *vluuëgels*, *vluugels*. **Heeft**: Code 1: *heef*, *heet*; Code 2: *hieëf*, *hieët*. Different variant: *heete*. Doubtful case: *hieët* or *heet*.

The variant in Code 3, *mös* /mœs/, may either be interpreted as a designation of ‘bird’ in general, or of a ‘sparrow’ in specific in the dialect. One participant mentioned both *vogel* (Code 1) and *mös* (Code 3). The different variant *veugel* is the plural form of *vogel*, although the dialect speaker produced ‘*ne veugel* (thus with an indefinite article), suggesting that he intended to use a singular form of *vogel*. The *buitenijen* variants of the target lexical item *heeft* (Code 1) are in the vast majority in this target lexical item. One participant mentioned both *heet* (Code 1) and *hieët* (Code 2). The doubtful case was about *hieët* (Code 2) or *heet* (Code 1); both are included in respectively Code 2 and Code 1 (*Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen*).

The total number of variants for each lexical item in Figure 6.7 is 32 for *vogel* (one case of two different variants), 31 for *vleugels*, and 31 for *heeft* (one case of doubt between *hieët* and *heet*, one case of two different variants; both separate bars).

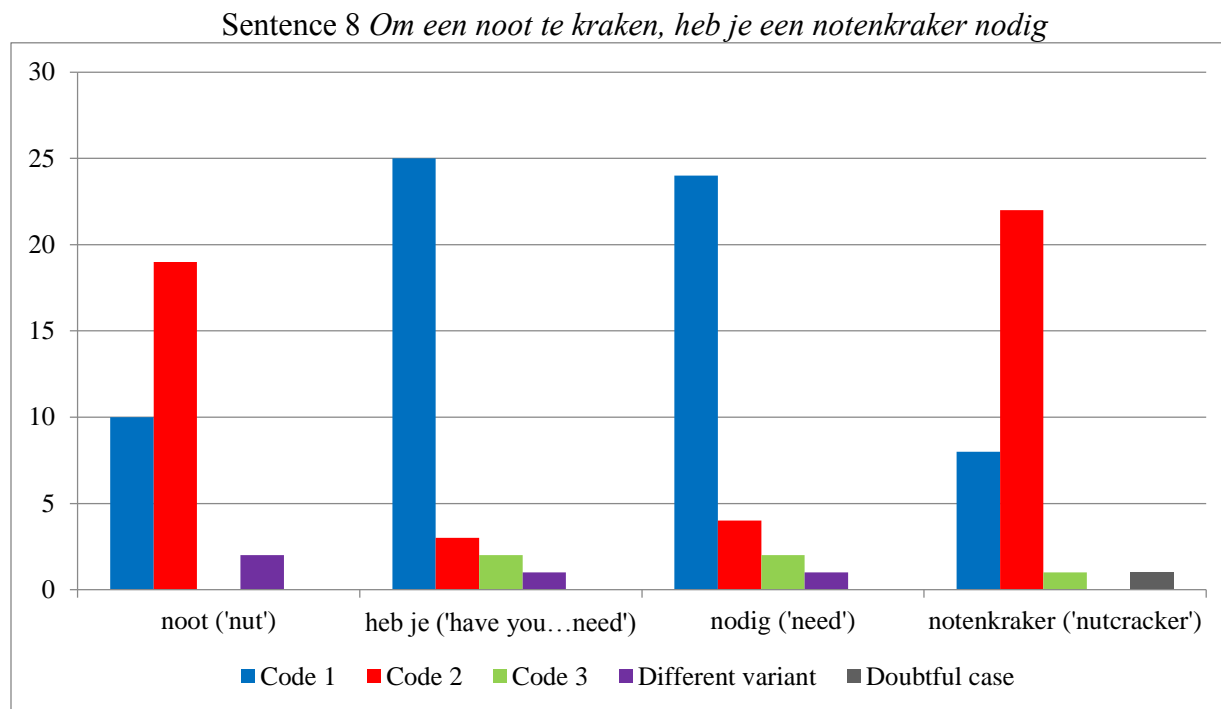


Figure 6.8 Variants of the lexical items in the eighth sentence of the Translation task *Om een noot te kraken, heb je een notenkraker nodig* 'To crack a nut, you need a nutcracker'. **Noot:** Code 1: *noot*; Code 2: *noeët*. Different variant: *nuuët* (plural form of 'noeët', Code 2). **Heb je:** Code 1: *hejje*; Code 2: *hebse*, *hesse*; Code 3: *mojje...hebbe*. Different variant: *mosse...gebroêke*. **Nodig:** Code 1: *noeëdig*; Code 2: *nuuëdig*, Code 3: *mojje...hebbe*. Different variant: *mosse...gebroêke*. **Notenkraker:** Code 1: *notekraker*; Code 2: *noeëtekraker*[^], *noêtekraker* (doubtful case). Doubtful case: *noeëtekraker* or *noêtekraker*.

For *noot*, the *Stadsweerts* variety (Code 2) is more frequent than the *buitenijen* variety (Code 1). The different variant is in fact the plural form of the *Stadsweerts* variety (*noeët*): *nuuët*. The variant of *heb je* in Code 3, *mojje...hebbe*, may be translated as 'you ought to have...', whereas the variants in Code 2, *hebse* and *hesse* may be translated as 'have you'. The combination with *nodig* (*nodig hebben* 'need') makes translating them impractical. The different variant *mosse...gebroêke* may be translated as 'you ought to use...'. In the target lexical item *notenkraker*, the doubtful case was *noêtekraker*, which may have been *noeëtekraker* (Code 2).

The total number of variants for each lexical item in Figure 6.8 is 31 for *noot*, *heb je*, and *nodig*, and 32 for *notenkraker* (one doubtful case of two variants, also included in Code 2).

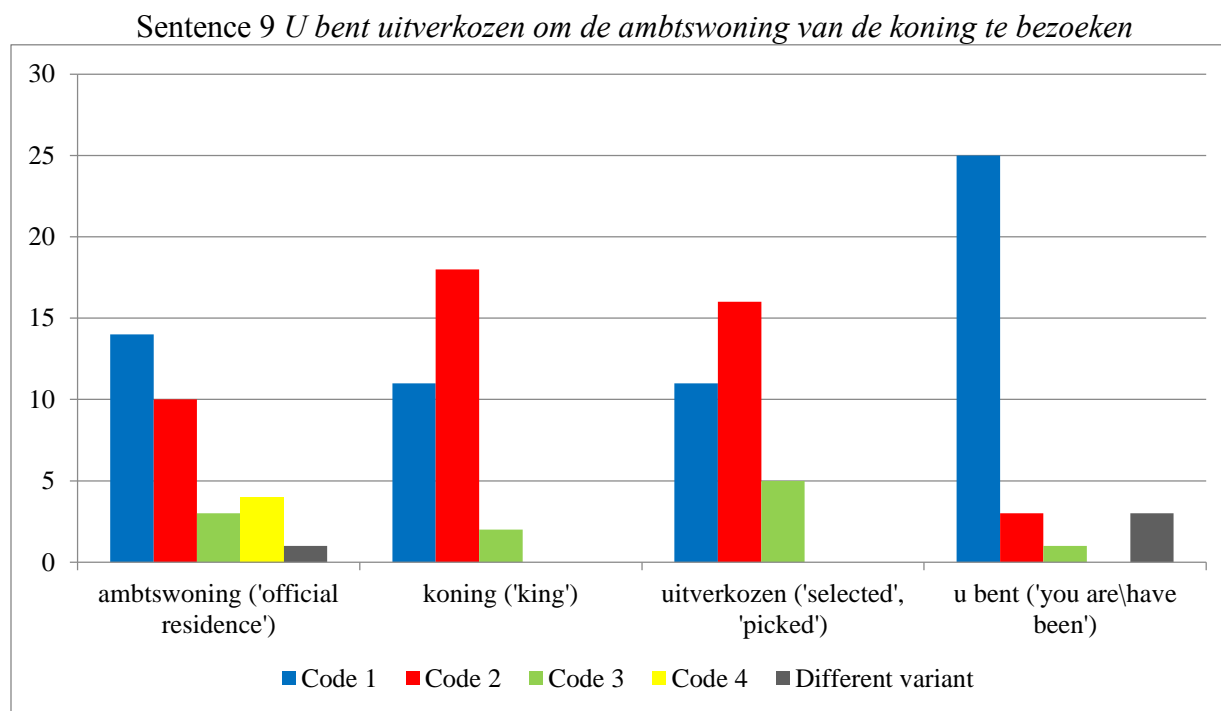


Figure 6.9 Variants of the lexical items in the ninth sentence of the Translation task *U bent uitverkozen om de ambtswoning van de koning te bezoeken* ‘You have been selected to visit the official residence of the king’. **Ambtswoning**: Code 1: ~woeëning; Code 2: ~wuuëning. Code 3: ~woning; Code 4: *pelîês*, *kestieël*. Different variant: *weuning* (non-existent form). **Koning**: Code 1: *keuning*; Code 2: *kuuëning*; Code 3: *koning*. **Uitverkozen**: Code 1: *uutverkoze*, *uutgekoze*, *uutverkore*, *oetverkore*, *oetgekoze*; Code 2: *uutgekoeëze*, *uutgekoeëze*, *uutverkoeëre*; Code 3: (*uut*)*genuuëtj*, *uutgenuudegd*, *uutgenuuëdigdj*, *oetgenuuëdichtj*. **U bent**: Code 1: *ge\gae zeetj*; Code 2: *dich bés*. Code 3 *dow bés*. Different variant: *Ich* (‘I’).

The variants of the target lexical item *ambtswoning* are not specific to the *Stadsweerts* or *buitenijen* variety. The variant in Code 3 (*woning*) is identical to the Dutch word *woning*, but is no genuine dialect variant. The variants in Code 4, *pelîês* (‘palace’) and *kestieël* (‘castle’) are not per se translations of *ambtswoning*, but rather alternative (popular) denominations for a royal residence. The different variant *weuning* is a non-existent form. One participant used both the *wuuëning* (Code 2) and *kestieël* (Code 4) variant.

The Code 1 (*keuning*) and Code 2 (*kuuëning*) variants of the target lexical item *koning* (‘king’) are respectively the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety of *koning*. *Koning* in Code 3 is identical to the Dutch word form, but is neither a genuine dialect variant.

The target lexical item *uitverkozen* (‘selected’, ‘picked’) has most variation: twelve different word forms. Again, Code 1 and 2 respectively include the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety forms. Note that the *Stadsweerts* variety forms (Code 2) are only word forms with *uut* [yt] (‘out (of)’), whereas the/ *buitenijen* variety forms (Code 1) comprise both word forms with *uut* [yt] and *oet* [ut] (see Figure 12). The variants in Code 3 are not specific to any of the two varieties. One participant mentioned both a variant from Code 2 and one variant from Code 3.

The *ge\gae zeetj* variant in Code 1 of the lexical item *u bent* is by far used most frequently. This variant is used to specifically refer to males (or groups), whereas *dich* (Code 2) is used to specifically refer to females. The *dów* variant in Code 3 does not exist in the dialect of Weert, but it is a variant in the dialect of Nederweert and the village of Ospel (Feijen, 2013, p.

40). The single participant who used this variant was born in Nederweert. She also used the *dich bés* variant ('you are' second person singular, female).

The total number of variants for each lexical item in Figure 6.9 is 32 for *ambtswoning* (one case of two different variants), 31 for *koning*, 32 for *uitverkozen* and for *u bent* (both one case of two different variants, *uutgenuuëjtj*+*uutgekoeëze* and *dich bés*+*dów bés*).

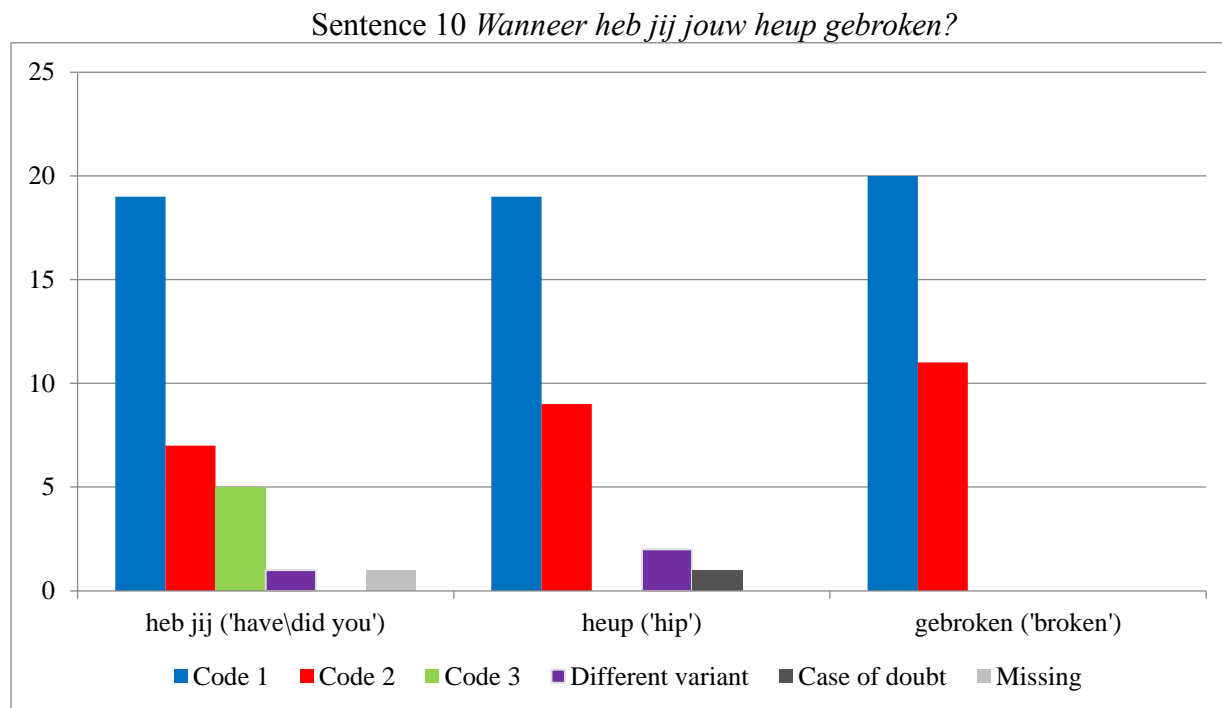


Figure 6.10 Variants of the lexical items in the tenth sentence of the Translation task *Wanneer heb jij jouw heup gebroken?* 'When did you break your hip?'. **Heb jij**: Code 1: *hejje**hejjae*, *hejjaer*; Code 2: *hes tich**dich*, *hesse*; Code 3: *hebs dich**hebse*. Different variant: *heb ich* ('have I'). **Heup**: Code 1: *heup*; Code 2: *huuëp*. Different variants: *hieëse*, *hoeëp*. **Gebroken**: Code 1: *gebroke*; Code 2: *gebroeëke*, *gebroêke*.

The variants in Code 1 of the lexical item *heb jij* are used to specifically refer to males or a group. *Hejjaer* is no common variant, compared to the other two variants in Code 1 (only a single occurrence in this study). The variants *hes tich**dich* (Code 2) and *hebs dich* (Code 3) are complex forms, presumably used to specifically refer to a female, while *hesse* (Code 2) and *hebse* (Code 3) are the respective simplex forms (enclitics). One participant mentioned *hejje* (Code 1) and *hebs dich* (Code 3), adding that the first one is used to refer to men and the second one to refer to women. Another participant made a similar distinction: *hesse* (Code 2) specifies a woman, and *hejjae* (Code 1) specifies a man.

In the target lexical item *heup* ('hip'), *heup* (Code 1) is the *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety, while *huuëp* (Code 2) is the *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. The different variants *hieëse* and *hoeëp* contain the /ieë/ and /oeë/ vowel sound, suggesting that they are *Stadsweerts* varieties. In the doubtful case, *huuëp* (Code 2) and *heup* (Code 1) could not be properly distinguished. Both variants are included in the Code 1 and Code 2 count.

The *buitenijen* variety of *gebroken* ('broken') seems to be more frequent than its counterpart *gebroeëke*/*gebroêke*. The variant *gebroêke* could not be perceived as *gebroeëke* with certainty. Moreover, *gebroêke* is the spelling of the verb *gebruiken* ('to use'), entailing a potential confusion of the words 'broken' and 'to use'.

The total number of variants (excluding ‘Missing’ cases) for each lexical item in Figure 6.10 is 32 for *heb jij* (two cases of two different variants, *hejje/hejjae*, *hejjaer/hebs dich*, *hebse* and *hejje/hejjae*, *hejjaer/hes tich\dich*, *hesse*), 31 for *heup* (one case of two different variants and one case of doubt between *huuëp/heup*), and 31 for *gebroken*.

6.3. The impact of variables dialect variety, gender, generation (age) and neighbourhood

The following analyses will compare the lexical items that entail the two vowel sound sets of the *Stadsweerts* (‘centre’) and *buitenijen* (‘peripheral’) varieties by looking into the variables ‘dialect variety’, ‘gender’, ‘generation (age)’ and ‘neighbourhood’ regarding the participants. The twenty-three (23) lexical items that contain one of the vowel sounds from the two sets (‘target lexical items’) are the following, ordered per sentence of the Translation task:

- Sentence 1: *vuurt* (‘fire’), *kogel* (‘bullet’), and *geweer* (‘rifle’) (3)
- Sentence 2: *heeft ze* (‘has she’), and *woord* (‘word’) (2)
- Sentence 3: *koken* (‘to cook’), and *keuken* (‘kitchen’) (2)
- Sentence 4: *school*, and *spelen* (‘to play’) (2)
- Sentence 5: *zeven* (‘seven’), *kleuren* (‘colours’), and *regenboog* (‘rainbow’) (3)
- Sentence 6: *tevreden* (‘satisfied’) and *keuze* (‘choice’) (2)
- Sentence 7: *vogel* (‘bird’), *vleugels* (‘wings’), and *heeft* (‘has’) (3)
- Sentence 8: *noot* (‘nut’), and *notenkraker* (‘nutcracker’) (2)
- Sentence 9: *koning* (‘king’), and *uitverkozen*, the [o] (‘selected’, ‘picked’) (2)
- Sentence 10: *heup* (‘hip’), and *gebroken* (‘broken’) (2)

The numbers in brackets represent the number of the concerning target lexical items in each sentence. Five (5) target lexical items contain the ‘e/ieë’ vowel sound pair, ten (10) target lexical items contain the ‘o/oeë’ vowel sound pair, and eight (8) target lexical items contain the ‘eu/uuë’ vowel sound pair.

As mentioned, the personal pronoun *je* (‘you’ simplex form) in sentence 1 was not included in the data analysis of the lexical item *vuurt* in the same sentence. The personal pronoun will nevertheless be discussed in the Discussion section. The target lexical item *uitverkozen* in sentence 9 consists of two elements that vary in the dialect (*uit-* and *-verkozen*, more specifically the [o] sound in *verkozen*). The element of interest to hypotheses in this study is the [o] sound, thus that [o] sound was the focus of analysis with regard to this target lexical item.

When comparing the frequencies of the *buitenijen* variety of a target lexical item with the frequencies of the *Stadsweerts* variety of that target lexical item, the order in which the frequencies of the two varieties are mentioned is consistently *buitenijen/Stadsweerts*. For instance, 2/3 means that, in that case, the *buitenijen* variety occurred twice and the *Stadsweerts* variety occurred three times.

6.3.1. Gender and dialect variety and neighbourhood

In the tables below, the frequencies of each encountered variant of the target lexical items containing the two vowel sound sets are shown and grouped by gender. The variable *neighbourhood* functions as a control variable. The unequal number of male and female participants entails that the frequencies in the ‘Male’ rows are generally (much) higher. The tables are based on the crosstabs generated for each target lexical item in SPSS. These crosstabs were generated upon setting the ‘gender’ variable in the Rows window the target lexical items in the Column window and the ‘neighbourhood’ variable in the ‘Layer’ window in the ‘Crosstabs’

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screen in SPSS. Tables 6.3 and 6.4 comprise the variants of the five target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *ee/ieë*. Tables 6.5 to 6.7 comprise the variants of the ten target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *oo/oeë*. Tables 6.8 to Table 6.10 comprise the variants of the six target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *eu/uuë*.

The target lexical items containing e/ieë

Table 6.3

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *e/ieë*: *geweer* ('rifle'), sentence 1, and *heeft ze* ('has she'), sentence 2, grouped by gender. 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert, F = female, M = male. The column 'General, male' consists of a variant that usually refer to males or a group (*hejje*) and variants that uniquely refer to males (*hieëte* and *heete*). *Heete* and *hieëte* are respectively an 'centre' and a 'peripheral' variety of *heeft* ('has'). The target lexical items *geweer* and *heeft ze* both have one missing case (both of which are women from outside of Weert).

Nbhd	Gender	BW geweer	SW gewieër	BW heef, heet ze\se, heef 't, heet het	SW hieëf, hieët ze\se, hieët 't, hieët het	General, male hejje, heete hieëte
-C	Female	4	1	2	1	1
	Male	5	6	5	3	3
-C	Total	9	7	7	4	4
+C	Female	2	2	1	3	0
	Male	2	4	2	4	1
+C	Total	4	6	3	7	1
-W	Female	2	1	2	-	-
Total		15	14	12	11	5

Table 6.4

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *e/ieë*: *zeven* ('seven'), sentence 5, *tevreden* ('satisfied'), sentence 6, and *heeft* ('has'), sentence 7, grouped by gender. 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. The target lexical item *zeven* has one missing case (one woman from the *buitenijen* area).

Nbhd	Gender	BW zeve	SW zieëve	BW tevreeje	Dutch tevrede	Different contênt	BW heef, heet	SW hieëf, hieët
-C	Female	2	2	3	0	1	4	1
	Male	5	6	4	2	4	8	3
-C	Total	7	8	7	2	5	12	4
+C	Female	2	1	1	-	3	4	0
	Male	2	5	4	-	2	4	2
+C	Total	4	6	5	-	5	8	2
-W	Female	2	2	2	-	2	1	1
Total		13	16	14	2	12	21	7

In Table 6.3, the variants of the target lexical item *geweer* ('rifle') show that male dialect speakers used the *Stadsweerts* variety *gewieër* more than female dialect speakers, even more so do the male dialect speakers who live in the *buitenijen* area. There is little difference between the genders with regard to the *buitenijen* variety *geweer* in the *buitenijen* area and no difference in the town centre area (4/5 and 2/2). The different variant *gewaer*, which was produced by a male participant in the town centre area, is left out of the table.

For the target lexical item *heeft ze*, the *Stadsweerts* variety was almost as frequently used by male dialect speakers in the *buitenijen* area as by those living in the town centre area (3 against 4). Male participants were also in the majority when using a word form that does not necessarily refer to a female (*hejje*, *hieëte*, *heete*). One case of doubt involved a female participant from the *buitenijen* area who either used a *buitenijen* or a *Stadsweerts* variety: *heef/hieëf* (ze). This case of doubt is left out of the table, as is the variant *gae pagktj* ('you get', 'you take').

In Table 6.4, the variants of the target lexical item *zeven* ('seven') seem to indicate that male dialect speakers used the *Stadsweerts* variety *zieëve* more, although one female participant mentioned both varieties. Both male and female participants in the *buitenijen* area used the *Stadsweerts* variety *zieëve* more often than their counterparts in the town centre area (difference of two). The female dialect speakers who did not live in Weert (anymore) used the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety equally frequently. The one case of a female participant in the town centre area who used both the *buitenijen* variety *zeve* and the *Stadsweerts* variety *zieëve* is left out of the table.

In regard of the target lexical item *tevreden* ('satisfied'), the *buitenijen* variety was used almost as much as the 'different' variant *contênt*. Female participants in the *buitenijen* area tend to use the *buitenijen* variety, while the female dialect speakers in the town centre area tend to use *contênt* (3/1 in the *buitenijen* area against 1/3 in the town centre area). The four female dialect speakers demonstrate an even division between the *buitenijen* variety and *contênt* (both 2). The (supposedly) *Stadsweerts* variety *tevrieëje* is only produced once by a male participant from the town centre area. This case is in fact a case of doubt between *tevreeje* (*buitenijen* variety) and *tevrieëje* (*Stadsweerts*) and is left out of the table. In another case that is left out of the table, *tevrieje* was produced by a male participant in the *buitenijen* area. This *tevrieje* strongly resembles the *Stadsweerts* variety *tevrieëje*.

With regard to the target lexical item *heeft* ('has'), both male and female dialect speakers mentioned the *buitenijen* variety of *heeft* substantially more often than the *Stadsweerts* variety. This pattern of both male and female dialect speakers mentioning the *buitenijen* variety more frequently across town areas is only seen in the target lexical item *vuurt* ('fires') in Table 6.8. One female participant from outside of Weert produced *heete*, a *buitenijen* variety of 'has he'; one other female from outside of Weert produced both *heet* and *hieët*, respectively the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety. One case of doubt involved a male participant from the town centre area who used either *heet* or *hieët*. These three individual cases are left out of the table.

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The target lexical items containing o/oeë

Table 6.5

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *o/oeë*: *kogel* ('bullet'), sentence 1, *woord* ('word'), sentence 2, *noot* ('nut'), sentence 8, and *notenkraker* ('nutcracker'), sentence 8, grouped by gender. 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. The '~' replaces the word *kraker* ('cracker'). The target lexical item *kogel* has one missing case (one woman from outside of Weert).

Nbhd	Gender	BW	SW	BW	SW	BW	SW	BW	SW
		kogel	koeëgel	woord	woe(ë)rd	noot	noeët	note~	noeëte~
-C	Female	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	3
	Male	6	5	6	4	4	7	3	8
-C	Total	9	7	9	6	7	9	5	11
+C	Female	2	2	1	3	1	3	1	3
	Male	1	5	2	5	0	5	0	7
+C	Total	3	7	3	8	1	8	1	10
-W	Female	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
Total		13	16	13	16	10	19	8	23

Table 6.6

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *o/oeë*: *koke* ('to cook'), sentence 3, *school*, sentence 4, and *regenboog* ('rainbow'), sentence 5, grouped by gender. 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. F = 'female' and M = 'male'. The '~' replaces variants of *regen* 'rain'. The fifth column 'Different' contains an old variant of *koken*, and the case in which both *koke* (*buitenijen*) and *braoje* 'to fry' were mentioned, as indicated by the position of the slash '/' in the cells of the column. The different variant *baug\ch* (/bauɣ/ or /bauχ/) is a non-existent word form.

Nbhd	Gen-der	BW	SW	Different	BW	SW	BW	SW	Different
		koke	koeëke	potkerre, / koke+braoje	school	schoeël	~boog	~boeëg	~baug \ch
-C	F	3	2	0/-	2	3	3	2	-
	M	5	5	1/-	6	5	5	5	1
-C	Total	8	7	1	8	8	8	7	1
+C	F	2	2	-	1	3	3	1	0
	M	2	5	-	2	5	2	3	1
+C	Total	4	7	-	3	8	5	4	1
-W	F	2	1	-/1	2	2	2	1	1
Total		14	15	1/1	13	18	15	12	3

Table 6.7

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *o/oeë*: *vogel* ('bird'), sentence 7, *uitverkozen* ('selected', 'picked'), sentence 9, and *gebroken* ('broken'), sentence 10, grouped by gender. 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. The sixth and seventh columns contain the *buitenijen* ([o]) and *Stadsweerts* ([oeë]) vowel sounds. The eighth column with [uuë] contains the frequencies of deviating words. The * indicates that the vowel sound in these deviating variants is typical to the *Stadsweerts* variety, but that the variants are not specific to that variety. The two word forms in the tenth column are *Stadsweerts* varieties, of which *gebroëke* is a doubtful case as the potential pronunciation variant of *gebroeëke*. *Gebroëke* also resembles the verb 'to use' in the dialect.

Nbhd	Gender	BW	SW	Different	BW	SW	SW*	BW	SW
		vogel	voeëgel, voêgel	mös	[o]	[oeë]	[uuë]	gebroke	gebroeëke, gebroëke
-C	F	3	2	0	2	3	0	5	0
	M	3	5	2	5	2	3	6	5
-C	Total	6	7	2	7	5	3	11	5
+C	F	1	3	-	1	3	-	2	2
	M	2	4	-	2	5	-	5	2
+C	Total	3	7	-	3	8	-	7	4
-W	F	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2
Total		11	15	3	11	15	4	20	11

With regard to the target lexical item *kogel* in Table 6.5, dialect speakers living in the *buitenijen* area used the *Stadsweerts* variety *koeëgel* equally often as the dialect speakers in the town centre area. One male participant in the town centre area apparently produced the plural form of the *Stadsweerts* variety (*kuuëgel*). This case is left out of the table.

Regarding the target lexical item *woord*, one male participant from the *buitenijen* area who produced *wuuërd*, which is identical to the plural *Stadsweerts* form of *woeërd*, combined it with the indefinite article *eîn* (/ɛɪ:n/). This suggests that he intended to use a singular word form, as was the target lexical item in the sentence translation task. One female participant, from outside of Weert, mentioned both the *Stadsweerts* (*woeërd*) and the *buitenijen* (*woord*) varieties. The case of 'plural' form (*wuuërd*) and one case of two variants are left out of the table. It is remarkable that two out of four female participants who lived outside of Weert produced the *Stadsweerts* varieties *koeëgel* and *woeërd*.

For the target lexical item *noot*, the proportion for the *buitenijen* variety *noot* in the *buitenijen* area is comparable with the proportion for the *Stadsweerts* variety *noeët* in the town centre area (3/4 in the *buitenijen* area compared with 3/5 in the town centre area). For the target lexical item *notenkraker*, there appears to be a slight preference for the *Stadsweerts* variety among the female participants. Among the male participants, the *Stadsweerts* variety is strongly preferred and even the only variant among the male participants in the town centre area (3/8 in the *buitenijen* and 0/7 in the town centre area). The frequencies of the *Stadsweerts* variety are evenly high in both town areas (3/7 in the younger generation compared to the old generation).

For both the target lexical items *noot* and *notenkraker*, the male participants show a strong preference for the *Stadsweerts* varieties *noeët* and *noeëte~*. The *buitenijen* varieties (*noot* and *note~*) were used virtually exclusively by the dialect speakers from the *buitenijen* area (7 and

5 in the *buitenijen* area against 1 and 1 in the town centre area). The different variants that two male dialect speakers produced seem to solidify this preference for the *Stadsweerts* varieties, since these are respectively the plural and diminutive form of the *Stadsweerts* variety *noeët* (*nuuët*, *nuuëtje*). The female dialect speakers living outside of Weert used either variety of both target lexical items equally often (2/2 for both *noot* and *notenkraker*). One case of doubt involved a male participant from the *buitenijen* area who produced either *noeëtekraker* or *noëtekraker*, which may be classified as *Stadsweerts*. The two occurrences of different variants (*nuuët* and *nuuëtje*) are left out of the table. The case of doubt is included in Table 6.5, in the row ‘-C Male *noeëte*~’.

For the target lexical item *koken* in Table 6.6, there is no difference in the use of the *Stadsweerts* variety *koeëke* between dialect speakers from the town centre area and the *buitenijen* area (both 2/5 female/male participants). Also, almost the same number of dialect speakers from the *buitenijen* area used either the *buitenijen* or the *Stadsweerts* variety (3/5 for the *buitenijen* variety and 2/5 for the *Stadsweerts* variety). The case in which a female participant from outside of Weert used both *koke* and *braoje* is left out of the table.

Regarding the target lexical item *school*, there seems to be a general preference for the *Stadsweerts* variety. Dialect speakers from both town areas employed the *Stadsweerts* variety equally often (3/5 proportion of male and female participants in both town areas). The dialect speakers living outside of Weert were divided in the use of the two varieties.

For the target lexical item *regenboog*, female dialect speakers show an identical pattern of using the *buitenijen* variety more frequently than the *Stadsweerts* variety in both town areas (3/2 in the *buitenijen* and 3/1 in the town centre area).

One case of doubt involves a male participant from the town centre area who either used the *buitenijen* ~*boog* variety or the *Stadsweerts* variety ~*boeëg*. Another case of doubt involves a female and male participant in the *buitenijen* area who used either ~*boeëg* or ~*boech* which are both be added up to the *Stadsweerts* dialect variety, thus increasing both frequencies for the female and male participants in the *buitenijen* area by 1. The case of doubt between ~*boog* and ~*boeëg* is left out of the table.

In Table 6.7, male dialect speakers in most cases used the *Stadsweerts* variety of the target lexical item *vogel*. One male participant used the (supposedly) plural form of *vogel*, *veugel*, in combination with the indefinite article, indicating that he intended a singular word form, as was the lexical item in the Dutch sentence. Although he lived in the town centre area, he nevertheless used the *buitenijen* variety of the (supposedly) plural form. The different variant *mös* in the fifth column is a word that may either mean ‘bird’ in general or ‘sparrow’ in a more specific sense. A male participant in the *buitenijen* area used both the *buitenijen* variety *vogel* and *mös*. The case of *veugel* and the single occurrence of *vogel+mös* are left out of the table.

For the target lexical item *uitverkozen*, there seems to be a slight preference for the *Stadsweerts* variety containing the [oeë] in female dialect speakers in both town areas (2/3 in the *buitenijen* area, and 1/3 in the town centre area). The male participants accorded to the variety that is common in the area they lived in, mirroring the proportion of the two varieties in the *buitenijen* area vis-à-vis the town centre area (5/2 in the *buitenijen* area against 2/5 in the town centre area). Only male participants in the *buitenijen* area produced a variant containing [uuë] instead of [o.] or [oeë]. The single case of a male participant in the *buitenijen* area to have produced *uutgenuuëtj* (‘invited’, note the [uuë]) and *uutgekoeëze* (‘chosen’, a *Stadsweerts* variety) is left out of the table.

The male participants from the town centre area seem to deviate given the higher frequency of *gebroke* compared to the frequency of *gebroeëke* (5/2 *gebroke* against *gebroeëke* or *gebroëke*). The female dialect speakers living outside of Weert were divided between the two varieties. The variety *gebroeëke* was occasionally perceived as *gebroëke*, a present perfect form that is identical to the infinitive of the verb meaning ‘to use’ in the dialect.

The target lexical items containing eu/uuë

Table 6.8

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *eu/uuë*: *vuurt* (‘fires’), sentence 1, *keuken* (‘kitchen’), sentence 3, and *kleuren* (‘colours’), sentence 5, grouped by gender. ‘BW’ = *buitenijen* (‘peripheral’) variety; ‘SW’ = *Stadsweerts* (‘centre’) variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. The fifth column contains variants that may be translated as ‘shoot(s)’. They are not specific to either the *buitenijen* or *Stadsweerts* variety. The seventh column contains the doubtful case of the *Stadsweerts* variety *kuiëke*, which was possibly pronounced as *kuïke*. A similar case constitutes the *Stadsweerts* variety *kluuëre*, possibly being understood as *kluûre*.

Nbhd	Gender	BW	SW	Different	BW	SW	BW	SW
		veurtj, veurs	vuu(ë)rtj, vuurs	scheetj, schits, schitj	keuke	kuiëke, kuïke	kleure	kluuëre, kluûre
-C	Female	3	1	1	3	2	3	2
	Male	3	0	7	7	4	5	6
-C	Total	6	1	8	10	6	8	8
+C	Female	3	1	0	2	2	2	2
	Male	3	1	3	2	5	2	5
+C	Total	6	2	3	5	7	4	7
-W	Female	1	-	3	3	1	2	2
Total		13	3	14	17	14	14	17

Table 6.9

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *eu/uuë*: *spelen* ('to play'), sentence 4, *keuze* ('choice'), sentence 3, and *vleugels* ('wings'), sentence 7, grouped by gender. 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. The fifth and sixth columns contain variants that are mutually interchangeable.

Nbhd	Gender	BW	SW	BW	SW	BW	SW
		speule	spuuële	keuze, keus	kuuës, kuuëze	vleugels	vluuëgels
-C	Female	3	2	2	2	3	2
	Male	5	6	5	5	5	6
-C	Total	8	8	7	7	8	8
+C	Female	1	3	3	1	2	2
	Male	2	5	2	5	3	4
+C	Total	3	8	5	6	5	6
-W	F	2	2	2	1	3	1
Total		13	18	14	14	16	15

Table 6.10

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *eu/uuë*: *koning* ('king'), sentence 9, and *heup* ('hip'), sentence 10, grouped by gender. 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. The fifth column contains the Dutch variant *koning*. The different variants in the eighth column consist of two of the vowel sounds of the *Stadsweerts* variety, although they are not the form that was expected (*huuëp*). The position of the slash '/' indicates which participant mentioned which variant.

Nbhd	Gender	BW	SW	Dutch	BW	SW	Different
		keuning	kuuëning	koning	heup	huuëp	hieëse / hoeëp
-C	Female	0	3	2	4	1	0
	Male	6	5	0	8	2	1/
-C	Total	6	8	2	12	3	1/
+C	Female	2	2	-	2	2	-
	Male	1	6	-	3	3	-
+C	Total	3	8	-	5	5	-
-W	F	2	2	-	3	-	/1
Total		11	18	2	20	8	2

For the target lexical item *vuurt* in Table 6.8, a *buitenijen* variety was consistently preferred over a *Stadsweerts* variety across gender and town area. A similar pattern is only observed in the target lexical item *heeft* (without the personal pronoun *ze* ('she') in sentence 2). Most male participants went for a variant that may be translated as 'shoot(s)'. This inclination is particularly often observed in male dialect speakers from the *buitenijen* area. Only one female dialect speaker from the *buitenijen* area and three from outside of Weert translated *vuurt* with a

‘shoot’ variant. One male dialect speaker mentioned *veurtj*, a *buitenijen* variety, and *scheetj*, a ‘shoot(s)’ variant. This case of mentioning two variants is left out of the table.

The target lexical items *keuken* and *kleuren* show an identical pattern in the female dialect speakers in both town areas: 3/2 proportion of *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* varieties in the *buitenijen* area, and an even distribution (2/2) in the town centre area. The *Stadsweerts* varieties of the target lexical items *keuken* and *kleuren* show an identical pattern in male and female participants in the town centre area (2/5). An equal distribution in the two varieties of the lexical item *kleuren* is also found among the female dialect speakers living outside of Weert. The word forms *kuûke* and *kluûre* constitute the word forms as they were occasionally perceived (as was the case with *gebroeëke/gebroêke* in Table 6.7). The case in which a male participant from the *buitenijen* area used a *buitenijen* variety of the target lexical item *vuurt* as well as a ‘schoot(s)’ variant is left out of the table.

For the target lexical item *spelen* in Table 6.9, the male and female participants in the *buitenijen* area were rather divided between the two varieties (3/2 in the female and 5/6 in the male participants). The participants in the town centre area, however, slightly preferred the *Stadsweerts* variety (1/3 in the female participants and 2/5 in the male participants).

The two varieties of the target lexical item *keuze* are equally divided among both genders in the *buitenijen* area (2/5 *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety in the female and male participants). The male participants in the town centre area seem to prefer the *Stadsweerts* variety whereas the female participants in the town centre area seem to prefer the *buitenijen* variety. The variant *besloêt*, produced by a female dialect speaker in the *buitenijen* area, may be regarded as a more ‘peripheral’ variant of the word *besluit*, meaning ‘decision’, in analogy with the word *uit* (‘out (of)’). The different variants *heb gekoze* and *gekoeëze heb* were used by respectively a female participant living outside of Weert, and a male participant in the *buitenijen* area. These variants *heb gekoze* and *gekoeëze heb* are the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* varieties of the present perfect of *kiezen* (‘to choose’), with the auxiliary *hebben* (‘to have’). All three variants, *besloêt*, *heb gekoze* and *gekoeëze heb*, are left out of the table, since each of them constitutes only a single occurrence.

Regarding the target lexical item *vleugels*, male and female participants in the *buitenijen* areas slightly prefer a different variety: the female participants prefer the *buitenijen* variety (3/2) and the male participants prefer the *Stadsweerts* variety (5/6). In the town centre area, the female participants are divided (2/2), while the male participants slightly prefer the *Stadsweerts* variety (3/4). The participants living outside of Weert all but one produced the *buitenijen* variety (3/1).

Regarding the target lexical item *koning* in Table 6.10, male participants in the *buitenijen* area were divided in their use of either variety, whereas in the town centre area, male dialect speakers strongly preferred the *Stadsweerts* variety. With that, the male dialect speakers in the town centre area seem to meet the expectation with regard to the dialect variety and town area (6/5 in the *buitenijen* area and 1/6 in the town centre area). The female participants who lived outside of Weert were divided in their use of either variety. Notice the absence of female participants in the *buitenijen* area using the *buitenijen* variety. Two of them produced *koning*, the standard Dutch variant.

Regarding the target lexical item *heup*, both male and female dialect speakers in the *buitenijen* area demonstrate a strong preference for the *buitenijen* variety. In the town centre area, both varieties hold an even share among genders. One different variant was produced by a male participant in the *buitenijen* area (*hieëse*) and one by a female participant in the town centre area (*hoeëp*). *Hieëse* is a plural form, and *hoeëp* is a singular form. Although both variants contain a

long close-mid vowel sound that is characteristic to the *Stadsweerts* variety, i.e. *ieë* and *oeë*, they are not the expected variant (*huuëp*). The single case of doubt between *huuëp* (*Stadsweerts* variety) and *heup* (*buitenijen* variety) as produced by a male dialect speaker in the town centre area, is left out of the table.

6.3.2. Age (generation) and dialect variety and neighbourhood

In this sub-section, the variables age (or ‘generation’) and dialect variety are compared, with *neighbourhood* as the layer/control variable. The variable ‘age’ (or ‘generation’) consists of three groups: the younger generation (‘Young’ in the following tables), the older generation (‘Old’ in the tables). The tables are based on the crosstabs generated in SPSS (as are the tables involving the ‘gender’ variable). The crosstabs were generated by setting the ‘generation’ variable in the Rows window, the target lexical items in the Columns window, and the ‘neighbourhood’ variable as a control variable in the Crosstabs screen in SPSS. Tables [6.11](#) and [6.12](#) comprise the variants of the target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *e/ieë*. Tables [6.13](#) to [6.15](#) comprise the variants of the target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *o/oeë*. Tables [6.16](#) to [6.18](#) comprise the variants of the target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *eu/uuë*.

*The target lexical item containing e/ieë***Table 6.11**

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *e/ieë*: *geweer* ('rifle'), sentence 1, and *heeft ze* ('has she'), sentence 2, grouped by generation (age). 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. 'Young' = 'Younger generation, aged between 18 and 40', 'Old' = 'Older generation, aged 45 and above'. The column 'General, male' consists of a variant that usually refers to males or a group (*hejje*) and variants that uniquely refer to males (*hieëte* and *heete*). *Hieëte* and *heete* are respectively a 'centre' and a 'peripheral' variety of *heeft* ('has'). The target lexical items *geweer* and *heeft ze* both have one missing case (both an old participant from outside of Weert).

Nbhd	Age	BW geweer	SW gewieër	BW heef, heet ze\se, heef 't, heet het	SW hieëf, hieët ze\se, hieët 't, hieët het	General, male hejje, heete, hieëte
-C	Young	4	3	3	2	1
	Old	5	4	4	2	3
-C	Total	9	7	7	4	4
+C	Young	2	2	2	3	0
	Old	2	4	1	4	1
+C	Total	4	6	3	7	1
-W	Young	1	0	1	-	-
	Old	1	1	1	-	-
Total		15	14	12	11	5

Table 6.12

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *e/ieë*: *zeven* ('seven'), sentence 5, *tevreeje* ('satisfied'), sentence 6, and *heeft* ('has'), sentence 7, grouped by generation (age). 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. 'Young' = 'younger generation, aged between 18 and 40', 'Old' = 'older generation, aged 45 and above'. The target lexical item *zeven* has one missing case (one female participant from the *buitenijen* area).

Nbhd	Age	BW zeve	SW zieëve	BW tevreeje	Dutch tevrede	Different contênt	BW heef, heet	SW hieëf, hieët
-C	Young	3	4	4	1	1	4	3
	Old	4	4	3	1	4	8	1
-C	Total	7	8	7	2	5	12	4
+C	Young	2	2	4	-	1	3	2
	Old		4	1	-	4	5	0
+C	Total	4	6	5	-	5	8	2
-W	Young	0	1	1	-	0	0	0
	Old	2	1	1	-	2	1	1
Total		13	16	14	2	12	21	7

For the target lexical item *geweer* ('rifle') in Table 6.11, the older generation living in the *buitenijen* area seems divided between the two varieties, while the younger generation in the

town area seems – to a lesser extent – undecided between the two varieties. The single different variant *gewaer*, which was produced by a young dialect speaker in the town centre area, is left out of the table.

With regard to the lexical item *heeft ze*, both generations, but mainly the older generation, in the town centre area chose more consistently a *Stadsweerts* variety. It is the older generation that goes for the deviating word forms with an enclitic indicating a non-female (or multiple) referent (*hejje*, *hieëte*, *heete*). The case of doubt between *buitenijen heet* and *Stadsweerts hieët* in one young participant in the *buitenijen* area is left out of the table. There was one occurrence of *gae pagktj* (‘you get, ‘you take’), which is also left out of the table.

For the target lexical item *zeven* in Table 6.12, the younger generation in the town centre area appears to be divided in the choice for either variety. The same discord is found among the participants living elsewhere. The participants living outside of Weert are divided between the two varieties. The single case of mentioning both varieties, *zeve* and *zieëve*, by a younger participant in the town centre area is left out of the table.

In regard of the target lexical item *tevreden*, the *buitenijen* variety and the different *contênt* demonstrate mirrored patterns in the town centre area: 4/1 in the younger dialect speakers and 1/4 in the older dialect speakers. In the *buitenijen* area, the younger generation preferred the *buitenijen* variety: 4/1, while the older generation slightly preferred the *Stadsweerts* variety: 3/4 in. *Tevrede* resembles the Dutch variant *tevreden*. The *Stadsweerts* variety *tevrieëje* occurred twice: one produced by an older dialect speaker in the *buitenijen* area and the other by an older dialect speaker in the town centre area, in which case it was doubtfully perceived as *tevreeje*, the *buitenijen* variety. *Stadsweerts* varieties (*tevrieëje*) are left out of the table, as well as the case in which the *buitenijen* variety (*tevreeje*) and the Dutch variant (*tevrede*) were produced.

Regarding the target lexical item *heeft*, the dialect speakers from both areas seem rather consistent in which variety they use, the *buitenijen* variety. A similar pattern is only found in the target lexical item *vuurt* (‘fires’) in the analysis involving the ‘gender’ variable (Table 6.8). The *buitenijen* varieties *heet* and *hieët* were the large majority of used variants (21 against 7 *Stadsweerts* variety). One participant in the younger generation living outside of Weert produced *heete*, the *buitenijen* variety of *heeft hij* (‘has he’). One case of doubt involves the use of either *heet* or *hieët*, by an older participant in the town centre area. *Heet* and *hieët* are respectively the *buitenijen* variety and *Stadsweerts* variety of the Dutch word *heeft* (‘has’). One older dialect speaker from outside of Weert produced both the *buitenijen* variety *heet* and the *Stadsweerts* variety *hieët*. These three cases, *heete* and the doubtful case between *heet* and *hieët*, as well as the single case of *heet* and *hieët* are left out of the table.

*The lexical items containing o/oeë***Table 6.13**

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *o/oeë*: *kogel* ('bullet'), sentence 1, and *woord* ('word'), sentence 2, *noot* ('nut'), sentence 8, and *notenkraker* ('nutcracker'), sentence 8, grouped by generation (age). 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. 'Young' = 'younger generation, aged between 18 and 40', 'Old' = 'older generation, aged 45 and above'. The target lexical items *kogel* has one missing case (one female participant from outside of Weert).

Nbhd	Age	BW	SW	BW	SW	BW	SW	BW	SW
		kogel	koeëgel	woord	woe(ë)rd	noot	noeët	note~	noeëte~
-C	Young	4	3	3	4	3	4	1	5
	Old	5	4	6	2	4	5	4	5
-C	Total	9	7	9	6	7	9	5	10
+C	Young	1	3	2	3	0	4	0	5
	Old	2	4	1	5	1	4	1	5
+C	Total	3	7	3	8	1	8	1	10
-W	Young	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
	Old	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1
Total		13	16	13	16	10	19	8	22

Table 6.14

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *o/oeë*: *koke* ('to cook'), sentence 3, *school*, sentence 4, and *regenboog* ('rainbow'), sentence 5, grouped by generation (age). 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. 'Young' = 'younger generation, aged between 18 and 40', 'Old' = 'older generation, aged 45 and above'. The '~' replaces variants of *regen* 'rain'. The fifth column 'Different' contains an old variant of *koken*, and the case in which both *koke* (*buitenijen*) and *braoje* 'to fry' were mentioned, as indicated by the position of the slash '/' in the cells of the column. The different variant *baug\ch* (/bauγ/ or /bauχ/) is a non-existent word form.

Nbhd	Age	BW	SW	Different	BW	SW	BW	SW	Diff.
		koke	koeëke	potkerre, / koke+braoje	school	schoeël	~boog	~boeëg	~baug \ch
-C	Young	2	5	0/-	2	5	3	3	1
	Old	6	2	1/-	6	3	5	4	-
-C	Total	8	7	1	8	8	8	7	1
+C	Young	1	4	-	2	3	3	1	1
	Old	3	3	-	1	5	2	3	0
+C	Total	4	7	-	3	8	5	4	1
-W	Young	1	0	/0	0	1	0	0	1
	Old	1	1	/1	2	1	2	1	0
Total		14	15	2	13	18	15	12	3

Table 6.15

Frequencies of target variants of lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *o/oeë*: *vogel* ('bird'), sentence 7, *uitverkozen* ('selected', 'picked'), sentence 9, and *gebroken* ('broken'), sentence 10, grouped by generation (age). 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. The * indicates that the vowels are typical to the *Stadsweerts* variety, but the variants in which they occur are not specific to that variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. 'Young' = 'young generation, aged between 18 and 40', 'Old' = 'older generation, aged 45 and above'. The sixth and seventh columns contain variants consisting of the *buitenijen* ([o] column 6) and *Stadsweerts* ([oeë] column 7) vowel sounds. The eighth column with [uuë] contains the frequencies of deviating words. The * indicates that the vowel sound in these deviating variants is typical to the *Stadsweerts* variety, but that the variants are not specific to that variety. The two word forms in the tenth column are *Stadsweerts* varieties, of which *gebroêke* is a doubtful case as the potential pronunciation variant of *gebroeëke*. *Gebroêke* also resembles the verb 'to use' in the dialect.

Nbhd	Age	BW	SW	Different	BW	SW	SW*	BW	SW
		vogel	voeëgel, voêgel	mös	[o]	[oeë]	[uuë]	gebroke	gebroeëke, gebroêke
-C	Young	3	4	0	2	4	1	6	1
	Old	3	3	2	5	1	2	5	4
-C Total		6	7	2	7	5	3	11	5
+C	Young	1	3	-	2	3	-	2	3
	Old	2	4	-	1	5	-	5	1
+C Total		3	7	-	3	8	-	7	4
-W	Young	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Old	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Total		11	15	3	11	15	4	19	11

In Table 6.13, the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* varieties of the lexical item *kogel* are almost equally divided among all generations in the *buitenijen* area: *kogel* was used four times in the younger generation and five times in the older generation; *koeëgel* was also used four times in the older generation and three times in the younger generation (4/3 in the younger generation and 5/4 in the older generation). In the town centre area, the *Stadsweerts* variety was used more often in the younger generation and in the older generation (1/3 in the younger generation and 2/4 in the older generation). Two out of the three participants living outside of Weert also used *koeëgel*. The different variant *kuu(ë)gel* that one younger dialect speaker combined with the indefinite article *eîn* /ɛɪ:n/, resembles the plural form of the *Stadsweerts* variety *koeëgel*. As suggested, the indefinite article implies that he may have intended to use the singular form *koeëgel*. This case of *kuuëgel* is left out of the table.

With regard to the target lexical item *woord*, the younger generation appears to be in slight favour of the *Stadsweerts* variety *woe(ë)rd* (3/4 in the *buitenijen* area, and 2/3 in the town centre area). The older generation very consistently used the variety that is common in the respective area (6/2 in the *buitenijen* area and 1/5 in the town centre area). One younger dialect speaker from the *buitenijen* area produced the different variant *wuuërd*, which is identical to the plural word form of the *Stadsweerts* variety *woeërd*. This different variant, as well as the case in which an older participant who lived outside of Weert mentioned both *woord* and *woeërd*, are left out of the table.

The target lexical items *kogel* and *woord* demonstrate an identical pattern in the participants from outside of Weert: 0/1 in the younger generation and 1/1 in the older generation).

Both the target lexical items *noot* and *notenkraker* show similar patterns: preference for the *Stadsweerts* varieties in the younger generation in the *buitenijen* area. Both generations in the town centre area virtually unanimously used the *Stadsweerts* varieties of *noot* and *notenkraker* (respectively 0/4 and 0/5 in the younger generation and respectively 1/4 and 1/5 in the older generation). The older generation in the *buitenijen* area seems to be in discord with regard to the use of the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* varieties (4/5 in both target lexical items *noot* and *notenkraker*). The younger participants in the *buitenijen* area were almost as equally divided (3/4 *noot* against *noeët*). The participants from outside of Weert were consistent in their division in the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety. One older participant from the town centre area produced *nuuët*, which is the plural form of *noeët*, the *Stadsweerts* variety. Another, younger participant who lived in the same town area produced *nuuëtje*, which is the diminutive form of *noeët*. Both cases are left out of the table. The four participants from outside of Weert demonstrate an equal pattern in both *noot* and *notenkraker* (0/1 in the younger generation, and 2/1 in the older generation for both target lexical items). The doubtful case of the *Stadsweerts* variety *noeëtekraker* that was perceived as *noëtekraker*, is left out of the table.

With regard to of the two varieties of the target lexical item *koken* in Table 6.14, the younger participants in the *buitenijen* area nearly mirrored the proportion of the *buitenijen* variety *koke* and the *Stadsweerts* variety *koeëke* of the older generation: 2/5 in the younger generation against 6/2 in the older generation. The younger participants thus preferred the *Stadsweerts* variety whereas the older participants rather used the *buitenijen* variety. In the town centre area, the younger generation virtually unanimously used the *Stadsweerts* variety (1/4), and the older generation shows a neat division in the use of *koke* and *koeëke* (both 3).

For the target lexical item *school*, in the *buitenijen* area, the younger generation used the *Stadsweerts* variety more often than the older generation, which used the *buitenijen* variety in a similar proportion (2/5 in the younger generation against 6/3 in the older generation). The two varieties are, nevertheless, equally common. In the town centre area, the *Stadsweerts* variety seems to be significantly more common than the *buitenijen* variety. Among the participants who lived outside of Weert, both varieties were evenly distributed, with the *buitenijen* variety *school* being produced by solely the older generation, and the *Stadsweerts* variety *schoeël* by one in the younger and one in the older generation.

For the target lexical item *regenboog*, the older generation in the *buitenijen* area used the *buitenijen* variety slightly more often (5/4); whereas the younger generation produced both varieties equally frequently (3 against 3). In the town centre area, the younger generation tended to use the *buitenijen* variety (3/1), and the older generation slightly preferred the *Stadsweerts* variety (2/3). An older participant from the town centre area produced either *boog* or *boeëg* (*buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* varieties), causing a case of doubt. Two other cases of doubt involve a younger participant from the *buitenijen* area producing either *boeëg* or *boech* (*boech* may be regarded as a reduced variant of the *Stadsweerts* variety *boeëg*). All three cases of doubt are left out of the table. The different variant *bauch* was only produced by younger dialect speakers, one from both town areas and one from outside of Weert.

For the lexical items *vogel* in Table 6.15, the two varieties are virtually equally used in the *buitenijen* area (3/4 among the younger participants, and 3/3 among the older participants). The fifth column contains the different variant *mös*, which is a word that may either mean ‘bird’

in general or ‘sparrow’ in a more specific sense. The three occurrences of *mös* were used by the older participants, who (apparently) spoke the *buitenijen* variety, given that two lived in the *buitenijen* area and the other outside of Weert. Another older dialect speaker in the *buitenijen* area mentioned both the *buitenijen* (and Dutch) variety *vogel* and *mös*. One younger participant in the town centre area produced *veugel*, which is identical to the plural word form of the *buitenijen* variety *vogel*. This participant combined it with an indefinite article, suggesting that he intended to use a singular word form, likely *vogel*. The single case of *vogel* and *mös*, as well as the case of *veugel* are left out of the table.

For the target lexical item *uitverkozen*, the younger generation in the *buitenijen* area shows a reversed preference pattern in comparison to the older generation in the *buitenijen* area: the younger generation preferred the *Stadsweerts* variety (2/4), the older generation strongly preferred the *buitenijen* area (5/1). When the older participant using two variants (*uutgekoeëze* and *uutgenuuëjtj*) is included, the pattern is still 2/4 in the younger generation, but 5/2 in the older generation.

This older dialect speaker in the *buitenijen* area produced both *uutgenuuëjtj* and *uutgekoeëze*. *Uutgenuuëjtj* is a different variant with the meaning of ‘invited’, and the *Stadsweerts* vowel sound *uuë* (although it is not classified as a *Stadsweerts* variety of *uitverkozen* since it does not have the same meaning). *Uutgekoeëze* is the *Stadsweerts* variety of *uitgekozen*, a different word form with a similar meaning as *uitverkozen*. The single case in which both *uutgenuuëjtj* and *uutgekoeëze* were produced is left out of the table. ‘Deviating’ variants are found twice in the older generation and once in the younger generation, but no such variant is not found in the participants from the centre area. In this area, the *Stadsweerts* variety of *uitverkozen* has the vast majority. These ‘deviating’ variants, *uutgenuuëdegd*, *uutgenuuëdigdj* and *oetgenuuëdichtj*, are also left out of the Table.

For the target lexical item *gebroken*, the younger generation in the *buitenijen* area almost unanimously used the *buitenijen* variety (6/1), whereas the older generation living in the *buitenijen* area used both varieties almost equally frequently (5/4). In the town centre area, nearly reversed pattern is observed, with 2/3 in the younger generation and 5/1 in the older generation. The four dialect speakers living outside of Weert demonstrate an even division between the two varieties, with the one younger and one older dialect speaker using *gebroeëke*, and the other two dialect speakers in the older generation using *gebroke*.

*The lexical items containing eu/uuë***Table 6.16**

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *eu/uuë*: *vuurt* ('fire(s)'), sentence 1, *keuken* ('kitchen'), sentence 3, and *kleuren* ('colours'), sentence 5, grouped by generation (age). 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. 'Young' = 'younger generation, aged 18 to 40', 'Old' = 'older generation, aged 45 and above', The fifth column contains variants that may be translated as 'shoot(s)'. They are not specific to either the *buitenijen* or *Stadsweerts* variety. The seventh column contains the doubtful case of the *Stadsweerts* variety *kuuëke*, which was possibly pronounced as *kuûke*. Column tenth constitutes a similar case with the *Stadsweerts* variety *kluuëre*, possibly being understood as *kluûre*.

Nbhd	Age	BW	SW	Different	BW	SW	BW	SW
		veurtj, veurs	vu(ë)rtj, vuurs	scheetj, schits, schitj	keuke	kuuëke, kuûke	kleure	kluuëre, kluûre
-C	Young	5	1	1	5	2	2	5
	Old	1	0	7	5	4	6	3
-C	Total	6	1	8	10	6	8	8
+C	Young	4	1	0	2	3	3	2
	Old	2	1	3	2	4	1	5
+C	Total	6	2	3	4	7	4	7
-W	Young	1	-	0	1	0	1	0
	Old	0	-	3	2	1	1	2
Total		13	3	14	17	14	14	17

Table 6.17

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *eu/uuë*: *spelen* ('to play'), sentence 4, *keuze* ('choice'), sentence 6, *koning* ('king'), sentence 9, and *heup* ('hip'), sentence 10, grouped by generation (age). 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. 'Young' = 'young generation, aged between 18 and 40', 'Old' = 'older generation, aged 45 and above', The fifth and sixth columns contain variants that are mutually interchangeable in each column.

Nbhd	Age	BW	SW	BW	SW	Dutch	BW
		speule	spuuële	keus, keuze	kuuës, kuuëze	vleugels	vluuëgels
-C	Young	3	4	3	3	3	4
	Old	5	4	4	4	5	4
-C	Total	8	8	7	7	8	8
+C	Young	2	3	3	2	3	2
	Old	1	5	2	4	2	4
+C	Total	3	8	5	6	5	6
-W	Young	0	1	1	0	1	0
	Old	2	1	1	1	2	1
Total		13	18	14	14	16	15

Table 6.18

Frequencies of variants of target lexical items containing the vowel sound pair *eu/uuë*: *koning* ('king'), sentence 9, and *heup* ('hip'), sentence 10, grouped by generation (age). 'BW' = *buitenijen* ('peripheral') variety; 'SW' = *Stadsweerts* ('centre') variety. Nbhd = neighbourhood, -C = not town centre area (*buitenijen*), +C = town centre area, -W = outside of Weert. 'Young' = 'young generation, aged between 18 and 40', 'Old' = 'older generation, aged 45 and above'. *Koning* in the seventh column is the Dutch variant. The different variants in the eighth column (*hieëse* and *hoeëp*) consist of two of the vowel sounds of the *Stadsweerts* variety, although they are not the form that was expected (*huuëp*). The position of the slash '/' indicates which participant mentioned which variant.

Qtrr	Age	BW keuning	SW kueëning	Dutch koning	BW heup	SW huuëp	Different hieëse / hoeëp
-C	Young	1	5	1	6	1	0
	Old	5	3	1	6	2	1\
-C	Total	6	8	2	12	3	1/
+C	Young	1	4	-	3	2	0
	Old	2	4	-	2	3	0
+C	Total	3	8	-	5	5	-
-W	Young	0	1	-	1	-	0
	Old	2	1	-	2		1
Total		11	18	2	19	8	2

A *Stadsweerts* variety of the target lexical item *vuurt* in Table 6.16 only occurred three times in the *buitenijen* and town centre areas combined (1 in *buitenijen* and 2 in *Stadsweerts*). The majority of the younger generation in both areas used a *buitenijen* variety, whereas the old generation only occasionally used a *buitenijen* variety. They mainly employed a 'shoot' variant. The case in which one older participant from the *buitenijen* used both *veurtj* (*buitenijen*) and *scheetj* ('shoot(s)') is left out of the table.

The older generation in the *buitenijen* area seems almost indecisive about the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety of the target lexical item *keuken* (5/4), but demonstrated a preference for the *Stadsweerts* variety in the town centre area (2/4). For both generations in the town centre area, the *Stadsweerts* variety seems to be minorly preferred (2/3 in the younger and 2/4 in the older generation) while the *buitenijen* variety is the main variety of choice of the younger dialect speakers in the *buitenijen* area (5/2). Only one older participant from outside of Weert used the *Stadsweerts* variety.

For the target lexical item *kleuren*, the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety show a similar but reversed pattern among the participants in the *buitenijen* area (2/5 among the young participants and 6/3 among the older participants). The older generation in both the *buitenijen* and town centre area appears to make a selection for one variety. The four participants living outside of Weert show a division in the use of the varieties: one in the younger and one in the older generation used *kleure*, while the two in the older generation used the *kluuëre/kluûre*.

Table 6.17 shows that there was a slight reversal in the use of either varieties of the target lexical item *spelen* among the dialect speakers in the *buitenijen* area (3/4 in the 'younger generation group' and 5/4 in the 'older generation' group). The older dialect speakers in the town centre area strongly preferred the *Stadsweerts* variety, while the younger dialect speakers were more divided (2/3 in the 'younger generation' group and 1/5 in the 'older generation' group).

Among the dialect speakers living outside of Weert, both varieties were equally frequently produced: (2/1 in the older generation and 0/1 in the younger generation).

Regarding the target lexical item *keuze*, the two varieties are evenly divided among both generations in both the *buitenijen* area, with 3/3 in the younger generation and 4/4 in the older generation. One younger dialect speaker in the *buitenijen* area produced the noun *besloêt* ('decision'). Two deviating sentence constructions (*heb gekoze* and *gekoeëze heb*) were used by older participants, one in the town centre area (*gekoeëze heb*); the other lived outside of Weert (*heb gekoze*). *Heb gekoze* and *gekoeëze heb* are respectively the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* varieties of the present perfect forms of 'chosen', combined with the auxiliary *heb* 'to have'. The cases of *besloêt*, *heb gekoze* and *gekoeëze heb* are left out of the table.

In the *buitenijen* area, both varieties of the target lexical item *vleugels* are produced in a reversed pattern (3/4 in the younger dialect speakers and 5/4 in the older dialect speakers. In the town centre area, the pattern is somewhat different: 3/2 in the 'younger generation' group and 2/4 in the 'older generation' group. Among the participant living outside of Weert, the *buitenijen* variety *vleugels* is produced by three of them, and the *Stadsweerts* variety *vluuëgels* by one.

For the target lexical item *koning* in Table 6.18, the younger generation strongly preferred the *Stadsweerts* variety in both town areas (1/5 in the *buitenijen* and 1/4 in the town centre area). The participants in the older generation in the *buitenijen* area also used the *buitenijen* variety, whereas they preferred the *Stadsweerts* variety in the town centre area (5/3 in the *buitenijen* and 2/4 in the town centre area). The only dialect speaker who lived outside of Weert in the younger generation group, as well as one older dialect speaker outside Weert, used the *Stadsweerts* variety *kuuëning*.

For the target lexical item of *heup*, the *buitenijen* variety *heup* is more than twice as frequently used as the *Stadsweerts* variety *huuëp* (20 against 8, excluding the case of doubt). This tendency is salient in the participants in the *buitenijen* area, who were strongly in favour of the *buitenijen* variety *heup* (6/1 among the younger generation and 6/2 among the older generation). In the town centre area, the two generations demonstrate a reversed pattern: 3/2 in the younger generation; 2/3 in the old generation). Two participants in the older generation produced two unique variants: one of them, who lived in the *buitenijen* area, produced *hieëse* (a plural form) and the other, who lived outside of Weert, produced *hoeëp* (a singular form). These variants contain the long close-mid vowel sounds characteristic to the *Stadsweerts* dialect variety (*ieë* and *oeë*), but are, however, not the expected word form of the *Stadsweerts* variety (*huuëp*). A case of doubt in which a participant in the older generation in the town centre area produced either *huuëp* or *heup*, is left out of the table.

6.3.3. Proportion *buitenijen*/*Stadsweerts* varieties per participant

In order to gain insight in the extent to which participants tended to use one or both varieties in the dialect of Weert, the frequencies and corresponding percentages of either variety in regard of the twenty-three (23) target lexical items were calculated. These frequencies and percentages are presented per participant in Table 6.19.

Table 6.19

Frequencies and corresponding percentages of produced *buitenijen* ('peripheral') and *Stadsweerts* ('centre') varieties in regard to the twenty-three target lexical items (containing one of the long close-mid vowel sounds from the two vowel sound sets). The frequencies are given per participant, with the corresponding percentages in brackets. In addition, the gender and the current area (*buitenijen* area, town centre area or outside of Weert – 'Outside Weert') of the concerning participant are included. The column 'Deviating' constitutes the frequencies of variants on the target lexical items that were not considered to belong to the *buitenijen* or *Stadsweerts* varieties. The column also constitutes the frequencies of any missing variant (behind the backslash '\'). The superscripted ° indicates that the 'deviating' variants (Code 3 in the Figures in Table 6.2) constitute *contênt* (target lexical item *tevreden*, sentence 6). The total of all frequencies may exceed 23 due to two different variants mentioned in single cases.

Participant number	Gender	Current town part	<i>Buitenijen</i> variety	<i>Stadsweerts</i> variety	<i>Deviating</i> \ <i>Missing</i>
1	Female	Buitenijen	19 (95.00%)	1 (5.00%)	3\1
2	Male	Town centre	20 (86.96%)	3 (13.04%)	-
3	Male	Buitenijen	15 (71.43%)	6 (28.57)	2
4	Female	Buitenijen	22 (100.00%)	-	1
5	Male	Town centre	2 (8.70%)	21 (91.30%)	-
6	Female	Town centre	3 (13.64%)	19 (86.36%)	1°
7	Male	Town centre	17 (80.95%)	4 (19.05%)	2
8	Female	Buitenijen	4 (18.18%)	18 (81.82%)	1°
9	Male	Buitenijen	18 (85.71%)	3 (14.29%)	2
10	Male	Buitenijen	2 (9.52%)	19 (90.48%)	3°
11	Female	Outside Weert	22 (100.00%)	-	1
12	Female	Town centre	20 (90.91%)	2 (9.09%)	1°
13	Male	Buitenijen	1 (6.25%)	16 (93.75%)	6°
14	Male	Buitenijen	21 (100.00%)	-	3
15	Male	Town centre	4 (19.05%)	17 (80.95%)	2
16	Male	Town centre	3 (15.00%)	17 (85.00%)	3°
17	Female	Outside Weert	-	19 (100.00%)	3°\1
18	Male	Buitenijen	18 (81.82 %)	4 (18.18%)	1
19	Male	Buitenijen	8 (42.11%)	11 (57.89%)	3
20	Female	Outside Weert	14 (82.35%)	3 (17.65%)	6°\2
21	Male	Buitenijen	19 (90.48%)	2 (9.52%)	2
22	Female	Town centre	12 (54.55%)	10 (45.45%)	1°
23	Female	Outside Weert	11 (52.38%)	10 (47.62%)	2
24	Female	Town centre	8 (33.33%)	16 (66.67%)	-
25	Female	Buitenijen	18 (81.82%)	4 (18.18%)	1
26	Female	Buitenijen	3 (14.29)	18 (85.71%)	-
27	Male	Buitenijen	5 (22.73%)	17 (77.27%)	-
28	Male	Buitenijen	14 (70.00%)	6 (30.00%)	4
29	Male	Town centre	2 (10.53%)	17 (89.47%)	3°
30	Male	Town centre	2 (11.11%)	16 (88.89%)	1
31	Male	Buitenijen	1 (4.76%)	20 (95.24)	2°

In Table 6.19, the column ‘Deviating/Missing’ consists of the frequencies of variants that were not considered typical for the *Stadsweerts* or *buitenijen* variety, and therefore were not assigned Code 1 or Code 2 in the graphs in section 6.2. Variation in lexical items. The column also consists of the frequencies of the cases in which a variant on the lexical item was missing (behind the backslash ‘\’ symbol). The frequencies in this column are not included in the calculation of the percentages of the columns ‘*Buitenijen variety*’ and ‘*Stadsweerts variety*’. Using Table 6.19, investigation of the tendency to use either the *buitenijen* variety relative to the *Stadsweerts* variety is possible. Moreover, a potential link between the areas where participants lived and the use of one or the other variety may be found. It may, for instance, be found that the participant who lived in the *buitenijen* area tended to use the *buitenijen* variety often in proportion with the *Stadsweerts* variety. Nine (9) out of the seventeen (17) participants who lived in the *buitenijen* area used more *buitenijen* varieties than *Stadsweerts* varieties. Seven (7) out of ten (10) participants who lived in the town centre area used more *Stadsweerts* varieties than *buitenijen* varieties. Thus, just over half of the participants in each town area used the variety that corresponded with the variety that is assumed to be spoken to that particular town area more frequently than the variety that is assumed to be spoken in the other town area. In two participants, the two varieties were almost evenly used (a frequency difference of 1 and respectively 2). One of these participants lived outside of Weert, while the other lived in the town centre area.

In a male participant from the *buitenijen* area, the case of doubt in regard of the target lexical item *notenkraker* is left out of the frequencies. In a female participant from the *buitenijen* area, two cases of doubt, with one involving a ‘different’ variant (target lexical item *Regenboog* Code 3) are left out of the frequencies. Another case of doubt involving a ‘different’ variant in the target lexical item *Regenboog* (Code 3) is also left out of the frequencies. In a male participant from the town centre area, four cases of doubt, one involving the doubt between *tevreeje* and *tevríeje* (*buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* varieties), are excluded from the frequencies.

6.4. Dialect variants of the lexical items in the Translation task

Following the Translation task, each participant was asked whether he or she was familiar with different dialect variants of mainly the words in bold in the sentences from the Translation task (see Appendix I). Four lexical items, *wij*, *kinderen*, *u bent* and *uitverkozen*, were not in bold, while *vliegen* (‘to fly’), which is no lexical item, was put in bold. If no different dialect variant was mentioned, the sub-questions were irrelevant and consequently not posed, ending the interview.

The first sub-question of question 7 informed whether the participant used the variants that he or she mentioned in response to question 7. The second sub-question continued on the first sub-question, informing which dialect variants the participant thought to use most often. The third sub-question deviated somewhat, in that participants had to indicate which dialect variants of the words in the Translation task they thought were the most common and where – in what parts of the town – these variants would be found (by using the Google Earth® map, see Appendix II). The parts of the recordings involving question 7 were worked up entirely as answers to the question and sub-questions. It was often difficult to incorporate parts of the answers in either sub-question 7a or 7b, since these two sub-questions appeared very similar. Occasionally, small portions of an answer that were worked up under the ‘introduction question’, main question 7, were considered to be an answer to one of the sub-questions and were also ranged under the concerning sub-question. In working out the entire question 7, these ‘double’ portions were marked in an orange font colour, in order to differentiate these portions from the

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other parts of the answer and to indicate that these portions had been ‘copied’ from another part of question 7. In the Tables below, the concerning lexical items from these portions are marked with a ‘7’ (Table [6.21](#)) or ‘a’ (Table [6.20](#)) in superscript, depending on the (sub-)question (7 or 7a) in which the answer was worked up.

Table 6.20

Frequencies of mentioned dialect variants of the lexical items of the Translation task (see Appendix I) that participants mentioned in response to question 7. The column titles ‘*Buitenijen*’ and ‘*Stadsweerts*’ refer to the ‘peripheral’ and ‘centre’ dialect varieties respectively. The number in front of each lexical item refers to the sentence number in the Translation task. The numbers in round brackets refer to the participant number of which the lexical item was worked out in both question 7 and sub-question 7a. The numbers in square brackets refer to the frequencies of participants that did not mention the lexical item explicitly as a ‘new’ variant of the concerning lexical item in the Translation task. Lexical items for which no ‘new’ variant was mentioned have also been omitted from this table.

Dialect variant	<i>Buitenijen</i>	<i>Stadsweerts</i>	Other variants
1 (Je) vuurt (‘(you) fire’)	gae veurtj: 2; dich: 1 (^a 8); gae: 1 (^a 8); veûre: 1; ge veurtj: 1; veurtj: 1	vuuëre: 1	dich knals: 1; scheedje: 1; schete: 2
1 Kogel (‘bullet’)	kogel: 6	koeëgel: 1; kuu(ë)gel: 1	
1 Geweer (‘rifle’)	geweer: 4 [1]	gewieëre: 1; gewieër: 1	buks: 2; blaffer: 1
2 Meestal (‘most of the time’)	mieëstal: 4		meîstal: 1; meestal: 1; dék: 3 [1]; meîstes: 1 (^a 10); mieëst: 1; dékker: 1
2 Heeft ze (‘has she’)	heet: 1 [1]; heef je/se: 1	hieët ze: 4; hieëd ‘t: 19	het: 1; zuj: 1 [1] (^a 8)
2 Woord (‘word’)	woord: 3; weurd: 2 [1]	woeërd: 3; wuu(ë)rd: 8 (^a 31) [6]	woord: 2 [2]; woorde: 1
3 Wij (‘we’)	vae: 1; wae: 2		
3 Koken (‘to cook’)		koêke/koeëke: 3	kokkerelle: 2; potkerre: 1; kookerelle: 1; braoje: 1
3 Keuken (‘kitchen’)	keuke: 4 (^a 20, 24)	kuû(ë)ke: 2; kuukske: 1	
4 Kinderen (‘children’)	wichter: 1		wécht: 1; kintjes: 1; kinjer: 4 (^a 24)
4 School	school: 3	schoeël: 2	sjool: 3
4 Spelen (‘to play’)	speule: 2	spuuële: 1	kuite: 1; spuijle: 1; spele: 1
5 Regent (‘rains’)	raegentj: 5; raengeltj: 3; raegene: 1	reigen: 1 (^a 7)	rêngeldj: 2 (^a 25); rengel: 2 (^a 25); neetsele, miësertj: 12; rege: 25
5 Zeven (‘seven’)	zeve: 4	zieëve: 4 (^a 24)	
5 Kleuren (‘colour’)	kleure: 1	kluu(ë)re: 4	
5 Regenboog (‘rainbow’)		raengel~: 1; ~boeëch: 1; reijgenbauch: 1	regenboog: 1; raegenboeëg: 3; raegenbouwg: 1

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Dialect variant	<i>Buitenijen</i>	<i>Stadsweerts</i>	Other variants
6 Tevreden (‘satisfied’)	tevreeje: 3	tevrieëje: 5	(^a 23); reijgenboog: 1 contênt: 6 (^a 7, 24); tevrede: 4 (^a 8, 13)
6 Keuze (‘choice’)	keus: 5 (^a 8, 25); keuze: 2	kuu(ë)s: 2; kuu(ë)ze: 2	
7 Vogel (‘bird’)	vogel: 6 (^a 8)	voeëgel/voêgel: 3	mös: 3; hoësmös: 1; möske: 1
7 Heeft (‘has’)		hieëf: 2; hieët: 1	
7 Vleugels (‘wings’)	vleugels: 5 (^a 8, 20)	vluugels: 2	
8 Noot (‘nut’)	noot: 2; walneut: 1 (^a 8)	noeëtebaum: 1 (^a 8); noeët: 2	
8 Heb je (‘have you’)	hesse: 1; hejje: 2; hebse: 2 (^a 20)		hes doê: 1; höbs dich ³⁷ : 1
8 Notenkraker (‘nut cracker’)	notekraker: 3		
8 Nodig (‘need’)		nuuëdig: 2	noeëdig: 2 (^a 1); neudig: 1
9 Uitverkozen (‘selected’)	gekoze: 1 [1]; uutverkoze: 18		
9 Ambtswoning (‘official residence’)		ambtswuuëning: 3 (^a 8)	woeëning: 2 (^a 27); ambtswoning: 2; hoês: 1; amshoês: 1; peliês: 3; kestieël: 2 koeëning: 1; koning ³⁸ : 2; hètj gae: 23; hètj gee: 23
9 Koning (‘king’)	keuning: 1	kuuëning: 3	
10 Heb jij (‘have you’)	hejje: 2 [1]; hejjae: 2 (^a 8); hebs dich: 3 (^a 8); hes dich: 3		
10 Heup (‘hip’)	heup ³⁹ : 1	huuëp: 2	hieës: 1; hoeëb: 1; kneu’k: 1
10 Gebroken (‘broken’)	gebroke: 1	gebroeëke: 3	
Deur (‘door’)*	deur: 1	duuër: 1	
Aanrecht (‘work top’, ‘sink’)			pompsteîn: 1
Vriendjes (‘friends’)			kammeräöj /kaməxæ:j/

³⁷ A male participant stated that *höbs dich* is used in Stramproy, a village at about 8 kilometres south of the town of Weert.

³⁸ A female participant more or less repeated the Dutch sentence, declaring that *ambtswoning* is his [the king’s] *peliês* (‘palace’).

³⁹ One older male participant said: “*Heup is hieës*”, providing *hieës* as a variant on *heup* (‘hip’).

Table 6.21

Frequencies of variants of the lexical items of the Translation task (see Appendix I) that the participants indicated that they would use themselves in response to sub-question 7a. The column titles ‘*Buitenijen*’ and ‘*Stadsweerts*’ refer to the ‘peripheral’ and ‘centre’ dialect varieties respectively. The number in front of each lexical item refers to the sentence number in the Translation task. The numbers in round brackets refer to the participant number of which the lexical item was worked out in question 7 and sub-question 7a and 7b. The numbers in square brackets refer to the frequencies of participants that did not mention the lexical item explicitly as a ‘new’ variant of the concerning lexical item in the Translation task. Lexical items for which no ‘new’ variant was mentioned have also been omitted from this table.

Dialect variants	<i>Buitenijen</i>	<i>Stadsweerts</i>	Other variants
1 (Je) vuurt (‘(you) fire’)	veurtj: 1		
2 Meestal (‘most of the time’)	mieëstal: 1		mieëste tiêd: 1; meestal: 1 (⁷ 8) [1]; dék: 1 (⁷ 8); meîstes: 1 ⁷
2 Heeft ze (‘has she’)	heet: 1 (⁷ 8)		zuj: 1 (⁷ 8)
2 Woord (‘word’)		woeërd: 1 [1]; wu(ë)rd: 1	
3 Keuken (‘kitchen’)	keuke: 3 (⁷ 20, 24)	kuuëke: 1 (^b 23)	
4 Kinderen (‘children’)			kinjer: 2 (⁷ 24)
4 School	school: 1 (⁷ 8)		
4 Spelen (‘to play’)	speule: 1 (⁷ 8)		
5 Regent (‘rains’)	raegentj: 1 (⁷ 8)	reigen: 1 (⁷ 7)	rêngeldj: 1 (⁷ 25); rengel: 2 (⁷ 25)
5 Zeven (‘seven’)	zeve: 2 (⁷ 8),	zieëve: 1 (⁷ 24)	
5 Regen boog (‘rainbow’)	raegenboog: 1		raegenboeëg: 1 (⁷ 8); raegenbouwg: 1 (⁷ 23)
6 Tevreden (‘satisfied’)	tevreeje: 3 ⁷		contênt ⁴⁰ : 3 (⁷ 24); tevrede: 3 (⁷ 8, 13)
6 Keuze (‘choice’)	keus: 2 (⁷ 8, 25)	kuu(ë)s: 2; kuu(ë)ze: 2	
7 Vogel (‘bird’)	veugelke: 1; veugel: 1; vogel: 1 (⁷ 8)		
7 Heeft (‘has’)		hieët: 1 [1]; hieëf: 1 [1]	
7 Vleugels (‘wings’)	vleugels: 2 (⁷ 8, 20)	vluugels: 1	
8 Noot (‘nut’)	walneut: 1 (⁷ 8)	noeëte: 1; noeëtebaum: 1 (⁷ 8)	
8 Heb je (‘have you’)	hejje: 2 [1]; hebse: 2 (⁷ 20)		
8 Notenkraker (‘nut cracker’)	notekraker: 3	noeëtekraker: 1	
8 Nodig (‘need’)		nuuëdig: 1; noeëdig: 1	neudig: 1
9 Ambtswoning (‘official residence’)		wuuëning: 1; ambtswuuëning: 1	woeëning: 2 (⁷ 27); hoês: 1

⁴⁰ One older woman argued that *tevrede* is no dialect word (‘*tevrede* is no...’), but that *contênt* is.

THE DIALECT OF WEERT: TWO VARIETIES

Dialect variants	<i>Buitenijen</i>	<i>Stadsweerts</i> (⁷ 8)	Other variants
9 Koning ('king')	keuning: 1		
10 Heb jij ('have you')	hejjae: 3 (⁷ 8); hesse: 1; hebs dich: 1 (⁷ 8); hes dich: 1		
Probeer ('try')*		probier: 27	
Tegenwoordig ('nowadays')		tegewoeërdig: 31	
Tegen ('to'/'against')	tege: 31	tieëge: 31	

In Tables 6.20 and 6.21, the frequencies comprise the mentioned variants that the participants did not use in the Translation task. In case a participant mentioned the variant that he or she mentioned in the Translation task, this variant was excluded from the frequencies in these tables.

The classification in both tables concerns the lexical items that constitute a division in the two vowel sound sets found in the two dialect varieties in Weert (target lexical items). These target lexical items in the first column are in bold. Even though the variants in bold have been categorized as a variety, it does not entail that the participants specified a variant as belonging to that variety. The remaining lexical items are not necessarily classified as being specific to either variety. Their classification is nevertheless based on their vowel sound.

The variant *neut* (in *walneut*) in the *Buitenijen* column is the plural form of *noot*, which was the target word in the Translation task. The English translation of the word *noeëtebaum* is 'nut tree'. *Nuuët* in the *Stadsweerts* column is the plural form of *noeët*, which was a potential dialect variety in the Translation task. The variant *scheedje* in the first row of the 'Other variants' column was mentioned while clarifying *buks* ('(short) rifle'), a variant of *geweer* ('rifle') in sentence 1. *Raegentj* in the lexical item *regent* (sentence 5) is common in both varieties.

The frequencies of variants of the lexical items *geweer*, *meestal*, *woord* and *uitverkozen* in Table 6.20 and those of the lexical items *woord*, *heeft* and *heb jij* in Table 6.21 include occasions on which participants mentioned variants of these lexical items in their answer, without specifying them as variants of these lexical items as such. This is indicated by means of the number in square brackets.

A number of lexical items recurred in the answers given to question 7 and sub-questions 7a and 7b, which is indicated by the superscripted letters or number: 'a' in Table 6.20 and '7' or 'b' in Table 6.21. E.g. (^a8) indicates that participant number 8 mentioned the respective lexical item and that the portion of the answer including this lexical item was copied in sub-question 7a.

One prominent lexical item was the translation of *je* and *jij* in *heb je* (sentence 8) and *heb jij* (sentence 10). Two participants stated that *dich* is used to refer to a female, while *gae* (and probably its shorter form *ge* as well) is used to refer to a male. One of them also mentioned that *gae* may also refer to a group, while the other put forward that *dich* is not used when talking to men, and moreover that she would rather refer to a woman with *gae* than to a man with *dich*. *Gae* was also designated as the politeness form. Furthermore, she argued that the use of *hejjae* or *hes dich* (both 'have you') depended on the person to whom one is talking. She also declared that *hetjgae* /hɛtʃɣæ:/ is the official form, but that it is abbreviated to *hejjae* (the supposedly verb-pronoun (enclitic) with a male or group referent). According to her, *hedjgae* /hɛdʒæ:/ (an orthographic variant of *hetjgae*) is spelled as a single word, and would be a more southern-Limburgish variant. Further on in the conversation, in response to

sub-question 7b, she stated that she would never say *hèdjæ*, but *hejjæ* instead. In sentence 10 of the Translation task, she would translate *heb jij* either as *hejjæ* or *hes dich*, depending on the gender of the referent (*jij*). One statement involved the village of Stramproy, about 8 kilometres south of the town of Weert. It was said that *hōbs dich* (/hœpstry/) – in sentence 10 – is used here. One dialect speaker stated that he would not use *hejjæ* or *hes dich* when talking to clients in Maastricht. His partner, also a participant, supplemented his statement by saying that these clients do not understand *hejjæ*. Moreover, she declared that she used *gae* to her grandmother, but *dich* to her mother, as *gae* would mark politeness.

A second, very prominent lexical item in the answers was *tevreden* ('satisfied') in sentence six in the Translation task. Two participants would prefer to use *tevreje* (*buitenijen* variety) instead of *contênt* ('different'). One of them regarded *contênt* as a more dialect-like variant. One other dialect speaker translated *tevreden* as *contênt* and noted that children would say *tevieëje* (which contains the *Stadsweerts* vowel sound [iə], and is assigned to the *Stadsweerts* column in Table 6.20). On the contrary, two other participants disliked *tevrede* (the Dutch-like variant): one young female dialect speaker said that the word *tevrede* stuck in her mouth and she regarded *tevreje* as a despicable dialect form, as it ought to be *contênt*. That is why she would indisputably use *contênt*. The other declared that *tevrede* was no dialect word, but that *contênt* is. For two dialect speakers, the proportion of using *tevreje* and *contênt* would be fifty-fifty, with the addition that *contênt* had the preference for one of them.

The third lexical item that evoked several comments was *kinderen* ('children'). One firm statement was that *wichter* /βɪɣtə/ is a genuine word in the dialect of Weert. The variant *wécht* /βæɣt/ was said to have a negative connotation in the village of Stramproy, and a positive connotation as well in Weert. Two other participants suggested the variant *kind(j)er* /kɪndə/ or /kɪndʒə/. According to a female participant, the Dutch word *kinderen* entails a large variation among the dialects in Limburg. In the central part of Limburg (*Midden-Limburg*), the variant *kinder* /kɪndə/ is very common. The woman told that she would always use *wichter*, but that she had to stop using it when living in the south of the province, because people did not understand the word. In contrast, another participant argued that people in Maastricht understood the word, because they were aware that it was a characteristic word in the dialect of Weert. He would nevertheless employ *kinjer* /kɪnjə/ when talking to people in Maastricht.

Other lexical items that were commented on were *meestal* (*heeft ze*) in sentence 2, *regen* ('rain') in sentence 5, and *ambtswoning* ('official residence') in sentence 9. With regard to *meestal*, a participant did not consider *mieëstal* (in the *Buitenijen* column) dialect word. She would rather say *de mieëste tiêd* ('the most time'), of which *mieëste* is classified as 'other variant' in Table 6.21. On the other hand, another participant was in doubt whether *meiste(n)s* /mɛɪstəns/ or /mɛɪstəs/ was a word in the dialect of Weert.

One participant combined the variant *scheetj* (or *scheedj*) with the word *buks* ('(short) rifle'), a variant of *geweer* ('rifle') (sentence 1). Regarding the lexical unit *regen*, one participant thought of the variants *neetsele* and *miêsertj*, an infinitive and a finite verb. One young dialect speaker stated that she used *raengel* /ɾæ:ŋəl/ and *raegen* /ɾæ:ɣən/ interchangeably, which are both common in both the *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* variety. The pronunciation of *raegen*, however, was ambiguous between *raegen* /ɾæ:ɣən/ and *reigen* /ɾɛɪɣən/, thus between the variants that are common in respectively the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety. Another young dialect speaker indicated that he mainly used *reigen* and very incidentally *rengel* /ɾɛŋəl/, which is categorized in the 'Other variants' column in Tables 6.20 and 6.21. *Woeëning* and *wuuëning* seemed to be regarded as odd variants, since *woeëning* would not be frequent (number 1), *wuuëning* was regarded as a strange word and one participant would not use *kuuëning*, since it was the *Stadsweerts* variety (of *koning* 'king').

The third sub-question of 7, 7c, inquired about the differences within the dialect of Weert and where these differences may be observed. Only four participants linked parts of the town with differences in the dialect. Three of them suggested differences and varieties in the dialect, commenting in a manner suitable for sub-question 4 of question 4 (observable differences in the dialect within the town of Weert). One of these answers was implemented in the results of that sub-question (see Table 4). That participant mentioned in what parts and neighbourhoods the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* varieties would presumably be spoken.

In one extensive answer, the [u] sound was argued to be characteristic to the *Stadsweerts* variety. This variety used to be very much concentrated, but has ‘drifted out’ towards more parts of the town. The male dialect speaker supposed that every speaker in Weert would speak a tiny bit differently, although he did not know whether differences between neighbourhoods and parts would be observable nowadays. In the past, when each neighbourhood was more isolated and self-oriented, differences would have been observed between the neighbourhoods. The varieties have become more convergent. The borders between certain neighbourhoods have blurred as well. One female participant expected little differences, although the dialect in the parish of Laar may differ and would somewhat resemble the dialect variety in the village of Nederweert.

After the interview, an older male participant showed an article in a local newspaper, which was part of a feature that he wrote. This article was written in the *Stadsweerts* variety, consisting of words that contain the long close-mid vowels in the current study. These words, and their counterparts in the *buitenijen* variety, are the following pairs (left one is the *Stadsweerts* variety): *wieëte/wete* (‘to know’), *vantevuuëre/vanteveure* (‘beforehand’), *oeëver/over* PREP, and *toeëg/toog* (‘bar (counter)’).

Two female participants also mentioned a different word pair of respectively the *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* variety: *vuuërduu(ë)r/veurdeur* (‘front door’), and *duuër/deur* (‘door’). One of them said that her attention was drawn to the differences between the *Stadsweerts* and *buitenijen* varieties. She used both the words *geweze* and *gewieëze* ‘pointed out’, which respectively contain the *buitenijen* (and Dutch) vowel sound *ee* and the *Stadsweerts* vowel sound *ieë*.

A participant summed up four words in a sentence that differ in the *Stadsweerts* and the *buitenijen* varieties: *boeëve/bove* (‘upstairs’), *zieëve/zeve* (‘seven’), *duuëre/deure* (‘doors’), and *oeëpe/ope* (‘open’ adjective). The *zieëve/zeve* pair is included as lexical item variants in the frequency tables (Tables 6.20 and 6.21). Moreover, he stated that *woeërd* is *hoeëgwieërts* (‘high-Weerts’), whereas he used *woord*, the *buitenijen* variety. As mentioned, he also declared that *wichter* is a genuine word in the dialect of Weert. Further on, he stated that the *hoeëgwieërts* variant of *koken* (‘to cook’) is *koeëke*, [‘which is done’] in the *kuiëke* (‘kitchen’).

One participant declared that he did not use any other variants but his own choice of words. He therefore did not mention any more dialect variants in sub-questions 7a and 7b.

A female participant declared that ‘everything is a sparrow’ *mös* and gave a kind of example sentence: *dao zitj ’n möske* ‘there is a little sparrow’. A variant on *spelen*, *spuijle*, was indecisively put forward as a possible variant used in the southern part of the Dutch province of Limburg. One participant suggested that *noeëdig* would be the *Stadsweerts* variety, while the variant *neudig* /nødɪɣ/ (non-existent) would be a *buitenijen* variety.

The lexical items varieties *zeve* and *zieëve* (‘seven’) were both mentioned by one participant, who used *zeve* (*buitenijen* variety) in the Translation task, but who declared that she would nevertheless use *zieëve* in a counting sequence.

One older male participant also used two words containing the ‘centre’ vowel sound *oeë* [uə] in his answer: *oeëver* (PREP) and *antwoeërd* (‘answer’, ‘response’). Another older man produced, in addition to *oeëver* and *antwoeërd*, the ‘centre’ dialect variety word

tegewoeërdig ('nowadays'). Other dialect words that he produced during the interview were *probier* ('try'), *tegewoeërdig* ('nowadays'), and *tege* and *tieëge* ('to', 'against'). These dialect words consist of target vowel sounds. See the four bottom rows in Table 6.21. Note that this dialect speaker used both *tege* and *tieëge*, respectively the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety. Also, in *tegewoeërdig*, *tege* is a *buitenijen* variety, while *woeërd(ig)* is a *Stadsweerts* variety.

That same dialect speaker in the older generation group put forward that the fact that dialect words vary (morphologically) in their singular and plural forms may be useful to the study. He suggested the word pair *woeërd/wuuërd*, the singular and plural form of the *Stadsweerts* variety of the word *woord*, meaning 'word'. He stated that such particular variation in the singular and plural form is very common in the dialect of Weert. He stated that he did not use particular variants, but that the *Stadsweerts* variety was most common to him. However, he had spoken the *buitenijen* variety since his youth, having learnt to speak the *Stadsweerts* variety. Furthermore, he told that, in his family, it was usual to say *hejjae* ('have' with enclitic 'you') when talking to older brothers and *hebs dich* ('have you') when talking to younger brothers and to sisters. *Dich* would be the variant heard in the *buitenijen* area and in the village of Stramproy, also when talking to older generations. This would be characteristic to the *buitenijen* variety in comparison to the *Stadsweerts* variety.

6.5. Personal pronouns in the dialect of Weert (Translation task)

An analysis of the personal pronouns in the sentences of the Translation task, as briefly introduced the Method chapter (4.4.1. Use of personal pronouns in dialect of Weert, p. 46), was conducted in order to gain some insight in the inventory of personal pronouns in the dialect of Weert. As mentioned, eight out of the ten Dutch sentences in the Translation task contained personal pronouns. Half of these sentences had a subject-verb (S-V) order and the other half had a verb-subject (V-S) order. This variance in word order was employed to investigate the variation in the word forms of personal pronouns in the dialect. Word forms of certain personal pronouns vary according to the syntactic structure (word order). In Table 6.22 below, the personal pronouns that were in the sentences of the Translation task are provided, including the word variants.

Table 6.22

Produced variants of personal pronouns and (contracted) combinations of verb and pronoun in sentences of the Translation task. SG = 'singular', SIMPLEX = 'simplex word form', COMPLEX = 'complex word form', INVERS = 'inversed word order: verb-subject', POL = 'polite word form', SUBJ = 'subject form. In sentence 8, *hejjen*('n) is a contraction of the verb-pronoun combination 'have-you' and the indefinite article 'n /ən/ ('a(n)'). The numbers in brackets in the three 'Word variant' columns indicate the frequency of the concerning personal pronoun.

Sentence	Personal pronoun (Dutch)	Word variant 1	Word variant 2	Word variant 3
1	<i>Je</i> ('you' SG.SIMPLEX)	<i>Ge</i> (19)	<i>Gae</i> (5)	<i>Dich</i> (5)
2	<i>Ze</i> ('she' SIMPLEX.INVERS)	<i>ze/se</i> (17)	<i>'t/het</i> (1x) (5)	<i>zeuj</i> (2)
3	<i>Wij</i> ('we' COMPLEX)	<i>Wae</i> (16)	<i>Vae</i> (11)	<i>We/Ve</i> (2x) (4)
5	<i>Je</i> ('you' SIMPLEX INVERS)	<i>zeeje/zejje</i> (1x) (25)	<i>(zuus) se</i> (4)	<i>zeen vae</i> (1)
6	<i>Ik</i> ('I')	<i>Ich</i> (31)	-	-
8	<i>Je</i> ('you' SIMPLEX INVERS)	<i>hejje/hejjen</i> ('n) (21)	<i>(heb)se</i> (5)	<i>hesse</i> (2)
9	<i>U</i> ('you' POL)	<i>Ge / Gé</i> (1x) (10)	<i>Gae</i> (16)	<i>Dich</i> (2)
10	<i>Jij</i> ('you' SG.SUBJ.INVERS)	<i>hejje/hejjae</i> (18)	<i>(hes) d/tich</i> (7)	<i>(heb)se</i> (3)

The personal pronoun variants *ge* and *gae* are respectively a simplex and a complex form and either have a male referent or multiple referents. The two forms may be more similar to different Dutch word forms: the simplex form of *ge* is more similar to *je*, while the complex form *gae* may be more similar to *jij*.

Dich is a complex personal pronoun with a singular feminine referent. In the dialect of Weert, it possesses the grammatical functions of both subject and direct and indirect object. In the results from the Translation task, *dich* is in the large minority of produced personal pronouns, especially in the case of the personal pronoun *u* ('you', formal). The word form *dow* in sentence 8, which is not included in Table 6.22, is assigned to the dialect spoken in the village of Nederweert (Feijen, 2013). It is therefore unsurprising that *dow* was produced by a dialect speaker who had moved from Nederweert to Weert. One translation of *je* was *gés* /ɣæs/, which is no valid word form. One dialect speaker did not produce a personal pronoun.

The personal pronoun *ze* in sentence 2 is marked as 'singular' by the finite verb *heeft*. The complex word variant *zeuj* also depends on the finite verb to mark singularity or plurality (equivalent of the Dutch word form *zij*). The (contracted) word variant '*t* as well as its 'full form' equivalent *het* in the fourth column of sentence 2 are much more infrequent than the word variant *ze/se* in the third column. Only one participant only produced the 'full form' *het*, whereas one participant produced '*t* as well as *heefse*, which case is included in the frequency of 5. In Figure 5 (Code 3) and in Tables 6.3 and 6.11 two word forms of the personal pronoun *ze* with an inconsistent referent: *hejje* and *hieëte*, respectively a word variant with a plural or male referent and a word form with a male referent. One participant translated *heeft ze* with a variant with an incongruent word order (subject-verb, instead of verb-subject) and an inconsistent personal pronoun: *doe hoovs*. The inflected verb *hoovs* has a meaning that is similar to 'need (to)' and is exclusively used in negative polar sentences (e.g. in sentence 2 in conjunction with the negative adverb *niet* 'not'). *Doe* is a variant of *you* that has disappeared from the dialect of Weert (based on the old fragment written in the dialect of Weert that Van Moorsel (1996, p. 16) brought to the fore, see section 3.3. Second person singular personal pronouns of this thesis).

The variants *wae* and *vae* (sentence 3) are complex word forms, while *we* and *ve* are simplex word forms (*we* is identical in Dutch); *we* and *ve* appear to be equally common: 2 and 2. One dialect speaker produced *wae* and *vae*, the two complex word forms, and one dialect speaker produced the incorrect personal pronoun *ich* ('I'). The variant *zeen vae* in sentence 5 is in discord with the Dutch personal pronoun *je*, since *vae* means 'we' (complex). The deviating word form of *zie je* in sentence 5, *ki-je zeen* ('can.you see'), occurred twice. This variant thus has a modal verb in addition to the main verb 'to see'.

Regarding *je* in sentence 8, one participant produced both *heb se* and *hejje* and three word forms contained the modal verb 'must': *mojje vör hebbe* ('must have for...'), *mojjen...hebbe* ('must have...') and *mosse...gebroëke* ('must use...'). *U* in sentence 9 was once translated with *gé* and once with a variant that resembles *gae*: *geer*. The first-person personal pronoun *Ich* 'I' occurred in both sentence 9 and sentence 10, respectively twice and once.

Concluding this elaborate Result chapter, the next chapter will continue with the conclusions that may be drawn from the findings in this Result chapter regarding the hypotheses and the research question. Thereupon, the findings will be discussed, mainly covering the variation in the lexical item of the Translation task. In addition, the use of personal pronouns will be analysed more extensively.

7. Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Discussion

The subject of the current study has been the dialect spoken in the town of Weert in the Dutch province of Limburg in the Netherlands. The study was conducted by interviewing 31 dialect speakers of which the large majority (27) lived in the town of Weert. The interviews consisted of two parts. In the first part, the dialect speakers in the interview were inquired about their use of the dialect, about the social domains in which they thought it was common to speak dialect, and about the (general) appreciation of the dialect and its position in regard of standard Dutch. In the second part, the ‘translations’ that the dialect speakers in the study had produced orally were analysed in terms of variation in three long mid-close vowels.

7.1.1 Sub-question 1a and 1b: reported dialect use and views on dialect use

In regard to the moments in which dialect speakers report to use the dialect, the results confirm the informal status of the dialect: that dialect is primarily spoken in the circle of the own family. This is very much in line with the opinion of Jo Hansen, who stated that it is beyond doubt that the Limburgish dialect is the home language (Hansen deemed the dialect of equal value as a language in his view) in case both parents are Limburgians (Bakkes, 2013, p. 176).

There is a notable difference in dialect use in comparison to the family-in-law. The finding that dialect is spoken more often with parents-in-law than with one’s own partner (and the partner of siblings) suggests that language switching is natural in a household, i.e. partners speaking Dutch with each other while speaking in the dialect with the partner’s parents. The lower usage of dialect with one’s own children might be perceived as a hint at a lower sense of necessity in dialect speakers to pass on the dialect to the next generation. The dialect thus appears to be not as strong among younger generations as it has been in the older generations of dialect speakers. The finding that dialect use within the family is lowest with children of siblings and with grandchildren suggests that the dialect is losing its status as a ‘default’ language variety in the family circle.

A similar tendency was found in the survey by Belemans, in which a slightly lower percentage across the age groups (but in particular in female dialect speakers above the age of 60) to speak dialect with the dialect speaker’s own children than with the dialect speaker’s partner. The dialect use with one’s parents was considerably higher (comparable to the dialect use with the butcher or baker and hair dresser). This lower dialect use in the most intimate communication situations was argued to be indisputably the cause of *talige menghuwelijken* ‘linguistic mixed marriages’, which have made it less evident that a dialect speaker’s partner also masters a (sufficiently related) dialect to be able to speak dialect at home. As a presumably evident consequence of the decreased dialect use among partners, dialect is neither spoken with the children (Belemans, 2002, pp. 10-11). Two cases in the current study involved a home situation in which the dialect speaker speaks Dutch with the partner and dialect with the children. It is thus possible that the dialect is spoken with children but not with the partner. The very similar percentages regarding dialect use with one’s partner and children turn out to be in line with this consequence of lower dialect use with a dialect speaker’s children that stems from a lower dialect use with a dialect speaker’s partner. The examples of dialect spoken with the partner and Dutch with the children and vice versa nevertheless counter the argument that speaking Dutch with the partner automatically presupposes that Dutch is spoken with the children.

Hansen's prediction that due to negligent and lazy dialect use, the next generation would completely abandon the dialect, as cited in Bakkes' contribution (2013, p. 175), did not come true in the current generation. The dialect plays, as yet, an important role in everyday life and communication.

Neighbours and people in the street

The high use of dialect with people in the street where the dialect speaker lives may be explained by stating that participants only had to mention at least one person in their street to whom they would speak dialect in order to regard the response to the question item as 'dialect'. The chance that a neighbour speaks the dialect is smaller than the chance that other people living in the same street speak it. The comments given in addition to the answer option of the question items 'Neighbours' and 'People in the same street' provide the opportunity to assess whether the large majority of the dialect speakers truly speaks dialect instead of Dutch with people in the street, or that Dutch is a common language variety to speak with them as well. Arguably even more remarkable is the finding that just over half of the participants indicated to find it common to speak dialect with people that they meet in the street. This assumed readiness to speak dialect with people in the street is much lower than the reported use of the dialect with people living in the same street. One major difference between the two situations obviously is the lower degree of familiarity with people one meets in the street compared to the degree of familiarity with people one has a higher chance of meeting, simply because they live in the same street. This difference may be a sign that the degree of familiarity with the conversational partner is a factor in the tendency to speak dialect.

School and work

Dialect and Dutch appear to be balanced in the evaluation to speak them at school in general. Teachers seem to compel the use of Dutch, since dialect speakers use Dutch much more often and regard it as much more suitable to speak with the teacher. This may demonstrate a tendency to be (more) polite towards teachers. The informal nature of the dialect is also expressed in the companionship with classmates, with whom the dialect is usually spoken. The stark division between predominantly Dutch with teachers and predominantly dialect with classmates points to the awareness of the formality of the situation, and perhaps the status of the interlocutor as well. Hansen argued that Limburgish has a place at school. Children were deemed to get respect for Limburgish at school, and in order to achieve this, teachers should not only speak Dutch to the children but in the dialect as well. Based on the comments on the dialect use, Hansen's vision has not become reality, since Dutch was said to be the single (mandatory) language to speak with teachers at school. Sometimes, the dialect is used when a teacher speaks dialect too. Four statements were conflicting in that in two comments, it was argued that the dialect is not common at school anymore, while in two other comments it was said that the dialect is common at school in Limburg. The determining factor for the language variety may not be the status of the dialect, but rather the usability of a language variety in class. Teachers may be willing to speak dialect in class, on the condition that they are certain that all pupils are capable of understanding the dialect (and are still capable to follow instructions). If not all pupils are capable to understand the dialect, teaching in Dutch is easier and more convenient.

The strong sense that one can speak dialect at work implies a more informal atmosphere in the working domain, allowing a less rigid clinging to Dutch. Dialect speakers seem to feel less obliged to speak Dutch with their superior and apparently do not consider the dialect a language variety that should be avoided in conversations with superiors. The similar use and evaluation of speaking dialect and Dutch with colleagues and superiors suggests that there is a large degree of

equality within the working domain. Otherwise, it may be the case that the presence of a hierarchy, which is presumed to exist – to a larger or smaller extent – on the shop floor, is not per definition a factor for the requirement of Dutch. Dutch was reported to be mainly spoken with work relations or clients, but both language varieties were considered virtually equally common. An explanation may be the personal obligation to speak Dutch with work relations together with the perception of a dialect as an acceptable language variety in such relations.

Hansen also stated that parents should not teach their children “*goed Nederlands*” ‘proper Dutch’ (quotation marks appear in Hansen’s citation), since the result would be deplorable Dutch mixed with dialect words. This deplorable proficiency of Dutch would burden teachers and complicate education in Dutch (Bakkes, 2013, p. 176). One comment relates to this position against speaking Dutch to children at home, although the presumed ‘result’ is reverse: in a context in which two dialect-speaking parents speak Dutch to their children, the children will not end up learning to speak *zuiver dialect* ‘pure dialect’. These two diverging points of view suggest a potential adverse effect of speaking Dutch at home on the proficiency of both the dialect and Dutch.

Outside of Limburg

Dialect speakers seem to be very conscious about the use of the dialect outside of the (Dutch) province of Limburg: they only occasionally feel comfortable to speak dialect, but seem aware that it may be inappropriate to speak outside of the province. This strong consciousness about using the dialect outside of Limburg may also come to the front in the opinion that Dutch is much more common to speak with the personnel on public transport. Since travelling by means of public transport frequently implicates crossing the province border, dialect speakers realize that the personnel likely mainly consists of non-dialect speakers.

Everyday affaires

Dialect speakers appear to regard speaking in the dialect is fine when going about in everyday life. During the interviews, the question item ‘Everyday affaires’ intuitively was hard to specify, since it comprises a broad range of places and occasions. The example that accompanied this question item in the questionnaire was ‘doing groceries or other purchases (shopping)’, which is rather limited. Other examples that could have been provided are the town hall, the library and the general practitioner or at the hospital. These may not be institutions that people visit every week, and therefore not as suitable to serve as examples for ‘everyday affaires’ as shops and supermarkets. Intuitively, the level of formality is higher in the town hall and at a doctor’s practice than in shops and supermarkets. The library and the hospital, however, are said to be places where Limburgish is spoken (Rážová, 2008, p. 49).

In communities where multiple language varieties are spoken, the use of these varieties, according to Rážová (2008, p. 12), is not arbitrary: “In certain communicative situations, for example, the dialect is used, in other situations the standard language [is used]” (p. 12) [*own translation*]. Rážová claims that dialect speakers are aware that the dialect is inadequate in some situations, for example when speaking about science, art or religion, which leads to the view that the standard language has a higher status than the dialect (p. 12).

7.1.3. Sub-question 1c: dialect use and command of the dialect

Dialect speakers are positive about the usage of the dialect, although they think or perceive that there is a decline. This decline is seemingly not only thought to occur in the degree of dialect use (how many people speak it and how often), but also in the proficiency of the dialect in speakers of the dialect. Speakers of the dialect tend to produce more Dutch words. This degeneration of

the dialect may be seen as a reflection of the increased importance to speak Dutch (and the increased presence of English). Children still learn to speak dialect, but dialect speakers seem to notice that parents make the decision to speak Dutch with children, which may not be a recent development.

The precise reasons why some dialect-speaking parents speak Dutch to their children remain subject of suggestion. A reason may be the view that speaking Dutch instead of the dialect with children enhances the child's ability to learn Dutch. Another potential reason was suggested in a comment in the current study. Speaking Dutch may improve your chances to achieve higher goals compared to speaking dialect. Both potential reasons – a better proficiency in Dutch and achievement-oriented intentions – are interrelated and related to the status dimension. Learning to speak Dutch more easily would entail a higher proficiency of Dutch and consequently (presumably) higher chances to achieve a higher status in society.

Mathilde Jansen noted that research has shown that speaking a dialect is not detrimental to learning the standard language and that a child that has been raised bilingually would improve their cognitive abilities (Kraaijvanger, 2017). The claim that raising a child in Dutch out of a belief that learning to speak dialect would inhibit the ability to learn to speak Dutch is thus refuted by the evidence of better cognitive abilities in bilingual children. It has been shown that children who speak a Limburgish dialect have a much better grasp on the difference between the definite articles *de* and *het* (both 'the' in English). Jansen nonetheless foresees that the dialect, in the traditional sense, – as possessing a lexicon and a syntax of their own – will probably vanish in many places. Languages change, so something else might replace them.

In one of her columns, *Tweetaligheidscampagne* 'campaign to promote bilingualism', published in the regional newspaper on April 18 2015 (retrieved in a periodical e-mail), Leonie Cornips provides a number of conditions that parents and a child's environment should meet in order for a child to master its two languages well. One condition was the age of the child. Important factors when a child hears two languages from birth were the duration, intensity and variation of the input of both languages. The language development would benefit greatly from parents who read to the child, tell stories, do games and listen to the radio and the television in both languages. Cornips puts forward that this should be done when parents or other family members are capable of expressing themselves easily in – in this case – Dutch. Otherwise, they should speak dialect at home, because restricting to the dialect when not fluent in Dutch would be better than [ending up with] inarticulate Dutch (*krom Nederlands*) (Cornips, 2015). This view is similar to Hansen's, since he suggested that Dutch should not be taught at home, since 'the good parents did not take the trouble to learn proper Dutch themselves first'.

The view that the dialect use (and proficiency) is going downhill was refuted by the assumption that the dialect is mastered better than Dutch, which was suggestively because of the larger and therefore more susceptible area in which Dutch is spoken. This assumption is the opposite of the argument that a dialect is more open to change (in its grammar) due to the smaller region in which a dialect is spoken.

One interesting link between the level of education and the likeliness to speak dialect was made: higher-educated people would be more likely to speak Dutch instead of the dialect. It would be connected to the place where a speaker has (had) his or her education and with whom a speaker has come in touch. Lower-educated people would be more likely to stay in the region, increasing the likeliness of speaking the dialect. Due to the shorter period of study, these lower-educated people were said to be able to make a choice between Dutch and the dialect sooner. Although level of education has not been investigated in the current study, it seems plausible that

people who spend some time outside of the province of Limburg (because of their study or work) would be more inclined to speak Dutch than people who have stayed in the province and have remained surrounded by the dialect. The single case of a female participant in the current study, who had lived in the province of North-Brabant, however, stated that she still felt more comfortable in the dialect than in Dutch, even after living for all those years in North-Brabant.

7.1.4. Sub-question 2a: appreciation and importance of the dialect

The contrast in the presumed appreciation of the dialect between people in Limburg (and therefore people in Weert) and people outside of Limburg is not surprising, but it may be indicative for the singularity of the dialect. The singularity of the dialect may manifest itself best within the domain in which the dialect is used most, the circle of family and friends. Perhaps the presumed ‘rustic’ characteristic of the dialect of Weert is a sign of this singularity. The statement that the dialect of Weert is less rude than the dialect spoken in North-Brabant attests the generally high appreciation of the dialect in spite of the generally low appreciation by non-Limburgians. One statement was that the dialect of Weert slightly resembled the dialect of North-Brabant, in the sense that these would both be coarse.

It may be the case that it is not the dialect as such that non-dialect speakers and people living outside of the province of Limburg (in the provinces of North-Brabant and Holland in particular) regard negatively, but rather the potential refusal to adapt to speak Dutch when in conversation with non-dialect speakers. In a different component of the topic ‘appreciation’, *Hollanders* (people living in the two provinces of Holland, North-Holland and South-Holland, or – in a broader sense – people living elsewhere in the Netherlands than Limburg) were specifically mentioned as ‘outsiders’ who hold the dialect in low esteem. This presumed low appreciation of the dialect by non-Limburgians may be a reflection of their judgements about the social status of dialect speakers, i.e. that non-Limburgians and non-dialect speakers attribute a low social status to dialect speakers. This assumption is based on the statement that judgements about languages and language varieties primarily relate to the social status of the speakers (Kroon & Vallen, 2004, pp. 3-4). One participant argued that the dialect spoken in the province of North-Brabant has a low status in that province, which suggests that the negative judgements about dialect speakers may not only be held towards speakers of Limburgish dialects, but towards speakers of regional dialect varieties as well.

Dutch is deemed more universal and more suitable to discuss serious affaires than the dialect. The lower value of usage of the dialect in terms of seriousness may fulfil a function of expressing – and maybe even emphasizing – the high degree of informality of a conversation. Emphasizing the (in)formality of a conversation (situation) is one of the communication functions that (dialect) speakers naturally employ. Other functions are creating a convivial environment and creating a distance (*afstand nemen*) (Rážová, 2008, p. 22). A large majority of the respondents in the *Grote Limburg-enquête* agreed that the dialect creates a more convivial environment (Belemans, 2002, p. 14). It may be said that Dutch and the dialect both fulfil the same functions, but are different in the degree in which they fulfil these functions. Communication is clearly a function of the two language varieties, and speaking Dutch promotes integration in a larger social area than the dialect, which is restricted to the province of Limburg. Besides the identical functions, the two language varieties were assigned a different merit: a proficient speaker of Dutch improves the chances in life, whereas a speaker of the dialect has more chances of being accepted into the dialect-speaking community. The improvement of one’s chances in life may thus be a plausible reason for dialect-speaking parents to speak (and thereby learn) Dutch to their children.

The assumed cognitive advantages of speaking a dialect were easier code switching, improved linguistic skill, and a higher language sensitivity. This higher language sensitivity may enhance the ability to learn a new language. In her column *Tweetaligheidscampagne*, Leonie Cornips has pleaded for raising children in two languages from a young age. The ability to learn a new language is one of the cognitive advantages that Cornips cites as is found through research. It would be required that the young child has to speak the two languages on a regular basis (Cornips, 2015).

The dialect is part of the identity of the dialect speakers. The sense of solidarity, safety and familiarity that dialect speakers draw from the dialect demonstrates the need for intimate relations. And where are these intimate relations found? Within the family (of the dialect speaker), which is the domain in which the dialect is used most frequently. The (linguistic) associations in sub-question 2b mostly relate to the household, thus the most intimate and personal environment. One could argue that the domains of dialect use and the dialect associations largely match.

Finally, the belief that preservation of the dialect entails the preservation of tradition, the culture, the heritage and the history of the community. This desire to preserve the dialect may be driven by the desire to express one's identity or the identity of a community, possibly in relation to another, larger community. To cite Kroon and Vallen:

‘The typical and distinctive quality was and is emphasized and celebrated. Being aware of origin, attached to traditions and customs, having become with the lovely landscape and pride of the own language, the minority distinguishes itself in respect of the majority. [...]’ [own translation from Dutch] (2004, p. 9).

Another survey conducted by Flycatcher – besides the survey mentioned in 1.1. The definition of *dialect* – by order of a local newspaper (*Dagblad de Limburger*) and *Limburgs Museum* inquired Limburgians, who were born and raised in the province as well as Limburgians who had moved to the province from elsewhere. The three most prominent elements of the ‘typical Limburgish’ were the dialect (78 percent of the participants), *vastelaovend* (the typical denomination of carnival in Limburg; 71 percent), and the Limburgish landscape (65 percent). The first (the dialect) matches with the perception that the dialect is part of one's identity, whereas the second (*vastelaovend*) was also mentioned as an association with that same dialect by participants in the current study (Urlings, 2017).

Nevertheless, 53 percent of the participants in the survey thought that the typical Limburgish culture was in any way threatened. The most frequently mentioned threatening factors were the decline of the dialect (73 percent of the participants who agreed with the proposition), diminished sense of community (44 percent), the aging/decrease of the population (30 percent), and the influence of television and internet (10 and 12 percent) (Urlings, 2017). Thus, the element that is considered typically characteristic of the Limburgish culture and part of the identity of Limburgians, the dialect, is also the element that is widely thought to threaten that Limburgish culture as a result of its (seeming) decline. The survey also found that 79 percent of the Limburgians regard the ‘sense of community’ as a characteristic in which they distinguish themselves (very) positively from other Dutch people. It may be safe to argue that the dialect and the Limburgish culture or identity are intertwined – at least in the view of dialect speakers. The diminishing sense of community may be regarded as an eroding sense of solidarity. A decline in the dialect and a diminishing sense of community may amplify each other, in that a diminishing sense of community lowers the necessity to speak dialect, leading to a decline in the use of the dialect. The lower use of dialect may subsequently reduce the connection to the community

(sense of solidarity). If the dialect use is declining and the sense of community is diminishing, will they remain typical characteristics of the Limburgish identity and culture?

7.1.5. Sub-question 2b: associations with the dialect of Weert and Limburg

The associations of dialect speakers with the dialect that they speak are reflections of sentiments and thoughts that they link to the dialect. The associations that dialect speakers have mentioned in this current study were grouped into three groups: ‘typically Limburgish’ (or *Weerts*), ‘linguistic’ and ‘sentimental and personal’. The ‘linguistic’ group consisted of associations that are specific to the dialect of Weert or dialects of Limburg in general, be it in terms of concepts deviating from Dutch (*rinasters*, ‘shoe strings’), or in terms of a deviating orthography (*verkét*, ‘fork’). The ‘sentimental and personal associations’ group may be the most informative about the personal thought about the dialect.

None of the associations may be viewed as negative connotations. The ‘linguistic associations’ and ‘sentimental and personal associations’ demonstrate a predominantly positive connotation with the dialect among dialect speakers. A considerable amount of associations reveals a sense of pride and a feeling of good fellowship and accessibility of the dialect. The ‘intimate’ and household-related associations (e.g. ‘solidarity’, ‘familiarity’ and *teluuër* ‘plate’) relate to the social domain in which the dialect is most prevalent (‘dominant’), within the household and family circle. The overall agreement on the commonness of the dialect in circles of close-knit social relations and the very informal, familiarity-related associations manifest an awareness and a sense of discretion of the position of the dialect in the colloquial contact with other people.

The (apparent) absence of associations related to status or esteem of the dialect may be interpreted as a certain degree of carelessness in dialect speakers about judgements about the dialect. The personal connection with the dialect and the connection with others that arises from speaking dialect are the primary facets of the dialect in the view of dialect speakers. The associations in the ‘sentimental and personal’ group may also be considered an implicit expression of a high esteem for the dialect, since these associations are not merely concepts that dialect speakers tie to the dialect, but (sincere) qualifications of the dialect itself.

The associations *aomzeiksel*, ‘ant’, *peddemoeëk*, ‘frog’, *snuffeltèr*, ‘butterfly’, and *poppeschruuër*, ‘dragonfly’, are said to have become obsolete dialect words (Hermans, 1994; van Moorsel, 1996, p. 27). The dialect words *aomzeiksel*, *snuffeltèr* and *poppeschruuër* have likely been replaced by the Dutch equivalents *mier* /miɐ̯/, *vlinder* /vlɪndəɐ̯/ and *libel* /liˈbɛl/. The rather high frequency with which the dialect word *peddemoeëk* was mentioned (seven) may be an indication of the typicality of the word to the dialect, despite the fact that the word has been deemed obsolete. The observation by a participant that *peddemoeëk* would no longer be understood and therefore replaced by the word *kwakkert* (possibly derived from the verb indicating the cry of a frog, *kwakken*) substantiates the supposed disuse of the *peddemoeëk*. The dialect words *snuffeltèr* and *poppeschruuër* seem to be, based on the frequencies of the associations, less typical to the dialect. It is more likely that the influence of the standard language (Dutch) is at the basis of the disuse of these four dialect words than is the disappearance of the referent in the everyday lives of the dialect speakers. It is, after all, no question that the referents of the four dialect words (‘ant’, ‘frog’, ‘butterfly’ and ‘dragonfly’) have not disappeared. The disappearance of referents in everyday lives would nevertheless arguably accelerate the influence of Dutch on the process of replacing dialect words with their Dutch equivalents.

7.1.6. Analysis of comments on questions units questions 2 and 3

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the question unit ‘Clients’ in question 2 and ‘Mixed group of friends’ in question 3 of the questionnaire elicited the largest number of comments that were given in addition to the response ‘Dutch’ or ‘dialect’. The total number of comments in question 2 was 224 and the total number of comments in question 3 was 226 (excluding the ‘general comments’ in the ‘*Remarks at question...*’ components). The comments were collected (and provisionally) categorized in a Microsoft Excel 2010™ file by filling cells containing comments with a certain colour. The first analysis will involve the comments of question 2, and subsequently, the comments of question 3 will be discussed. Finally, the remarks on question 2 and 3 in general that participants made are taken together.

7.1.6.1. Comments in question 2

Dialect speakers speak Dutch with siblings’ children because their parents (the siblings) raised them to speak Dutch, partly because they lived outside of Limburg. One comment that a dialect speaker spoke in the dialect with most of the siblings’ children indicates that the dialect is not always spoken within an entire family.

If dialect speakers speak dialect to their children does not mean that the children also speak the dialect, although they (usually) understand it. When siblings live outside of Limburg, it seems to implicate that their children will learn to speak only Dutch, which is the language that these children speak with other family members as well.

Some comments on the question unit ‘Uncles and aunts’ said that the dialect was the language variety that was spoken by and with uncles and aunts, or at least most of them. One comment was that the dialect was spoken with them except the ones who were related by marriage, suggesting that dialect use within the family depends on whether the other person understands and speaks it too. This same comment was given in the question unit ‘Cousins’. Another comment supports the argument that dialect-speaking parents do not necessarily pass on the dialect to their children. The dialect use with cousins seems solid, at least at the dialect speaker’s side of the family and besides a few exceptions.

About the dialect use with neighbours, it may be argued that the binary choice between ‘dialect’ and ‘Dutch’ required specification. In multiple cases, participants indicated to speak dialect with the neighbour(s) living on one side, while speaking Dutch with the neighbours on the other side. One comment reinforces the assumption that dialect speakers adapt to the language variety their interlocutor speaks: “the ones who speak dialect”. Another comment is a counterexample for the assumption that women are more likely to speak Dutch than men are: three female neighbours speak dialect, while three male neighbours speak Dutch. Dutch is the language variety that is spoken to people from outside of Limburg. One more elaborate comment was that the dialect was spoken in the town (centre), but a lot less in the neighbourhood the participant lived at the time (Altweert), due to people from outside of Limburg.

For the people that live in the street of the dialect speaker, it was said that the majority spoke the dialect, although other estimations vary from half to three quarters. Again, dialect speakers (sometimes) adjust to the language variety the people speak.

The few participants who had indicated to speak Dutch with acquaintances made the remark that they spoke predominantly Dutch. They probably have friends (who speak dialect) with whom they speak dialect. The dialect is spoken when acquaintances are from Weert, and, unsurprisingly, can speak dialect. One comment was difficult to interpret: ‘One sentence in Dutch, one in the dialect to those from southern Limburg’ [adjusted in the translation]. Would

this mean that the dialect does not have a communication function as such, but is rather used to express or create a sense of light-heartedness?

Dutch was, and still seems to be, the mandatory language variety to speak with teachers. It appears that the dialect is acceptable when a conversation is held outside of class, or after one has graduated from school. This may imply that the dialect is unsuitable when a hierarchy (teacher to student(s)) is present or in place. Another possibility is that Dutch is mandatory in class because of its function as a common language variety, whereas the dialect serves as a language for communication as much as Dutch does outside of class. Regarding classmates, the dialect is frequently spoken, except, again, when classmates do not command the dialect. One specific group of classmates to whom Dutch was used is the so-called *internen* 'interns'. These pupils came from all corners of the Netherlands and sometimes even from overseas, although the large majority of them came from the provinces of Limburg and North-Brabant. A large number of pupils at a particular school in Weert were called *externen*, who originated from Weert and villages in the area and who often spend their holidays at the school.

Comments on the language variety spoken with the superior demonstrate no sign of a hierarchy within companies. When the superior is from Weert (or by extension Limburg), it seems usual to speak dialect. When working outside of Limburg (North-Brabant), Dutch is the only language to speak. One participant stated that Dutch has a politeness form, which is missing in the dialect. Dialect speakers seem to adapt to which language variety their colleagues speak, or what their origin is. One participant claimed that she would speak the language variety that they first spoke when they got acquainted, regardless of whether she would notice that the colleague was able of speaking dialect.

The question unit 'Clients' had evoked the most comments in question 2. Dialect speakers switch to dialect when they notice or hear that a client can speak dialect. The principle seems to be to speak Dutch, but in a single case, Dutch is spoken when necessary. Decency and professionalism are reasons to (always) speak Dutch.

The final question unit 'Outside of province' evoked statements that dialect speakers would speak dialect in Weert or when they know the other person is from Limburg. The dialect is also spoken with friends or acquaintances living elsewhere in the Netherlands or Belgium (as long as it is not too far away). One participant said to always speak dialect in a shop.

The fact that ten dialect speakers commented at least once that they would speak dialect if the other is capable of speaking the dialect proves the readiness of dialect speakers to adapt to the language variety that the interlocutor speaks. Two commented that they would speak Dutch if necessary, which is a reversed reasoning to support the willingness to speak the language variety that is mutually understood.

7.1.6.2. Comments on question 3

The language variety that is spoken in the household or the family of a dialect speaker is determining for which language variety family members are used to speak. There is no doubt that Dutch should be spoken with friends who do not master the dialect, although one participant argued that 'most of them will likely adapt'. The attitude in a 'mixed' group of friends depends on whether a friend speaks dialect or not and on the supposition that one should adapt. When talking to the group, Dutch seems more common, although it is said that friends make an effort to understand the dialect. Switching language varieties is no problem.

The question unit 'Mixed' group of friends' elicited the highest number of comments on personal experience and customs (10) rather than views on the commonness of the two language varieties (at question 3). An explanation for this rather high number of 'personal' comments is

the ease with which a dialect speaker is able to draw from personal experience with his or her friends and the language variety is spoken among friends. It may be argued that the family situation is also very relatable to a dialect speaker's personal situation, although the circle of friends may be more open to personal opinions about which language variety should be spoken. Furthermore, the question units 'Within the household' and 'Within the family' elicited only one and respectively two comments, arguably demonstrating that there is little doubt about which language variety is supposed to be spoken.

Dutch also seems more common when talking to a group of acquaintances and the dialect is spoken when acquaintances can speak it. If one does not know one another very well, one should feel out whether the dialect is a language variety that the other either understands or speaks.

Dutch is regarded as the vernacular language variety at school. The dialect is spoken outside of class, and (mostly) with friends. In a few cases, it is spoken in class, depending on the institute (and level of education). In class, Dutch should be spoken with the teacher, while the dialect is reserved for conversations after class and when the teacher speaks dialect him- or herself. Dialect speakers seem to speak dialect with classmates, especially when they live nearby (e.g. in Weert). It appears to be, again, dependent on the language variety the other person (in a group) speaks. There seems to be a distinction between outside of the classroom and inside the classroom. Inside the classroom, Dutch is used with classmates and – particularly – teachers, while outside of the classroom, the dialect may be used. One comment was that it is dependent on the setting, and that speaking in the dialect is possible at every education institute except university.

The dialect seems to be accepted at work. The type of work setting seems to be a small factor for the use of the dialect (professional quality of Dutch). The use of the dialect depends more on the team, and the conversation context (one-on-one, in a group, with non-dialect speakers). This dependency on context and speaker may explain the equal division of 'Dutch' and 'Dialect' in response to 'Superior' and 'Classmates'. When speaking with clients or work relations, the language variety that is used varies according to setting, familiarity with clients and custom. One participant gave the response that it has been common to speak dialect at work (with one's boss, colleagues and clients).

In everyday affaires and domains, the dialect is predominant over Dutch, especially when the other people are able to speak dialect. When one gets more familiar with others, the dialect becomes the language variety of choice. Norms or unwritten rules may require speaking Dutch.

Dutch is likely the language variety that dialect speakers use at first in a restaurant or café, although dialect speakers do not deem Dutch the 'obligatory' language variety, since some participants commented that they spoke in the dialect without any exception. Reasons to speak Dutch are decency or client affability and uncertainty about what language variety one is able to speak (including knowing the people who work there). The question units, 'Everyday affaires' and 'In a restaurant, café or take-away' in question 3 elicited six and eight comments respectively about personal experiences or inclinations rather than remarks on the commonness of the two language varieties in general. These numbers are rather high, possibly because judging of the suitability of one or the other language variety across everyday occasions may be considered difficult, making the use of personal experience appear more valid or convenient. Another reason, which is more related to the setup of the interview with the participants, may be that these two question units were not part of question 2 of the questionnaire, concerning the personal dialect use. If this reason were true, it would mean that the participants wish – to a

certain extent – to refer to their personal situation, even though they were not asked to reflect on which language variety they would speak.

On public transport, Dutch seems to take a position as the default, or as the presumed language variety that personnel (or professionals) will speak. Some dialect speakers tend to speak in the dialect with public transport personnel whenever it is possible (within the province of Limburg as it seems). Dialect speakers switch to the dialect when it is understood.

The choice of Dutch or the dialect is made on the basis of whether the dialect speaker is acquainted with the person he or she meets in the street, as well as on where the encounter takes place in some cases: the dialect is spoken with people one knows and in Weert and Limburg. One male participant, who had lived in the province of North-Holland for years, stated that he may address older people in the dialect and younger people in Dutch. Remarkably, all three comments on the question unit ‘Outside of the province of Limburg’ involved Belgium, where the dialect speakers would speak dialect. This suggests that speaking dialect (or choosing a language variety) in Belgium is less restrained by mutual familiarity than in the other provinces of the Netherlands.

Eleven participants commented to speak dialect if the dialect is spoken in a particular social domain or situation (or Dutch when Dutch is spoken). Five participants viewed adaptation to ‘what the other one speaks’ as something one is ought to do. This demonstrates a tendency for ‘self-reflection’ among dialect speakers: when asked to comment on the commonness to speak a language variety, they tend to ‘fall back’ on their own situation. The comments also give proof of the (widespread) ‘tuning’ that dialect speakers seem to apply to the language variety that their interlocutor speaks.

7.1.6.3. Remarks on question 2 and 3 (Opmerkingen bij vraag ...)

The dialect is spoken with everyone who speaks it too, or even to those who looks as if he or she understands it. It might happen automatically. In a shop in Weert, the dialect is assumed to be a proper language of choice, although asking which language variety the other person prefers may be polite. In comments about the dialect of Weert, it is said that words sound chopped off, but the dialect nevertheless gives a feeling of safety and familiarity. One participant switches to the dialect when he picks up a sign that customers are able to speak dialect, in order to reduce the distance between him and dialect-speaking customers. When he is in a dispute, however, he will continue to speak Dutch, in order to maintain a distance and remain professional enough.

From the general remarks on question 3, a sense of obligation, of politeness, to speak Dutch when your interlocutor does not speak dialect is observed. You address someone in their own language. Some dialect speakers regard the dialect as a language variety that provides a sense of safety and familiarity, also when two people do not know each other well. One may conclude that the dialect speakers should speak dialect whenever that is possible. One comment states that Dutch is more common, possibly due to the decreasing dialect use in younger speakers and due to the influx of foreign people and people from other provinces.

The decrease in dialect use in younger speakers and the influx of people from outside of the province appear to be two diverging ‘forces’ that lead to a decrease in the dialect in respect to Dutch. The rise in the use of Dutch – in part caused by the ‘obligation’ to speak Dutch instead of the dialect – may negatively affect the sense of community or solidarity as well as the need to learn and speak dialect. Given these views of a seemingly declining use of the dialect and the influx of non-dialect speakers, other views on the ‘threat’ of ‘non-native’ Limburgians to the Limburgian culture that have come to the fore in the survey outlined in *Dagblad de Limburger* on the perceptions of the Limburgians who were born in and outside of Limburg are

interpretable. The meddling of people born outside of Limburg is regarded as a threat: 53 and 47 percent of participants of the survey viewed people born respectively elsewhere in the Netherlands as well as outside of the Netherlands a threat to the Limburgish culture. The author of the newspaper article wonders whether the fear of Dutch people who were not born in Limburg stems from a form of xenophobia or from apprehension for ‘everything from the outside’, or perhaps from a still present sense of chauvinism (Urlings, 2017)?

The finding in the current study that preservation of the dialect entails the preservation of traditions and the heritage and history may be considered an indication of a present sense of chauvinism. A threat to the dialect may be perceived as a threat to the continued existence of the traditions and the heritage. One comment suggests a diminishing effect of the decline, namely that the dialect is not the sole element through which preservation is ensured.

7.1.7. Sub-question 3a: reported differences within the dialect of Weert

The finding that dialect speakers restrict the occurrence of the *Stadsweerts* variety – when specifically mentioned as such – to the town centre and the two adjacent neighbourhoods (not counting two exceptions) not only provides evidence for the sense of awareness of the existence of multiple dialect varieties within the town of Weert among dialect speakers. It is also indicative to the notion that dialect speakers appear to have on where in the town the dialect varieties are presumably spoken.

The neighbourhood of Keent, in the south of Weert, was frequently linked to the *buitenijen* variety (or is mentioned as a neighbourhood where the dialect is different). The assumption that a relatively low number of dialect speakers that lives in the neighbourhood is in line with the percentage of immigrants in the south of Weert (which includes the neighbourhoods of Keent, Moesel and Altweert, see Table 2.1 in 2.6. Post-war expansion): 25.5%.

The view of a few dialect speakers on Molenakker, across the *Zuid-Willemsvaart* canal in the north-west part of Weert, as a neighbourhood with a relatively high population of non-dialect speakers – and people from outside of Limburg – may be said to manifest in the significantly lower percentage of immigrants in the northern part of Weert, as compared to other parts of the town: 11.5% in Laar Hushoven and Molenakker (see Table 2.1 in 2.6. Post-war expansion). The low proportion of immigrants may also point to the opposite perception, that many people in Molenakker are dialect speakers, since a high proportion of people born in the Netherlands (and more narrowly Limburg) entails a higher possibility of people who were raised speaking a Limburgish dialect. One may state with very high degree of certainty that people with an immigrant background are unlikely to have learnt to speak a dialect. The notion that the population of Molenakker comprises a high number of people from outside of Limburg (*import*) nevertheless suggests a majority of Dutch speakers.

Altweert, similar to Molenakker, is presumed to be a part of town where Dutch is significantly present. Combined with the specification of the *bungalowpark*, the ‘holiday park’, and one particular avenue in Alweert points to the assumption that a wealthy population, which potentially moved from outside of town, lives in this part of town. The inclusion of Altweert in the group of neighbourhoods with a mean immigrant population of 25.5% is in conflict with the assumption of a population from elsewhere in the Netherlands. This, again, implies a social-economic relation between ethnicity and financial situation.

The frequency of associations with a part of the town and the dialect may indicate the probability that a substantial proportion of people living in that part of the town are dialect speakers. Reversely, an absence or very low frequency of associations of parts of the town with

the dialect ought not to be interpreted as an indication for a low population of dialect speakers in the particular parts.

7.1.8. Sub-question 3b: Translation task

The Translation task was a prominent component of the current study. By means of the Translation task, the existence and dispersion of the vowel sounds that were assigned to one of the two varieties in the dialect of Weert were objectively determined. The current study revealed relations between the occurrence of the dialect varieties and the age and the gender of dialect speakers of the dialect of Weert.

The following sections outline three analyses: (1) an analysis of the findings regarding the relations between the vowel sound sets and the age and gender of dialect speakers, (2) the analysis of lexical items of which one of the two varieties (*buitenijen* or *Stadsweerts*) was considerably more frequent than the other, (3) and the analysis of the translations of the (Dutch) personal pronouns in the sentences. In case of an inversed word order (verb-subject), the personal pronouns are analysed in conjunction with the preceding finite verb.

7.1.8.1. Sub-question 3b, Translation task analysis 1: the occurrence of the two vowel sound sets within the town of Weert and the relation with age and gender

The hypothesis that the two vowel sound sets ([e.]/[o.]/[ø.] in the *Stadsweerts* variety and [iə]/[uə]/[yə] in the *buitenijen* variety) would occur in their presumed areas was affirmed. Most dialect speakers in Weert produced vowel sounds that majorly corresponded with the vowel sounds set as presumed to be found in one of the two town areas (town centre area and the *buitenijen* area). An explanation for the occurrence of vowel sounds in one part of town that were expected to be found in the opposite part of town is that dialect speakers move from one part to another part of the town of Weert. This is explanatory for the dialect speakers who moved from the town centre area to the *buitenijen* area (or outside of Weert). They almost exclusively produced *Stadsweerts* vowel sounds. This accords with a comment that the children from dialect speakers who moved from the town centre to other neighbourhoods, speak *Stadsweerts* (the ‘centre’ variety), although they may corrupt the dialect variety.

It would, however, only be partially explanatory for the dialect speakers who moved from the *buitenijen* area to the town centre area (or outside of Weert). In two cases among these dialect speakers, an almost equal number of vowel sounds from both vowel sound sets were produced. One of these dialect speakers had even moved outside of Limburg due to her studies, which implies that her production of *Stadsweerts* vowel sounds cannot have been the result of the part of town where she has lived (or moved to). It may be argued that the dialect variety that her parents speak plays a more prominent role in the dialect variety she speaks herself. The two participants who moved from outside of Weert to the *buitenijen* area mainly produced the vowel sounds in the *buitenijen* area.

The factors age and gender were linked to the *Stadsweerts* variety, since it is the variety that deviates from the standard language (Dutch) on the aspect of study, the two sets of long mid-close vowel sounds. Correlations between one factor and the occurrence of the *Stadsweerts* variety may become evident in the proportions of *Stadsweerts* and the *buitenijen* variety in the two groups of that factor. Correlations may, evidently, be found in both factors. The results on the factor gender will be discussed first using the corresponding tables 6.3 to 6.10, whereas the results on the factor age will be discussed using the corresponding tables 6.11 to 6.18.

Age (generation)

The finding that the older generation of dialect speakers adheres more strongly than the younger generation to the dialect variety that is assumed to be spoken in the town area that they live in

can hardly be explained by the possibility of dialect speakers having moved from one town area to the other, since only a small portion of the younger dialect speakers had moved from one town area to another. A factor that might account for the larger ‘incongruence’ between ‘current part of town’ and ‘spoken dialect variety’ in the younger generation than in the older generation is the longer exposure to other dialect varieties. Domains where this extended exposure may occur is at school and during leisure activities (in groups), such as sports activities. These are occasions where dialect speakers get in touch with classmates and dialect speakers, who may speak a different dialect variety. This longer exposure to the speech of other dialect speakers may have led to internalization of deviating dialect elements in dialect speakers. This requires the presumption that the older generation did not attend school as long as the younger generation has.

Similar to the exposure to other dialect varieties is the exposure to Dutch, which is also extensive at school, where the standard language appears to be the norm nowadays. Since the vowel sounds in the *buitenijen* variety resemble those in Dutch, the younger dialect speakers would be expected to predominantly produce vowel sounds of the *buitenijen* variety. The results in this study demonstrate that younger dialect speakers produce fewer vowel sounds typical to the *Stadsweerts* variety (in fewer words) than older dialect speakers. This lower production of vowel sounds of the *Stadsweerts* variety may, arguably, be the consequence of the higher exposure to Dutch in younger dialect speakers than in older dialect speakers.

A more plausible explanation is the influence of the dialect variety of the parents. One or both of the parents may have acquired one variety and moved to a part of town where the other variety is assumed to be spoken. The influence of the parents may also explain the cases in which the dialect speakers had always lived in the *buitenijen* area and produced vowel sounds of the *Stadsweerts* variety for the major part.

Gender

The conclusion that male dialect speakers more strongly adhere to the variety that is assumed to be spoken in the town area that they live in than female dialect speakers do, is mainly based on finding that the majority of the male dialect speakers from the town centre area strongly adhere to the *Stadsweerts* variety.

The female participant who lived in Nederweert produced exclusively vowel sounds from the *buitenijen* variety. This would suggest that she has not been exposed to the *Stadsweerts* variety, which resulted in a vocabulary of ‘purely’ vowel sounds of the *buitenijen* variety. Five cases, however, suggest that an apparent lack of exposure to the *Stadsweerts* variety does not entail a vocabulary without vowel sounds of the *Stadsweerts* variety. Four out of these five cases involved dialect speakers in the *buitenijen* area who nevertheless mainly produced *Stadsweerts* word variants. In the remaining case, the two varieties were equally divided. Two cases were inversed: having always lived in the town centre area, they yet produced few *Stadsweerts* word variants.

Remarkably, these seven cases all involved younger dialect speakers. The factor of the dialect variety of the parents may also apply here, as may the less plausible influence of other dialect speakers at school and leisure activities.

7.1.8.2. Sub-question 3b, Translation task analysis 2: variation in dialect variants of lexical items

In the view of the preference for either dialect variety in relation to age and gender, it may be interesting to look at the word variants of lexical items, i.e. is one of the varieties more common in certain lexical items than the other variety?

Participants have demonstrated a strong preference for one word variant (*buitenijen* or *Stadsweerts*). This large preference is perceived in the large difference in the total frequencies between the two variants (at least five). These target lexical items (in Dutch) are *heeft* ('has', do not confound with *heeft ze* 'has she'), *vuurt* ('fire 2SG') *noot* ('nut'), *notenkraker* ('nutcracker'), *school*, *gebroken* ('broken'), *spelen* ('to play'), *koning* ('king') and *heup* ('hip').

As mentioned in Chapter 6, the target lexical items *heeft* and *vuurt* are the only target lexical items of which the *buitenijen* varieties were consistently preferred over the *Stadsweerts* varieties across gender, age and part of town. The variants of *heeft* were equally divided among the participants living outside of Weert. Regarding the target lexical item *heup*, the participants in the *buitenijen* area largely preferred the *buitenijen* variety *heup* across gender and age. Remarkably, the *buitenijen* varieties of *heeft* (*heef* and *heet*) and *heup* ('hip') occurred over twice as frequent as the *Stadsweerts* variants (*hieëf/hieët* and *huuëp*) in total frequencies. *Vuurt* is a target lexical item of which the *Stadsweerts* varieties were only produced three times, and of which the young generation almost unanimously produced the *buitenijen* varieties and the old generation a 'shoot(s)' (different) variant. Female dialect speakers in either town area, however, only sporadically produced a 'shoot(s)' variant, with the exception of the three female dialect speakers from outside of Weert. *Gebroken* ('broken') was the fourth target lexical item of which the *buitenijen* varieties were strongly favourable to the *Stadsweerts* varieties across gender and across age (young: 6+2 against 1+3, old: 5+5 against .4+1)⁴¹.

The *Stadsweerts* varieties were the preferred word variants of the other five lexical items. The target lexical items *noot* ('nut') and *notenkraker* ('nutcracker') show a similar pattern in the division of the variants. The *buitenijen* variety *noot* only occurred once in the town centre area, against eight occurrences of the *Stadsweerts* variety *noeët*. The *buitenijen* variety of *spelen* ('to play'), *speule*, was also very infrequent in the town centre area: three against eight.

What do these target lexical items have in common that may be interpretable for the strong preference for one variant? For *vuurt*, it seems rather clear: the 'different' variants *schiet* ('shoot') seem to 'substitute' the *Stadsweerts* variety *vuuërt/vuuërs*, since the 'shoot' variants are as frequent as the *buitenijen* varieties *veurtj/vuurs*. In this regard, *vuurt* is similar to the target lexical item *tevreden* ('satisfied'), since the *Stadsweerts* varieties of *vuurt* and *tevreden* are very infrequent, while a third 'different' variant is equally frequent as the *buitenijen* variety. The *buitenijen* variety *tevreeje* is as frequent as *contênt* ('satisfied').

In contrast to the target lexical item *heeft* ('has'), the target lexical item *heeft ze* ('has she') demonstrates a balanced distribution of the two varieties. The produced word variants of *heeft* in the target lexical item *heeft ze* appear to accord to the variety that is assumed to be spoken in either of the two town areas (*buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts*). This accordance with the town area is identical across age and gender. The *buitenijen* varieties (*heef*, and *heet*) are thus the major word variants among the dialect speakers in the *buitenijen* area and the *Stadsweerts* varieties (*hieëf*, and *hieët*) among the speakers in the town centre area. For both the target lexical item *heeft* and *heeft ze*, there is one case of doubt between a word variant of the *buitenijen* variety and of the *Stadsweerts* variety. The target lexical item *heeft* comprises one 'different' variant (see Figure 6.7 in **Fout! Verwijzingsbron niet gevonden.**), whereas the target lexical item *heeft ze* comprises one 'different' variant and five variants with an 'incorrect referent' (to a male or plural referent, see Figure 6.2 in **Fout! Verwijzingsbron niet gevonden.**). This

⁴¹ The frequencies 6+2 against 1+3 in the young generation, and 5+5 against 4+1 in the old generation are arranged as follows: the left figures (6 and 1 (young) and 5 and 4 (old)) are the *buitenijen* varieties, and the right figures (2 and 3 (young) and 5 and 1 (old)) are the *Stadsweerts* varieties.

difference of five variants (the five ‘incorrect referent’ variants) may only partially explain the discrepancy between the frequencies of the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* varieties in the two target lexical items (a difference of 13 or 15 in *heeft* (including a case of two variants) and a difference of zero or one in *heeft ze* (a case of doubt in both target lexical items)).

The proportion of the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* varieties of the target lexical items *noot* and *notenkraker* is congruent (the *Stadsweerts* varieties are much more frequent than the *buitenijen* varieties). The difference between the word variants of the two target lexical items stems from the disproportion in the word variants produced by the dialect speakers in the town centre area. The varieties (*buitenijen* or *Stadsweerts*) for the two target lexical items accorded in almost all dialect speakers. Thus the *buitenijen* variety *noot* usually co-occurs with *notenkraker* and the *Stadsweerts* variety *noeët* co-occurs with *noeëtekraaker*. When neither of the two word variants of *noot* was produced, the deviating (non-target) word variants contained a vowel sound that was part of the *Stadsweerts* variety. These variants were *nuuët* and *nuuëtje*, respectively the plural and diminutive form of the *Stadsweerts* variety *noeët*. The word variant of *notenkraker* in these cases also contained vowel sounds of the *Stadsweerts* variety.

7.1.8.3. Sub-question 3b, Translation task analysis 3: translation of the personal pronouns

The focus of the current study was on the occurrence of three sets of vowel sounds in the ten sentences in the Translation task. These sentences also contained a number of personal pronouns, among which some were also part of lexical items (e.g. *ze* in *heeft ze*, and *jij* in *heb je*). Thus although the produced dialect variants of the (Dutch) personal pronouns are of little interest in terms of the systematic difference between the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety at hand, an analysis may nevertheless provide insight into the variation of word forms of personal pronouns in the dialect of Weert. In Chapter 6, the target lexical item *vuurt* (in sentence 1 of the Translation task) was analysed without the preceding personal pronoun *je* (‘you’ 2SG.SIM). This was in contrast with the analysis of one target lexical item functioning as a finite verb included the subsequent personal pronoun *ze* (in *heeft ze*, sentence 2). The word variants that were found showed some variance, of which some were incongruent with the personal pronoun in Dutch: *ze* (‘she’ SIM), i.e. referring to a male referent (*heet/hieëte*) or marking either a male or multiple referents (*hejje*). Although no variation was expected to be found in the personal pronoun *ik* (‘I’), *ik* was sometimes translated with a personal pronoun that is different than *ich* (‘I’).

The personal pronouns *ge* and *gae*, which are the prominent translations of *je*, either have a male referent or multiple referents. *Ge* and *gae* differ in that *ge* is a simplex form, whereas *gae* is a complex form: *ge* is more similar to *je*, while *gae* may be more similar to *jij*, at least in terms of complexity of the word form.

The Dutch personal pronoun *jullie* is a translation of *gae* and *ge* that matches the plural referent of *gae* and *ge*, at least in the function of subject of a sentence. *Jullie* also functions as object of a sentence in Dutch, whereas it does not in the dialect. The dialect word variant of the second person object pronoun is *uch* /ʏχ/, both singular and plural. As *gae* and *ge* may refer to a single male referent in the subject function, *uch* may refer to a single male referent in the object function. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the first Results chapter, three participants remarked that *jullie* is becoming more common in the dialect instead of *uch* as the second person plural object form. Since *jullie* also possesses a subject function in Dutch, an analogical shift from *gae/ge* to *jullie* in the dialect would also be expected. This expectation seems to be attested by Feijen (2013), according to which young people produce *jullie* instead of *gae*. An explanation as to why *jullie* would replace *uch* and not (yet) *gae* or *ge* would be the more prominent position of *jullie* as a subject, making the dialect word variant, *gae* or *ge*, more salient when communicating in the

dialect. Another possible explanation is that *jullie* expresses more saliently plural referents than the dialect word variants. This greater saliency of *jullie* would not only apply to the object word variant, but to the subject word variant (*gae* or *ge*) as well.

The personal pronoun *dich* is the feminine word form of *ge* or *gae*, which was the large minority of the produced personal pronouns, especially in the case of the personal pronoun *u*. The word form *dow* in sentence 8 (*u*, not in the table) is assigned to the ‘personal pronoun inventory’ of the dialect spoken in *Nederweert* (Feijen, 2013). Unsurprisingly, the word form *dow* was produced by a dialect speaker who had moved from *Nederweert* to *Weert*.

The (contracted) word variant ‘*t* as well as its ‘full form’ equivalent *het* in the fourth column of sentence 2 are also word variants in Dutch. In both language varieties, the word variants are articles, although *het* may be very infrequent in the dialect. Moreover however, the word variants *het* and ‘*t* are impersonal pronouns in Dutch, while they have a female referent in the dialect as well. In the dialect, *het* and ‘*t* function both as impersonal and personal pronouns. The word variants *ze* and *se* differ on the level of articulation: *ze* is voiced, *se* is unvoiced. *Ze* (voiced) may often be realized as *se* (unvoiced) after a word (most likely a verb) ending in an unvoiced consonant. In many of these cases, *se* exists in the form of a homographic enclitic for ‘you’ singular (as in sentences 5, 8 and 10). Other incorrect produced word forms of *heeft ze* were *hejje* (non-feminine referent), *hieëte* (male referent), and *doe hoovs* (‘(you) need.NEG’). In *doe hoovs*, the inflected verb *hoovs*, which has a meaning similar to ‘need (to)’, is exclusively used in negative polar sentences (e.g. in sentence 2 in conjunction with the negative adverb *niet* ‘not’).

The most prominent word forms in sentences 5 and 8, *zeeje* and *hejje* respectively, are compounds of translations of *je* (as an enclitic) and the preceding finite verbs *zie* and *heb*. Although *ge* and *gae* (sentence 1) are possible word forms in sentences 5 and 8, the inversion of subject and verb (*zie je* and *heb je*) inhibits the production of *ge* or *gae*, potentially due to (subconscious) economic considerations (the word forms consisting of *ge* and *gae* (e.g. *zeetj g(a)e* and *hetj g(a)e*) are longer than the word forms *zeeje* and *hejje*). Another explanation may be that *ge* and *gae* are considered to place more emphasis on the specific referent than the enclitic *-je*, i.e. that *ge* and *gae* are regarded as referring to one or more specific entities, instead of referring to a more ‘general’ second person (approximately translated as ‘one’ in English). This more restricting reference to a specific entity may also be attributed to the Dutch word variant *jij*. Alike to the enclitic *-je*, the Dutch word variant *je* is also used to refer to no one else in particular (such as ‘one’ in English), and thus possesses in a way impersonal properties. Note however, that the enclitic form *-jae* goes with a specific entity reference (and thus resembles the Dutch word variant *jij* in that sense).

Dialect speakers virtually always produce the *ge* or *gae* variant in sentence 9. The uncommon word form *dich* may be regarded as more similar to *jij* (‘you’ singular informal) than to *u* (polite ‘you’ form). *Dich* nonetheless possesses the function of an object personal pronoun as well, whereas *jij* is solely a subject form. The word variant *dich* (or the voiceless counterpart *tich*) in sentence 10 is somewhat more common than in sentence 9, probably due to its similarity with the Dutch form *jij*.

It may be argued that *ge* and *gae* are in the strongest position in a subject-verb sentence structure. In an inverted sentence structure (verb-subject order), the word forms containing *-je* are the highly frequent variants. An explanation may be the (too) prominent reference to a female entity of *dich* or word forms containing *-se*. If this is the case, *ge/gae* and *-je* offer a more neutral reference to the second person subject (‘you’), which is unmarked for gender in Dutch.

It is remarkable that one participant produced four personal pronouns that were not in accordance with the personal pronoun in Dutch (three of which were *ich* ‘I’). In sentence 1, this participant failed to produce a valid word variant for *je vuurt*. In sentence 8 (*heb je*), this participant was one of the few who produced a word variant that may be translated as ‘need to+[verb]’. The ‘valid’ word variants consisted of *zuuse* (sentence 5), *ich* (sentence 6) and the alternative formulation with *mosse* (in sentence 8). This participant thus produced no prominent word variants (*ge/gae*, *-je*).

7.1.8.4. Participant number 10: filling in question 3 in post-data collection phase

As mentioned in the first Results chapter (Chapter 5), one participant in the study filled in question 3 (on ‘commonness’ of the two language varieties) after the data collection phase. All question units in question 3 of this participant, number 10, were blank, and thus unusable to that point. In the email in which that component, question 3, of the questionnaire was sent to the concerning participant, it was requested to add comments to question units in case the participant deemed it useful to elaborate on these question units. Such a request for elaboration was not made during the interviews, which means that the instructions to participant number 10 deviated from the instructions given during the interviews. Participant 10 provided an identical comment to multiple question units, in addition to a ticked answer option. This comment implicated that the use of the dialect depended on whether the capability of the other person to speak or understand the dialect. The multitude in which this participant made this comment raises the impression that the participant is proponent to adaptation to the language variety that an interlocutor is able to understand. Adaption to the mutually understandable language variety seems to be a widespread sign of agreeability among dialect speakers.

7.1.8.5. Analysis of the translation of the *ui* [œy] sound

The diphthong *ui* [œy] was not systematically implemented in the current study (see the Method chapter, 4.3.1. Translation task: ten Dutch sentences and selection of words), since this diphthong does not vary systematically between the *buitenijen* and *Stadsweerts* variety. It is nevertheless possible to perform a small analysis of the diphthong, by examining the lexical item *uitverkozen* (‘picked’, ‘selected’) in the Translation task. By means of the lexical item *uitverkozen*, the diphthong [œy] has been systematically translated by the participants in the study, be it in one single word. According to the dictionary *Zoeë kalle vae* (Feijen, 2013), the word *uit* (‘out (of)’) is *uut* [yt] in the *Stadsweerts* variety and *uut* [yt] and *oet* [ut] are used interchangeably in the *buitenijen* variety. Therefore, it would be expected that speakers of the *Stadsweerts* variety translate *uit* in *uitverkozen* as *uut*, whereas speakers of the *buitenijen* variety may also translate *uit* as *oet*.

The division between *uut* and *oet* in the lexical item *uitverkozen* was very strongly skewed to *uut*. Only four out of all translations of *uitverkozen* contained *oet*, which means that dialect speakers who speak the *buitenijen* variety also commonly use *uut*. The dialect speakers who produced a word variant with *oet* were born outside of Weert and lived outside the town centre area at the time of the interviews. This is a suggestive indication that *uut* is the general variant and *oet* is only sporadically used.

7.2. Conclusion

The current study had two aims (parts). The first aim was to investigate the use and the appreciation of the dialect of Weert, while the second aim involved investigating whether two varieties exist in the dialect of Weert and whether these varieties are spoken in certain parts of the town of Weert. These varieties presumably differ systematically on three ‘pairs’ of so-called

long mid-close vowel sounds. This systematic division of these ‘pairs’ made these vowel sounds suitable for the second aim of the current study, to investigate the existence of the two presumed varieties and their geographic location. The two parts of the study were split up into ‘sub-questions’. The first part was split up into four sub-questions: (1) the reported use of the dialect, (2) the presumed suitability of the dialect, (3) the dialect use within the household and dialect proficiency, and (4) the appreciation and importance of the dialect.

The second part of the study comprised variation within the dialect. The variation in the target lexical items was thereupon analysed in terms of correlations with the gender, age and neighbourhood of the dialect speakers. The aim of this part was to investigate the existence of two dialect varieties by investigating the occurrence of two vowel sound sets in two presumed varieties of the dialect of Weert.

7.2.1. Research question 1: Is there a relation between the reported use of a variety (dialect or Dutch) and the social domain to speak a language variety and what are the beliefs of dialect speakers regarding the use of the dialect?

This research question comprises two separate components, namely the (reported) use of the dialect of Weert, and the appreciation of that dialect. For this first research question, no hypotheses have been formulated.

7.2.1.1. Sub-questions 1a and 1b: with whom and when do dialect speakers reportedly speak dialect, and which language variety is considered common in certain social domains?

The dialect is almost exclusively the language variety that is spoken among family members that are of the same generation as the dialect speaker (siblings and cousins) and of the older generation (parents and uncles and aunts). To a lesser extent, dialect is also spoken with the parents-in-law. Dialect is used less often with one’s partner, the partner of one’s siblings and with own children. Dialect use with the siblings of one’s partner is only slightly lower. Within the family, the dialect use is lowest with the children of siblings and with the dialect speaker’s grandchildren. In this decreasing line of dialect use, a shift from mainly dialect to mainly Dutch throughout generations is perceivable.

When among friends or acquaintances, the major part of the dialect speakers speaks dialect. Unsurprisingly, the language variety that is thought to be spoken among friends depends on whether the friends speak dialect or not. Dialect is spoken without exception among dialect-speaking friends, but only sporadically when friends do not speak dialect. In a group of friends who do and who do not speak dialect, the dialect is preferable to Dutch.

In the large majority of the cases, dialect speakers speak dialect with the people in the direct vicinity. The share of dialect speakers who speak dialect with people living in the same street is even among the highest and is as high as the dialect use with siblings and cousins.

In everyday domains or affaires, such as at the grocery shop, dialect speakers regard it as suitable to speak dialect. Dutch and dialect appear to be acceptable language varieties in public places to eat, as well as on the street, to people one meets.

On public transport, however, the dialect is presumed to be uncommon to speak with the personnel. Outside the province of Limburg, the dialect is in the vast minority. The appropriateness to speak dialect outside of the province of Limburg is lower.

At school, the dialect is uncommon to speak with teachers. On the contrary, it is spoken in the large majority with classmates (in both the younger generation today as the older generation in the past). About the commonness of the dialect in a school domain, the dialect speakers are strongly divided. In conversations with teachers, Dutch is considered to be more appropriate, whereas the dialect is fine when talking to classmates.

At work, dialect speakers tend to speak dialect approximately as often with colleagues as with the superior. Work relations or clients are mainly addressed in Dutch. There is almost no difference in the acceptability of speaking dialect with colleagues or the superior, which is in accordance with the reported use. In conversations with clients or work relations, the Dutch language is assumed to be slightly more common than the dialect. This relatively even commonness of use of the dialect as opposed to Dutch deviates from the reported low use of the dialect with work relations and clients.

There appears to be a relation between the use of the dialect and the social domain in which it is used. Overall, dialect speakers speak dialect except with non-dialect speakers.

7.2.1.2. Sub-question 1c: dialect use within the household and views on proficiency in children

Three domains of dialect use may be deduced: the family and friend circle, the province of Limburg and the events organised during the period of *Vastelaovendj* (Limburgish denomination for ‘carnival’).

Dialect speakers seem to regard their own proficiency in the dialect as good or even excellent. The use is nevertheless thought to go downhill, although this opinion is not shared by every dialect speaker. The dialect is said to be more influenced by Dutch (‘dutchification’), a process in which authentic dialect words are increasingly replaced by Dutch words.

Children and the dialect

Dialect speakers think that children still learn to speak dialect, but become less proficient at it. One reason for this lower proficiency would be the loss of local status of the dialect. Children should be learnt the dialect, so that the dialect remains spoken among future generations. Children need to be pushed to learn the dialect, and in order to accomplish this – teaching the dialect to children – it was said that it is not necessary to have two parents who speak dialect. The most optimal situation would be to learn to speak both Dutch and the dialect, with Dutch being taught at school.

Most dialect speakers seem to speak dialect with their children. In some cases, dialect may occasionally be spoken, besides Dutch as the usual language variety. Many dialect speakers who did not have children have the intention to speak dialect to their children. Dialect speakers have various reasons to speak dialect to potential own children, ranging from their own connection and familiarity with the dialect to the sense of unnecessary to learn Dutch to children at home. Whether the dialect is spoken to children appears to depend on whether both parents are able to speak dialect, although switching between language varieties is possible.

Related to the theme of learning Dutch, some reasons why parents choose to teach Dutch to their children were the convenience with the language that is spoken at school, the awareness of parents of the possibility to choose to speak a certain language variety, and the lack of proficiency to speak dialect themselves.

7.2.2. Research question 2: What are the beliefs of dialect speakers regarding the appreciation and importance of the (Limburgish) dialect?

7.2.2.1. Sub-question 2a: appreciation and importance of the dialect, and the relation to Dutch

No hypotheses have been formulated with regard to the second research question. Remember that the conclusions on this sub-question and sub-question 1 are based on (subjective) statements by dialect speakers, and have not been verified by means of actual behaviour.

The appreciation is reported to be highest within the family circle (or private environment of the dialect speaker). It also holds a very high esteem among acquaintances, which is in correspondence with the domains of use of the dialect, the family circle and dialect-speaking

friends. People in Limburg and people in Weert would generally appreciate the dialect and the appreciation was even said to increase thanks to a higher awareness about the dialect.

People living outside of the province of Limburg, or non-dialect speakers are regarded to hold the dialect in the lowest esteem. Speaking dialect outside of the province would not be appreciated. This view of dialect use outside of the province is in accordance with the very low use and commonness of the dialect outside of Limburg.

Dutch seems to hold practical value, whereas the dialect has symbolic value, since Dutch is spoken on official occasions, and the dialect is the sole language variety that is spoken during *Vastelaovendj*. Dutch is a language variety of universal communication and supposed to be understood by everyone. Moreover, Dutch is used out of decency. Dialect is spoken much in Limburg (and Weert), although it may be rather restricted to the circle of friends and to informal situations.

Statements about the status of the dialect mostly referred to the generally low prestige of the dialect. On the other hand, however, all dialect speakers cherish the dialect.

The dialect used to be spoken more. It is considered impossible to preserve the dialect as it was, due to the higher amount of contacts with people from outside the province. If one parent is regarded to be sufficient to learn the dialect, it is nonetheless possible to pass the dialect on from a parent to a child. The dialect should be preserved and passed on. Preserving the dialect means preserving tradition, culture and history, which is deemed important for any dialect. Preservation of the heritage would not necessarily be achieved through the dialect.

Stereotypes that exist of the Limburgish dialect are nevertheless deemed negative. Stereotypes would also be employed to create an image of dumbness.

Speaking a dialect was seen to be beneficial for the speaker, since it was thought to facilitate code switching. A dialect speaker was regarded to be bilingual, to have an improved linguistic skill (*taalvaardigheid*), and to be able to learn a second language more easily. This enhanced second language learning may be the result of the increased language sensitivity and the increased interest in multilingualism. The bilingualism would also be beneficial for the brain.

Dialect is felt to be part of the dialect speaker's identity. The dialect entails a sense of solidarity, safety and familiarity. Since one's origin was deemed important, it should not be disguised. Speaking a dialect is a merit in the social sphere.

The dialect and Dutch would both promote integration, and the dialect would also promote acceptance. Both language varieties were expected to be learnt (or at least understood in the case of the dialect). The dialect is useful in communication with others, but Dutch was undoubtedly considered important, or even obligatory to improve one's chances in life.

7.2.2.2. Sub-question 2b: associations with the dialect

The associations that were related to the sentiments that participants gave involved 'intimate' and 'warm' sentiments, such as 'home-like' and 'sense of safety'. Some of the personal and sentimental associations resemble character traits: good-natured', 'friendly', 'sweet'.

The associations that are classified as 'typical dialect words' (Typical words column) often included animals, food and kitchen utilities: nine animals, six things related to food, among which *moeër* ('steam boiler' and 'carrot') and *moêrepetazie* ('stew made of carrots'), and six kitchen utilities.

The linguistic associations may be classified as 'household-related' words, such as *verkét* and *lieëpel* ('fork' and 'spoon'), and *taofel*.

7.2.3. General conclusion on research question 1

Dialect speakers generally use the dialect as a default, except when speaking with non-dialect speakers. The dialect is the vernacular language within the family, and it is still rather common to use at work, although to a lesser extent with clients. At school, Dutch is spoken with teachers and also regularly with classmates. Dutch appears to increase in use among the younger generations.

Children still learn to speak dialect, although they are less proficient and need to be pushed (preferably by a dialect speaking parent) to learn the dialect. It was said that parents, if they are able to speak dialect themselves, do not always choose to speak dialect with their children. One reason was the belief that speaking Dutch will help the children to learn Dutch. Another reason, the conception that the dialect is detrimental to acquiring Dutch, was regarded with suspicion.

The dialect was also viewed to take up Dutch words, and the interest in the dialect was perceived as growing.

Different 'language situations' appear to be possible in the household of a dialect speaker. Overall, the most frequent 'situation' seems to be where all household members speak dialect. The majority of those who do not have children intend to speak dialect with children, for various reasons (own ties to the dialect, integration/acceptability, conservation).

7.2.4. General conclusion on research question 2

The appreciation was thought to be highest in the family circle, acquaintances, people in Weert and Limburg. Little to no appreciation for the dialect would generally be held by people living outside of the province or by people who do not speak dialect.

Dutch remains a language to be learnt, because it is the universal language of communication, and it is indispensable for integration.

The dialect overall has low prestige, but the dialect speakers cherish it. Dutch is spoken to discuss serious, formal affairs, whereas the dialect is reserved for the circle of friends and informal situations. This differentiation along the situation in which the two language varieties is spoken are in line with the situations in which the two varieties have greater prestige as argued by Kroon and Vallen (2004).

The dialect used to be spoken more and passed on more from parent to child. Dialect speakers have the desire to pass on the dialect, and the tradition and the cultural and historical value that comes with it. Stereotypes of the Limburgish dialect are negative, suggesting dumbness. Speaking a dialect is nevertheless linked to enhanced linguistic skills in terms of multilingualism.

7.2.5. Research question 3: Do dialect speakers perceive variation in the dialect of Weert, do they produce either of the two sets of long mid-close vowel sounds in the presumed areas, and is there a relation with the factors gender, age and neighbourhood?

The third research question was about variation within the dialect of Weert. The Translation task is relevant to answer the research question because of the vowel sounds, in particular to sub-questions 3b and 3c.

7.2.5.1. Sub-question 3a: presumed dialect differences within the town of Weert

Based on the neighbourhoods that participants explicitly mentioned as neighbourhoods where the *Stadsweerts* variety would be spoken, the following conclusions may be drawn: dialect speakers seem to agree on the demarcation of the *Stadsweerts* variety. The *Stadsweerts* variety is spoken in the three neighbourhoods located within the 'triangle', i.e. the town centre, and the neighbourhoods of Fatima, and the Biest. No dialect speaker attributed the *buitenijen* variety to these three neighbourhoods.

In a rare case, it was said that the *Stadsweerts* variety would be spoken in the neighbourhoods of Boshoven and Keent in the *buitenijen* area. The most frequently mentioned neighbourhoods with regard to the *buitenijen* variety were Boshoven, Keent and Leuken.

The neighbourhood Boshoven was by far the most frequently mentioned neighbourhood, although it met the largest discord about the assumed language variety to be spoken in that area. Keent was almost unanimously associated with the *buitenijen* variety or the dialect is said to be ‘different’. It is on the other hand linked to a relatively low number of dialect speakers. Leuken was mentioned significantly more frequently than other neighbourhoods as a part of town where the dialect is different (10 times). Moesel, which is the adjacent neighbourhood of Keent, and Laar, which is a parish to the north-west of Weert, are comparable in that they were frequently seen as parts of town where the *buitenijen* variety is spoken. Molenakker seems to be viewed as a neighbourhood where many Dutch-speaking people live, mainly people from outside of Limburg (*import*). The dialects spoken in the nearby villages, Tungalroy, Stramproy and Swartbroek, deviate a lot from the dialect of Weert.

7.2.5.2. Sub-question 3b, variation in the vowel sounds in the dialect of Weert

It is apparent that the *Stadsweerts* variety as a variety in the dialect of Weert, separate from the *buitenijen* variety. A distinction is perceivable in the proportions between the two varieties. Some participants produced an almost equal number of vowel sounds from both the *Stadsweerts* variety and the *buitenijen* variety sets. This suggests that neither variety is nowadays restricted to exclusively one area (town centre or *buitenijen*).

These findings affirm the hypothesis that the two varieties would occur in their presumed areas, i.e. that the vowel sounds in the *Stadsweerts* variety are found in the town centre and the two adjacent neighbourhoods Fatima and the Biest, and that the vowel sounds in the *buitenijen* variety are found in other neighbourhoods of the town of Weert. Additionally, either of the two vowel sound sets occurs in the speech of dialect speakers who live in the area where the opposite variety is assumed to be spoken. The major part of the vowel sounds that dialect speakers produce nevertheless corresponds with the vowel sound set specific to the area where the dialect speakers live.

The *Stadsweerts* variety is spread to a larger extent into the *buitenijen* area than the *buitenijen* variety in the town centre area.

7.2.5.3. Sub-question 3c, Translation task: the effect of age and gender on the *Stadsweerts* variety

The variables of importance in this sub-question were ‘age’ and ‘gender’, thus the comparison between the male and female participants and between the younger and older generation.

7.2.6. Conclusions on the variation in the target lexical items in regard to age (generation)

The hypothesis that the younger generation of dialect speakers, in this study the group of participants aged 18 to 40, produces the vowel sounds that are ‘typical’ of the *Stadsweerts* variety in fewer word contexts than the older generation of dialect speakers, the group aged above 40, should – strictly taken – be verified. The frequencies of produced *Stadsweerts* varieties of the target lexical items are lower in the ‘younger generation’ group than in the ‘older generation’ group. In proportion, however, the younger generation does not produce the vowel sounds of the *Stadsweerts* variety (*ieë*, *oeë* and *uuë*) in fewer word contexts. There is rather less accordance between the dialect variant of words that young dialect speakers produce and the town area where they live.

The two age groups produced both varieties across town areas, although it seems that the varieties are not evenly distributed.

The older generation of dialect speakers apparently adheres strongly to the variety that is assumed to be spoken in the town area where they live, i.e. older dialect speakers in the town centre area strongly adhere to the *Stadsweerts* variety and those living in the *buitenijen* area strongly adhere to the *buitenijen* variety.

Younger dialect speakers in the *buitenijen* area tend to produce the *Stadsweerts* variety for a rather large number of dialect words, especially in the words containing the o/oeë vowel sound pair.

The assumption that participants who lived in one town area but were born in the other town area would speak the variety of the town area where they were born, was only true for the older participants.

7.2.7. Conclusions on the variation in the target lexical items in regard of gender

No hypothesis was formulated regarding the factor gender, although it has been argued that women tend to speak the standard language more often than men.

Overall, male and female dialect speakers produce both sets of vowel sounds, regardless of the part of town they live in.

It may be concluded that male dialect speakers more strongly adhere to the variety that is assumed to be spoken in the town area they live in than female dialect speakers do. Male dialect speakers in the town centre area adhere more to the *Stadsweerts* variety than male dialect speakers in the *buitenijen* area adhere to the *buitenijen* variety.

The town area (town centre or *buitenijen*) where dialect speakers live seems to be stronger connected to the variety they speak in male dialect speakers than in female dialect speakers. The town area where a dialect speaker previously lived does not seem to be determining for which variety a dialect speaker produces.

The female dialect speakers from outside of Weert most frequently produced the vowel sounds of the *buitenijen* variety, although the difference with the vowel sounds of the *Stadsweerts* variety is minimal.

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Appendix I

Vragen aan dialectonderzoekinformant ('Questions to dialect reasearch informant')

1. **Van wie heeft u (het Weerter) dialect leren spreken en heeft u altijd dialect gesproken? Dat wil zeggen: heeft u langere tijd geen Weerter dialect gesproken en wat was de reden hiervoor?** ('Who has taught you to speak (the) dialect (of Weert) and have you always spoken dialect? In other words: have you ever stopped speaking the dialect for a longer period of time and what was the reason for that?')
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2. **Met wie spreekt u (het Weerter) dialect? (vink keuzeantwoorden die op u van toepassing zijn aan)** ('With whom do you speak (the) dialect (of Weert)? (tick choice answers that apply to you)')

- ☐ Beide ouders ('Both parents')
 - ☐ Moeder ('Mother')
 - ☐ Vader ('Father')
- ☐ Broer(s) en/of zus(sen) ('Brother(s) and/or sisters', 'Siblings')
 - ☐ Partner(s) (gehuwd of ongehuwd) van broer(s) en/of zus(sen) ('Partner(s) (married or unmarried) of siblings')
 - ☐ Kind(eren) van broer(s) en/of zus(sen) ('Child(ren) of siblings')
- ☐ Eigen kinderen ('Own children')
 - ☐ Kleinkinderen ('Grandchildren')
- ☐ Ooms en tantes ('Uncles and aunts')
 - ☐ Neven en nichten (kinderen van oom(s) en tante(s)) ('Cousins')
- ☐ Partner (vriend(in), echtgenoot/echtgenote) ('Partner (boyfriend/girlfriend, spouse')
 - ☐ Schoonouders ('Parents-in-law')
 - ☐ Broer(s) en/of zus(sen) van partner ('Siblings of partner')
- ☐ (Over)buren (of in het geval van een appartement boven- en/of onderburen) ('Neighbours (from across the street) (or in case of an apartment upstairs or down stairs neighbours)')
- ☐ Mensen die in uw straat wonen ('People who live in your street')
- ☐ Vrienden (indien zij dialect spreken) ('Friends (in case they speak dialect)')⁴²
- ☐ Kennissen (indien zij dialect spreken) ('Acquaintances (in case they speak dialect)')⁴³

⁴² The part in brackets was usually left out, although it was sometimes mentioned on the side as in 'I actually added 'if they speak dialect''.

- Met docenten/leraren ('With professors/teachers')
 - Met klasgenoten ('With classmates')
- Met uw baas ('With the superior/boss')
 - Met uw collega's ('With your colleagues')
 - Met werkrelaties of klanten die dialect spreken ('With work relations or clients who speak dialect')
- Buiten de (Nederlandse) provincie Limburg ('Outside of the (Dutch) province of Limburg')

Opmerkingen bij vraag 2: ('Remarks to question 2')

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3. Bij welke gelegenheden of in welke kringen is volgens u dialect spreken gangbaar?
 ('On which occasions or in which circles is it, according to you, common to speak dialect?')

- Binnen het gezin ('Within the household')
- Binnen de familie ('With the family')
- Met vrienden die dialect spreken ('With friends who speak dialect')
 - Met vrienden die geen dialect spreken ('With friends who do not speak dialect')
 - In een vriendengroep bestaande uit vrienden die wel en geen dialect spreken ('In a group of friends consisting of friends who do and who do not speak dialect')
- Met kennissen ('With acquaintances')
- Op school ('At school')
 - Met de docenten (van uw kinderen) ('With the professors (of your children)')
 - Met klas- en studiegenoten ('With class mates and fellow students')
- Op het werk ('At work')
 - Met de baas ('With the superior/boss')
 - Met collega's ('With colleagues')
 - Met werkrelaties of klanten die dialect spreken ('With work relations or clients who speak dialect')
- Bij alledaagse zaken buitenshuis (boodschappen of andere aankopen doen (winkelen))
 ('With everyday affaires outdoors (groceries or other purchases (shopping))')

⁴³ Similar to the question unit *Vrienden (indien zij dialect spreken)*, i.e. occasionally added the part in the brackets to be complete.

- Tegen het personeel van een restaurant, van een café of van een afhaalgelegenheid (cafeteria, pizzeria) in de stad of regio ('To the personnel of a restaurant, a café or a takeaway business (cafeteria, pizzeria) in the town or region')
- Tegen het personeel van het openbaar vervoer (bus, trein, tram, metro) ('To the personnel in the public transport (bus, train, tram, tube')
- Mensen die u op straat tegenkomt ('People you meet in the street')
- Buiten de (Nederlandse) provincie Limburg ('Outside of the (Dutch) province of Limburg')

Opmerkingen bij vraag 3: ('Remarks at question 3')

.....

.....

4. Wat is uw ervaring met het dialect? Hoe staat het volgens u met het gebruik van het dialect? ('What is your experience with the dialect? How (well) is the use of the dialect?')

Denk aan waar en wanneer het dialect wordt gebruikt (in de huiselijke sfeer, familie, onder vrienden, in het openbaar). Leren kinderen nog om het dialect te spreken en hoe staat het met de beheersing van het dialect? ('Consider where and when the dialect is used (in family circle, among friends, in public). Do children still learn to speak dialect and how is the proficiency of the dialect?')

.....

.....

.....

Indien u en/of uw partner dialect met uw kinderen spreekt, spreekt u en/of uw partner naast dialect ook Nederlands met hen? Of spreekt u alleen dialect met hen? Waarom? ('In case you and/or your partner speak dialect with your children, do you and/or your partner, besides dialect, Dutch with them as well? Or do you solely speak dialect with them? Why?')

.....

.....

Indien u geen kinderen heeft, zou u Nederlands, dialect of beide met uw kinderen spreken? Waarom? ('In case you do not have children, would you speak Dutch, dialect or both with your children? Why?')

.....

.....

Bekijk het kaartje van de stad Weert. Waar wordt het Weerter dialect gesproken en zijn er verschillen in dit dialect waar te nemen? Zo ja, wat zijn volgens u deze verschillen? ('Examine the map of the town of Weert. Where is the dialect of Weert spoken and are there any differences that may be observed in this dialect? If so, what you these differences, according to you')

.....

.....

.....

5. Hoe staat het met de waardering van het Weerter dialect, of de Limburgse dialecten in het algemeen? ('How is the appreciation of the dialect of Weert, or the Limburgish dialects in general?')

Denk aan wanneer of in welke kringen het dialect het meest en het minst door anderen, dialectsprekers en niet-dialectsprekers wordt gewaardeerd. ('Consider when or in what circles the dialect is appreciated most and least by others, both dialect speakers and non-dialect speakers')

Waar denkt u dat het dialect in verhouding met het Standaardnederlands staat? Hoe verhoudt het dialect zich tot het Standaardnederlands? ('Where do you think that the dialect stands in relation to Standard Dutch? How does the dialect relate to Standard Dutch?')

Denk aan het belang om Standaardnederlands en/of dialect te (leren) spreken. Wat voegt het toe? ('Consider the importance to (learn to) speak Standard Dutch and/or dialect. What is the additional value?')

6. **Met welke woorden associeert u het Weertse (of Limburgse) dialect?** ('What are the words you associate the dialect of Weert (or the Limburgish dialect) with?')

Zinnen ter vertaling (sentences to be translated)⁴⁴

1. **Je** **vuurt** een **kogel** met een **geweer** af
You.SG.SIM fire.2.SG a **bullet** with a **rifle** PREP
'You fire a bullet with a rifle'
2. **Meestal** **heeft-ze** aan één **woord** genoeg
Most.of.the.time **has-she.SIM** PREP one **word** enough
Most of the time one word suffices (for her)
3. Wij staan graag **te-koken** in de **keuken**
We.COM stand like.to **to-cook** in the **kitchen**
'We like to cook in the kitchen'
4. Mijn kinderen gaan naar **school** om met vriendjes **te-spelen**
My children go to **school** CON with friends **to-play**
'My children go to school to play with friends'
5. Als het **regent**, zie je alle **zeven** **kleuren** van
When it **rains** see.2.SG.INVERS you.SG.SIM all **seven** **colours** of

⁴⁴ The abbreviations in the syntactic representation are the following: 2: second person verb form, SG: singular, PL: plural, SIM: simplex form, COM: complex form, PREP: preposition, CON: conjunction (in combination with *te*), INVERS: inversion, VERB: verb type (as opposed to noun type), AUX: auxiliary, POL: polite form, PASS: passive voice.

de **regenboog**

the **rainbow**

‘When it rains, you can see all seven colours of the rainbow’

6. Ik ben **tevreden** met mijn **keuze**

I am **satisfied** with my choice

‘I am satisfied/content with my choice’

7. Een **vogel heeft vleugels** om-te **vliegen**

A **bird has wings** CON-to **fly.VERB**

‘A bird has wings to fly’

8. Om een **noot** te-kraken, heb-je een

CON a **nut** to-crack have.AUX.2.SG.INVERS-you.2.SG.SIM a

notenkraker nodig

nutcracker **need.VERB**

‘In order to crack a nut, you need a nutcracker’

9. U bent uitverkozen om de **ambtswoning**

you.POL have.been.2.POL.PASS selected CON the official.residence

van de **koning** te-bezoeken

of the **king** to-visit

‘You have been selected to visit the official residence of the king’

10. Wanneer **heb-jij** jouw **heup gebroken?**

When **have.AUX.2.INVERS-you.2.SG.COM** your **hip broken**

‘When did you break your hip?’

7. **Bent u bekend met andere dialectvarianten voor de dikgedrukte woorden uit de zinnen die u zojuist heeft vertaald? Zo ja, welke varianten kent u?** (‘Are you familiar with other dialect variants of the words in bold from the sentences you just translated? If so, which variants do you know?’)

.....
.....
.....

- a. **Gebruikt u wel eens deze dialectvarianten? Zo ja, welke varianten gebruikt u? (u kunt deze ook omcirkelen)** (‘Do you ever use these dialect variants? If so, which variants do you use? (you may also circle them)’)

.....
.....
.....

- b. **Welke dialectvarianten gebruikt u, voor uw gevoel, het vaakst?** (‘Which dialect variants do you think you use most often?’)

.....

.....

- c. **Welke dialectvariant(en) van elk van deze woorden is volgens u de meest gangbare en waar komt deze variant het meest voor? (Zie het kaartje)**
(‘Which dialect variant(s) of each of these words is, according to you, the most common and where is this variant used most? (See the map’)

.....

.....

.....

Opmerkingen (‘Remarks’)

.....

.....

Appendix II

Map of the town of Weert (retrieved from Google Earth®)

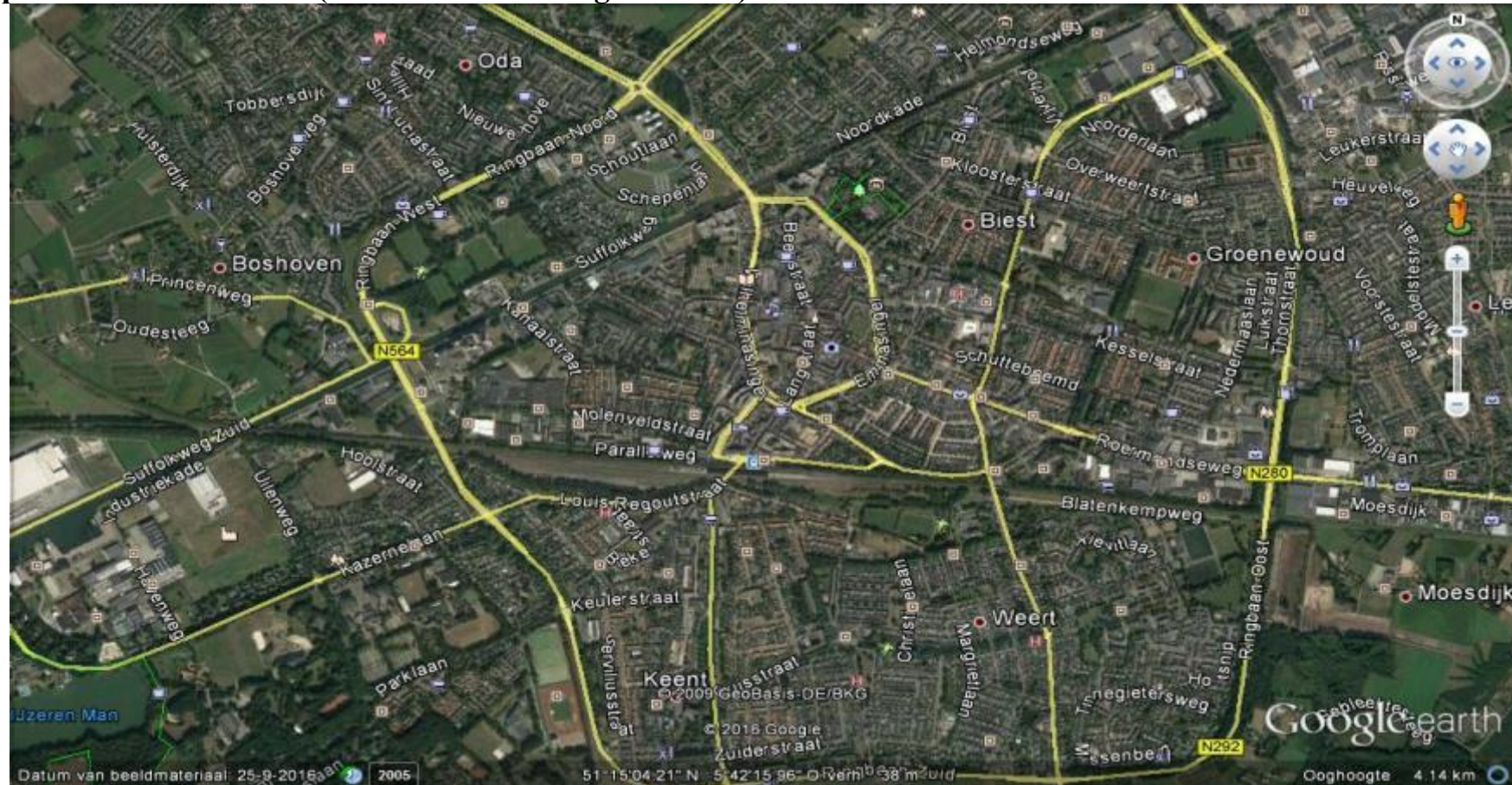


Figure II Image of the town of Weert, retrieved from Google Earth®. The town centre is in the centre of the map, within the oval-shaped roads (Wilhelminasingel and Emmasingel). The area of the *Stadsweerts* variety is demarcated by the canal, running diagonally north of the town centre, and the rail road running horizontally south of the town centre. The east boundary of the area has less rigidly been specified as the border between the neighbourhoods the Biest and Groenewoud, east of the town centre. The neighbourhood Leuken is located on the far right of the map (below the navigation panel). Moesel lies east of Keent, where the large (yellow) road marks its east boundary. The town part Altweert lies west of Keent, approximately covering the area around the Parklaan.