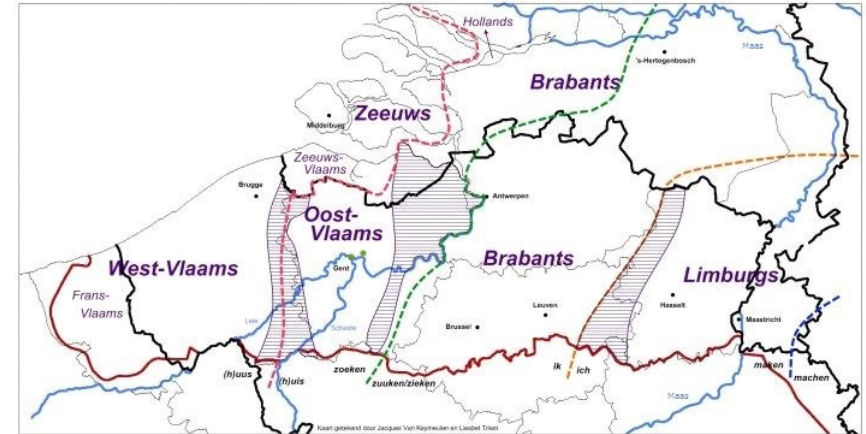


STATE OF ART

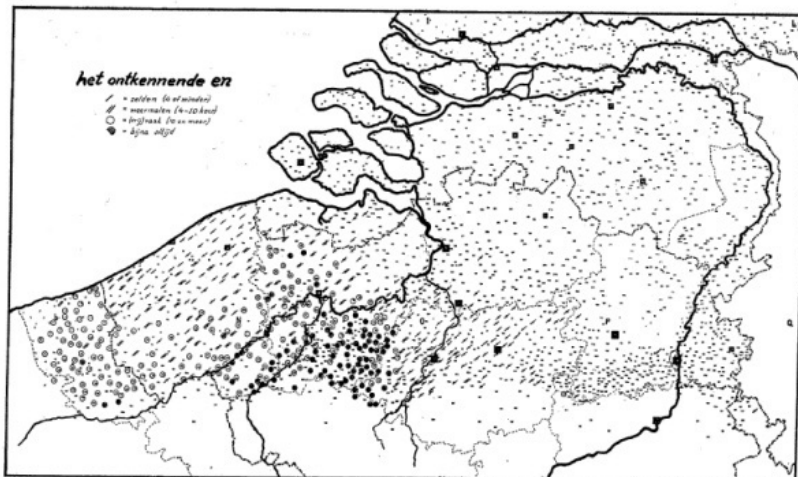
The particle *en* in the Southern Dutch dialects

SOUTHERN DUTCH DIALECTS



'EN' IN THE SDD

- RND-data (E.Blancquaert; questionnaires with 141 sentences; 1925-; 1.956 places)

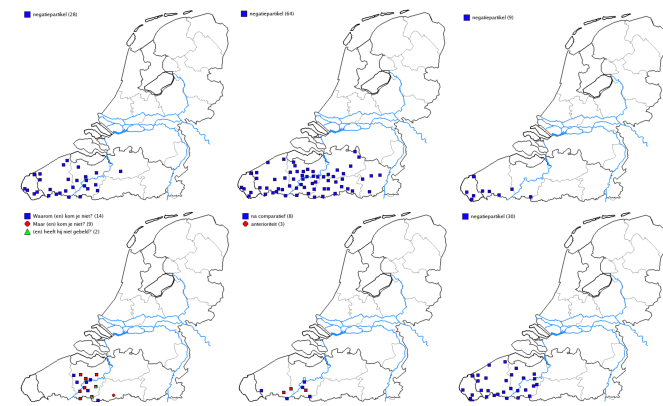


(Koelmans 1967: 14)

'EN' IN THE SDD

- SAND-data

(Barbiers et al. 2005; 2006; 2008; Barbiers/Bennis 2007)



(<https://www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand/>)

- en* is not (really) negative, not optional, and not meaningless:

STATE OF THE ART

En is not really negative

- SAND etc.: single *en* in **NPI contexts** – conditionals (2-a), *before*-clauses (2-b), standard of comparison (2-c), restrictive adverb (2-e), restriction of universal quantifier (2-d)

- (2) a. en **aa't** slecht weer en is
and if=it bad weather EN is
(1241p Ghent, Leemans 1966:191)
- b. Je moet niet komen **voordat** ik geschreven en heb.
you must not come before=that I written EN have
(N141p Kortrijk, Barbiers et al. 2009:60)
- c. Marjo heeft nu **meer** koeien **dan** ze vroeger en had.
Marjo has now more cows than she earlier EN had
(P133p Overijse, Barbiers et al. 2009:60)
- d. Hier is **alles wat** ik gekregen en heb.
here is everything what I got EN have
(P133p Overijse, Neuckermans, 2008:169)
- e. Ik en heb **maar** drie knikkers.
I EN have only three marbles
(H036p Bruges, Barbiers et al. 2009:60)

STATE OF THE ART

En is not optional

- (3) (# En) ee-j **geen** cigarette vu myn?
EN have=you no cigarette.DIM for me
Intended: 'Would you have a cigarette for me?'
Lit.: 'Don't you have a cigarette for me?', 'Do you really NOT have a cigarette for me?'
- (4) a. Waarom heb je dat nu **weer niet** gedaan?
why have you that now again NEG done
Action: 'Why did you fail to do this for a second time?'
Information: 'Remind me of the reason why you failed to do that.'
b. Waarom en ee-j da nu **were nie** gedaan?
why EN have you that now again NEG done
Action: 'Why did you fail to do this for a second time?'
- (5) a. da Valère nie [willen dienen boek lezen] (***en**) eet
that Valère NEG [want that book read] (*EN) has
b. da Valère nie en ee [willen dienen boek lezen]
that Valère NEG (EN) has [want that book read]

(from Breitbarth/Haegeman 2014)

(from Haegeman 1998: 641; (23))

STATE OF THE ART

En is not meaningless

- (6) a. Ge woont al vijftien jaar in Gent, in g'en ken nog d'Universiteit nie?
you live already 15 years in Ghent en you=EN know yet the=university NEG
(1241 Gent, Overdiep 1937:456)
- b. Ik meenden da(t) (i)k den duvel bij de ... bij de benen (h)oo, maar (i)k en (h)od en nog bij
I thought that I the devil at the ... at the legs had but I EN had him yet by
de staart niede.
the tail NEG
(1256a Wichelen; Van Keymeulen 1975)
- c. k'een al overal gezocht in us en k'en vinden ze nievers.
I=have already everywhere searched in house and I=EN find it nowhere
(1124p Lapscheure; Breitbarth/Haegeman 2014:70)

→ Polarity focus / emphasis

(Breitbarth/Haegeman 2014; 2015)

STATE OF THE ART

En is not meaningless

- ... even in **non-negative** clauses:

- (7) a. ik kom eenen tegen met buikgriep, k'en en der van
I come one against with stomach bug I=EN have there of
'I meet someone with a stomach bug: I pick it up.' (1124p Lapscheure; L.Haegeman, p.c.)
b. K verwachten je de eerste weke nie vu te kusen. K'en gon't wel zelve doen
I expect you the first week not for to clean I=EN go=it well self do
(To the cleaning lady after her surgery:) 'I don't expect you'll come in for cleaning the first week. I'll do it myself' (1124p Lapscheure; L.Haegeman, p.c.)

→ Discourse marker

(Breitbarth/Haegeman 2014; 2015)

- RND-data (Koelmans' map) + SAND-data = elicitation / questionnaires
- tend to **underreport** discourse phenomena (lack of context); cf. field notes e.g. on uninverted V3

H116p	Tarhout	veldwerker	[v=359] Met zo n weer je kun nie veel doen. [v]	context		◀
		informant3	[a=n] Met zukke weer kun je nie veel doen. [a] de drie informanten keuren deze zin af; nochtans komen er nogal wat inversieloze zinnen voor in de spontane spraak.	context		◀
N034p	Hooglede	veldwerker1	[v=359] Mee zulk een weer je kun nie veel doen ee.[v]	context		◀
		informant1	[a=n] Me zuk n were kunje nie vele doen buitn.[a] kun je	context		◀
		informant1	[a=n] Azo moet zijn.[a] Hoewel in spontane spraak toch geregeld hoofdzinsorde is gevonden waar inversie wordt verwacht in AN, dus niet helemaal betrouwbaar, deze afwijzing?	context		◀

((<https://www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand/>))

- combines SAND data for SDDs (111 places) with
 - (i) additional questionnaires (231) asking about optionality and
 - (ii) 21 transcriptions of recordings of spontaneous speech from 1960s–70s (more on which further on), 10 of which looked at more closely
 - (iii) some other sources (e.g. RND; material from Huis van Alijn)
- still strong reliance on elicitation despite clear recognition of drawbacks (observer's paradox, no information on optionality); main argument against spontaneous data: not all that is possible is attested

NEUCKERMANS (2008)

- 'affirmative' use (mainly in embedded clauses) is extremely rare in Neuckermans' (2008) data; 'expletive' (=NPI) use "rare/sporadic", mostly restrictive clauses (*maar* 'just') (Neuckermans 2008: 168–76)
- *en* in affirmative subclauses found in places where *en* is not so regularly used anymore; produced spontaneously by younger speakers → "grammaticalisation"? (Neuckermans 2008: 177)
- Neuckermans (2008: 181) proposes an **implicational hierarchy** of contexts where *en* can be licenced in SDDs; submits that there may be a **diachronic retraction** (!) **from affirmative** contexts, with negative embedded clauses last remaining context
affirmative subclauses ⇒ restrictive main clauses ⇒ negative main clauses ⇒ negative subclauses

NEUCKERMANS (2008)

Issues:

1 Methods:

- If *en* is a discourse marker, (Breitbarth/Haegeman 2014; 2015)
we **expect** elicitation not to work so well
- only limited spontaneous data used (though they confirm older studies based on older elicitation (RND) re. distribution)

2 Analysis:

- suggested diachronic scenario (retraction from affirmative (subclauses!) via restrictive (main clauses!) to negative contexts) is doubtful:
- predicts that there should be historically **more** cases of affirmative uses of *en*

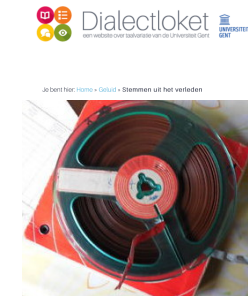
⇒ **Here:** different scenario, based on more spontaneous (and historical) data

THE GCND

A parsed corpus of (historical) SDDs (under construction)

VOICES FROM THE PAST

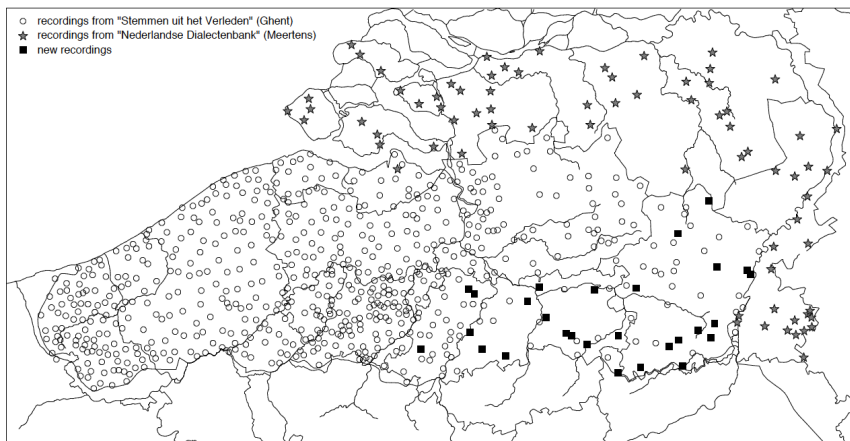
- UGent: unique collection of 783 recordings (ca. 700h) from 550 places (Vanacker/De Schutter 1967) 1960–1975; since 2014 digitised on www.dialectloket.be
- NORMs and NORFs with no or low education born around 1900 (oldest *1871); life stories, oral history



THE GCND

- GCND-corpus (under construction): (new, standardized) transcription, tagging & parsing of these recordings + some from Meertens Institute + some new ones to fill gaps in the collection

(FWO 1.5.310.18N/I010120N; Breitbarth et al. 2020; 2021, Ghyselen et al. 2020, Farasyn et al. to app.)



THE GCND

- GCND-corpus (under construction): (new, standardized) transcription (cf. Ghyselen et al. 2020):

(8) [mɔ:r ɔkɪk miː tantɨ ɔːrə klappɨ]

Tier-1: maar a#k#ik mijn tanten hore klappen

Tier-2: maar als ik ik mijn tante hoor klappen

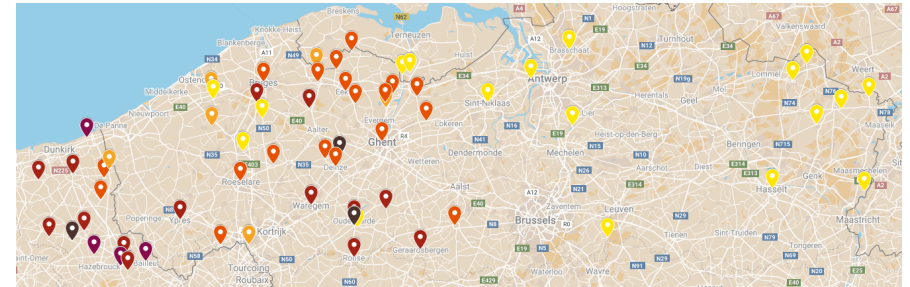
'But when I hear my aunt speak...'

(N072p Ypres)

'EN' IN THE GCND

'EN' IN THE GCND

- selection of 66 new transcription (currently 400+ in various stages of completion)
- in total ca. 40K tokens (standardised transcription layer / informants)



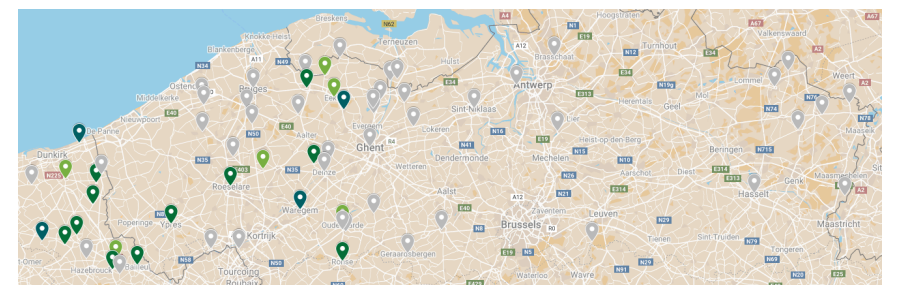
'EN' IN THE GCND

- negative *en* still widespread in East, West and French Flemish
- on the whole, Neuckermans is right that *en* is more frequent in embedded clauses than in main clauses, but this varies from place to place



'EN' IN THE GCND

- restrictive uses occur in 16 places, non-negative uses in 21 (proper superset of restrictive)
- contrary to Neuckermans' findings, non-negative uses are not restricted to embedded clauses, and are in fact more frequent in main clauses



(i) more and different NPI-contexts: *y/n*-questions (9-a), indirect-restrictive? (9-b)

- (9) a. ja maar **en** bestaat dat nog? dat weet ik niet.
yes but EN exists that still that know I NEG
'Yes, but does that still exist? I don't know that.' ((0080p Waregem)
- b. en ze danste maar het waren **maar juist** haar voeten die van de grond **en** gingen
and she danced but it were only just her feet that off the ground EN went
'And she danced, but it was just her feet that went off the ground.' (N042p Pittem)

(iii) non-negative *en* in main clauses (incl. non-finite verbs – (11-c)): more wide-spread than in Neuckermans' data:

- (11) a. Maar wil jij jonge gasten, we **en** hebben al een keer jaren gehad dat we een paar
but want you young people we EN have already once years had that we a few
jonge gasten hebben hé dus studenten van de universiteit hé
young people have INT thus students from the university INT
'[...] We have already had years where we had a few young people [...]' (I158p Eeklo)
- b. Ik **en** had ik ik kunnen blijven wi.
I EN had I I could stay INT
'I could have stayed, you know.' (N005p Bergues/Sint-Winoksbergen)
- c. Met zijn beste kleren aan ... je had DIEN een keer moeten **en** zien
with his best clothes on you had this.one once must EN see
'With his best clothes on ... You should have see that one!' (N042p Pittem)

(ii) More previously unknown uses of *en*:

en + NPI expressing negation (attested in Middle Dutch, see further)

- (10) a. van aan de hoek van het Oostakkerstraatje is dat misschien overgenomen die
from at the corner of the Oostakkerstraat.DIM is that perhaps taken.over that
apothekerij? Dat ze zij dat **meer en** doet?
pharmacy that she she that anymore EN does
'There at the corner of Oostakkerstaat, has that perhaps been taken over, that pharmacy?
Because she doesn't do it anymore?' (I241p Gent)
- b. ik **en** weet of dat nu nog veel meer gedaan werd
I EN know if that now still much anymore done is
'I don't know if this is still done so much anymore.' (0265p Ronse)

(iv) unexpectedness (negative):

- (12) a. Het was raar dat het geen twee millimetres te groot **en** was.
it was strange that it no two mm too large EN was
'It was strange that it wasn't two millimetres too large.' (N099p Bavinchove)
- b. ewaar **en** die mensen traptén dat natuurlijk te voet af want uh fietsen **en**
PRT and the people stepped that of=course to foot off because INT bicycles EN
bestonden er nog niet
existed there yet NEG
'Well, and the people walked that (distance) on foot because (contrary to what you may
think) bicycles didn't exist yet.' (I227p Vinkt)

(v) unexpectedness (nonnegative):

- (13) a. nee hij **en** had wat speciaals
no he EN had something special
'No, he (unexpectedly) had something special.' (H076 Zuidkote)
- b. Maar we **en** hebben eerst eerst in dingen gelegen in uh ... in Casteau
but we EN have first first in thingie lied in uh in Casteau
'But (contrary to what you may think), we were first stationed in Casteau.' (0152p Ninove)

WHY SO SLOW?

Continuity, change and recycling

CONTINUITY? CHANGE?

- Neuckermans: diachronic retraction:
affirmative subclauses ⇒ restrictive main clauses ⇒ negative main clauses ⇒
negative subclauses
- Problems:
 - (i) restrictive use of *en* is old (attested in late Middle / Early Modern Dutch) but not as old as negative use
 - (ii) 'surprise' use is new(er), indications for emergence in Early Modern Dutch
 - (iii) restrictive use of *en* is found in (slightly) more places in the SAND than *en* in main clauses (implicational hierarchy)
 - (iv) non-negative *en* is not old – only found in the spontaneous data; non-neg. use is found in more places than restrictive use (implicational hierarchy)

CONTINUITY

- Single use of *en* with an NPI is old:

- (14) a. I=*n* werde **meer** blide nacht ende dach
I=EN become anymore happy night and day
'I won't be happy anymore night and day' (MDu; Postma 2002: 55)
- b. Ic *en* weet **of** si overeen die name mingen van desen tween.
I EN know whether they together these names mix of these two
'I don't know whether they mix the names of these two together' (MDu; Postma 2002: 50)

CONTINUITY

- Single use of *en* in NPI context is old:

- (15) mitsgaders wy daer in **beter** gheaccommodeert weren **dan**=t moghelic *en* was in=**t** stede te
and equally we there in better accommodated were than=it possible EN was in=the city to
zynne
be
(*Reyse van Bruussele* 154, 1570–1585; from Beheydt 1998: 96)

- Restrictive use of *en* is old:

- (16) a. ende mijn vaeder *en* leefde **maer** ix maenden nae ons moeder
and my father EN lived only nine months after our mother
(diary of Jan de Pottre 12; 1549–1620; from Beheydt 1998: 97)
- b. ... dat wy **nauwelijck** *en* derfden spreken in sijne presentie
that we hardly EN dared speak in his presence
(memoirs of Maria Petyt 25; 1623–1677; from Beheydt 1998: 97)

CHANGE

- emphatic and 'unexpectedness' uses are new(er): van Koppen (et al.) on logbooks of Michiel de Ruyter:

- (17) den Capteyn andrijnga en vander saem waren soo leck dat het volck van de pompe nijet en the Captain Andringa and Vander Saem were so leak that the people from the pumps NEG EN conde blyven' could stay
'The Captain Andringa and Vander Saem were leaking so badly that the people could not stay away from the pumps.'
(Michiel de Ruyter 1676/01/17; from Van Koppen et al. in prep.)
- (18) Wy hoorden de lant see ruysen, maer wy en sagen geen lant. we heard the land sea rustle, but we NEG saw no land
'We heard te surf of the sea on the land, but we couldn't see the land.'
(Michiel de Ruyter 1664/10/19; from van Koppen 2019)

CHANGE

- Change in syntactic position: from clitic on Vfin to low Focus position at the left edge of VP:

- (19) a. da Valère nie [willen dienen boek lezen] (*en) eet
that Valère NEG [want that book read] (*EN) has
b. da Valère nie en ee [willen dienen boek lezen]
that Valère NEG (EN) has [want that book read]

(from Haegeman 1998: 641; (23))

- change in position relative to verb cluster between Middle and Early Modern Dutch

(van Koppen 2019)

(20)

	CorpusGysseling (< 1350)	letters P.C. Hooft (1610-1638)
V ₂ -en-V ₁	802 (60%)	1 (5%)
en-V ₁ -V ₂	532 (40%)	19 (95%)

RECYCLING

- Changes affecting *en* since Middle Dutch:

- 1 negative > polarity (focus) (hence NPI and emphatic uses and change in syntactic position)
- 2 polarity focus > ???

- Steps:

- 1 Syntactically: upwards reanalysis to low, vP-related FocP (+ [uFOC]), loss of [uNEG]
- 2 Pragmatically: procedural meaning: adversative / unexpectedness

- NDDs probably went along with Neg>Foc, then lost *en* [uNEG], later *en* [uFOC] (Wakden/Breitbarth 2019: short term adult dialect contact);
SDDs remained in intermediate stage (different sociolinguistic situation)

- proposal: *en* is recycled as a **mirative strategy**

RECYCLING

- Range of mirative meanings (Aikhenvald 2012):

- (i) sudden discovery, sudden revelation or realization;
- (ii) surprise;
- (iii) unprepared mind;
- (iv) counterexpectation;
- (v) new information.

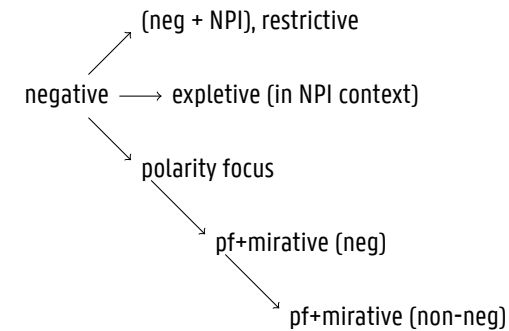
} (a) speaker,
(b) addressee,
(c) main character

- 'mirative strategy': co-opting of a marker of some other category (e.g. a specific tense, evidentiality, ... marker)

Analysing *en* as a mirative strategy can account for ...

- 1 the fact that it still mostly occurs in negative (embedded) clauses – the environment where it had been available since EMDu for marking polarity focus
- 2 the emergence of *en* in non-negative clauses where it expresses counterexpectation and/or surprise, too
- 3 the fact that the mirative meanings of surprise (ii.a(/b/c)) and counterexpectation (iv.a/b/c) are also available in subordinate clauses; which is perhaps not expected given the link between mirativity and illocution (cf. Van De Velde 2012, Authier/Haegeman 2019)

- Actually overlap of several changes:



RECYCLING AND ADDITIVE COMPLEXIFICATION

- Hence: several simultaneous layers of change in some SDDs
- *en* needs to stay around long enough to be available for the exaptation first as a marker of polarity focus / emphasis, later as a mirative strategy
- Confirmation of Walkden/Breitbarth's (2019) application of Trudgill's (2011) sociolinguistic typology:
 - less population movement,
 - no short-term adult bilingualism,
 - at best long-term child bilingualism

↪ expect additive complexification

- In these conservative varieties, *en* is available, already is losing strict association with sentential negation, and already has an association to restrictive *maar* ↪ not used in every sentence

↪ reanalysis as a marker of a category that is also not expressed all the time

Thank you!

 **Research Foundation Flanders**
Opening new horizons

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