



SOCIOPHONETIC AWARENESS IN THE SOUTHWEST OF NOORD-BRABANT

A PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY STUDY

MA Thesis

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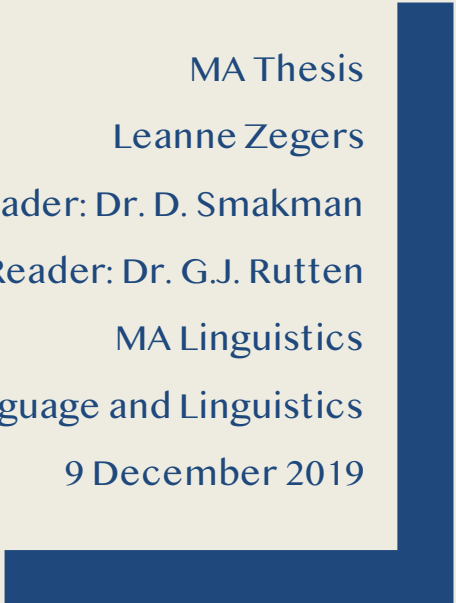


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Abstract

This Perceptual Dialectology study of three dialects spoken in the South of Noord-Brabant in the Netherlands (*Roosendaals*, *Oudenbosch*, and *Rucphens*) explored to what degree people from these towns are aware of the dialect features that make up their dialect, what these dialect features are and if these people are aware of the differences and similarities between their own dialect and that of the other two towns. The participants were thirty dialect speakers who are born, raised and still residential in one of the three studied towns. Interviews were held with these participants in which they were asked about their views on and knowledge about their own dialect and that of the two other towns. From these interviews it has become clear that, although Roosendaals, Oudenbosch and Rucphens have similarities, they do differ from each other on a lexical and a phonetic level. Most importantly, the results suggest that one's level of sociophonetic awareness of their dialect relates to what degree they are capable of speaking Standard Dutch.

1. Introduction

The Netherlands knows a lot of varieties of Dutch, many of which have unique characteristics. Van der Horst and Marschall put this into words well when they wrote that Dutch is an umbrella term for a colourful set of languages, some of which we call dialects (2000, p. 21). Simply put, a dialect is the language used in a certain region, place or by a group of people (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000, p. 21). Besides Dutch dialects, most Dutch people also speak or are familiar with Standard Dutch (from this point forward referred to as SD) which can be and is used everywhere in the Netherlands. Just like most other standard languages, the scope of SD “coincides with generally agreed-upon political borders” (Smakman & Van der Meulen 2018, p. 35). Previous dialectology research has already shed light upon the many dialect spoken in the Netherlands. Multiple scholars, amongst others Weijnen and Van Ginneken have, for example, already shown that Noord-Brabant, one of the southern counties of the Netherlands, is an area in which differences in dialect occur on a geographically small scale. In these cases, it is also often challenging to determine where dialect boundaries lie as dialectal differences occur between villages that are practically adjacent to each other, with no apparent reason for the differences in dialect. This makes this region a valuable object of study when it comes to Perceptual Dialectology, a speaker-based discipline that investigates what language users think and believe about language (Montgomery & Beal 2011, p. 121). Because language, and thus dialect, is a

phenomenon that lives through people, it is always changing and evolving. In other words, speakers form the foundation from which explanations for dialect features and changes can be extracted. Therefore, the way people view dialect is of crucial importance when one wishes to conduct research in the field of dialectology.

Sociophonetics, speakers' awareness of the relationship between phonetic factors and social, cultural or communicative factors, has attracted great attention over the last few decades (Preston & Niedzielski 2011, p. 3). Preston and Niedzielski stated that, although phonetics is particularly important to current work in sociolinguistics and has been an important part of the sociolinguistic side of traditional dialectology, sociophonetics has a special status. On top of that, phonetic variation is also long-standing in the public mind, it is tangible for the speakers (Preston & Niedzielski 2011, pp. 1-2). Current technological developments that have led to a growing connectedness, next-level globalisation and superdiversity, have impacted dialects as well. Speakers have noticed the changes in phonetic variation that have resulted from this and are capable of pointing those changes out. Therefore, this study aims to unveil how speakers, nowadays, perceive their own and local dialect and to what degree they are aware of the sociophonetics affiliated with these dialects. In this thesis, the term sociophonetic awareness is used to refer to the participants' awareness of phonetic or phonological features in their dialect and those of dialects spoken in surrounding villages in relation to what they think about those different dialects and the people that use them. As people form the basis to get insight into language and dialect, thirty dialect speakers will be selected from three towns called Roosendaal, Oudembosch, and Rucphen. They will be asked about both their own dialect and that of the other two towns. Moreover, they will be asked to compare the three dialects and get into the differences and similarities in order to find out to what degree dialect speakers are sociophonetically aware.

1.1. Overview

Chapter 2 will first lay out the field of dialectology, then get into the Dutch language, both the Standard and its dialects, and set out the region that is the object of this study. The last section of this chapter, Section 2.5. will define the research questions this thesis will attempt to answer and the hypotheses that have been established. Chapter 3 explains the methods used in this study and introduces the participants. Chapter 4 is the first out of three chapters discussing the results and sets out the results regarding the villages. It has come to light that the information provided by the participants can be subdivided into five categories: lexical features, phonetics, overall intelligibility of the dialect, lexical category and usage context. The latter is a term used in this

study to refer to the contexts in which the dialect words found can occur. Examples of these usage contexts are ‘animals’, ‘food’, and ‘interaction’. In order to create structure, the results will be organized according to these categories. Chapter 5 goes into the linguistic findings and Chapter 6 presents the overall results, providing an overview of all results. As it has also come to light that *Carnaval*, an originally religious holiday which is widely celebrated in the south of the Netherlands, plays an important role in the preservation of dialects in Brabant, attention has been paid to this in Chapter 6 as well. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes it all.

2. Literature review

2.1. Introduction

In the history of the Dutch language, both the rise of *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands* (ABN) “General Cultured Netherlandic” – what we call “Standard Dutch” (SD) in English – and the presence of dialect varieties are well-studied topics. Both SD and the interest in Dutch dialectology find their origin in the Late Middle Ages. In this period, people start to write about dialectal differences and refer to the level of refinement in peoples’ language (Weijnen 1974, p. 1). The history of ABN begins in the sixteenth century (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 17) and from that moment onwards this Standard starts to affect the development of the Dutch dialects.

This chapter discusses previous research on these topics. Section 2.2 discusses the field of dialectology. Section 2.3 lays out the history of Standard Dutch and Section 2.4 goes into Dutch dialects, the dialects of West-Brabant and three dialects this study is about: *Roosendaals*, *Oudenbosch* and *Ruchpens*. Finally, Section 2.5 introduces the research questions the present study aims to answer and the hypotheses established based on the literature that will be discussed below.

2.2. Dialectology

A history of Dialectology

Simply put, Dialectology is the study of dialects (Aarts 2014, Dialectology) but Chambers defines Dialectology as “the systematic study of language variation” (2001, p. 348). The history of Dialectology begins in the Middle Ages (476– 1492) in the sense that attention is given to dialect variants without them being the object of study (Weijnen 1966, p. 1). The Renaissance (1300–1600) facilitates a breeding ground for the study of dialects (Weijnen 1966, p. 1). During this time, the writers who composed dictionaries also contributed to this field by trying to capture all that every vernacular has to offer (Weijnen 1966, p. 3). The seventeenth-century marks the beginning of a real appreciation for dialects as such (Weijnen 1966, p. 4).

The Age of Enlightenment (18th century) brought the prosperity of the study of dialects to an abrupt halt (Weijnen 1966, p. 4). The French Revolution did not think fondly of dialects in general as it strived for *égalité* “equality” (Weijnen 1966, p. 4). Every age, however, knows its

mavericks as, strangely enough, this period is also known for its first, large scale dialect questionnaires. In France, Henri Grégoire undertakes one of such questionnaires and in The Hague a teacher compiles a list of oddities from the dialect spoken there (Weijnen 1966, p. 4)

Romanticism (1800-1850) brought about a complete turnaround of ideology again (Weijnen 1966, pp. 4-5). During this period everything unspoiled and natural was worshipped, and by its nature dialects were too (Weijnen 1966, p. 5). This is also the period in which the study of dialect grammar starts to take shape (Weijnen 1966, p. 5). Later, influenced by neogrammarians – a linguistic science, emerging toward the beginning of the 19th century, which focused on the workings of sound change (Jankowsky 2006, pp. 582-586) – Dialectology followed the developments in general linguistics and broadened its framework to include fields like phonetics (Weijnen 1966, p. 6). In the 20th century, universities begin to play a role in the study of dialects and many tried to explain the wonders of dialect by considering and comparing them from a historical perspective (Weijnen 1966, pp. 6-7). Until this point in time Dialectology had been an autonomous discipline but in the second half of the twentieth century it “became subsumed as a branch of linguistics” (Chambers 2015, p. 348). Today this field of research is practiced globally by “hundreds of active participants”, which “engage in diverse research” (Chambers 2015, p. 348).

Opposing ideas within Dialectology

Dialectal differences have been studied for centuries. Opposing ideas on what these differences entail have existed alongside each other for decades, or even centuries. These opposing ideas partly result from the many different definitions that scholars have come up with for the term ‘dialect’ (Entjes 1974, p. 10). According to Entjes, “dialects are natural reflections of regional sub-cultures” (Entjes 1974, p. 11). With this, Entjes expresses that language, either the standard language or a regional dialect, is more than a means of communication, it allows people to fully exist (1974, p. 11). However, not everyone has been that accepting of dialects. Some scholars, like professor E. Blancquart, came up with condescending definitions, suggesting that expressing oneself in dialect is a sign of unsophistication or even barbarism (Entjes 1974, p. 9). Fortunately, there have been – and still are – numerous scholars who have expressed great interest and appreciation for dialect languages and who have written prolifically about the matter. Because it applies well to it, this study adopts Smakman and Van der Meulen’s definition of ‘dialect’, which states “dialect is a language variety that is in some way distinct from the standard language and that has developed relatively freely from prescriptive codification” (2018, p. 38).

Because of the polarisation set out above, dialects in the Netherlands suffer a languishing existence, as they are constantly criticized and driven away by SD (Entjes 1974, p. 14). Forty-five years ago, Entjes already wrote about the idea that dialects were rapidly disappearing (1974, p. 16). While today this idea is being accepted as a fact, a lot has changed since 1974. The increase in immigration together with social and geographic mobility has caused a surge in the development of globalisation and superdiversity. Because communication between people from all over the world is easier than it has ever been before the concept of dialect has said to have taken a hit. Because of these fairly recent changes, it is relevant to look into dialect and peoples' perception of them once again.

Perceptual Dialectology

Perceptual Dialectology is a discipline within the field of Dialectology “that investigates what language users themselves think and believe about language” (Montgomery & Beal 2011, p. 121). Montgomery and Beal wrote, “it explores where people believe dialect areas to exist, and the geographical extent of these areas, along with how these people react to spoken language” (2011, p.121). For that matter, Perceptual Dialectology is a speaker-based discipline (Montgomery & Beal 2011, p. 121). Before this field was called Perceptual Dialectology, scholars referred to it as Folk Linguistics. The term ‘folk’ here refers to “non-linguists and language users who have no formal linguistic training” (Montgomery & Beal 2011, p. 122). In the 1960s, Hoenigswald was one of the scholars urging others to conduct research in this field.

We should be interested not only in (a) what goes on (language), but also in (b) how people react to what goes on (they are persuaded, they are put off, etc.) and in (c) what people say goes on (talk concerning language). It will not do to dismiss these secondary and tertiary modes of conduct merely as sources of error (Hoeningswald 1966, p. 20).

When it comes to this, the present study mainly focuses on (a) and (c). In the last few decades, scholars started to distinguish between Perceptual Dialectology and Folk Linguistics. According to Dennis Preston and Daniel Long “what people say about what goes on”, concerning language “ -and what lies behind their statements - ... is the stuff of folk linguistics, and Perceptual Dialectology is a subbranch of that general area of investigation” (1999, p. xxiv) that goes into what peoples' opinions are on those matters. They also wrote that “Perceptual Dialectology represents the dialectologist's-sociolinguist's-variationist's interest in folk linguistics” (1999, p. xxv)

The term ‘Perceptual Dialectology’ was first used by the same Dennis Preston in the early 1980s. However, according to Montgomery and Beal, “we can trade the ‘birth’ of Perceptual Dialectology to the Netherlands, which saw pioneering research in the 1950s (2011, p. 122). A.A. Weijnen has done incredibly relevant research in this field when it comes to dialects in the south of the Netherlands. In 1946 Weijnen introduced his ‘little-arrow’ method, which allows one to connect a “respondent’s home area to another which the respondent says is similar” (Preston 2002, p. 57). The responses of all of these respondents at each location taken together form groupings, which “are then identified as ‘unities’ based on the dialect consciousness or ‘awareness’ of the respondents” (Preston 2002, pp. 57-58). That is to say “groupings of connected areas were attributed to the similar dialect consciousness of the respondents” (Preston 2006, p. 258). With the help of this data, Weijnen determined where isogloss boundaries lay, which are lines “drawn across a region [to] show two areas on either side which share some aspect of linguistic usage but which disagree with each other” (Chambers & Trudgill 1998, p. 89). According to Weijnen, isoglosses are often the result of either natural barriers, like rivers, or political boundaries (Weijnen 1937, p. 197). Because Weijnen’s purpose was to determine these isoglosses, the mainly focussed on the similarities people indicated. The present study will also focus on the dialect consciousness and awareness of the respondents but also aim attention at the differences. Besides geographical differences, socio-historical facts have also been known to influence perception. Religious boundaries, for example, may cause respondents to believe there are strong linguistic differences, even when none exist (Preston 2002, p. 60). Preston noted, “we might expect, therefore, that such important social factors will often have dialect repercussions” (2002, p. 60). Daan states that “social relations, especially in the previous century, formed a rich source” for these kinds of misconceptions as well (Daan 1999, p. 11). On the other hand, villages that are practically adjacent to each other can differ clearly from one another with no apparent reason for these differences. Smakman and Van der Meulen, show that ten different kinds of dialect borders can be distinguished (2018). With this they clarify why it is often a challenge “to draw boundaries between language varieties” (Smakman & Van der Meulen 2018, p. 35). A summary of their theory can be found below in table 2.1. Weijnen contributed part of his earlier work to “speculation on which linguistic facts were most salient in perception” (Preston 2006, p. 258). He believed that phonological ones are the most salient when it comes to perception because they are “sharper than syntactic and morphological boundaries and less specific than those that arise as the result of the difference of a single lexical item” (Preston 2006, p. 258).

Table 2.1 Kinds of dialect borders according to Smakman & Van der Meulen (2018)

Linguistic borders	Dialect borders distinguished based on linguistic characters, mostly lexical and phonetic.
Perceived borders	Dialect borders distinguished based on the dialect speakers' perception of and attitude towards dialects and their boundaries. These perceptions are relevant because they are a factor in the maintenance or shaping of dialect borders.
Geographical borders	Dialect borders created by natural landmarks. Geographical features that are no longer relevant can still be an indication of historically evolved boundaries.
Economic borders	Dialect borders that result from economic motivation. Economic motivations ensure linguistic contact. This linguistic contact, in turn, is known to create linguistic similarities and have a levelling effect. Economic motivations thus affect dialects.
Religious borders	Dialect borders created by practiced religions. Religion can divide or connect speakers of dialects. As a result, religion may lead to a reshuffling of language and dialect borders.
Ethnic borders	Dialect borders distinguished based on speakers' ethnicity. This can be found both in urban and rural settings. A group has an ethnolinguistic identity if they share a language and when that is seen as the distinctive feature of that ethnic group.
Identity borders	Borders created when ethnolinguistic identity starts to function as a strong identity marker. National borders can function as identity borders.
Social connotations borders	Borders distinguished based on how speakers evaluate dialects on a social level.
Communication-based borders	Dialect borders based on communication between speakers. Because communication nowadays involves much more than just face-to-face contact, old geographical dividing lines are not always relevant anymore.

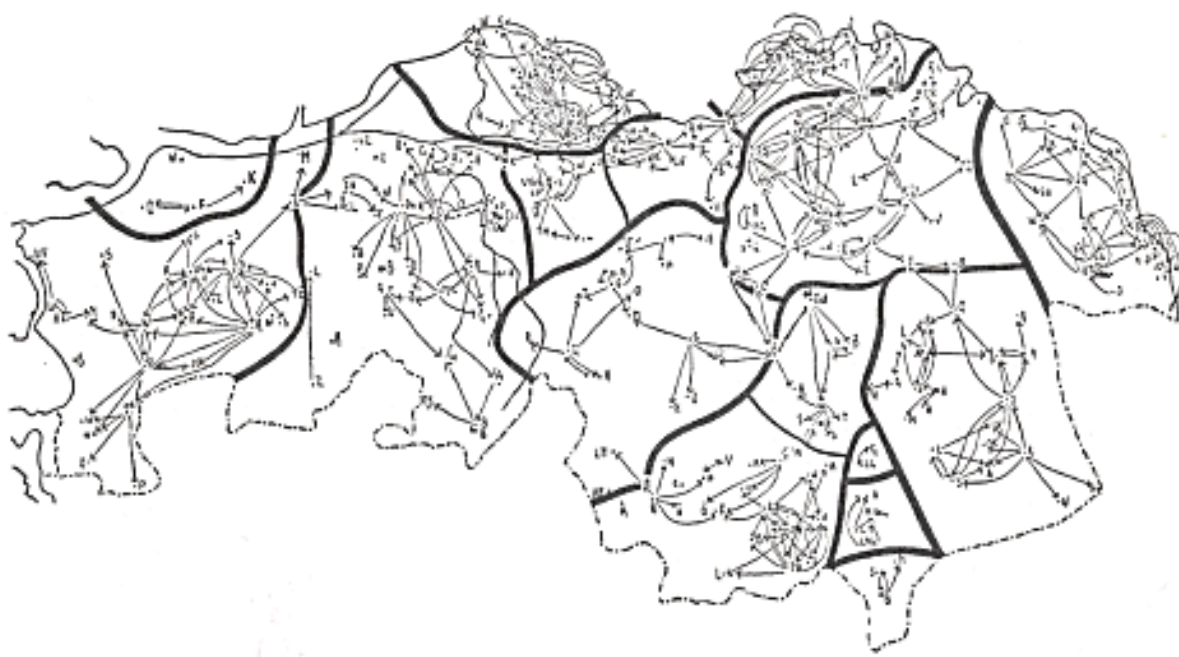
Moreover, Jo Daan (1970) uncovered that intonation plays a role in perception together with vocal quality and speech rate (Preston 2006, p. 258). According to Daan “language users form their judgments in far less precise ways than the dialectologist” (1999, p. 19). Later on, she wrote the following explanation:

Even if I can provide a justification after the fact, I have the impression that my understanding and linguistic development lag far behind something else which has been refined through habit ... These experiences have strengthened my conviction that the division of the regional varieties must start with the vague, yet real consciousness of the language users, but at the same time must try to

provide a justification of the consciousness with the help of isophones and isomorphs that more often coincide than do word borders, despite the fact that a dialect difference can sometimes be characterized with one word ... Dialect geographers have collected data for the larger regions primarily via the indirect, written method and have published these data with the help of written symbols, which for the purposes outlined here are very inadequate. As a result, distinctions have been exaggerated. (Daan 1999, p. 20).

Thus, language users' perceptions are of great importance when it comes to Dialectology. Therefore, this study will primarily focus on these dialectal perceptions of the speakers. By comparing the ideas language users have about their language and that of users around them, differences and similarities about regional dialect can be distinguished and trends about dialect levelling can be unfolded.

Map 2.1 Example of the little-arrow method (Weijnen 2009, pp. 38-39)



2.3. Standard Dutch

Although the history of SD starts in the sixteenth century (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 17), the SD we know today originates from the variation of Dutch aristocrats from the county Holland spoke in the seventeenth century (Weijnen 1974, pp. 17-18). The Eighty Years' war played an

important role in the development of a standard language in the Netherlands. As the desire for an independent republic grew, so grew the need for unity in the Dutch language (Stroop 2006, p. 2). According to Van der Sijs, there are five events or developments that have contributed to the rise of SD in the Netherlands: social revolutions, increasing mobility, the growing importance of written language, education, and a decline in the use of French and Latin (2004, pp. 30-39). First of all, new insights during the Renaissance motivated people to stand up to the ruling order and the church (Van der Sijs 2004, p. 30). This, together with the battle the northern provinces had fought against the Spanish, resulted in increased self-awareness and national pride, which people expressed by choosing to use their own language – Dutch – and ward off external influences (Van der Sijs 2004, pp. 30-31). Secondly, in the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic experienced extensive economic growth. As a result of this, people became more prosperous and started to explore the world which caused the vocabulary of the Dutch language to grow extensively as well (Van der Sijs 2004, pp. 31-32). Thirdly, during the renaissance people started to write, publish and read scientific and literary books on a large scale for the first time. The printing press, therefore, played a big role in the development of SD. Not only because books were being written in SD to appeal to a larger audience, but also because it allowed for the birth of the first form of mass media; the paper (Van der Sijs 2004, p. 34). Education stimulated the development of SD, as well as the same schoolbooks, were used all over the country proclaiming a uniform Dutch spelling (Van der Sijs 2004, p. 34). Lastly, although French and Latin were still widely used in the Netherlands during the renaissance, their status suffered substantial losses (Van der Sijs 2004, p. 38). Not only in science, but also in politics and the church, SD started to be more widely used (Van der Sijs 2004, pp. 37-38).

As the need for a standard Dutch arose, writers, language-enthusiasts, and scholars started to confer on the matter and published their ideas in the form of spelling and grammar books (Stroop 2006, p. 56). Question arose about what the new standard should be based on. Would they take elements useful elements from different dialects and put them together to form a new form of Dutch or would it be more sensible to elevate one of the dialects to a position as the standard language of the Republic (Stroop 2006, p. 56). Eventually, SD, or *'t Gemeenlandsche Dialect* “the common dialect” as it was named, sprung forth out of the dialect spoken in the economically strongest region Holland (Stroop 2006, p. 56). There were, however, noticeable southern influences on the pronunciation of the Holland variety, due to mutual trade and frequent travel between the south and Holland (Smakman 2006, p. 19). Stroop paraphrases Jan Blokker who states that, although the Seventeen Provinces never got to an agreement when it

came to religion and freedom of conscience, the Standard Dutch they aimed for did arise (2006, p. 57).

Through the centuries, *ABN* slowly grows into the standard language that we know today. The term *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands* “General Cultured Netherlandic”, however, only arises in the period between 1890 and 1900 (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000, p. 122). During this period, writers like Multatuli and Kollewijn advocate that written Dutch should near spoken Dutch as closely as possible (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000, p. 122). However, not a lot of people spoke SD yet. Between 1900 and today this has changed. Smakman wrote, “from around 1900, the spreading of the standardised spoken language accelerated (2006, p. 26). SD is no longer reserved for civilised people only, like it was at the beginning of the 20th century (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000, p. 123), partly because “education became more accessible to common people” (Smakman 2006, p. 26). Nowadays almost every Dutchman and -woman uses it on a daily basis. This change might partly be brought about by the fact that in 1947 the spelling of SD was laid down in Dutch law (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000, p. 123). Naturally, the rise of radio in the 1920s and television in the 1950s proved to be immensely influential in familiarizing people with SD (Smakman 2006, p. 26).

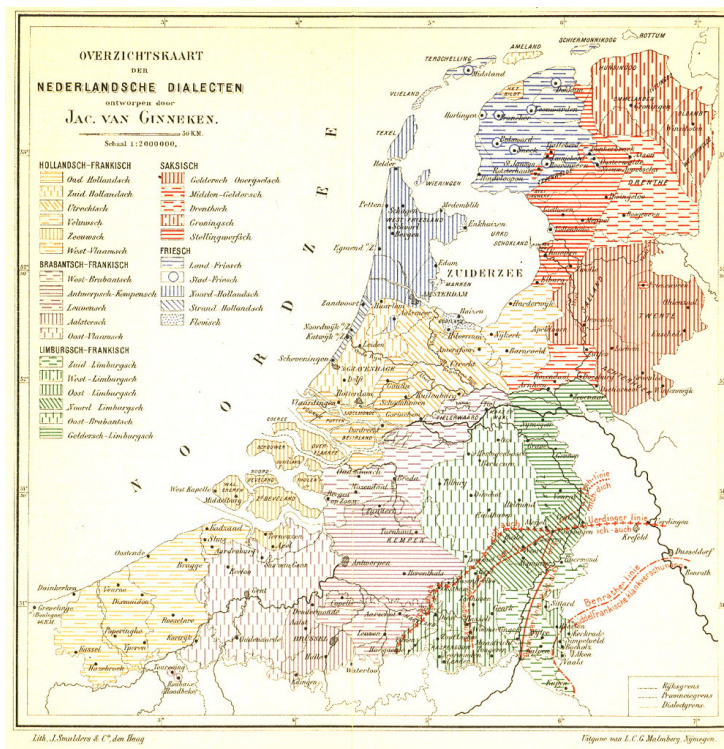
There have also been people who have denied the existence of *ABN*. According to Weijnen, there have been two scholars who have written about their ideas on this topic: Overdiep and Kloeke (1974, p. 11). Overdiep claimed that there are no two people who use exactly the same language and Kloeke went as far as to talk about the legend called *Algemeen Beschaafd* “Standard Dutch” (Weijnen 1974, p. 11). Keeping the purpose of this study in mind, we assume that SD does exist and adhere to De Vries’ idea that “a standard language actually is nothing else than a dialect for general use” (De Vries 2001, p. 19). 11

2.4. Dutch dialects

While the ideas and motivations for the establishment of a standard Dutch language started to take form in the 17th century, the Dutch Republic was still characterised by an abundance of different dialects (Van der Wal & Bree 2008, p. 200). The way people spoke differed per region and city and even the tiniest villages often had their own dialect features (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 5). This great diversity in the spoken language in the Netherlands remained present until the beginning of the 20th century (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 6). From 1900, because of the rising popularity of SD, dialects started to grow closer together so that regiolects formed

(Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 6). It is safe to say that all the developments that proved to be beneficial to the rise of SD were not that helpful when it came to the development of the many Dutch dialects.

Map 2.2. Dialect map by Jac van Ginneken 1913

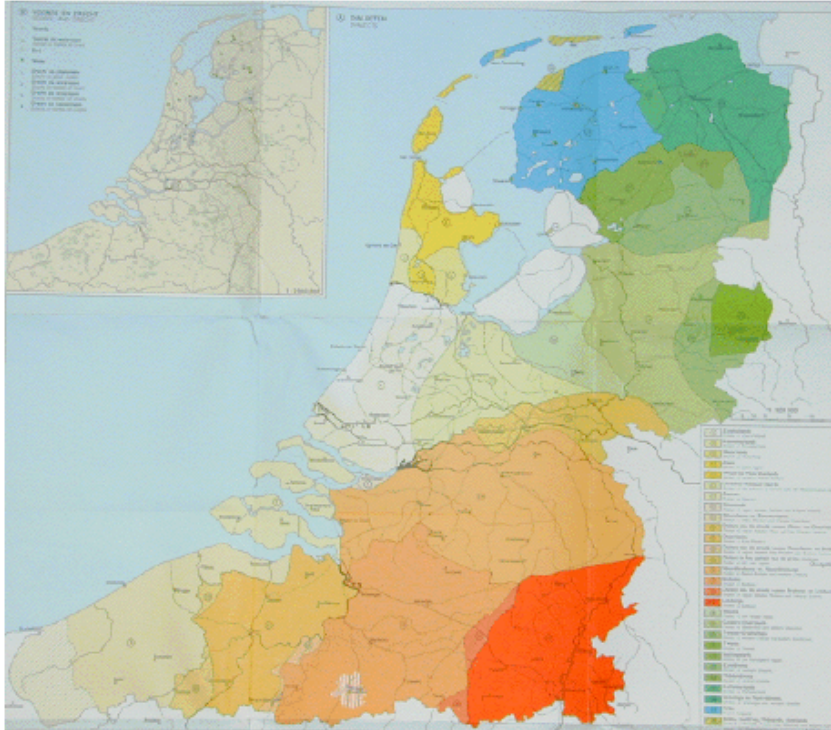


Near the end of the nineteenth century, the status of the Dutch city-dialects changed radically (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 8). As a result of the industrialisation, people from the countryside moved to the city, which resulted in growing social diversity (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 8). Dialects from the small villages in the countryside blended with existing city dialects, which resulted in the emergence of sociolects: a dialect of a certain group of people (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 8). Most prominent were the sociolects that the workers used, which grew to become the city dialects that we now associate with cities like Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Utrecht (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 8).

As already has been mentioned above, around the turn of the century of 1900 education became available to more people (Smakman 2006, p. 26). The Compulsory Education Law, which was adopted in 1900, marked a turning point in the development of the Dutch dialects. The diverging process that had evolved until then suddenly changed into a converging process as children came into contact with and were forced to write in ABN in school (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 23). In other words, the Compulsory Education Law resulted in a process of dialect reduction (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 23). In 1952, Weijnen noticed that the use of

dialects rapidly declined (Weijnen 2009, p. 5). He found that the younger generations did not use, or even recognize, the words that their grandparents would regularly use (2009, p. 5).

Map 2.3 Dialect map by Jo Daan 1969



On the other hand, Weijnen notes that the Southern dialects – the dialects spoken in Brabant and Limburg – hold a stronger position in comparison to other Dutch dialects (2009, p. 5). According to him, this has to do with the fact that, in previous centuries, these counties did not hold strong ties with the leading county Holland (Weijnen 2009, p. 5). In the twentieth century, multiple scholars have created dialect maps of the Netherlands. Two of them are shown below: map 2.2 shows Jac van Ginneken’s map from 1913 and map 2.3 shows Jo Daan’s from 1969. The research done to create these maps, although much more extensive, compares to the present study as both analyse dialects existing in proximity to one another.

Dialects in Noord-Brabant

The Noord-Brabant dialect was first described in 1776 (Weijnen 2009, p. 1), when the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* “Society of Dutch Literature” compiled a dictionary which included a dialect list titled *Woorden die gebruikt worden in de Meijerij van ‘s-Hertogenbosch* “Words that are used in the Meijerij of s’-Hertogenbosch” (Weijnen 2009, p. 1). 1799 was the year in which information about the Noord-Brabant dialect was put into print for

the first time, when S. Hanewinkel published *Reize door de Majorij van 's-Hertogenbosch in den jare 1798* “A journey through the Majorij of ‘s-Hertogenbosch in the year 1798”, which included some lists of words from the area (Weijnen 2009, p. 1). In 1829, the first book including an outline of the dialect, called *Noord- en Zuid-Brabandsche Faam I* “North and South Brabant Fame I”, was published (Weijnen 2009, p. 1). In 1836, J.H. Hoeufft wrote one of the first dialect-monographs published in the Netherlands, a 782-page dictionary on the dialect spoken in Breda (Weijnen 2009, p. 3).

The first pieces of evidence of what the West-Brabant dialect would have sounded like can be found in Latin sources from the thirteenth century which report about the names that people would call their villages (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 19). Today, we often do not realise that these place names came from nouns taken from the everyday spoken language (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 19). Heestermans and Stroop give the example of the village *Wouw*, called *Woude* in 1232, which meant “forest” (2002, p. 19). From the thirteenth century onwards, more writing started to occur in the vernacular (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 19). Real differences start to occur in the sixteenth century, more specifically during the Eighty Years’ War (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 20). The killings, migrations of people, depopulation and the repopulation afterwards, which characterize this period, have had a major influence on the development of the Dutch language and dialects (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 20). Historians believe that, near the end of the sixteenth century, West-Brabant had lost a great deal of its population (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 20). After the war, people from the *Antwerpse Kempen* repopulated this area (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 20). Furthermore, the dialects spoken in Holland and Zeeland have influenced the West Brabant dialect as well, especially in the area that Dutch scholars call the *Westhoek* (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 21). During the sixteenth and seventeenth century, rich landowners moved from these counties to West-Brabant and employed workers from Brabant (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 21). Because of this, the dialect in the *Westhoek* leans towards the dialect spoken in Holland (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 21). However, the influence of Zeeland on the West-Brabant dialect ceased to exist in the Eighty Years’ War. This war resulted in alienation between the dialects of Zeeland and West-Brabant (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 29). Flooding and military inundations between 1570 and 1590 caused the two to separate completely (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 29). This separation caused Zeeland to break ties with cities like Antwerp and Brussels, while West-Brabant continued to be influenced by them (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 29).

In the course of the nineteenth century, written sources about what the West-Brabant dialect looked and sounded like start to appear in the form of wordlists and short texts that have

been translated into dialect (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 22). In the second half of the nineteenth century, Dialectology has become such a popular subject that different organisations initiate dialect questionnaires (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 22). People from all over the Netherlands were asked how certain words were pronounced and how certain sounds sounded in their dialect, resulting in improved knowledge of Dutch dialect and dialect boundaries, and with that improved knowledge of what dialect in Brabant sounded like (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 22).

In 1952, Weijnen expanded his research to the whole of Noord-Brabant, to determine the dialectology boundaries in Noord-Brabant and what they entailed. He found out that the dialects of West and East Noord-Brabant differ but also share similarities (Weijnen 2009). He noticed, for example, that the use of the, originally German, umlaut slowly diminishes as one moves from the East to the West of Noord-Brabant (Weijnen 2009, p. 14). As a reason for these differences, Weijnen paraphrases W. Willems, who stated that archaeological evidence has shown that before the Romans arrived in the Netherlands there was a strong divide between the west and the east of Noord-Brabant (Weijnen 2009, p. 17). This was determined on the basis of differences in pottery found in the region. Pottery from West-Brabant shows strong French-Belgium influences, while the pots and urns from the East of Noord-Brabant are totally different (Weijnen 2009, p. 17). Weijnen also paraphrases Van Ginneken who writes that mainly Saxons have travelled through west Noord-Brabant while the east of Noord-Brabant was the destination of the journey many Thoringiers took (Weijnen 2009, p. 17). This kind of evidence shows that dialectal differences in this region have been a long time in the making.

The dialects studied here

In order to study dialect perceptions in West-Brabant, the region was narrowed down to three villages: Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen. These villages were chosen because I have ties to all three of them. Although my roots do not lie there, I partly grew up in Oudenbosch, have a lot of friends who come from Roosendaal and have family members that live in Rucphen. As a result, I had easy access to participants in these three villages. Moreover, Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen are relevant objects of study because they are geographically close to each other and because the inhabitants are generally aware of the existence of a different dialect in the two other villages. Lastly, all these villages hold the centre position in their municipality, respectively called Roosendaal, Rucphen, and Halderberge. Roosendaal is at the head of the

municipality Roosendaal, Rucphen that of Rucphen and Oudenbosch that of Halderberge. The map 2.4. below shows where these municipalities and the villages within them are positioned.

Map 2.4 The studied region¹



Roosendaal

Roosendaal is the biggest of the three villages and is officially classified as a city. The information about this city provided below comes from its description on the website of the *West-Brabants Archief* “West-Brabant Archive”. It lies in the southwest of the Netherlands in the county Noord-Brabant near the Belgian border. The name *Rosendale*, which means valley of roses (Britannica, Roosendaal), is first documented in 1268 and was part of the dukedom Brabant back then (West-Brabants Archief, Roosendaal en Nispen). In the Middle Ages Roosendaal flourished due to the peat cutting businesses and trade of this popular fuel (West-Brabants Archief, Roosendaal en Nispen). Unfortunately, The Eighty Years War and the French occupation after that made an end to these years of prosperity, due to ransacking and arson for which the roaming soldiers were

¹ Map put together from maps found on the website of De Gemeente Altas

responsible (West-Brabants Archief, Roosendaal en Nispen). In 1809, Roosendaal officially became a city and because of the introduction of a local government in 1851 a political modernisation was put into motion (West-Brabants Archief, Roosendaal en Nispen). However, a small group of conservative Catholics remained at the centre of power. It would take until 1970 before these religious and socio-political barriers were lifted and people broke with the traditional patterns of pillarization. On 1 January 1997, the municipality Roosendaal was born consisting of Roosendaal, Wouw and Nispen (West-Brabants Archief, Roosendaal en Nispen).

Oudenbosch

About 7 kilometers to the North-East of Roosendaal one will find the village Oudenbosch. When researching this town, the West-Brabant Archive was consulted again as well as *beknopte geschiedenis van Oudenbosch* “a concise history of Oudenbosch” written by Bernard den Braber for the local geography and history society.

The origins of Oudenbosch lie in the thirteenth century. In 1275 the lord and lady of Breda sold a forest, called *Baerlebosch*, named after Barleac lake which has since disappeared (Den Braber, Beknopte geschiedenis van Oudenbosch), to the monks of the Cisterciënserabby St Bernard to cultivate (West-Brabants Archief, Oudenbosch). The people that took residence in the area focused mainly on excavating peat (Den Braber, Beknopte geschiedenis van Oudenbosch). By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the village had experienced expansive growth and needed a parish of its own (West-Brabants Archief, Oudenbosch). During this time a second village named *Nieuwenbosch* “new forest” started to take shape and quickly developed due to peat trade (West-Brabants Archief, Oudenbosch). Sadly, the St Elizabeth flood of 1421 destroyed this town. From that moment onward, Baarlebosch became known as *Oudenbosch* “old forest”.

After about a century of growth, Oudenbosch entered an era of regression. Just like in Roosendaal, the Eighty Years War had a devastating effect on the growth of Oudenbosch. When the town started to recover by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Black Death resurfaced (West-Brabants Archief, Oudenbosch). Partly because of the Reformation, it took Oudenbosch about two centuries to turn the tide, but after 1813 the economic growth revived due to its successful tree nurseries (West-Brabants Archief, Oudenbosch).

Oudenbosch became known as a cradle for education in the Netherlands when in 1830 an institute for secondary education and grammar school opened, the first of its kind in the Netherlands (Den Braber, Beknopte geschiedenis van Oudenbosch). This served as a stepping-

stone in the establishment of both a boys' boarding school, named Saint Louis, and a girls' boarding school, named Saint Anna (Den Braber, *Beknopte geschiedenis van Oudenbosch*).

Rucphen

Just like for Roosendaal and Oudenbosch, the information about this village comes from its description on the website of the *West-Brabants Archief* "West-Brabant Archive". The municipality Rucphen came into being because of three separate events in history. The first noteworthy event is the division of Breda by Duke Hertog Jan I of the Dukedom Brabant in 1287 and the establishment of a border between those two parts in 1290 (West-Brabants Archief, Rucphen). Because of this, West-Brabant started to develop itself separately from the area around Breda. Secondly, around 1350 five new dukedoms were founded, amongst others Rucven in 1357 (West-Brabants Archief, Rucphen). Almost five centuries later, on 9 April 1810 the municipality Rucphen was established (West-Brabants Archief, Rucphen). Throughout the twentieth century, the borders of the municipality have changed on several occasions. On 1 April 1953, St. Willebrord, which previously partially belonged to the municipality Etten-Leur and partially to the municipality Hoeven, became part of Rucphen. On 1 January 1997, the same development took place with a village named Schijf, which had previously been part of the municipality Zundert (West-Brabants Archief, Rucphen).

2.5. The research questions and hypotheses

Although Noord-Brabant has already been studied when it comes to Perceptual Dialectology, this previous research dates back decades. Mainly because of the internet, people are much more connected nowadays. This connectedness has gravely impacted the Dutch dialects and the way they have developed throughout the years. Times have changed and the dialect borders have changed with it, because of this it is relevant to embark on Perceptual Dialectology research once again. Therefore, the aim of the present study is to get insight into if and how dialect speakers currently perceive differences in dialects on a geographically small scale (± 7 kilometers). In order to achieve this the present study aims to answer the following three research questions:

1. To what degree are the people from Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen aware of the dialect features that make up their dialect?

2. Are people from Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen aware of differences and similarities between their dialect and the other two dialects?
3. Which dialect features characterise each dialect?

Based on these research questions two hypotheses have been established.

Hypothesis 1: The participants agree that all three dialects differ from each other and differences they name relate to the phonetic part of speech. That is to say, they believe that people from the other towns pronounce words differently than they do.

This first hypothesis was established based on Weijnen's ideas on which linguistics facts were most salient in people's perception. As already has been mentioned above, Preston wrote that Weijnen believed that phonological facts are the most salient when it comes to perception because they are "sharper than syntactic and morphological boundaries and less specific than those that arise as the result of the difference of a single lexical item" (2006, p. 258).

Hypothesis 2: Dialect speakers from each town are aware that their dialect differs from the dialect spoken in the other two target towns, but will not be able to put their finger on the specific linguistic features that form the basis for these differences.

This second hypothesis is based on the ideas of both Preston (2006) and Smakman and Van der Meulen (2018) on dialect boundaries that have already been mentioned above. Preston wrote that due to, for example, religious boundaries, respondents can believe that there are strong linguistic differences between dialects, even when none exist (Preston 2002, p. 60). Smakman and Van der Meulen have named this phenomenon 'perceived borders' (2018, p. 38). Because perceived borders are based on social constructs instead of on actual perceived phonological differences, people will most probably not be able to give actual examples of the ways in which their dialect differs from the other.

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

As already has been mentioned above, Perceptual Dialectology functions as the methodological basis of this study. I have taken the work of Weijnen and Preston as a basis for the methodology used for this study. As already has been mentioned in Chapter 1, this thesis is organised based on five key concepts, which have been established on the basis of the collected data. Those key concepts are lexical features, phonetic features, intelligibility, lexical category, and usage context. Throughout this thesis, these concepts will reappear in this order. This chapter first discusses the participants that took part in the study. After that, the procedure of data collection is discussed. The final section touches on the method of data processing used in this study.

3.2. Participants

The sample includes three groups of ten participants. Each group represents the population of one of the three studied towns: Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen. All participants are between the age of 15 and 30 or between the age of 50 and 85. These limits have been chosen to prevent age-grading. When comparing the young group and the old group with a mid-group, the latter could turn out to be a disturbing factor (De Vink 2004, p. 130). In other words, age-grading could occur (De Vink 2004, p. 130). Age-grading refers to the changes in language which occur in an individual's lifetime while there is communal stability (Meyerhoff 2006, p. 145). However, when it appears that the majority of the available participants are between the age of 30 and 50, these participants will be taken into consideration. What is compelling about comparing data from young and old participants is that it might result in the unfolding of trends about dialect levelling. This term was defined by Hinskens as: "the gradual abandonment by groups of speakers of dialectal elements or structures" (1996, p. 5). While Meyerhoff defines it as the "reduction of differences distinguishing regional dialects or accents" and "one possible outcome of contact between speakers of different varieties" (2006, p. 239). Daan further explains why addressing older dialect speakers is relevant for Perceptual Dialectology:

In some parts of the Dutch language area, the dialects have been subject to rapid changes in

recent decades, changes, which are not reflected in the material from earlier dates. A large proportion of the respondents of the Dialect bureau are older dialect speakers. They are unaware of these changes or have simply shut themselves off from them, because for them the dialect of their youth is the dialect. The changes have not been noticed, have been denied, or have been rejected as wrong. But even then, the dialect was no unified entity because then, as now, regional varieties were not realized in the same way at different social levels (Daan 1999, p. 18).

Most probably, the older dialect speakers will be able to hear and name the slight differences between dialects in the region while younger speakers are not aware of them.

Furthermore, all participants have to live in the town where they were born and that at least one of their parents has to share their child's origin. This because, naturally, children learn to speak from their parents and thus take over their parents' way of speaking, i.e. dialect. Therefore, people who are born and raised in, for example, Roosendaal, but have parents who come from a different part of the Netherlands most probably will not be native speakers of the dialect spoken in Roosendaal.

All participants include acquaintances of mine or acquaintances of those acquaintances. As I grew up in the studied area, I know people that live in the area. The sampling technique, therefore, simply included me ringing, emailing and messaging people that I knew were born and raised *Roosendaalers*, *Oudenboschenaren* or *Rucphenaren* and asked them whether they would be willing to participate and whether they knew anyone else that I could approach who complied to my criteria.

Based on the interviews, all participants were ranked on a scale from 1 to 5 that states at which level they are speakers of the dialect. On this scale, 1 represents a speaker who does not speak the dialect at all – in other words, a speaker who only speaks standard Dutch. On the other hand, level 5 represents a native speaker of the regional dialect. The dialect level of each participant is determined both on the basis of his or her own judgement and on the recordings that have been made of them speaking. Lists of the participants from each village are presented below.

Participants from Roosendaal

From the table below, it can be derived that 30% of the participants from Roosendaal are between the ages of 15 and 30 and 70% is between the ages of 50 and 85. The age difference between the

youngest and oldest participant is 65 years. Furthermore, most of the participants can be classified as middle class. Nonetheless, when looking at the education/work column this group of participants is not at all homogeneous as a lot of different professions are represented.

Table 3.1 Participants Roosendaal

Sex	Age	Place of Birth	Mother's Place of Birth	Father's Place of Birth	Education/Work	Dialect level
Female	16	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Ridderkerk	High school student	2
Female	53	Roosendaal	Klundert	Roosendaal	Bank employee	3
Male	18	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Brielle	High school graduate	2
Female	54	Roosendaal	Zierkzee	Roosendaal	Manager	2
Male	81	Roosendaal	Steenbergen	Roosendaal	Retired contractor	5
Male	58	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Policy officer Rucphen	4
Female	59	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Hairdresser	3
Female	30	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Dutch teacher	2
Female	52	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Hoogerheide	Primary school teacher	3
Female	55	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Roosendaal	Foster care worker	3

Participants from Oudenbosch

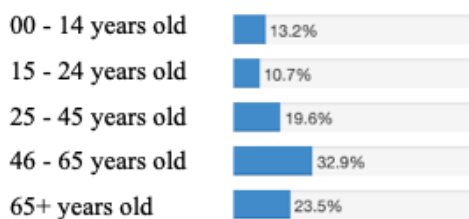
From table 3.2 it can be derived that 2 of the participants from Oudenbosch are between the ages of 15 and 30 (20%) and 8 are between the ages of 50 and 85 (80%). The age difference between the youngest and oldest participant is 55 years. As can be seen from their place of birth and the places of birth of the participants' parents, all ten participants are 100% from Oudenbosch origin. As can be derived from the education/work column, in comparison to Roosendaal, this group is characterized by more social diversity. Moreover, both participants who live within the village's centre and participants who live in the newer neighbourhood are included in this study. This is relevant, particularly for Oudenbosch, as some participants have mentioned that while the use of the dialect is declining in Oudenbosch, this decline seems to be less apparent in the old centre of the village.

Table 3.2 Participants Oudenbosch

Sex	Age	Place of Birth	Mother's Place of Birth	Father's Place of Birth	Education/Work	Dialect level
Male	42	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Secretary Welfare Commission	2
Male	59	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Engineer	2
Female	65	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Retired science teacher	2
Female	58	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Manager	3
Female	65	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Cashier	4
Male	74	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Civil Servant	3
Male	67	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Retired	5
Female	65	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Retired	5
Female	23	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Industrial designer	2
Male	19	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Oudenbosch	Gym teacher	3

Participants from Rucphen

When it comes to the participants from Rucphen, only one participant (1%) belongs to the younger age group. Thus, 90% of these participants is older than 50. The average age of this older age group is 69,3. The reason why the older age group is better represented in this group of participants is the fact that population aging is an issue in this village. The majority of the young people living in Rucphen are children up to the age of 18, as after school most adolescents leave the village to study elsewhere. More young participants could have been found, however, the group of participants presented here is representative of the population of Rucphen (see graph 3.1).

Graph 3.1 Population of Rucphen²

² Taken from <https://www.oozo.nl/cijfers/rucph>

Table 3.3 Participants Rucphen

Sex	Age	Place of Birth	Mother's Place of Birth	Father's Place of Birth	Education/Work	Dialect level
Female	75	Rucphen	Sint Willebrord	Rucphen	Retired	4
Female	72	Rucphen	Zegge	Rupchen	Retired	3
Female	56	Rucphen	Schijf	Rucphen	Nurse	3
Male	78	Rucphen	Rucphen	Etten-Leur	Graphic design	3
Female	75	Rucphen	Rucphen	Schijf	Administrative worker	3
Male	79	Rucphen	Rucphen	Rucphen	Retired	5
Female	63	Rucphen	Rucphen	Oudenbosch	Stay-at-home mom	4
Male	20	Rucphen	Rucphen	Etten-Leur	College student	2
Female	55	Rucphen	Rucphen	Sint Willebrord	Stay-at-home mom	3
Female	71	Rucphen	Rucphen	Rucphen	Bank employee	3

3.3. Procedure

Face-to-face interviews were held with the participants and every participant was asked the same questions (presented on the next page). It is relevant to mention that I, the interviewer, speaks – and thus spoke to the participants – Standard Dutch. I, however, did live most of my childhood in Oudenbosch and I am, thus, familiar with this dialect. Furthermore, to prevent the interviewees from giving biased answers, they did not fully know what the purpose of the interview was or what this research is about. The only information provided was that it regarded a study on West-Brabant dialects. All interviews were recorded with the participant's consent. These recordings served as the material or data for this study. Moreover, the recordings helped when it comes to determining the participants' dialect levels – that is to say, the degree to which the participant uses the dialect in his, or her, everyday speech – and to determine phonological elements that characterise the dialects.

During this process a challenge surfaced. A sort of language barrier presented itself between myself and some participants from Rucphen. These particular participants spoke a thick dialect, which proved to challenge smooth communication. Through repeating questions and asking for clarification, I was, fortunately, able to collect the necessary data.

Interview Design

In order to achieve consistency when it comes to the interviews, all interviews involved certain fixed steps. Although it is expected that more questions will arise on the basis of the participants' answers, all interviews will include the following steps and questions:

- Introduction (who am I, who is the interviewee)
- A discussion of the background of the interviewee (age, place of birth, parents, education, etc.) will provide certain variables.
- Can you tell me something about the town you live in?
- Can you name any differences between your town and nearby towns?
- What can you tell me about the dialect spoken in your hometown?
- Are there any differences between your dialect and the dialect of nearby towns?
- What characterises your language?
- Are there any typical words, which you believe are only used in your dialect?
- Are there any sounds, which are typical for your dialect?
- Do/have you notice(d) any changes in your dialect?
- In your opinion, is the regional dialect still being spoken in your place of residence?
- Would you say you are a speaker of the regional dialect spoken in your place of residence?

3.4. Data processing

As already has been mentioned above, the data that has been collected exists of recordings made of the interview held with the participants. Transcripts of these recordings have been made. These transcripts have brought similarities, differences, and exceptionalities in the dialects to light. Furthermore, on the basis of these transcripts, wordlists have been made which present any typical words and idioms in the dialects of Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen that the participants have mentioned during the interviews. The findings that have been brought to light in the data will be presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

4. Results separate villages

4.1. Introduction

This is the first out of three chapters that present the results. In this chapter, the individual towns are introduced with the help of the information on them the participants have provided. After that, the overall intelligibility of all three towns is discussed. That is to say, how well I, as investigator, could understand the participants when they spoke in their dialect. The last section of this chapter goes into the differences between the towns according to the participants, to give more insight into what the participants think about each other's place of residence.

4.2. Roosendaal

According to the participants, Roosendaal has experienced rapid growth in the last few decades. However, the inhabitants of Roosendaal, as well as people from Rucphen and Oudenbosch, state

Map 4.1 The old city centre of Roosendaal'



that it is a rather small city. This contrast can be explained by the fact that Roosendaal's city centre has remained small while a lot of suburbs have been added to the city. Although Roosendaal is defined as a city, inhabitants mention that it still knows a very strong *ons-kent-ons gevoel* "us-knows-us feeling", meaning that it still has a strong community feel to it. In other words, while it technically is a city, residents feel like it still has the values and the feel of a small village. One of the residents, however,

mentioned that he believes this only to be true for the older centre of the city, which lies between the two main highways of the area (see map 4.1). The suburbs that lay outside these highways are

neighbourhoods that were added to the city after the 1980s and do not know a strong feeling of community.

Interestingly, inhabitants of the city feel like Roosendaal is a very culturally orientated city with a big community consisting out of numerous associations and clubs, which focus mainly on the arts, while it does not have a historical centre. *Carnaval*, an originally Christianized pagan celebration prior to the fasting period appears to be the glue that holds this cultural heritage together. Section 6.2 goes into the role of *Carnaval* in the conservation of regional dialects. On the other hand, both residents of the city as people living in the surrounding villages have mentioned that Roosendaal has lost its central position in the region as a popular shopping destination, as the shopping centre has known better days. Breda and Etten-Leur, cities that lie west of Roosendaal, have taken over this role. Some participants blame the narrow-minded attitude, which, according to them, characterizes the inhabitants of Roosendaal. They state that the city fears innovation and therefore does not keep abreast of the times.

From the data extracted from interviews with inhabitants of the town Roosendaal, seven issues about the Roosendaal dialect have emerged. Together the participants have brought to light *h-dropping*, lack of articulation, the diphthongisation of [a:], the replacement of [a:] by [e], the use of different pronouns, differences in the formation of diminutives, and the addition of [j] after [e]. The table below shows which participants mentioned which issue.

Table 4.1 Dialect features Roosendaal

Participant	<i>h-procope</i>	Lack of articulation	[a υ]	Pronouns	Diminutives	[j]	[ϵ]
1	x	x	x			x	
2		x		x	x		
3	x	x	x	x	x		x
4	x	x	x	x	x		x
5							
6	x	x		x		x	
7	x	x	x			x	x
8	x		x			x	
9	x	x			x		
10	x						x
Totals	80%	70%	50%	40%	40%	40%	30%

³ Map taken and modified from <https://data.nlextract.nl/opentopo/400pixkm/gem/Gem-Roosendaal-OpenTopo.jpg>

As can be seen above 80% of the participants mentioned the deletion of *h* in word-initial position, which makes this the most noteworthy issue according to the participants. Next in line is the issue of articulation, which was mentioned by seven out of the ten participants (70%). 50% of the participants noticed the deviation of the pronunciation of the *aa*-sound, which is often produced as [aʊ] in Roosendaal. 40% of the participants acknowledged the existence of different forms of pronouns and diminutives in the dialect spoken in Roosendaal. The same number of *Roosendaalers* “people from Roosendaal” indicated that [e:] in word-final position is often followed by a [j] sound in their dialect. Finally, three out of the ten participants (30%) noticed that the same *aa*-sound that is often pronounced as [aʊ] is also often represented as [e]. The following sections will explore these issues based on the participants’ knowledge about them and explain them with the help of existing research on the topics.

4.3. Oudenbosch

According to the participants, Oudenbosch is a remarkable village. Not only because of the two miniature replicas of the St. Peter's Basilica that adorns the town's centre but also because of its rich history. Politics, education, and religion have all come together in this small village near the Belgium border. Some mention that while the surrounding villages focussed on farming, the inhabitants of Oudenbosch considered themselves superior as they associated themselves with an exceptionally large church and high-quality education provided by the two boarding schools. One interviewee told a story about how, in the previous century, people from surrounding villages started to dislike the *Oudenboschenaren* “people from Oudenbosch” and told each other about how *Oudenboschenaren de koepel in de bol hadden* “had the church's dome in their heads” which was wordplay on the expression *het hoog in de bol hebben* “have it high in their head” (meaning “to have an attitude problem”) which referred to the idea that they had become self-absorbed because they had a large church with a large dome. It is interesting to notice that a lot of the participants know a lot about the town's history and seem to find this important knowledge to have and share.

From the data extracted from interviews with inhabitants, nine issues about the dialect spoken in Oudenbosch emerged. Together the participants have brought to light that Oudenbosch knows French influences, a lack of proper articulation, a typical [ɛ]-sound, a pronunciation of [a:] as [aʊ], the addition of [j] after double vowels, the addition of the word *eef*

in the same way that the English use tags, a clear pronunciation distinction between *au* and *ou* and, *h*-dropping. The table below shows which participants mentioned which issues.

Table 4.2 Dialectal features Oudenbosch

Participant	Articulation	French influences	Pronouns	[aɔ]	[j]	h-dropping	[ɛ]	eej	Au/ou
11	x	x							
12	x		x	x			x		
13	x	x	x	x	x				
14	x	x	x						
15	x								
16	x	x	x	x		x			x
17	x			x		x		x	
18	x					x	x		
19					x				
20	x				x			x	
Total	90%	40%	40%	40%	30%	30%	20%	20%	10%

4.4. Rucphen

According to the participants, Rucphen is a small, quiet town where everybody knows each other. Some of the residents, however, have expressed that this *ons-kent-ons* phenomenon has been diminishing the last few years since people from outside Rucphen have settled in the village. Alongside this, the majority of the younger generation has left the village instead of staying as their parents have done. All in all, the structure of the population of the village has been changing in recent years. This, of course, also has had an impact on its dialect.

Together the interviewed *Rucphenaren* have mentioned four dialect features belonging to the Rucphen dialect: the [ɛ]-sound, the [aɔ]-sound, rising diphthongs and the idea that *Rucphens* is a heavy dialect.

Table 4.3 Dialectal features Rucphen

Participant	[ɛ]	Heavy dialect	[aɔ]	Rising diphthongs
21		x		
22				
23	x			
24			x	
25				
26				
27	x		x	
28	x	x	x	
29	x	x		x
30	x			x
Total	50%	30%	30%	20%

4.5. Overall intelligibility

This section discusses how understandable I thought the studied dialects to be. The statements presented below are based on both my own experience with the dialects through the interviews with the speakers and on the phonetic features that could cause difficulties when it comes to intelligibility.

Roosendaal

Of all three dialects studied the one spoken in Roosendaal is the most intelligible of the three for speakers of SD. Although this might have been different in the past, the Roosendaal dialect lies closest to SD at the moment.

Lack of articulation

Participants have mentioned that *Roosendaalers* tend not to pronounce syllable final consonants at ending of words. Examples that the participants gave were, among others, *is goe* [ɪs ɣu] “that is okay”, which is pronounced in SD as *is goed* [ɪs xut]⁴, and *wa* [wɑ] “what”, which is *wat* [wɑt] in SD. Other examples that were given can be found in table 4 in Appendix I.

⁴ The notion of the difference between the *g* in Dutch, that is to say [x] in SD and [ɣ] in Brabant and Limburg, did not come up in the interviews. I believe this is because people consider the soft-*g* to be a widely

As can be seen in these examples, this lack of articulation mainly involves not pronouncing the final consonant of the word. When it comes to phrases and sentences the Roosendaal dialect, and all the dialects spoken in West-Brabant, is a very concise language. Standard practice in these dialects is that multiple words from Standard Dutch are brought together into one word in the dialect, like a compound. An example of this is the phrase *bettie akkumaa* which is dialect for *bijt hij als ik hem aai* meaning “will he bite when I pet him” when referring to a dog. These two words are a composition of six words from SD. Weijnen writes that this way of shortening language is characteristic of the dynamics of dialect (1966, pp. 38-39). As will be shown below, this dialect feature also occurs in Oudenbosch and Rucphen, though in different ways.

Oudenbosch

The dialect spoken in Oudenbosch lies in between Roosendaal and Rucphen when it comes to intelligibility. The reason for this probably is that on a phonetic level the dialect features are somewhat more complex than those in Roosendaal. In other words, by outsiders, this dialect is most probably perceived as a thicker dialect than the Roosendaal one but less thick than the dialect spoken in Rucphen.

Lack of Articulation

90% of all *Oudenboschenaren* mention that their dialect is characterized by its shortness. That is to say, words in this dialect are often not fully pronounced or put together with surrounding words to form a new word with a phrasal meaning. An example that includes both of these forms of shortness is the phrase *wasouk nou zegge?* “what shall I say?”, which is *wat zou ik nou eens zeggen?* In SD. In this example, the SD words *wat* and *zou* are put together to form a new word with phrasal meaning *wasouk*. Besides, SD *zeggen* loses its final *-n*. More examples that were given by the participants can be found in table 9 in Appendix I.

While the Roosendaal dialect is mainly characterised by unfinished words dialect spoken in Oudenbosch mainly involves the compounding of words. From the examples given above, it can be concluded that most of these compounds involve verb phrases, with the exception of *agge*.

known feature of the southern dialects in the Netherlands. Because of its celebrity and because participants have not elaborated on this feature the decision has been made not to take up this feature in the results. The distinction between these two phonemes, however, has been made in the phonemic transcriptions provided in the text.

Often the verb phrase is put together with the preceding noun phrase to result in a single morphological unit, like in *k'aar*, *wasouk*, *wadist*, *hoeist*, *das*, *hedde*, *wittet*, and *kikn's* (see table 9 in Appendix 1). In the case of *agge* it is the conjunction *als* “if” and the Oudenbosch pronoun *ge* “you” that have been put together into a single word. Besides this compounding practice, this dialect is also prone to contractions. Examples of this from the table above are, *zegge* and *nie*. As these examples show, the contraction often involves a loss of the final consonant of the word or last syllable thereof.

Rucphen

Out of the three discussed dialect, the one spoken in Rucphen is the thickest of them all. As an outsider, it is often difficult to follow speakers of this dialect as they tend to use a considerable amount of deviant sounds when one is used to speaking and hearing SD.

Heavy dialect

70% of the Rucphen residents have emphasized that dialect is still being used throughout the whole town. Specifically, they mention that their dialect is *plat* or *boers*. The latter term can be defined as boorish or belonging to the countryside. The former literally means ‘flat’ but in this context it indicates that the dialect is thick. Ironically, originally *plat* means *duidelijk* “clearly” (Heestermans, 1989, p. 55). Clearly, the meaning of this word has shifted throughout the years.

Furthermore, 60% of the participants from Roosendaal express that they believe the dialect spoken in Rucphen to be thicker than their own. However, participants have also noticed that the younger generation (aged 30 and below) do not use the dialect that often anymore. Education is being blamed for this loss, as well as the expansion of peoples’ environments. People no longer limit themselves to their place of residence when it comes to their education and work. Besides, the last few decades children of born and raised *Rupchenaren* have left the village to study elsewhere in the country. This is a development that can be seen all over the country and which has (had) a profound impact on dialects. Section 6.3 explains this in more detail.

4.6. Differences between the towns according to the participants

All participants were asked about what they believed to be the difference between their place of residence and the other two towns, the purpose of which was to determine the positions these

villages hold within the region according to the residents. All of the participants (100%) mentioned that Roosendaal is much bigger in comparison to Oudenbosch and Rucphen and that it officially is a city while the other two are villages. Multiple participants from all three towns also brought up that Roosendaal holds a governing position in the region, mainly because of its size. Furthermore, when comparing Oudenbosch and Rucphen, participants observed that Oudenbosch is a fairly big village while Rucphen is a - what the Dutch call - *gehucht* “hamlet”. Interestingly, participants from both Rucphen and Roosendaal did not know much about Oudenbosch, both when it came to its characteristics as a village and when it came to dialect features. Most participants from Oudenbosch, on the other hand, were familiar with Roosendaal but not with Rucphen. The participants’ familiarity with the dialects from the other villages is visualized in the table below. This table shows which participants were able to provide information about the other dialects (+) and which participants were not (-).

Table 4.4 Familiarity with other dialects

Roosendaal			Oudenbosch			Rucphen		
Participant	O’bosch	Rucp.	Participant	R’daal	Rucp.	Participant	R’daal	O’bosch
1.	-	+	11.	+	-	21.	-	-
2.	-	+	12.	+	-	22.	-	-
3.	-	+	13.	+	-	23.	-	-
4.	-	+	14.	+	+	24.	-	+
5.	+	+	15.	+	+	25.	-	-
6.	+	-	16.	-	-	26.	-	-
7.	+	+	17.	+	-	27.	+	-
8.	-	-	18.	-	+	28.	+	-
9.	-	-	19.	-	-	29.	-	-
10.	-	-	20.	+	+	30.	-	-

5. Results: lexical and phonetic findings

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the linguistic findings that resulted from the information provided by the participants. These results are discussed according to the five categories introduced in Chapter 1: lexical features, phonetic features, overall intelligibility, lexical category, and usage context. Each section in this chapter discusses one of these categories. Each section in turn first discusses the results found in Roosendaal, than those found in Oudenbosch and lastly those found in Rucphen.

5.2. Lexical features

Roosendaal

Typical words

In the interviews, the participants have mentioned words, which they believed to be typical for the dialect in Roosendaal. All words that were mentioned – even if only one participant mentioned them – are taken up into the wordlist below. All words were categorized first and foremost based on their lexical category. Besides that, they are also categorized by usage context. That is to say, it has been listed to which category these words belong semantically. Furthermore, table 5.1. below shows the SD equivalent of each word as well as the English translation. Unfortunately, the words' usage contexts do not seem to relate to a particular part of the history of Roosendaal. There are, however, some interesting stories to tell about some of these particular words. The word for baby (*pattekaole*), for example, seems to originate from the West-Brabant word *Pattekaal* which means “completely bald” (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 98). Furthermore, it is interesting that the word *boereteene* is said to come from Roosendaal as Weijnen determined that it originates from Tilburg (2009, p. 30).

Pielekes and *tullepetaon*, are examples of words that have *Carnaval* to thank for their survival. *Tullepetaon* literally means “guinea fowl” but is well known as it refers to the residents of Roosendaal during *Carnaval* festivities. When it comes to *pielekes*, participants have explained that they only know this word because it appears in one of the most well-known *Carnaval* songs

from Roosendaal. Further explanations of the meaning of these words and their origin can be found in appendix II.

Table 5.1 Typical words Roosendaal

Nr.	Roosendaal	SD	English	Realm	Lexical category
1.	<i>Anniebroek</i>	<i>Vlaamse gaai</i>	“Jay”	Animal	Noun
2.	<i>Batten</i>	<i>Laarzen</i>	“Boots”	Clothing	Noun
3.	<i>Boere tenen</i>	<i>Tuinbonen</i>	“Broad beans”	Food	Noun
4.	<i>Botjes</i>	<i>Schaatsen</i>	“Skates”	Clothing	Noun
5.	<i>Duimke</i>	<i>Latje</i>	“Slat”	Other	Noun
6.	<i>Errebeesie</i>	<i>Aardbei</i>	“Strawberry”	Food	Noun
7.	<i>Frak</i>	<i>Jas</i>	“Coat”	Clothing	Noun
8.	<i>Kets</i>	<i>Vork</i>	“Fork”	Utensils	Noun
9.	<i>Muurzeiker</i>	<i>Mier</i>	“Ant”	Animal	Noun
10.	<i>Pattekale</i>	<i>Pasgeboren baby</i>	“New-born baby”	People	Noun
11.	<i>Pieleke</i>	<i>Kuikentje</i>	“Chick”	Animal	Noun
12.	<i>Pilske</i>	<i>Biertje</i>	“A beer”	Food	Noun
13.	<i>Pletske</i>	<i>Binnenplaatsje/pleintje</i>	“Courtyard/square”	Place	Noun
14.	<i>Stikkebesie</i>	<i>Kruisbes</i>	“Gooseberry”	Food	Noun
15.	<i>Tullepetaon</i>	<i>Parelhoen</i>	“Guinea fowl”	Animal	Noun
16.	<i>Akkenaoje</i>	<i>Discussiëren</i>	“To Argue”	Interaction	Verb
17.	<i>Lullepoaten</i>	<i>Kermen van de pijn</i>	“To lie on the floor groaning in pain”	Action	Verb
18.	<i>(k) Waar</i>	<i>(ik) Was</i>	(I) “Was”	State of being	Verb
19.	<i>Bels</i>	<i>Belgisch</i>	“Belgium”	Place	Adj.
20.	<i>Gère</i>	<i>Graag</i>	“Gladly”/“thanks”	Interaction	Adj.
21.	<i>Subiet</i>	<i>Zometeen</i>	“In a moment”	Time	Adv.
22.	<i>Jot</i>	<i>Ja</i>	“Yes”	Interaction	Excl.
23.	<i>Neut</i>	<i>Nee</i>	“No”	Interaction	Excl.
24.	<i>Oudoe</i>	<i>Dag</i>	“Bye”	Interaction	Excl.
25.	<i>Dienun</i>	<i>Die</i>	“That”	Other	Dem.
26.	<i>Dunun</i>	<i>Die</i>	“That”	Other	Dem.
27.	<i>De</i>	<i>Je</i>	“You”	People	Pron.
28.	<i>Tie</i>	<i>Hij</i>	“He”	People	Pron.
29.	<i>Zullie</i>	<i>Zij</i>	“They”	People	Pron.

Typical idioms

On the basis of the interviews with the participants from Roosendaal a few idioms that exist in the dialect spoken in Roosendaal have been established. These idioms are presented in table 5.2 and are treated like lexical items in this study because Roosendaal is the only place whose residents have mentioned idioms to be part of their dialect. For that matter they cannot be

compared to anything other than words provided by other participants. More information about these idioms can be found in the wordlist in Appendix I.

Table 5.2 Idioms from Roosendaal

Roosendaal	ABN	English
(1) <i>Die zal geen zand meer afgaan</i>	<i>Hij heeft lekker gegeten</i>	“He has enjoyed a good meal”
(2) <i>Hij heeft een nachtje buiten gelegen</i>	<i>Hij is niet mentaal gezond</i>	“He has got mental health issues”
(3) <i>Daar ligt er een te lullepoaten</i>	<i>Er is iemand gevallen</i>	“Someone fell down”

Pronouns

Besides different nouns and verbs, speakers of the Roosendaal dialect often use different pronouns than speakers of SD or other dialects in the Netherlands would. Participants mentioned that speakers of the Roosendaal dialect use different demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, and personal pronouns. Multiple examples were provided by the participants, amongst others the demonstrative pronouns *dienen* [di:nən] and *dunun* [dunən] “that”, which are morphologically seen as more complex than their SD equivalent *die* [di:]. More examples can be found in table 1 in Appendix I. Most probably numerous more versions exist but have not come to light in this study as a result of its size.

Two participants also mentioned that gender is often ignored when it comes to these kinds of words. People can refer to both their son and their daughter by saying *tie* or *ij*. These personal pronouns originally are male but can also be used to refer to females. According to Heestermans and Stroop *ij* is a regular occurring third person masculine pronoun (2002, p. 58). They also write that SD *hij* “he” often is pronounced like *ie* [i:] when it is unstressed and positioned after a verb or conjunction (2002, p. 58). It seems probable that the *tie* form that is used in Roosendaal is a derivative of this more widely used *ie* form. Furthermore, Heestermans and Stroop go into the third person plural pronoun, which becomes *zullie* when it is emphasized (2002, p. 59). This form finds its origin in a combination of the words *zij* ‘they’ and *lieden* “persons” (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 59). As will be shown below, this phenomenon is also found in Oudenbosch.

Diminutives

Normally, Dutch diminutives are made by adding either *-pje* [pjə], *-the* [tjə], *-kje* [kjə], or *-je* [jə] to the noun depending on the coda of the final syllable of the word. In Roosendaal, however, they often use a different form as a diminutive suffix, namely *-ke(n)*. Examples that were given by the participants are *meske* instead of *meisje* “girl”, *pilske* instead of *pilsje* “a glass of beer” and *pletske* instead of *plaatsje* “little town”. Another diminutive form that came up during the interviews was the use of *-ie*, in words like *beesie* [beisi:], meaning “little animal” or “insect”. A speaker of SD would say *beestje* [beɪsjə]. Weijnen notes that it seems like sound-expressive elements have slowed sound evolutions down (1971, p. 9). He uses this argument to explain the presence of the archaic *ie* [i:] in West-Brabant diminutive forms like *bietje* (*beetje* in SD) (Weijnen 1971, p. 9).

Van der Wal and Van Bree note that the grammarian Van Heule wrote about this dialectal variation in 1625 and that he preferred it above all other variations (2008, pp. 211). Thirty years later, however, the grammarian Leupernius wrote that the *-ken* form had lost a battle against the *-je* form from Holland and that the latter was on its way to becoming the norm (Van der Wal & Van Bree 2008, p. 211-212).

Oudenbosch

Typical words

All participants have mentioned words, which they believed to be typical for the dialect in Oudenbosch. All of these are taken up into the wordlist below. Moreover, all words were categorized on the basis of their lexical category. Besides that, they are also categorized by usage context. That is to say, it has been listed to which category these words belong semantically. Furthermore, the table below shows the SD equivalent of each word as well as the English translation. Just like the words in table 5.1, the words in this table have been categorized according to the usage context they belong to in order to establish a pattern, which could be linked to the village’s history, just like in Roosendaal most of the words are part of everyday vernacular and include things that people would find around them on a daily basis, but the words’ usage contexts do not seem to relate to a particular part of the history of Oudenbosch. Further explanations of the meaning of these words and their origin can be found in appendix II.

Table 5.3 Typical words Oudenbosch

Nr.	Oudenbosch	ABN	English	Realm	Lexical category
1.	<i>Court</i>	<i>Schoolplein</i>	“Schoolyard”	Place	Noun
2.	<i>Èrbeesje</i>	<i>Aardbei</i>	“Strawberry”	Food	Noun
3.	<i>Fourket</i>	<i>Vork</i>	“Fork”	Utensil	Noun
4.	<i>Jong</i>	<i>Kind</i>	“Child”	People	Noun
5.	<i>Kaaj</i>	<i>Kade</i>	“Quay”	Place	Noun
6.	<i>Peejestamp</i>	<i>Hutspot</i>	“Hodgepotch”	Food	Noun
7.	<i>Plets^s</i>	<i>Plein</i>	“Public square”	Place	Noun
8.	<i>Puit</i>	<i>Kikker</i>	“Frog”	Animal	Noun
9.	<i>Raamlijs</i>	<i>Raamkozijn</i>	“Window frame”	Other	Noun
10.	<i>Raamplacet</i>	<i>Raamkozijn</i>	“Window frame”	Other	Noun
11.	<i>Schelles</i>	<i>Straf</i>	“Punishment”	Interaction	Noun
12.	<i>Verket</i>	<i>Vork</i>	“Fork”	Utensil	Noun
13.	<i>Akkederen</i>	<i>Opschieten met</i>	“Get along with”	Interaction	Verb
14.	<i>Akkenaoje</i>	<i>Discussieren</i>	“To argue”	Interaction	Verb
15.	<i>Blèten</i>	<i>Huilen</i>	“To cry”	Action	Verb
16.	<i>Oprijven</i>	<i>Harken</i>	“To rake”	Action	Verb
17.	<i>Sneukelen</i>	<i>Peuzelen</i>	“To munch”	Action	Verb
18.	<i>Leut</i>	<i>Pret</i>	“Fun”	Other	Adj.
19.	<i>Gèrre</i>	<i>Graag</i>	“Gladly”	Interaction	Adv.
20.	<i>Tie</i>	<i>Hij/zij</i>	“He”/“she”	People	Pron.
21.	<i>Ou</i>	<i>U</i>	“You” (polite)	People	Pron.
22.	<i>Eej</i>	<i>Toch</i>	“Right” (tag)	Interaction	Excl.
23.	<i>Houdoe</i>	<i>Dag</i>	“Bye”	Interaction	Excl.

French influences

From the typical Oudenbosch words the participants have mentioned, it becomes clear that some of them are from French origin. 40% of the participants were also aware of the fact that the dialect spoken in Oudenbosch knows these French influences. They also all contributed this to the two boarding schools run by the lay brothers and sisters at which French used to be the vernacular. Examples of this are *court*, which has only undergone a change in meaning from “public square” in French to “schoolyard” in Oudenbosch, and *akkenaoje* “to argue”, which comes from the French word *agonir* “to fight” and has thus undergone some changes in both spelling, pronunciation and meaning. More examples can be found in table 5 in Appendix I.

The most important factor in the number of loanwords in a dialect is the dialect region’s history. One of the participants, active with the religious and cultural preservation group in Oudenbosch, explained that Oudenbosch has a rich history which has known a lot of involvement

of the French language. Politics, the church, and education were all fields in which the French language was often used and all three of these fields play a part in the history of Oudenbosch. Furthermore, as Oudenbosch is located close to the Belgium border and has a train station, it is also closely tied to this country, especially Antwerp, in which the French language holds a prominent position. Heestermans also mentioned that a fair number of French words entered the West-Brabant dialects through their connection with Antwerp (1988, p. 14).

Pronouns

Just like in the Roosendaal dialect, *Oudenboschenaren* often use different pronouns in comparison to speakers of SD or other dialects in the Netherlands. Examples that were given are *gij* [ɣɛi] “you”, which is *jij* [jɛi] in SD, and *hij* [hɛi]. The difference between the latter and its SD equivalent is not its spelling or pronunciation but how it can be used. Where SD *hij* can only be used to refer to a male subject, Oudenbosch *hij* can also be used to refer to women or girls. *Oudenboschenaren* share this curious habit with *Roosendaalers*. Other examples of pronouns that are used in Oudenbosch can be found in table 6 in Appendix I.

eej

In Oudenbosch speakers often add *eej* after their sentences when the intent to ask the person they speak if they agree. It can be translated to *toch* “right” in SD and works in a similar manner as the English tag-sentence system. An example that was given is *wa ist mooi weer, eej?* “the weather is lovely, isn’t it?”

Rucphen

Typical words

All participants have mentioned words, which they believed to be typical for the dialect in Rucphen. All of these are taken up into the wordlist below. Moreover, all words were categorized on the basis of their lexical category. Besides that, they are also categorized by usage context. That is to say, it has been listed to which category these words belong semantically. Furthermore, the table below shows the SD equivalent of each word as well as the English translation.

Table 5.4 Typical words Rucphen

Nr.	Rucphen	ABN	English	Realm	Lexical category
1.	<i>Baamus</i>	<i>Najaar</i>	“Autumn”	Surroundings	Noun
2.	<i>Errebeezie</i>	<i>Aardbei</i>	“Strawberry”	Food	Noun
3.	<i>Errepul</i>	<i>Aardappel</i>	“Potato”	Food	Noun
4.	<i>Hof</i>	<i>Tuin</i>	“Backyard”	Place	Noun
5.	<i>Ket</i>	<i>Vork</i>	“Fork”	Utensil	Noun
6.	<i>Kuus</i>	<i>Varken</i>	“Pig”	Animal	Noun
7.	<i>Menmetjes</i>	<i>Jongens</i>	“Boys”	People	Noun
8.	<i>Monnebakkus</i>	<i>Masker</i>	“Mask”	Utensil	Noun
9.	<i>Picollo</i>	<i>Ijsje</i>	“Ice cream”	Food	Noun
10.	<i>Plee</i>	<i>Toilet</i>	“Toilet”	Utensil	Noun
11.	<i>Plets</i>	<i>Stoep</i>	“Pavement”	Surroundings	Noun
12.	<i>Vrumjes</i>	<i>Meisjes</i>	“Girls”	People	Noun
13.	<i>Vrummes</i>	<i>Vrouw</i>	“Woman”	People	Noun
14.	<i>Waarft</i>	<i>Erf</i>	“Yard”	Place	Noun

Just like the words in table 5.1 and 5.3, the words in this table have been categorized according to the usage context they belong to, to establish a pattern, which could be linked to the village’s history. Just like in Roosendaal and Oudenbosch most of the words are part of everyday vernacular and include things that people would find around them on a daily basis, but do not hint as to the history of the village. What stands out here, is that, in contrast to Roosendaal and Oudenbosch, all words mentioned in Rucphen are nouns. Further explanations of the meaning of these words and their origin can be found in appendix II.

5.3. Phonetic features

Roosendaal

Besides typical words, the *Roosendaalers* have also mentioned some typical pronunciations. These pronunciations are shown in table 5.5 below. Noteworthy is the fact that there are two words to refer to the SD word *laarzen* “boots” in Roosendaal; namely *batten* and *lèrzen*. Out of these two, the former is an archaic word, which is only still being used by the elderly. Interestingly enough ‘Horace Batten’ is the name of a high-end British boot maker. Furthermore, the West-Brabant way of referring to walking through snow or mud is called *batsen*. However, these are mere speculations about the etymology of the word *batten*. We do know, however, that

somewhere in time the word *batten* fell out of use and people started to use the SD dutch word *laarzen* with a West-Brabant touch, changing the [a:] into a [ɛ].

Table 5.5 Typical pronunciations Roosendaal

Nr.	Roosendaal	ABN	English	Realm	Lexical category
1.	<i>Aai</i>	<i>Haai</i>	“Shark”	Animal	Noun
2.	<i>Eareppel</i>	<i>Aardappel</i>	“Potato”	Food	Noun
3.	<i>Kès</i>	<i>Kaas</i>	“Cheese”	Food	Noun
4.	<i>Lèrzen</i>	<i>Laarzen</i>	“Boots”	Clothing	Noun
5.	<i>Mayonais</i>	<i>Mayonaise</i>	“Mayonnaise”	Food	Noun
6.	<i>Mèske</i>	<i>Meisje</i>	“Girl”	People	Noun
7.	<i>Roosendaol</i>	<i>Roosendaal</i>	“Roosendaal”	Place	Noun
8.	<i>Taol</i>	<i>Taal</i>	“Language”	Other	Noun.
9.	<i>Uis</i>	<i>Huis</i>	“House”	Place	Noun.
10.	<i>Geeten</i>	<i>Gegeten</i>	“Eaten”	Action	Verb
11.	<i>Gève</i>	<i>Geven</i>	“To give”	Action	Verb
12.	<i>Schètsen</i>	<i>Schaatsen</i>	“To Ice skate”	Action	Verb
13.	<i>Speulen</i>	<i>Spelen</i>	“To play”	Action	Verb
14.	<i>Oren</i>	<i>Horen</i>	“To hear”	Action	Verb
15.	<i>Wittet</i>	<i>Weet</i>	“Know”	State of being	Verb
16.	<i>(k) zeej</i>	<i>(ik) zei</i>	(I) “said”	Interaction	Verb
17.	<i>Gèf</i>	<i>Gaaf</i>	“Cool”	Feature	Adj.
18.	<i>Goe</i>	<i>Goed</i>	“Good”	Feature	Adj.
19.	<i>Den</i>	<i>De</i>	“The”	Other	Art.
20.	<i>Da</i>	<i>Dat</i>	“That”	Other	Dem.
21.	<i>Dicuh</i>	<i>Die</i>	“That”	Other	Dem.
22.	<i>Wa</i>	<i>Wat</i>	“What”	Other	Dem.
23.	<i>Ij</i>	<i>Hij</i>	“He”	People	Pron.
24.	<i>M(e)n</i>	<i>Mijn</i>	“My”	People	Pron.
25.	<i>Ons</i>	<i>Mijn/onze</i>	“My”/“our”	People	Pron.

***h*-dropping**

The majority of the participants from Roosendaal mentioned the phenomenon that speakers of the Roosendaal dialect do not pronounce the [h] in word-initial position. Participants who did not mention this notion did acknowledge it when asked if this idea sounded familiar. Linguists call this feature *h*-dropping. The example that was mentioned the most was *houdoe*, a word of greeting used in Brabant. According to *Roosendaalers* this word is pronounced in their place of residence as ‘*oudoe* [aʊdu:] while it is pronounced like *houdoe* [haʊdu:] in the surrounding villages. Nevertheless, this dropping of *h* occurs in almost all words with an [h] in word-initial position followed by a vowel. Other examples that were given are: *uis* “house” (*huis* in SD), *aai*

“shark” (*haai* in SD) and *ij* “he” or “she” (*hij* in SD). What is noteworthy about this, is that when a word like that is preceded by the Dutch definite article *de* “the” *Roosendaalers* add [n] in between the article and the noun. This results in sequences like *de ‘n ond*, which is a representation of *de hond* “the dog” in SD. Rem, Sijs and Van Os have researched this phenomenon in the Netherlands and found that *h*-procope – as they call it – occurs in a consecutive South-Western area including the Belgium counties French-Flanders, West-Flanders, East-Flanders, Antwerp, and Flemish-Brabant and the Dutch counties Zeeland (only the southern part) and, indeed, the South-West of Noord-Brabant (2017, p. 195). According to Rem, Sijs and Van Os, the reason for this *h*-dropping is close contact with the French language, in which it is also a feature of frequent occurrence (2017, p. 227).

Weijnen also researched word-initial *h*-dropping and summarised his data into a map (map 5.1). According to Van Loon, refers to this map and explains that *h*-dropping in the Netherlands is a result of the onset sonorisation that occurred in the Late Old Dutch period (1000-1150) (2014, p. 197). Interestingly, with map 4.2. Weijnen stated that *h*-dropping is a dialect feature in the whole of West-Brabant, while the present study has shown that, at least, Oudenbosch should be excluded from this. More information about the absence of *h*-dropping in Oudenbosch can be found on page 47.

Map 5.1 h-dropping occurrence in the Netherlands by A.A. Weijnen



The [aɔ] diphthong

The Dutch language is partly characterized by double vowels like *aa* [a:], *ee* [e:], *oo* [o:] or *uu* [y:]. In dialect spoken in West-Brabant the double *a*-sound knows two different representations, one when occurring in an open syllable and one when occurring in a closed one (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 36). This section focuses on *aa* [a:] in open syllables. In words like *slapen* “to

sleep” the [a:] is pronounced like [aə] in the Roosendaal dialect. Examples of this representation are given below. Multiple participants from Roosendaal have mentioned their representation of the name of their place of residence, i.e. *Roosendaal* [ro:zəndaəl]. The opinions are divided when it comes to the Dutch word *laarzen* “boots”. Some say that the Roosendaal representation of this word is *laorzen* [laərzə(n)] while others say it is pronounced like *lèèrzen* [lerzə(n)]. One participant explained that she thought that [lerzə(n)] is an old representation that has changed into [laərzə(n)] over the years. This would explain the existence of the two representations. That is to say, one has changed into the other but both representations were kept in use. One of the participants mentioned that the *ao*-sound is something that mainly occurs in verbs. However, the literature shows that the structure of the syllable determines the pronunciation of *aa* instead of the kind of word it entails. Furthermore, the examples given above do not only include verbs. More examples of this phenomenon provided by the participants from Roosendaal can be found in table 2 in Appendix I.

Addition of [j] after [e:]

According to 40% of the participants, the double vowel *ee* in single-syllable words is often followed by a [j]-sound in Roosendaal. Examples that were given are *zeej* [ze:] “said” and *meej* [me:] “with”. This addition of [j] does not seem to fulfil the purpose of a semi-vowel – or Homorganic Glide Insertion –, which in Dutch occurs after [i] or [e] as they are vowels of the same “properties with respect to backness and roundness” as [j] (Booij 1995, p. 66). In Roosendaal, however, this addition of [j] occurs in word-final position after [e:].

The [ɛ]-sound

40% of the *Roosendalers* mention that multiple Dutch vowels are replaced by – what they call – an è-sound. This sound corresponds to the dress-vowel, which phonetic representation is [ɛ]. From the examples provided by the participants – all of which can be found in table 3 in Appendix I – it becomes clear that most often it is the double *aa* vowel [a:] that is replaced by [ɛ] in Roosendaal. Examples of this are *gèf* [ɣɛf] “cool” and *kès* [kɛs] “cheese” which are pronounced like *gaaf* and *kaas* in SD.

One example, namely *meske*, shows the diphthong [ɛi] being replaced by [ɛ]. Additionally, the replacement by the è-sound can occur in both onset and nucleus position. As will be shown below, this replacement can be found in both Oudenbosch and Rucphen alike.

Oudenbosch

Typical pronunciation

Besides typical words, the *Oudenboschenaren* have also mentioned the numerous typical pronunciations of SD words. These are presented in table 5.6 below.

Table 5.6 Typical pronunciations Oudenbosch

Nr.	Oudenbosch	ABN	English	Realm	Lexical category
1.	<i>Aordappel</i>	<i>Aardappel</i>	“Potato”	Food	Noun
2.	<i>Bessem</i>	<i>Bezem</i>	“Broom”	Utensil	Noun
3.	<i>Botteram</i>	<i>Boterham</i>	“Slice of bread”	Food	Noun
4.	<i>Errepel</i>	<i>Aardappel</i>	“Potato”	Food	Noun
5.	<i>Meske</i>	<i>Meisje</i>	“Girl”	People	Noun
6.	<i>Vurk</i>	<i>Vork</i>	“Fork”	Utensil	Noun
7.	<i>Waoter</i>	<i>Water</i>	“Water”	Other	Noun
8.	<i>Kik</i>	<i>Kijk</i>	“Look”	Interaction	Verb
9.	<i>Motten</i>	<i>Moeten/mogen</i>	“Must”/“may”	Interaction	Verb
10.	<i>Praoten</i>	<i>Praten</i>	“To talk”	Interaction	Verb
11.	<i>Schètsen</i>	<i>Schaatsen</i>	“To ice skate”	Action	Verb
12.	<i>Aandig</i>	<i>Handig</i>	“Handy”	Feature	Adj.
13.	<i>Lilluk</i>	<i>Lelijk</i>	“Ugly”	Feature	Adj.
14.	<i>Totaol</i>	<i>Total</i>	“Completely”	Degree	Adj.
15.	<i>Daor</i>	<i>Daar</i>	“There”	Other	Adv.
16.	<i>Duzend</i>	<i>Duizend</i>	“Thousand”	Number	Adv.
17.	<i>Jil</i>	<i>Heel</i>	“Very much”	Degree	Adv.
18.	<i>Veul</i>	<i>Veel</i>	“Much”	Degree	Adv.
19.	<i>Gin</i>	<i>Geen</i>	“None”	Degree	Adv.
20.	<i>Ei</i>	<i>Hij/zij</i>	“He”/“she”	People	Pron.
22.	<i>Gij</i>	<i>Jij</i>	“You”	People	Pron.

A few patterns arise from this wordlist, amongst others the use of the [aə] diphthong instead of [a:] and the replacement of SD vowels with [ɛ] like in *schètsen*. These features will be discussed below. Furthermore, when comparing this list to the list in table 5.3, it becomes clear that this dialect has multiple synonyms for the SD word *vork* “fork”: *fourket*, *verket* and *vurk*. As has been discussed above on page 40, *fourket* comes from the French word *fourchette*. I believe *verket* to be a derivative of this loanword. *Vurk*, on the other hand, is a different pronunciation of SD *vork* in which the vowel has risen from [ɔ] to [ʏ].

The [aɔ] diphthong

In the same manner as in Roosendaal, [a:] is replaced by [aɔ] in Oudenbosch. An example that was mentioned was *daor* [daɔr] “there” where speakers of SD say *daar* [da:r]. When comparing the examples given in Oudenbosch to those in Roosendaal, both groups mentioned *akkenaoje* “to argue”. As this phenomenon occurs as a constant feature in both Roosendaal and Oudenbosch it can be stated that this might more of a general West-Brabant accent feature. More examples that were given in Oudenbosch can be found in table 7 in Appendix I.

[j]

According to 30% of the participants from Oudenbosch word-final double vowels (*aa*, *ee*, and *oo*) are often followed by a [j]-sound in their dialect. The example that was given was the Oudenbosch representation of the Dutch word *kade* “quay”, which is *kaaj*. Just like in Roosendaal, this addition of [j] does not seem to fulfil the purpose of a glide. Furthermore, while in Roosendaal participants only mentioned the addition of [j] after [e:] in Oudenbosch they also occur after [a:] and [o:], according to the participants.

h-dropping

Oudenboschenaren expressed opposing ideas when it comes to the pronunciation of *h* in word-initial position. Namely, two of the *Oudenboschenaren* stated that they do pronounce the *h* in word-initial position while one stated that they do not. Moreover, 80% of the people from Roosendaal said that the fact that they do not pronounce [h] distinguishes them from the speakers of the Oudenbosch dialect, who do pronounce this sound in their opinion. Because of this, no definite conclusion about this feature can be stated without further research. One could speculate that the realisation of [h] is a feature in development in this dialect and therefore can both be heard pronounced and unpronounced in Oudenbosch.

The [ɛ] vowel

Two participants from Oudenbosch mentioned that SD vowels are often replaced by an è-sound. This sound corresponds to the [ɛ]-vowel. The examples of these representations that were mentioned by *Oudenboschenaren* are given in table 8 in Appendix I. From these examples it becomes clear that most often it is the double *aa* vowel [a:] which is replaced by [ɛ] in Oudenbosch, just like in Roosendaal. *Meske* and *bessem* are exceptions to this rule as in the

former [ɛ] replaces the diphthong [ɛi] and in *bessem* [ɛ] replaces [e:]. Additionally, just like in Roosendaal, the replacement by the è-sound can occur in both onset and nucleus position. As has and will be shown, this replacement can be found in both Roosendaal and Rucphen alike.

Au vs. ou

One of the participants mentioned that in Oudenbosch, contrary to speakers of SD, people can easily distinguish whether a word is spelled with *au* or *ou* because this spelling is reflected in the pronunciation. *Au* and *ou* are common sounds in the Dutch language. Normally, children have to learn whether a word is spelled with *au* or *ou* because they are phonemes. In Oudenbosch this is not the case as there is a slight pronunciation difference between the two in which *au* is clearly pronounced with an [ɑ]-sound and *ou* with an [o]-sound.

Rucphen

Typical pronunciation

Besides typical words, the *Rucphenaren* have also mentioned the following typical pronunciations of SD words. A few patterns arise from this wordlist, amongst others the use of the [aɔ] diphthong instead of [a:], the replacement of SD vowels with [ɛ] like in *schèr*; and the addition of a [w] sound preceding [o:]. These features will be discussed below.

Table 5.7 Typical pronunciations Rucphen

Nr.	Rucphen	ABN	English	Realm	Lexical category
1.	<i>Bessem</i>	<i>Bezem</i>	“Broom”	Utensil	Noun
2.	<i>Brwood</i>	<i>Brood</i>	“Bread”	Food	Noun
3.	<i>Bossel</i>	<i>Borstel</i>	“Hairbrush”	Utensil	Noun
4.	<i>Botter</i>	<i>Boter</i>	“Butter”	Food	Noun
5.	<i>Schèr</i>	<i>Schaar</i>	“Scissors”	Utensil	Noun
6.	<i>Kèken</i>	<i>Kijken</i>	“To see”	Action	Verb
7.	<i>Kieken</i>	<i>Kijken</i>	“To see”	Action	Verb
8.	<i>Tjekenen</i>	<i>Tekenen</i>	“To draw”	Action	Verb
9.	<i>Vraoge</i>	<i>Vragen</i>	“To ask”	Interaction	Verb
10.	<i>Wor</i>	<i>Word(t)</i>	“Become”	Action	Verb
11.	<i>Bietje</i>	<i>Beetje</i>	“A little bit”	Degree	Adj.
12.	<i>Waarm</i>	<i>Warm</i>	“Hot”	Feature	Adj.
13.	<i>In plets van</i>	<i>In plaats van</i>	“Instead of”	Other	Adv.
14.	<i>Rond de vruure</i>	<i>Rond vier uur</i>	“Around four o’clock”	Time	Adv.
15.	<i>Wook</i>	<i>Ook</i>	“Also”	Other	Adv.
16.	<i>Gij</i>	<i>Jij</i>	“You”	People	Pron.

The [aɔ] diphthong

Just like in Roosendaal and Oudenbosch, *Rucphenaren* affirm that the [aɔ] diphthong is a characteristic of their dialect. The difference, however, with Roosendaal and Oudenbosch when it comes to this issue is that only one participant from Rucphen has mentioned this characteristic as belonging to the Rucphen dialect. The other nine participants have agreed with this idea when confronted with it by the interviewer but did not come up with it themselves. The example that this participant used was the Dutch verb *vragen* “to ask” which is pronounced like [vraɔʏə] in Rucphen. This diphthong has already been discussed at length above, therefore, this section will not.

The [ɛ] vowel

Just like in Roosendaal, 60% of the *Rucphenaren* mention that multiple Dutch vowels are replaced by – what they call – an è-sound. This sound corresponds to the dress-vowel, that is to say, the [ɛ]-vowel. Examples of these representations are:

<i>mannetjes</i>	[mɑnətjəs]	<i>mennetjes</i>	[mɛnətjəs]	“boys”
<i>schaar</i>	[sxɑ:r]	<i>scher</i>	[sxɛr]	“scissors”
<i>kijk eens</i>	[kɛik e:ns]	<i>lekis</i>	[kɛkəs]	“look!”
<i>aardbei</i>	[ɑ:rdbɛi]	<i>erbesie</i>	[ɛrbe:si]	“strawberry”

As can be seen above, the [ɛ]-vowel can replace [ɑ], [ɑ:], [ɛi] and [e:]. Additionally, it does not seem to matter if the vowel occurs in the onset or nucleus position. Because of these features, the replacement of vowels by [ɛ] in Rucphen differs from that in Roosendaal and Oudenbosch. Namely, in Roosendaal [ɛ] can only replace [ɑ:] and [ɛi] and in Oudenbosch it replaces [ɑ:], [ɛi] and [e:]. The full table (10) with all examples provided by the participants from Rucphen can be found in Appendix I.

Rising diphthongs

Heestermans and Stroop, write that some West-Brabant dialects know diphthongs in which the second part of the diphthong is stressed, so-called rising diphthongs (Heestermans & Stroop 2002, p. 38). Interestingly, the only dialect in which this phenomenon has been observed in this study is the dialect spoken in Rucphen. Namely, one participant mentioned that she pronounced the Standard Dutch word *tekenen* [te:kənə(n)], meaning “to draw”, as [tjikənə]. Heestermans and Stroop explain that in words like this, which are pronounced with [e:] in Standard Dutch, the extended [e] is realised as a rising diphthong consisting out of a [j] and an extended [ɪ], in which the stress is put on the long [ɪ]-sound (2002, pp. 38-39).

Another participant mentioned that her realisation of the Standard Dutch word *brood* [bro:t], meaning “bread”, sounds like [brwo:d]. This realisation falls under the same category according to Heestermans and Stroop. Words which are pronounced with an [o:]-sound in Standard Dutch are realised as a diphthong consisting out of the standard [o:]-sound preceded by [w], in which the stress is put on the [o:]-sound (2002, pp. 38-39). The word *wook* [wo:k], which is *ook* [o:k] – meaning “also” – in Standard Dutch, also belongs to this category.

5.4. Lexical category

Roosendaal

Table 5.8. presents to which lexical category the words mentioned by the participants in Roosendaal belong. When looking at this table it becomes clear that the majority of the words provided by the participants from Roosendaal are nouns followed by verbs and pronouns.

Table 5.8 Lexical categories Roosendaal

	Words	Pronunciation	Both
Noun	52%	36%	44%
Verb	10%	28%	19%
Adjective	7%	8%	7%
Adverb	10%	0%	2%
Article	0%	4%	2%
Pronoun	10%	12%	11%
Dem. Pronoun	7%	12%	9%
Exclamation	3%	0%	2%

Oudenbosch

Table 5.9 shows us to which lexical category the words mentioned by the participants in Oudenbosch belong. When analysing this table, it becomes clear that the majority of the words provided by the participants are nouns followed by verbs, which is a similar result as that found in Roosendaal. Where they differ is that in Roosendaal these are followed by pronouns but in Oudenbosch adverbs rank higher.

Table 5.9 Lexical categories Oudenbosch

	Words	Pronunciation	Both
Noun	52%	32%	42%
Verb	22%	18%	20%
Adjective	4%	14%	9%
Adverb	4%	23%	13%
Pronoun	9%	9%	9%
Exclamation	9%	0%	4%

Rucphen

In the same manner as tables 5.8 and 5.9 did for Roosendaal and Oudenbosch, table 5.10 gives insight into the lexical categories to which the words mentioned by the participants in Rucphen belong. When analysing this table, it becomes clear that nouns dominate the list the words provided by the participants from Rucphen. All of the typical words are nouns and when it comes to the typical pronunciations nouns also form a majority (together with verbs).

Table 5.10 Lexical categories Rucphen

	Words	Pronunciation	Both
Noun	100%	31%	63%
Verb	0%	31%	17%
Adjective	0%	13%	7%
Adverb	0%	19%	10%
Pronoun	0%	6%	33%

5.5. Usage context

The term usage context is an unofficial term made up for this study to refer the semantic contexts in which the dialect words found can occur. As will become clear further on, these usage contexts include categories like ‘animals’, ‘food’, ‘interaction’ and many more.

Roosendaal

Table 5.11 below provides insight into the categories to which the words provided by the participants in Roosendaal belong. When analysing this table, it becomes clear that the majority of the words have to do with ‘people’ and ‘food’. The category ‘other’ is left out of the equation here as this involves words that cannot be assigned to one subject. Interestingly, when it comes to the typical words most of them refer to either ‘animals’ or ‘people’, but when it comes to SD words with a typical realisation most of them are ‘actions’, which only involve verb.

Oudenbosch

Table 5.12 gives insight into the categories to which the words mentioned by the participants in Oudenbosch belong. When analysing this table, it becomes clear that the majority of the words

provided have to do with ‘interaction’ and ‘people’. Again, the category ‘other’ is left out of the equation here because this category involves words that cannot be assigned to one subject.

Table 5.11 Usage contexts Roosendaal

	Words	Pronunciations	Both
Animal	14%	4%	9%
Clothing	10%	4%	7%
Food	14%	12%	13%
Utensils	3%	0%	2%
People	14%	16%	15%
Place	7%	4%	7%
Time	3%	0%	2%
Feature	0%	8%	0%
Action	3%	20%	11%
Interaction	17%	4%	11%
State of being	3%	4%	4%
Other	10%	20%	15%

Table 5.12 Usage contexts Oudenbosch

	Words	Pronunciations	Both
Animal	4%	0%	2%
Clothing	0%	0%	0%
Food	9%	14%	11%
Utensils	9%	10%	9%
People	13%	14%	14%
Place	13%	0%	7%
Time	0%	0%	0%
Feature	0%	10%	5%
Action	13%	5%	9%
Interaction	26%	14%	20%
State of being	0%	0%	0%
Degree	0%	19%	9%
Number	0%	5%	2%
Other	13%	10%	11%

Rucphen

Table 5.13 shows us to which usage contexts the words mentioned by the participants in Rucphen belong. When analysing this table, it becomes clear that the majority of the words provided by the *Rucphenaren* have to do with the categories ‘utensils’ and ‘food’. Again, the category ‘other’ is left out of the equation here as this category involve words, which cannot be assigned to one subject. What stands out when comparing this table with the ones for Roosendaal and Oudenbosch is that Rucphen shows the least amount of variation.

Table 5.13 Usage contexts Rucphen

	Words	Pronunciations	Both
Animal	7%	0%	3%
Clothing	0%	0%	0%
Food	21%	13%	17%
Utensils	21%	19%	20%
People	21%	6%	13%
Place	14%	0%	7%
Surroundings	14%	0%	7%
Time	0%	6%	3%
Feature	0%	6%	3%
Action	0%	25%	13%
Interaction	0%	6%	3%
Degree	0%	6%	3%
Other	0%	13%	7%

6. Results: Overall

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the results found during the course of this study. Section 6.2. describes the importance of the yearly celebration of *Carnaval* in the development of dialect in the target area. Section 6.3. gives information on dialect levelling and the awareness of the participants when it comes to this topic. After that, Section 6.4. discusses the participants sociophonetic awareness. The differences and similarities between the three towns according to the participants is discussed in Section 6.5. Lastly, this chapter provides an overview of all results in section 6.6 in the form of a summarizing table.

6.2. The role of *Carnaval*

Carnaval is an originally pagan spring celebration, which the Church converted into a Christian celebration followed by forty days of fasting (Duinkerken 1928, p. 13). According to Fransen and Mattheijssen, the Christian Church has used this period of fasting as a “pedagogical and didactical instrument” to remind the people of their true destiny (2014, p. 15) to live forever in heaven (Duinkerken 1928, p. 13). This fasting period starts on Ash Wednesday and during this period the consumption of meat is out of the question (Duinkerken 1928, p. 34). The word *Carnaval* also implies this as it is made up out of the word *carne*, meaning “meat”, and *vale*, meaning “goodbye” (Fransen & Mattheijssen 2014, p. 16). Participants from all villages have mentioned the importance of *Carnaval* as a means of preserving the regional dialect. Especially people from Roosendaal express the significant role this yearly celebration has when it comes to the dialect. According to them, people from all ages and from all layers of society, even the ones that normally speak Standard Dutch, actively use the regional dialect during these few days. Around this event, several *Carnaval* associations publish papers, magazines, social media posts, and articles written in dialect.

The following has been said by participants about the importance of *Carnaval* when it comes to dialect: “*Carnaval* really evolves around the villages own dialect. During this period everything is being written, sang and uttered in the Roosendaal dialect. I notice that I use the dialect much more during *Carnaval*”. Someone else in Oudenbosch said: “I don’t actively use the dialect every day but I can speak it. When we celebrate *Carnaval* I enjoy speaking in dialect”.

6.3 Dialect Levelling

Ever since Dialectology became part of sociolinguistics, linguists have researched on the notion of dialect change and thus, dialect levelling. Simply put, dialect levelling is a decline in the use of dialect, which causes language to become more homogeneous. Multiple linguists have written about this development and its effects. Hinskens has defined it as: “the gradual abandonment by groups of speakers of dialectal elements or structures” (1996, p. 5). Meyerhoff discussed a reason for its occurrence in her when she wrote that dialect levelling is a “reduction of differences distinguishing regional dialects or accents”, which is “one possible outcome of contact between speakers of different varieties” (2006, p. 289). Weijnen also contributes dialect levelling to contact between speakers. Besides, he stated that the changes in dialect are the result of the influence of infrastructure, press, media, and the automation (1966, pp. 49-50). In later work, Weijnen argued that people strive for efficiency when it comes to language (1971, p. 8). This expresses itself in the fact that when two language systems get into contact with one another the easiest, most simple system survives (Weijnen 1971, p. 7). Only pressure from ‘above’ in the form of, for example, government interference can alter this course (Weijnen 1971, p. 7).

In Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen two triggers seem to have initiated the dialect levelling that occurs there. Namely, when asking the participants about the notion of dialect change and the decline in use they all either mention the influence of people from outside the region or the influence of social media and television. In other words, in the target group dialect levelling occurs because of contact with speakers of different varieties either online or in the form of new neighbours. In this process, the language of dialect speakers is tilting toward SD. Nevertheless, it holds on to certain ‘persistent’ dialectal features, for example, the soft *g*. All with all, it seems that the language used in Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen is losing some of its regional dialectal characters and is tilting towards a vernacular which resembles a general (West-)Brabants (See Weijnen 1966, pp. 50-51).

6.4. Sociophonetic awareness

The quantity of words, pronunciations, idioms and dialect features mentioned by the participants provides an insight into the people’s awareness of their dialect. The more they can tell us about their dialect the more aware they are of it. As can be seen in the table below, the amount of information on the dialects given by participants differs per town.

Table 6.1 Overall numbers on the amount information given by the participants

	Roosendaal	Oudenbosch	Rucphen	Total
Typical words	29 (44%)	23 (35%)	14 (21%)	66 (100%)
Typical pronunciation	25 (40%)	22 (35%)	16 (25%)	63 (100%)
Typical idioms	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (100%)
Dialectal features	7 (35%)	9 (45%)	4 (20%)	20 (100%)

Roosendaal takes the lead when it comes to the number of typical words, pronunciation, and idioms. *Oudenboschenaren* were able to name two more dialectal features than people from Roosendaal and *Rucphenaren* lie far behind on all four. In the interviews held with the participants, it became clear that *Roosendaalers* are very much aware of their dialect features and how their dialect differs from SD. I believe this has to do with the fact that their dialect has become more of a second language in the last few decades. People use a more general West-Brabant accent in daily life but know how to use and speak the dialect originally spoken in their hometown because they actively use it when they celebrate *Carnaval*. Because of this, they can compare their everyday speech with the language they use during the festivities and can name the ways in which they differ.

Most *Rucphenaren*, on the other hand, still use the dialect in everyday life and for many this is the only way of speaking they know. Because of this, they are not aware of the ways in which their dialect differs from SD and thus have a hard time coming up with typical words and dialectal features as they have nothing to compare their own language with. In other words, they often are not aware that their way of speaking differs from SD and that the words they use are not known throughout the Netherlands.

Oudenbosch lies in between these two. Some people in this town use the dialect in the same way *Roosendaalers* do, they speak it during *Carnaval* festivities or when they are among speakers of the dialect. Moreover, *Oudenboscharen* tend to care for their village's cultural heritage and thus for the conservation of the dialect. On the other hand, because people who live in the village's old centre - these are often the people who are dependents of generations of *Oudenboschenaren* - tend to use the dialect in everyday life, they are, just like the people in Rucphen, not able to look at it objectively or from an outward perspective. All in all, one's ability to speak SD appears to influence one's sociophonetic awareness when it comes to their dialect.

6.5. Differences and Similarities according to the speakers

Typical words

In the course of this study, a few differences in realisations of the same words were found. These are presented in table 6.2. For the purpose of this study, which is to elicit dialectal differences within a relatively small area of the Netherlands, an addition of shwa like in *erebeesie* in contrast to *erbeesie* is considered a lexical variation. On the other hand, variation between the fortis and the lenis alveolar fricatives, [s] and [z], is not considered to be lexical variation because these differences in pronunciation are incredibly slight and almost unnoticeable. Thus, the addition of sounds or differences between the sounds is considered lexical variation and fortis-lenis contrast is not.

Table 6.2 Lexical differences

SD	Roosendaal	Oudenbosch	Rucphen	English
<i>Aardbei</i>	[ɛrəbe:si]	[ɛrbe:sjə]	[ɛrbe:si] [ɛrəbe:zi]	“Strawberry”
<i>Aardappel</i>	[ɛrpuls]	[ɛrəpols] [ɑɔrdapəls]	[ɛrəpuls]	“Potato”
<i>Vork</i>	[kɛts]	[verkɛt] [fu:rkɛt] [vurk]	[kɛt]	“Fork”
<i>Kijk</i>	-	[kik]	[kɛk]	“Look”

Phonetics

[ɛ]

According to the participants, [ɛ]-replacing can be found in the following contexts in the three towns:

- (1) Roosendaal: [a:] and [ɛi]
- (2) Oudenbosch: [a:], [ɛi], and [e:]
- (3) Rucphen: [a:], [ɛi], [e:], and [ɑ]

This difference can be the result of either the limited scale of this study, which has caused not all forms of [ɛ]-replacement to come up or because in Rucphen the dialect is used more in everyday life. That is to say, in Roosendaal and Oudenbosch the [ɛ]-replacement is being used less and has already lost some of its scope.

[aɔ]

aɔ replaces *aa* in the same way in Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen and is also used widely throughout the rest of Brabant and also Limburg. Thus, this is not a characteristic of the West-Brabant dialect but of the whole of the South of the Netherlands.

[j]

According to the participants, [j]-addition can be found in the following contexts in Roosendaal and Oudenbosch towns:

- (1) Roosendaal: after [e:]
- (2) Oudenbosch: after [a:], [e:] and [o:]
- (3) Rucphen: not used

As this phenomenon has not come up in the interviews held in Rucphen, no conclusions can be drawn concerning this topic in that town. Unfortunately, it has not become clear why in [j]-addition only occurs after [e:] in Roosendaal while it occurs after [a:] and [o:] as well in Oudenbosch. Just like with the replacement of SD vowels by [ɛ], it could be that it used to be common to add [j] after [a:] and [o:] in Roosendaal as well but that this feature has, at some point in the development of the dialect, limited itself to [e:].

***h*-dropping**

At first, a significant difference between Roosendaal and Oudenbosch seemed to be the idea that *h*-procope did occur in Roosendaal but did not in Oudenbosch. Participants mentioned that *Roosendaalers*, for example, say *oudoe* “bye” when they leave while *Oudenboschenaren* say *houdoe*. However, a participant in Oudenbosch contradicted this hypothesis when he stated that *Oudenboschnaren* often do omit [h] in word-initial position. The example that he gave was their representation of the SD word *handig* [hɑndɪɣ], which is [ɑ:ndɪɣ]. Thus, no concluding remarks

can be made on the matter other than that *h*-procope is a part of the dialect spoken in Roosendaal and that it might be – or partly is – a part of the Oudenbosch dialect as well.

Overall intelligibility of the dialects

Between Roosendaal and Oudenboch there is a difference when it comes to how they tend to shorten language. As already has been stated above, while in Roosendaal people tend not to finish words people in Oudenbosch both not finish words and the putting together of words to form single morphological structures with phrasal meaning.

Use of dialect

The data collected in the interviews have resulted in the following realisation about how dialect is used in the three villages. *Roosendaalers* explained how their everyday speech has shifted to a more general West-Brabant accent in recent decades. Old and young is, however, still able to speak the Roosendaal dialect because they speak it during the *Carnaval* period. In Oudenbosch it is more geographically depended on whether one speaks the dialect in everyday life or not. *Oudenboschenaren* agreed that people who live and grew up in the old centre of the town use the dialect daily, as well as most of the old born and raised *Oudenboschenaren* who now live elsewhere in the town. Lastly, in Rucphen it has become clear that almost all born and raised *Rucphenaren*, with the exception of the younger generation (<25) speak only in dialect.

6.6. Overview table

The table on the next page provides an overview of all the results for all three villages. This table should be read in the following manner. The column on the left presents the category on which information is given in the three other columns. In the first section of the table, the results regarding lexical features are summarized. The first category of each section shows the total number of occurrences relevant in that category. For example, in the first section the category ‘lexical features’ shows the total amount of lexical items found for each village. Under that, the number of items for each subcategory is presented. For instance, in Roosendaal 29 typical words were mentioned by the participant. Furthermore, the intelligibility section shows how understandable each dialect is to an outsider - (+) meaning very much intelligible, (+-) intelligible, and (-) not that intelligible.

Table 6.3. Overview of all the results

	Roosendaal	Oudenbosch	Rucphen
Lexical items	42	29	14
Typical words	29	23	14
Idioms	3	-	-
Pronouns	8	5	-
Diminutives	2	-	-
Eej	-	1	-
Phonetic items	29	27	19
Pronunciations	25	22	16
Other phonetic features	4	5	3
Intelligibility	+	+ -	-
Lexical categories	7	6	5
Nouns	24	19	19
Verbs	10	9	5
Adjectives	4	4	2
Adverbs	1	6	3
Pronouns	6	4	1
Dem. Pronouns	5	-	-
Articles	1	-	-
Exclamation	-	2	-
Usage contexts	11	11	12
Animal	5	1	1
Clothing	4	-	-
Food	7	5	5
Utensils	1	4	6
People	8	6	4
Place	2	3	2
Surroundings	-	-	2
Interaction	5	9	1
Action	6	3	4
State of being	2	-	-
Feature	2	2	1
Degree	-	4	1
Number	-	1	-
Time	-	-	1
Other	8	5	2

7. Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

This thesis aimed to give insight into the way people from Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen perceive and are aware of both their own and each other's dialect. Interviews with thirty participants – ten from each town – that focussed on the speakers' sociophonetic awareness and opinions on both their own and the other two dialects, formed the basis for this research. Based on what the participants have said in these interviews, it has been determined to what degree speakers are aware of their own dialect, how they view the other two and in what ways these three target dialects differ from and resemble each other in the eyes of the speakers.

7.2. Main Results

After having studied all three, it has become clear that the dialects, although they have similarities, differ from each other in all five categories; lexical features, phonetic features, intelligibility, lexical category, and usage context (see table 6.3 on page 61). In Chapter 5 it was shown that the lexical and phonetic features that were uncovered and the dialects' intelligibility show clear differences between the three dialects. When it comes to their lexical category and usage context, however, the differences found have proven difficult to explain.

Furthermore, it has become clear that a divide exists regarding the speakers sociophonetic awareness when it comes to their own dialect. Table 6.1 on page 57 shows that out of the all participants, the ten speakers of the Roosendaal dialect have provided the most information on their dialect during the interviews. On the other hand, speakers from Rucphen have given the least amount of information. Moreover, table 6.1 presents that the people from Oudenbosch lie in between the two, as they have provided less information on their dialect than *Roosendaalers*, but more than the people from Rucphen.

Moreover, section 4.5, amongst other things, discusses the manner in which the participants from the three target villages use their dialect. The majority of the *Roosendaalers* see the Roosendaal dialect as a second language, as they normally speak SD with a Brabant accent but can speak in dialect fluently if they want to. The participants from Oudenbosch are divided when it comes to this. Some use their dialect in the same manner as the participants from

Roosendaal and some use the dialect on a daily basis and are much less proficient when it comes to speaking SD. With exception of the younger generation (<25), *Rucphenaren* only use dialect.

Lastly, Table 4.1 shows that *Roosendaalers* know more about the dialect spoken in Rucphen than the dialect spoken in Oudenbosch. Furthermore, people from Oudenbosch are more familiar with the dialect spoken in Roosendaal than the one spoken in Rucphen. Table 4.1 also shows that the majority of the speakers of the Rucphen dialect are not familiar with either the dialect spoken in Roosendaal as the one spoken in Oudenbosch. Moreover, people from Oudenbosch and Roosendaal perceive the dialect spoken in Rucphen as *plat* “thick” and *boers* “boorish”. It can even be said that they look down on the Rucphen *dialect*. On the other hand, people from Oudenbosch and Rucphen perceive the way people speak in Roosendaal as *stads* “urban” and leaning more towards SD than their own dialects. When it comes to the dialect spoken in Oudenbosch, both *Roosendaalers* and *Rucphenaren* knew that it differed from their own dialect, but they could not define in what way.

7.3. The research questions answered

At the beginning of this research the following hypotheses were formulated.

Hypothesis 1: The participants agree that all three dialects differ from each other and differences they name relate to the phonetic part of speech. That is to say, they believe that people from the other towns pronounce words differently than they do.

Hypothesis 2: Dialect speakers from each town are aware that their dialect differs from the dialect spoken in the other two target towns, but will not be able to put their finger on the specific linguistic features that form the basis for these differences.

Now that the results have been established it has become clear that both hypotheses were flawed. First of all, differences between the studied dialects do not only relate to the phonetic part speech but also relate to lexical features and intelligibility. Overall, many more differences were found than expected prior to conducting this research. Secondly, most dialect speakers from all three towns were aware that their dialect differs from the dialect spoken in the other two towns and some of them were able to pinpoint what these specific differences were.

Clear answers to the research questions can be given now as well. The research questions that have been established in Chapter 1 are given below followed by their, from the research arisen, answers.

1. To what degree are the people from Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen aware of the dialect features that make up their dialect?

Speakers of the dialect spoken in Roosendaal are very much aware of their dialect and its characteristics. Speakers of the Rucphen dialect, however, are not. This, most probably, has to do with the fact that for most *Roosendaalers* their dialect resembles a second language that they use alongside SD. Because of this, they are able to distinguish differences between the two. People from Rucphen, on the other hand, often still consistently speak a thick dialect and are not capable of speaking SD. Because of this, they are not aware of the features that make up their dialect. When it comes to Oudenbosch, people who live in the town's centre tend to only speak in dialect, as the *Rucphenaren* do, and in a similar manner are not aware of their dialect features. *Oudenboschenaren* who live in the newer neighbourhoods around the centre, on the other hand, treat their dialect in the same way the *Roosendaalers* do and are aware of the characteristics of their dialect.

2. Are people from Roosendaal, Oudenbosch, and Rucphen aware of differences and similarities between their dialect and the other two dialects?

As has been discussed in section 7.2, it turns out that it differs per town whether or not the participants are aware of differences and similarities between their dialect and that of the two other towns. It has become clear that people from Roosendaal are more familiar with the dialect spoken in Rucphen than with the dialect spoken in Oudenbosch. This probably has to do with the fact that most teenagers who live in Rucphen go to school in Roosendaal as the nearest high schools are located there, causing speakers of the Roosendaal dialect to encounter the Rucphen dialect more often than that of Oudenbosch. Furthermore, it seems plausible that *Oudenboschenaren* know more about the Roosendaal dialect than the dialect spoken in Rucphen because Roosendaal is the nearest city, accommodating *Oudenboschenaren* in their shopping needs. In other words, most people from Oudenbosch have encountered more speakers of the Roosendaal dialect in their lives than they have speakers of the Rucphen dialect. Interestingly, *Rucphenaren* seem to be oblivious to both the dialect from Roosendaal and from Oudenbosch.

3. Which dialect features characterise each dialect?

Based on the interviews with the participants a fairly elaborate description of the dialects lexical and phonetic features has been established. Chapter 5 and 6 describe in detail which dialect features characterise all three dialects according to the speakers of these dialects.

7.4. The present study compared to previous research

In my opinion, due to recent developments relating to internet, globalization, and superdiversity previous perceptual dialectology research done in this region is outdated. For that reason, new research on this topic, and thus the present study, is relevant. This section will discuss this by relating the present study to previous research.

Although the present study relates to Weijnen's little-arrow method (1946) when it comes to data collection method – similarly to the present study, Weijnen asked dialect speakers which dialects they believed to be similar and which dialect they believed to be different to their own and in what way – it differs concerning the purpose. Where Weijnen focused on similarities and wanted to unveil unities to determine isogloss boundaries (Preston 2002, pp. 57-58) the present research focused on dialect speakers' awareness regarding their own dialect and the differences between the three target dialects. Besides this, the scope of this study is too small to determine actual dialect boundaries.

Furthermore, the dialect boundaries Weijnen unveiled with his little-arrow method, most probably, have changed because of the changes that have occurred in the way people perceive dialect. Where speaking in dialect was generally still common practice when Weijnen studied Dialectology, people's speech is moving more and more towards SD nowadays. This relates to the idea that people awareness of their own dialect has changed. On the other hand, Daan wrote that in the last fifteen years of the previous century, an improvement occurred in the way people viewed dialect speakers, due to “a growing awareness of the inhabitants of the northern, eastern and southern provinces because they were no longer so isolated and also because of social improvements and industrialization in these areas” (Daan 1999, p. 12). In other words, people's opinions and awareness regarding other dialect have changed as well. The present study has focused on both these topics and from the collected data and results it has been concluded that, even though dialect levelling is occurring people still use their dialect for certain occasions, such

as Carnival, which has increased their awareness of their dialects' features. At the same time, as a result of dialect levelling, people are exposed less and less to other dialects causing them to become less aware of differences and similarities between their dialect and that of surrounding villages.

Furthermore, Daan noted that, "all too often, dialects have been studied mainly in written or printed material in which the phenomena are inevitably oversimplified" (1999, p. 9). She stated that, because dialects are spoken languages, they include elements that cannot be expressed in written text, even a phonetically written one (Daan 1999, p.10). Because of this Daan recommended that "the division of the regional varieties must start with the vague, yet real consciousness of the language users" (1999, p. 20). The present study strongly relates to Daan's idea of the importance of language users' perceptions. Because of this, the whole of the material on which this study is based consists of data provided by speakers. There are, however, some disadvantages at hand when it comes to working with people. For example, Daan has noted that older dialect speakers tend to be unaware of or have shut themselves off from changes in their dialect (1999, p. 18). In the course of this study have encountered people like this, especially in Rucphen. As can be seen in graph 3.1 on page 21, the majority of the inhabitants of Rucphen is older than 46 years old. The fact that *Rucphenaren* are less aware of their dialect features than people from Roosendaal and Oudenbosch could relate to this phenomenon that Daan has outlined.

On the whole, the studied region, although small, has proven to be a valuable object of study when it comes to Perceptual Dialectology. More insights and differences have been distinguished than was expected. It turns out that a lot has changed since Weijnen studied this area. Both Standard Dutch and an increase in connectedness due to the internet and globalisation have gravely influenced dialects in the Netherlands. Almost all participants in this study have confirmed that they have and still do experience a strong decline in the use of dialect. They blamed the internet and television for this phenomenon, while others stated that times have simply changed; people no longer stay in the village where they were born. These ideas relate to Smakman and Van der Meulen's concept of communication-based borders. They state that geographical dividing lines are becoming less and less relevant as "modern-day speakers spend growing amounts of time communicating from a distance" (Smakman & Van der Meulen 2018, p. 43). Out of the nine other types of dialect borders they discussed, the idea of economic borders also relates to the concept dialect levelling discussed in the present study (Smakman & Van der Meulen 2018, p. 40). Nowadays, people often enjoy education and look for work outside of the town they live in. These economic motivations have created linguistic contact between different

dialects, which has had a levelling effect. On a different note, Smakman and Van der Meulen's idea of perceived and social connotations borders – that is to say borders based on the dialect speakers' perception of and attitude towards dialects and their boundaries (2018, pp. 38-39) and based on how speakers evaluate dialects on a social level (2018, pp. 42-43) – could be said to relate to the distance people from Roosendaal and Oudenbosch experience between themselves and people from Rucphen, whose dialect they perceive to be thick and even boorish.

7.5. Limitations

Despite its interesting results, this study does have some limitations. One of which is its small sample size. In order to make a more accurate and complete overview of both peoples' awareness of dialect in West-Brabant and the characteristic of those dialects a much bigger sample size is necessary, not only when it comes to the number of participants from each village but also regarding the dialects spoken in other villages in the area. For that matter, it might be relevant to conduct research similar to Weijnen's in this day and age. Besides, this research covers five different categories relevant to dialect. It might be interesting to conduct further and more in-depth research on either of these five topics.

7.6. Discussion

In the initial stages of this study, I did not expect to distinguish these many dialectal differences. I expected that most differences would relate to the phonetic part speech, thus, that people would pronounce words slightly different. I did not foresee that this study would unveil so many differences on a lexical level as well. It was compelling to find out that a word that is used on a daily basis in one dialect is not known by people living less than seven kilometers away.

Moreover, although I did expect that out of the three studied dialects the thickest dialect would be affiliated with Rucphen, I did not expect *Rucphenaren* to be this oblivious to the characteristics of their own way of speaking. In hindsight, after having discussed the topic of dialect with thirty individuals, it seems only obvious that one is not an expert on what one perceives to be ordinary.

All in all, conducting this research has shown the incredible debt and colourful culture that is embedded within these three dialects. Even after scholars have been stating for decades that dialects are disappearing, they still have much diversity to offer. It lies beyond my imagination

to comprehend how much richness all Dutch dialects entail together. What a loss it would be to assume them to be already obsolete. I believe it to be valuable to preserve the dialects and urge interested parties to keep researching them.

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Images

- Map 2.1. Overzichtskaart volgens het taalgevoel. From *De dialecten van Noord-Brabant* (pp. 38-39), by A.A. Weijnen, 2009, Alphen aan de Maas: Uitgeverij Veerhuis.
- Map 2.2. Overzichtskaart der Nederlandsche dialecten. From *De regenboogkleuren van Nederlands taal*, by H.J.E. Endepols & J. van Ginneken 1913, Retrieved from https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/ginn001rege01_01/ginn001rege01_01_0001.php
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- Graph 3.1. Verdeling op basis van leeftijd. From “Wetenswaardigheden, cijfers en statistieken over Rucphen,” 2018, <https://www.oozo.nl/cijfers/rucphen/rucphen>.
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Appendix I

Table 1 Language shortening in Roosendaal

Roosendaal	Pronunciation	SD	Pronunciation	English
<i>is goe</i>	[ɪs ɣu:]	<i>is goed</i>	[ɪs ɣu:t]	“that is okay”
<i>mayonais</i>	[ma:io:nɛs]	<i>mayonaise</i>	[ma:io:nɛsə]	“mayonnaise”
<i>wa</i>	[wɑ]	<i>wat</i>	[wɑt]	“what”
<i>wa doe de nou</i>	[wɑ du: dɔ nɑu]	<i>wat doe je nu</i>	[wɑt du: jɔ nu]	“What are you doing?”
<i>Bels</i>	[Bɛls]	<i>Belgisch</i>	[Bɛlyɪs]	“Belgium” (adj)
<i>geete</i>	[ɣe:tə]	<i>gegeten</i>	[ɣɔɣe:tə(n)]	“have eaten”
<i>da</i>	[dɑ]	<i>dat</i>	[dɑt]	“that”

Table 2 Language shortening in Roosendaal

Roosendaal	Pronunciation	SD	Pronunciation	English
<i>gaon</i>	[gaɔn]	<i>gaan</i>	[ga:n]	“to go”
<i>praoten</i>	[praɔtə]	<i>praten</i>	[pra:tən]	“to talk”
<i>roosendaol</i>	[ro:zɛndaɔl]	<i>Roosendaal</i>	[ro:zɛnda:l]	“Roosendaal”
<i>slaopen</i>	[slɑɔpə]	<i>slapen</i>	[slɑ:pən]	“to sleep”
<i>taol</i>	[taɔl]	<i>taal</i>	[ta:l]	“language”
<i>laorzen</i>	[laɔrzen]	<i>laarzen</i>	[la:rzən]	“boots”
<i>tullepetaon</i>	[tɪlɔpɛtɑɔn]	<i>parelhoen</i>	n.r. ⁶	“guinea fowl”
<i>akkenaoje</i>	[ɑkɛnɑɔjə]	<i>discussiëren</i>	n.r.	“to argue”

Table 3 Language shortening in Roosendaal

Roosendaal	Pronunciation	SD	Pronunciation	English
<i>èrrebeesie</i>	[ɛrɛbe:si]	<i>aardbei</i>	[a:rdbɛi]	“Strawberry”
<i>gèf</i>	[ɣɛf]	<i>gaaf</i>	[ɣa:f]	“Cool”
<i>gère</i>	[ɣɛrə]	<i>graag</i>	[ɣra:ɣ]	“Thanks”
<i>kès</i>	[kɛs]	<i>kaas</i>	[ka:s]	“Cheese”
<i>lèrzen</i>	[lɛrzə]	<i>laarzen</i>	[la:rzə(n)]	“Boots”
<i>mèske</i>	[mɛskə]	<i>meisje</i>	[mɛisjə]	“Girl”

⁶ Not relevant

Table 4 Pronouns Roosendaal

Roosendaal	Pronunciation	SD	Pronunciation	English
<i>de</i>	[də]	<i>je</i>	[jə]	“you”
<i>diene</i>	[di:nən]	<i>die</i>	[di:]	“that”
<i>dunun</i>	[dunən]	<i>die</i>	[di:]	“that”
<i>ij</i>	[ɛi]	<i>hij</i>	[hɛi]	“he”
<i>m(e)n</i>	[m(ə)n]	<i>mijn</i>	[mɛin]	“my”
<i>tie</i>	[ti:]	<i>hij</i>	[hɛi]	“he”
<i>ons</i>	[ɔns]	<i>mijn/onze</i>	n.r./ [ɔnzə]	“my/our”
<i>zullie</i>	[zuli:]	<i>zij</i>	[zɛi]	“they”

Table 5 French loanwords Oudenbosch

Oudenbosch Word	Meaning	French Word	English
<i>court</i>	“schoolyard”	<i>court</i>	“square”
<i>(raam)planchet</i>	“windowsill”	<i>planchette</i>	“small board” mainly serving as support
<i>fourket</i>	“fork”	<i>fourchette</i>	“fork”
<i>akkenaoje</i>	“to argue”	<i>agonir</i>	“to fight”
<i>akkedere</i>	“to get along with”	<i>acoorder</i>	“to harmonize”

Table 6 Short articulation Oudenbosch

Oudenbosch	Pronunciation	SD	English
<i>k'aar</i>	[ka:r]	<i>ik had</i>	“I had”
<i>Wasouk nou zegge?</i>	[wasauk nau zɛɣə]	<i>Wat zou ik nou eens zeggen?</i>	“What shall I say?”
<i>Wadist?</i>	[wdɪst]	<i>Wat is het?</i>	“What is it?”
<i>Hoeist?</i>	[huɪst]	<i>Hoe is het?</i>	“How are you?”
<i>das</i>	[dɑs]	<i>dat is</i>	“that is”
<i>agge</i>	[ɑɣə]	<i>als je</i>	“if you”
<i>hedde</i>	[hɛdə]	<i>heb je</i>	“do you have”
<i>'k wittet nie</i>	[k wɪtət ni:]	<i>ik weet het niet</i>	“I do not know”
<i>Kikn's hier.</i>	[kɪkns hi:r]	<i>kijk eens hier</i>	“Look over here.”
<i>Das makkelijk zat.</i>	[dɑs makələk zat]	<i>Dat is gemakkelijk te doen.</i>	“That is easy to do.”
<i>Oe komdegij daor nou bij?</i>	[u: kɔmdəɣɛi dɑɔr nau bɛi]	<i>Hoe kun je dat nou denken?</i>	“How could you think that?”
<i>Begreptegij da nie?</i>	[bɛɣrɛɪptəɣɛi da: ni]	<i>Begijp jij dat niet?</i>	“Don't you” “understand?”
<i>K'wies ut glad nie.</i>	[kwɪ:s ʏt ɣlat ni]	<i>Ik wist dat helemaal niet.</i>	“I did not know that.”

Table 7 Pronouns Oudenbosch

Oudenbosch	Pronunciation	SD	Pronunciation	English
<i>gij</i>	[ɣei]	<i>jij</i>	[jei]	“you”
<i>ge</i>	[ɣə]	<i>jij</i>	[jei]	“you”
<i>hij</i>	[hei]	<i>hij/zij</i>	[hei] / [zei]	“he”/“she”
<i>tie</i>	[ti:]	<i>hij/zij</i>	[hei] / [zei]	“he”/“she”
<i>ou</i>	[u]	<i>U</i>	[y]	“you” (polite form)

Table 8 [ɛ] Oudenbosch

Oudenbosch	Pronunciation	SD	Pronunciation	English
<i>bèssem</i>	[bɛssəm]	<i>bezem</i>	[be:zəm]	“broom”
<i>èrbeesje</i>	[ɛrbe:sjə]	<i>aardbei</i>	[a:rdbei]	“strawberry”
<i>èrrepel</i>	[ɛrəpəl]	<i>aardappel</i>	[a:rdapəl]	“potato”
<i>gèrre</i>	[ɣɛrə]	<i>graag</i>	[ɣra:ɣ]	“thanks”
<i>mèske</i>	[mɛskə]	<i>meisje</i>	[mɛisjə]	“girl”
<i>schètsen</i>	[sxɛtsə]	<i>schaatsen</i>	[sxɑ:tsə(n)]	“ice skating”

Table 9 [ɑ] in Oudenbosch

Oudenbosch	Pronunciation	SD	Pronunciation	English
<i>akkenaoje</i>	[akənɑjə]	<i>discussieren</i>	n.r.	“to argue”
<i>aordappel</i>	[ɑ:rdapəl]	<i>aardappel</i>	[a:rdapəl]	“potato”
<i>daor</i>	[dɑ:r]	<i>daar</i>	[da:r]	“there”
<i>praoten</i>	[pra:tə(n)]	<i>praten</i>	[pra:tə(n)]	“to talk”
<i>totaol</i>	[to:tɑ:l]	<i>totaal</i>	[to:ta:l]	“completely”
<i>waoter</i>	[wɑ:tər]	<i>water</i>	[wa:tər]	“water”

Table 10 [ɛ] in Rucphen

Rucphen	Pronunciation	SD	Pronunciation	English
<i>mennetjes</i>	[mɛnətjəs]	<i>mannetjes</i>	[mɑnətjəs]	“boys”
<i>scher</i>	[sxɛr]	<i>schaar</i>	[sxɑ:r]	“scissors”
<i>lekis</i>	[kɛkəs]	<i>kijk eens</i>	[kɛik e:ns]	“look!”
<i>erbesie</i>	[ɛrbe:si]	<i>aardbei</i>	[a:rdbei]	“strawberry”
<i>kes</i>	[kɛs]	<i>kaas</i>	[ka:s]	“cheese”

Appendix II

Agge /ɑɣə/

v. if you. A combination of the words *als* ‘if’ and *ge* ‘you’. Apparently, in Roosendaal the [l] is often not pronounced between [ɑ] and [s]. Because of this the [l] disappears in *als* and *as* and *ge* together become *agge*⁷.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal

Akkederen /ɑkədɪrə/

v. to harmonize. Comes from the French word *accorder* that means the same.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

Akkenaaje /ɑkənɑjə/

v. to argue. Comes from the French word *agonir* ‘to fight’.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch and Roosendaal

Anniebroek /ɑnibrʉk/

n. jay. Comes from *hanne*, which originally is a diminutive of the name Johannes and is used to refer to a magpie. Furthermore, *broek* is thought to mean *moerassig land* ‘marshy land’. *Anniebroek*, thus, literally means ‘magpie that lives near water’.⁸

Occurrences found all over West-Brabant

Baomus /ba:mʉs/

n. Autumn. Comes from *baafmis* which is a mass dedicated to St. Bavo held on the 1st of Oktober.⁹

Occurrences found all over West-Brabant

⁷ Heestermans 1992, p. 56

⁸ idem 1989, p. 21

⁹ Sterenborg, W. en E. Schilders (2014), *Woordenboek van de Tilburgse Taal*

Batten /batən/

n. boots. Archaic. Might come from the british boot maker ‘Horace Batten’ or from the West-Brabant way of referring to walking through snow or mud, which is called *batsen*.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal

Bels /bels/

adj. Belgium

Occurrences found all over West-Brabant

Blèète /blètə/

v. to cry. Related to SD *blèère*.

Occurrences found all over West-Brabant¹⁰

Boere tenen /burə te:nə/

n. pl. broad beans.

Occurrences found both West-Brabant and Belgium.

Botjes /bɔtjəs/

n. Ice skates. Nowadays refers to (the old kind of) ice skates that you tie under your shoes.

Occurrences found all over Brabant

Botter /bɔtər/

n. butter

Occurrences found in Rucphen and Bergen

Court /kur/

n. schoolyard, comes from French *court* “public square”.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

De /də/

pron. you, variation on the SD *je* “you”.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal

¹⁰ Heestermans paraphrases Stroop 1990, p. 67

Dienun /di:nən/

demons. pron. that, variation on SD die “that”.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal

Duimke /dœymkə/

n. slat

Dunun /dʏnən/

demons. pron. that, variation on SD die “that”.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal

Eej /e:j/

adv. right, as in that was great, right?

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

Erbeesje /ɛrbe:sjə/

n. strawberry, variation on SD aardbei.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

Errebeesie /ɛrəbe:si/

n. strawberry, variation on SD aardbei.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal

Errebeezie /ɛrəbe:zi/

n. strawberry, variation on SD aardbei.

Occurrences found in Rucphen

Fourket /fʏrket/

n. fork, comes from French fourchette.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

Frak /frak/

n. coat, comes from the French word *frac* ‘dress coat’.

Occurrences found all over West-Brabant.

Gèèf /gɛf/

adj. cool, can be used in the same context as its SD counterpart *gaaf*, it could also adopt a meaning which *gaaf* has long lost, namely *fatsoenlijk* ‘decent’.¹¹

Occurrences found all over West-Brabant

Gèr(r)e /gɛrə/

Adj. 1. gladly 2. thanks, probably variation of SD *graag* “gladly/thanks”

Occurrences found in Roosendaal and Oudenbosch

Gin /gɪn/

pron., adj. none, variation on SD *geen* “none”.

Occurrences found all over West-Brabant

Hof /hɔf/

n. backyard, related to SD *hof* “closed of piece of land”.

Occurrences found in Rucphen, probably used more widespread.

Houdoe /ɦludɔ/

int. colloq. bye, comes from SD *houd u goed* “look after yourself”.

Occurrences found all over Brabant.

(h)ij /ɛi/

pron. 1. he 2. she, comes from SD *hij* “he”.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal and Oudenbosch, probably used more widespread.

Jong /jɔŋ/

n. 1. child 2. boy probably comes from SD *jong* “young”.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch.

¹¹ Heestermans 1988, p. 40

Jot /jɔt/

adv. yes, probably comes from an older form of SD *ja* “yes” namely *joa*, put together with the shortened version of the word *het* “the”, *t*.

Occurrences found all over West-Brabant

Ket /kɛt/

n. fork, related to *verket* and SD *vork* “fork”, which both come from the French word *fourchette* ‘fork’.

Occurrences found in Rucphen

Kets /kɛts/

n. fork, related to *verket* and SD *vork* “fork”, which both come from the French word *fourchette* ‘fork’.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal

Kuus /ky:s/

n. pig. Could also mean ‘cow’ in other regions.

Occurrences found in Rucphen

Leut /lø:t/

n. fun, comes from the gothic word *luten* “to deceive”. At first these two words do not seem coherent, but it has happened often that negative words adopt positive meanings.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch, possibly also used elsewhere.

Lullepotten /lyləpɔtə/

v. to groan in pain.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal.

Mennetje /mɛnɛtjə/

n. boy, variation on SD *manneje* “little man”.

Occurrences found in Rucphen

Monnebakkus /mɔnəbəkʏs/

n. mask, comes partly from SD *bakkes* “face” (informal).

Occurrences found in Rucphen.

Muurzeiker /myrʒeikər/

n. ant, origin unknown mainly because the literal meaning of the word *muurzeiker*, ‘wall pee-er’, does not make a lot of sense as ants are not known to pee on walls.

Occurrences found all over West-Brabant.

Neut /nø:t/

adv. no, comes from the older SD form of *nee* “no”, *neu*, put together with the shortened realisation of *het* “the”, ‘t.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch, probably also used elsewhere.

Oprijven /ɔprɛivə/

v. to rake, from *rĳven* “to rake” which was used widespread until the second half of the 20th century.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch.

Ou /u/

pron. you (polite version), variation on SD *u* “you”.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch.

Oudoe /^ɛʌudu/

int. colloq. bye, comes from SD *houd u goed* “look after yourself”.

This realisation is specific for Roosendaal, but occurrences were found all over Brabant.

Pattekale /patəkɑ:lə/

n. newborn baby, related to the West-Brabant dialect word *pattekaal* “completely bald”.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal, possibly used elsewhere in West-Brabant as well.

Peejestamp /pe:jəstəmp/

n. hodgepotch made from potatoes, carrots and unions. Typical Dutch dish. Comes from the dialect word for carrot *peej*.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch.

Piccolo /pikəlo:/

n. icecream

Occurrences found in Rucphen

Pieleke /piləkə/

n. chick, a chicken's baby, means 'little duck' in Bergen but 'chick' in Roosendaal. Probably comes from the words one uses to lure the animals, namely *piele piele piele*.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal

Pilske /pilskə/

n. beer. A glass of beer

Occurrences found all over Brabant

Plee /ple:/

n. toilet, nowadays the informal word for toilet, used all over the Netherlands, probably originates from dialect word.

Occurrences found in Rucphen and all over the Netherlands

Plets /plets/

n. 1. Public square (Oudenbosch) 2. Pavement (Rucphen), variation on SD word *plaats* "place".

Pletske /pletskə/

n. courtyard, Diminutive of *plets*

Occurrences found in Roosendaal, possibly used elsewhere in West-Brabant as well.

Puit /pœyt/

n. frog, comes from an Italian word that means ‘to swell up’. While this word is used in the whole of West-Brabant, *Oudenboschenaren* also have another connotation with *puut* as that is what they are called during the *Carnaval* period.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

Raamlijs /ra:mlɛis/

n. windowframe, probably comes from the SD words *raam* “window” and *lijst* “frame”.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

Raamplacet /ra:mpla:ʃɛt/

n. windowframe, comes from SD *raam* “window” and French *planchette* “small board”.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

Schelles /sxɛləs/

n. punishment, probably comes from the SD verb *schelden* ‘to curse’.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

Sneukelen /snø:kələn/

v. to munch, Heestermans mentioned *sneukelen* and wrote that according to him it means *opvallend snoepen* ‘snacking notably’ (1989, p. 14). He added that *sneukelen* used to mean ‘to have sex’ (1989, p. 14).

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

Stikkebeesie /stɪkəbe:si/

n. gooseberry, possibly comes from SD *steken* “to prick” and *besje* “berry”.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal

Subiet /sybit/

adv. In a moment, possibly comes from Portuguese, means “now” in East-Brabant.

Occurrences found in West-Brabant and Belgium

's vrurens /svryrəns/

adv. around four o'clock. Probably a degeneration of the phrase *vier uren* 'four hours'. It probably originates from the fact that four o'clock was an important time of day for cow farmers, namely time to milk the cows. In Roosendaal another form of the same word is used, namely *Fruurses*.¹²

Occurrences found in Rucphen.

Tie /ti/

pron. he/she, probably a variation on SD *die* "that"

Occurrences found all over West-Brabant

Tullepetaon /tʏl(ə)pətəʊn/

n. 1. Guinea fowl 2. a resident of Roosendaal

Occurrences found in Roosendaal

Verket /vɛrkɛt/

n. fork, comes from the French word *fourchette* 'fork'.

Occurrences found in Oudenbosch

Vrumjes /vrʏmjɛs/

n. pl. girls, related to *vrummes*, probably comes from the older Dutch word *vrouwmens* "woman".¹³

Occurrences found in Rucphen

Vrummes /vrʏmɛs/

n. pl. women related to *vrumjes*, probably comes from the older Dutch word *vrouwmens* "woman".¹⁴

Occurrences found in Rucphen

¹² Heestermans 1990, p. 81

¹³ idem 1991, p. 51

¹⁴ idem 1991, p. 51

Waar /wa:r/

v. 1st person singular past tense of *zijn* “to be”, probably comes from SD past tense of *zijn* “to be”, *was*.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal, possibly also elsewhere in West-Brabant

Waarft /wa:ɾft/

n. yard, probably comes from SD *erf* “property/yard”

Occurrences found in Rucphen

Zullie /zʏlli/

pron. They, variation on SD *jullie* “they”.

Occurrences found in Roosendaal, probably used elsewhere in West-Brabant as well.

Daor ligt ere en te lullepoaten

Idiom someone has fallen down.

One would utter this idiom when one wants to point out that someone has fallen down. This one is fairly easy to explain as *lullepoaten* is a Roosendaal word, which means ‘to lie on the floor groaning in pain’. It is not hard to imagine that to say *daor ligt er een te lullepoaten* ‘there is someone lying on the floor groaning in pain’ means that someone has fallen down.

Die zal geen zand meer afgaan

Idiom He has enjoyed a good meal.

This idiom literally means, ‘he will not exhaust sand no more’. This has to do with the fact that in times of famine people would eat sand to feel full. Naturally, when one eats sand one also has to discharge it. So this idiom states that when one has enjoyed a good meal one will not have to eat and discharge sand cause one is not suffering from hunger.

‘ij heeft een nachtje buiten gelegen

Idiom He has got mental health issues.

This idiom literally means ‘he has lain outside for a night’ and refers to the idea that someone might not be mentally stable. After searching for this idiom in various (dialect) idiom dictionaries it appears that this idiom has never been documented. It could be that this idiom has been used in the participant’s family but is unknown beyond that.