

Linguistic variation in Belgium: dialects and *tussentaal*
A case study: West Flemish negation

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Part I. West Flemish and French: an informal survey of some similarities

1. Lexical borrowing (Haegeman 1992: 42)

Table 1: French loanwords in (West) Flemish (Lapscheure)

	Standard Dutch	West Flemish	Translation	French
	<i>Fiets</i>	<i>Velo</i>	Bicycle	<i>Vélo</i>
	<i>Vork</i>	<i>Fersette</i>	Fork	<i>Fourchette</i>
	<i>Kop</i>	<i>Tasse</i>	Cup	<i>Tasse</i>
	<i>Overjas</i>	<i>Pardessus</i>	Coat	<i>Par-dessus (on top of)</i>
	<i>Wortel</i>	<i>Karote</i>	Carrot	<i>Carotte</i>
	<i>Lift</i>	<i>Ascenseur</i>	Lift	<i>Ascenseur</i>
	<i>Beha</i>	<i>Soutiens</i>	bra	<i>Soutien-gorge</i>
	<i>Bewegen</i>	<i>Bougeren</i>	Move	<i>Bouger</i>
	<i>Ergeren</i>	<i>Embeteren</i>	Annoy	<i>Embêter</i>
	<i>Echter</i>	<i>Pertank</i>	However	<i>Pourtant</i>
	<i>godverdomme</i>	<i>Nonedju/tedju</i>	In god's name	<i>Nom de Dieu</i>

Discourse particles derived from imperative forms of verbs:

- (1) a *Allez, né, zè* m'een al een medalie!
Allez, né, zè we have already a medal
 b *Tiens, nous avons déjà une medaille !*
Tiens...

Fr Tiens : < *tenir*: hold /take

Fl Zè: < *zien* : see (used generally as *zie* in Flemish regiolect)

Né : < *nemen* : take

Allez : < *aller (Fr)* : go

- (2) a m'een al een medalie, *zè/né/allez*.
 b *Nous avons déjà une medaille , tiens*.

2. Phonetic/phonological (This section is entirely based on and drawn from Noske (2005, 2007a,b))

2.1. 'Individuele fonologische processen en segmenten', (individual phonological processes and segments) Noske 2005, 2007

There have ... been common developments in neighboring Romance and Germanic dialects. De Schutter (1999) mentions five of these phenomena:

- i. final devoicing (a steady feature of Dutch and German), showing up in French and Picardian (*herbe* 'grass' is pronounced with a final [p] in Romance dialects of Northern France as well as of North-Eastern France and Wallonia), which constitutes an influence of Germanic onto the Romance dialects;
- ii. the breaking of vowels (like in Fr. *fièvre, pièce*) (in other words the development of rising diphthongs, a historic process that has taken place in large parts of the Romance linguistic

- area), which has given rise to the breaking /a/ before /r/ + dental plosive in Southern Dutch dialects: *paard* ⇒ [p(j)ɛ:(r)t] ‘horse’;
- iii. the occurrence of /h/ as a phoneme in Walloon dialects, due to Germanic influences;
 - iv. palatization (fronting) of vowels (like in Fr. *mur* [myr] and Du. *Muur* (in both cases: < Lat. *murus*), South Western Dutch *veugel* [vø ɣə l] ‘bird’ < *vogel* [vo ɣ ə l]) (see also Ryckeboer 1991, 1997:147-169);
 - v. lenition of dental consonants (like Fr. *feuille* [foej] ‘leaf’, < Lat. *folia*), South Western Dutch diminutive /+tʃə/ (< /+kə/).

To this list we may add a sixth phenomenon, mentioned by Ryckeboer (2004:44) for the variety of West-Flemish spoken in the part of Flanders that is presently located in France, but which pertains to West-Flemish in general:

- vi. The monophthongisation of [au] to [u] before dental or alveolar obstruents. This development is also found in the same period in the neighboring Romance dialect of Picardian.

2.2. More pervasive patterns: syllabification

‘We zullen nu twee processen behandelen die kenmerkend zijn voor het Zuid-Nederlands en waarin het Zuid-Nederlands van het Noord-Nederlands verschilt. We zullen vervolgens zien dat beide processen een grote samenhang vertonen: ze kunnen worden geanalyseerd als een gevolg van één enkel element van organisatie van de fonologie. Ten slotte zullen we zien dat dit element van organisatie aan het Frans is ontleend.’ (Noske 2007a)

‘We will now deal with two processes which are typical of southern Dutch and in which southern Dutch differs from Northern Dutch. We will see that both processes have a considerable coherence : they can be analysed in terms of one organizational principle of phonology. Finally we’ll see that this principle is borrowed from French.’

2.2.1. GLOTTAL STOP INSERTION AND SYLLABLE BOUNDARIES (BASED ENTIRELY ON NOSKE 2005)

In both Northern and Southern Dutch, a glottal stop is inserted in hiatus position if the second vowel is stressed:

- (3) *beamen* [bə ‘?a:mən] ‘acknowledge’ (?= glottal stop)

Since a phonetic glottal stop can only occur in Dutch in the onset of a syllable, without other elements in this position, its occurrence can serve as an indicator for the location of a syllable boundary. Let us now look at the Northern Standard Dutch forms in (4), where we see that a glottal stop is inserted if a consonant final morpheme is combined with a vowel initial one:

- (4) Northern Standard Dutch
- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|-------------------|
| a. | <i>uit</i> [?]eindelijk | ‘final(ly)’ |
| b. | <i>ver</i> [?]armen | ‘impoverish’ |
| c. | <i>on</i> [?]jeens (adj.) | ‘in disagreement’ |
| d. | <i>berg</i> [?]achtig | ‘mountainous’ |

We can conclude that in (4), because glottal stop can only occur as the sole element of the onset, the final consonants of the initial morphemes are maintained within the coda of the first syllable, while the glottal stop constitutes the onset of the second syllable. In this respect, Northern Dutch behaves like Standard German, where a glottal stop is also inserted in cases parallel to the ones in (2), ...

If we compare the Northern Dutch data with the corresponding forms in Southern Dutch, we find a marked contrast. My informants report that they find the pronunciation with a glottal stop in these cases unnatural, very official, affected and exaggerated (‘resembling Northern Dutch’). Hence, the forms corresponding to the ones in (4a-d) are not pronounced with a glottal stop in Southern Dutch, not even in fairly slow speech. Because, as we have seen, glottal stop insertion does occur into

an empty onset in both Northern and Southern Dutch, one is forced to conclude that in the Southern Dutch forms, the final consonant of the initial morpheme is syllabified into the onset of the second syllable. To summarize, we find the following contrast (‘.’ indicates a syllable boundary):

(5) Southern Dutch forms

a.	uiteindelijk	[oey.tein.də.lək]
b.	verarmen	[və.rar.mən]
c.	oneens	[ɔ.ne:ns]
d.	bergachtig	[ber. ɣax.təx]

In (5d) we see an additional indication for the contrast in syllabification: in Southern Dutch, the final voiced obstruent /χ/ of the initial morpheme /berχ/ has not undergone syllable final devoicing, while in Northern Dutch it comes out as voiceless [χ]. This independently confirms that this segment is in onset position in Southern Dutch.

2.2.2. VOWEL DELETION DUE TO CLITICIZATION

Another, partially related, contrast between Northern and Southern Dutch concerns the deletion of vowels in pronouns due to cliticization. The neuter pronoun *het* [ət], e.g., can be cliticized and can lose its schwa more easily and in more positions in Southern Dutch than in Northern Dutch.

In both Northern and Southern Dutch, schwa can be deleted if it is followed by a vowel initial inflected verb, if the main sentential stress is not located on one of the words.

(6)	(Northern and Southern Dutch)	het is	[tʌs]
		it is	

But in Northern Dutch this deletion is optional, depending on the speech rate. In many varieties of Southern Dutch, however, it seems to be obligatory.

A more marked contrast between the North and the South (in this case West-Flemish) can be found if *het* is in a position following a tensed verb, e.g. in:

(7)	a.	(Northern Dutch)	was het	[ʋas ə t]~[ʋa z ə t]	*[ʋa st]
			was it		
	b.	(West-Flemish)	was het	[wast]	

It thus appears that in West-Flemish, also in normal to slow speech, / ə t/ usually loses its vowel and is cliticized to tensed verbs both to its left and to its right. Also other unstressed pronouns, like *ik* ‘I’, *je* ‘you’, *we* ‘we’, can lose their vowels much more easily in West-Flemish and other Southern variants than in Standard Northern Dutch, where again allegro speech is required if vowel deletion is to take place at all. ...

(7)	c	(West-Flemish)	ik hoor	[ko:r]
			I hear	

LH: Similarly, the article *de* [d ə] is pronounced [d] in front of a vowel:

(7)	d	(StD)	de Amerikanen	d ə	am...
		(Flemish)		d	am...

Noske (2007b):

Resyllabification of morpheme-final consonants into empty onsets in Luxembourgish (Gilles 2007). Also in Swiss-German, we find a wide-spread resyllabification across morpheme boundaries (Siebenhaar 2004:428). As we see, with respect to syllabification, Luxembourgish and Swiss-German behave like French and Southern Dutch. With a bit of imagination, we could attribute the difference also to the linguistic contact with French. Romance influence is for these phenomena is indeed invoked by Moulton (1941). ...However, closer inspection of historical data reveals that the

phenomena in question are part of the prosodic typology of early West-Germanic in general. Hence, it is Northern Dutch, together with many other West-Germanic dialects, that has undergone an a prosodic-typological innovation, whereas Southern Dutch has not changed.

3. Grammatical similarities (non-exhaustive)

3.1. *dat/die alternation*

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|------------|------------|
| (8) | a | Den schryver <u>dan</u> -k peinzen <u>dan</u> –ze goan vroagen
The man that-I think that they will invite | <i>dat</i> | <i>dat</i> |
| | b | l’auteur <u>que</u> je pense <u>qu</u> ’ ils vont inviter | <i>que</i> | <i>que</i> |
| | c | de schrijver <u>die</u> ik denk <u>dat</u> ze gaan uitnodigen | <i>die</i> | <i>dat</i> |
| (9) | a | Den vent <u>dan</u> -k peinzen <u>die</u> dienen boek geschreven eet
The man that-I think <i>die</i> that book written has | <i>dat</i> | <i>die</i> |
| | b | l’homme que je pense <u>qui</u> a écrit ce livre | <i>que</i> | <i>qui</i> |
| | c | <u>aanvullen</u> | | |

Constraints on *die/dat* alternation :very similar to those noted for French in Koopman&Sportiche (2008)

3.2. *Emphatic particle derived from personal pronoun*

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (10) | a | T’goa tet regenen.
It goes <i>tet</i> rain
‘It’s going to rain.’ |
| | b | T’goa tet nie regenen.
It goes <i>tet</i> not rain
‘It isn’t going to rain.’ |

In (10a) the insertion of *tet* indicates that the speaker had not expected it to rain; *tet* contradicts the expectations he or she may have; likewise in (10b) *tet* signals a contradiction, for instance with something that has just been said. *Tet* reinforces the polarity of the sentence. The insertion of *tet* is completely ungrammatical in St.D./Northern Dutch

The impact of *tet* as a polarity reinforcer resembles to some extent that of the form *tu/ti* in some variants of French, as illustrated in (11):

- | | |
|------|---|
| (11) | Elle vient-tu à Montréal?
she comes- <i>tu</i> to Montréal
‘Is she coming to Montreal?’ |
|------|---|

Vinet (2002) paraphrases the semantic contribution of *tu* in examples like Quebec French (11) in terms of polarity marking:

The question in (11) sets up a contrastive set consisting of the affirmed predicate and the negated predicate. The answer selects freely one of these two. It can then be claimed that the context with TU in (11) includes such a contrastive set and chooses the affirmative option of the question. ... the function of *-tu* would be twofold:

- 1) to signal the existence of such a context
and 2) to choose the affirmative option. (Vinet 2002: 9)

We could provide an analogous paraphrase for the contribution of *tet* as used in (10a). Adopting Vinet’s wording we might characterise the use of *tet* in (10a) as follows. In (10a) the use of *tet* serves to set up a contrastive set consisting of the affirmed predicate (‘it is going to rain’) expressed in the

sentence and the negated predicate ('it is not going to rain'), which is part of the background context. The function of *tet* would be:

- 1) to signal the existence of such the contrastive context (\neg 'rain'),
- 2) to set off the affirmative option against that context.

In (10b) the use of *tet* serves to set up a contrastive set consisting of the negated predicate ('it is not going to rain') expressed in the sentence and the affirmed predicate ('it is going to rain') which is part of the background context. The function of *tet* would be:

- 1) to signal the existence of such the contrastive context (+ 'rain'),
- 2) to set off the negative option against that context.

WF *tet* has a different distribution from Quebec *tu* (Haegeman and VandeVelde 2007). For instance, it also occurs in subordinate clauses, which *tu* does not.

- (12) a Oa-t *tet* regent, moe-j de blommen geen wouter geven.
If-it *tet* rains, must you the flowers no water give
'If it does rain, you needn't give water to the flowers.'
- b Nog beinst da ze *tet* an 't veruzen woaren, een-ze ingebroken.
Yet while that they *tet* on the removing were, have they broken in.
'At the very time when they were moving house, their house was burgled.'

Other variants of Flemish use the masculine pronoun for this expressive function. The use of the masculine pronoun is also found in the *tussentaal*, the ('nonstandard') regiolect which is spoken throughout Flanders.

- (13) a We moeten wij uitprikken en dat telt *hij* niet mee. Wat denken die wel?!
We have to punch the clock and that counts *hij* not with. What think they well?
'We have to munch the clock at lunch time and that does not count. What are they thinking of?' (Attested example: Hedwig De Pauw, 24.11.2007)
- b Op tweede kerstdag mag er *hij* gewerkt worden. (Hedwig De Pauw 22.12.07)
on second Christmasday may there *hij* worked be
- c L Moogt ge met dezelfde tram terugkeren?
Can you return with the same tram?
H: Dat weet *hij* niemand. (Hedwig de Pauw 9.10.8)
That knows *hij* no one 'No one knows that.'

3.3. *determiner system*

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------------------|---|------------------|
| (14) | aWF | wekke boeken | b | <u>de</u> wekke |
| | | which books | | the which |
| | cFr | quels livres | d | <u>les</u> quels |
| | | Which-PL book-PL | | the -PL which-PL |
| | eStD | welke boeken | e | (*de) welke |

Coordination:

- (15) a StD de boeken en tijdschriften zijn klaar
the books and journals are ready
- b Fr *Les livres et revues sont prêts
- c Wfl *De boeken en gezetten zyn greed
the books and papers are ready
- (16) a StD die boeken en tijdschriften zijn klaar
the books and journals are ready
- b Fr *ces livres et revues sont prêts
- c Wfl *Die boeken en gezetten zyn greed

- (17) a StD the books and papers are ready
 mijn neven en nichtjes zijn gearriveerd
 My cousins and nieces are arrived
 b Fr *Mes cousins et nieces sont arrives
 c Wfl *Men keziens en nichten zyn doar a
 My cousins and nices are there already

3.4. verb patterns

3.4.1. Auxiliary selection

- (18) a Ik ben/*heb daar geweest
 I am/*have there been
 b Fl Kzyn/k'een doa geweest
 I am/I have there been
 c Fr J'ai/*suis été là
 I have/*am been there

3.4.2. Interrupted verb clusters (Verb Projection Raising, VPR)

Although like Standard Dutch, (W)F is an OV language with the finite verb in final position in embedded clauses (19), the effect of Verb Projection raising gives rise to patterns that are more similar to the Romance order, with the finite verb in a position adjacent to the subject:

- (19) aStD ik denk dat de studenten die boeken in het weekend thuis lezen
 I think that the students those books in the weekend home read-3PL
 bWF kpeinzen dan de studenten die boeken in t'weekend thus goan lezen
 I think that the students those books in the weekend home read-3PL
 'I think that the students read those books at home over the WE.'
- (20) aStD ik denk dat de studenten die boeken in het weekend thuis zullen lezen
 I think that the students those books in the weekend home will-3PL read
 bWF I think that the students those books in het weekend thus goan lezen
 I think that the students those books in the weekend home go-3PL read
- (21) aFr je crois que les étudiants yont devoir étudier les documents chez eux pendant le WE.
 I think that the students go-3PL must study the documents at home during the WE
 b StD ik denk dat de studenten in het weekend thuis die documenten zullen moeten lezen
 I think that the students in the weekend at home those documents will-3PL must read
 c Wfl kpeinzen dan de studenten goan in t weekend thus die documenten moeten lezen.
 D Wfl kpeinzen dan de studenten goan moeten in t weekend thus die documenten lezen.

3.5. The gender system and the thematic vowel

3.5.1. Gender marking in West Flemish

Table 2: The expression of nominal gender in WF

	Def. article/	Indef. Article/	Possessive Pronoun/	Demonstr	Adjective	Noun	Translation
Masc sg	Den	Nen	Menen	Dienen	Nieuwen	<i>Hund</i>	<i>dog</i>
Fem sg	<i>De</i>	<i>En</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Die</i>	<i>Nieuwe</i>	Katte	<i>cat</i>
Neut sg	<i>Et</i>	<i>En</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Da</i>	Nieuw	<i>Katje</i>	<i>kitten</i>
Plural	<i>De</i>		<i>Men</i>	<i>Die</i>	<i>Nieuwe</i>	<i>Hunden</i>	

						<i>Katten</i> <i>Katjes</i>	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--------------------------------	--

Table 3: The expression of gender in StDutch (definite NPs): neuter vs. non-neuter

	Def. article/	Indef. Article/	Possessive Pronoun/	Demonstr	Adjective	Noun	Translation
Masc sg	<i>De</i>	<i>een</i>	<i>mijn</i>	<i>Die</i>	<i>Nieuwe</i>	<i>Hund</i>	<i>dog</i>
Fem sg	<i>De</i>	<i>Een</i>	<i>mijn</i>	<i>Die</i>	<i>Nieuwe</i>	<i>Katte</i>	<i>cat</i>
Neut sg	<i>het</i>	<i>Een</i>	<i>mijn</i>	<i>Dat</i>	<i>Nieuwe</i>	<i>Katje</i>	<i>kitten</i>
Plural	<i>De</i>		<i>mijn</i>	<i>Die</i>	<i>Nieuwe</i>	<i>Hunden</i> <i>Katten</i> <i>Katjes</i>	

In (West) Flemish, nominal gender has an overt reflex in the form of the N: WF feminine nouns display a terminal schwa. Table 4 illustrates minimal pairs in WF in which a N with terminal *-e* is feminine and a corresponding N without *-e* is either masculine or neuter.

Table 4: West Flemish gender on nouns

StD	WF	Gender (WF)	translation
<i>Bom</i>	<i>Bomme</i>	FEM	bomb
<i>Bodem</i>	<i>Bom</i>	MASC	bottom
<i>Aarde</i>	<i>Eerde</i>	FEM	earth
<i>Haard</i>	<i>Eerd</i>	MASC	hearth
<i>Leiband</i>	<i>Lisse</i>	FEM	Lead
<i>Lis</i>	<i>Lis</i>	NEUTER	Reed
<i>Maat</i>	<i>Moate</i>	FEM	measure
<i>Maat</i>	<i>Moat</i>	MASC	Mate
<i>Pad</i>	<i>Padde</i>	FEM	toad
<i>Pad</i>	<i>Pad</i>	NEUTER	Path
<i>Val</i>	<i>Valle</i>	FEM	trap
<i>Val</i>	<i>Val</i>	MASC	Fall
<i>zitting</i>	<i>Zoate</i>	FEM	seat
<i>Zaad</i>	<i>Zoad</i>	NEUTER	seed

(22) Terminal in West Flemish
-e ⇔ feminine gender

WF loan words borrowed from French have become fully assimilated to the WF gender system, and are compatible with generalisation (22). Regardless of the grammatical gender of the French source N, loan Ns ending in *-e* will be feminine, those not in *-e* masculine or neuter.

Table 5: French loanwords in Flemish

French source	Gender	WF loanword	Gender	Translation
<i>Chauffage</i>	MASCULINE	<i>Chauffage</i>	FEMININE	Central heating
<i>Garage</i>	MASCULINE	<i>Garage</i>	FEMININE	Garage
<i>Moteur</i>	MASCULINE	<i>Meteur</i>	MASCULINE	engine
<i>Portrait</i>	MASCULINE	<i>Perret</i>	NEUTER	Portrait
<i>Quinzaine</i>	FEMININE	<i>Keziem</i>	MASCULINE	Biweekly pay
<i>Crème</i>	FEMININE	<i>Kreem</i>	MASCULINE	Cream
<i>Fourchette</i>	FEMININE	<i>Fersette</i>	FEMININE	fork

Table 6. Anglo-Saxon loan words

Part II. A case study: Bipartite negation in West Flemish

(in collaboration with Anne Breitbarth (University of Cambridge))

1. Standard Dutch and French

(1)StD	a	Ik ken die man <u>niet</u> . I know that man not	<i>niet</i>
Fr	b	Je <u>ne</u> connais <u>pas</u> cet homme I <i>ne</i> know not that man	<i>ne... pas</i>
(2)StD	a	Ik heb <u>niets</u> gekocht I have nothing bought	<i>niets</i>
Fr	b	Je <u>n'</u> ai <u>rien</u> acheté I <i>ne</i> have nothing bought	<i>ne ... rien</i>

French: 'Embracing negation', 'bipartite negation': symmetric view: both components [NEG]. In colloquial French the preverbal particle *ne* is often dropped.

(3)WF	a	K'(en) kennen dienen vent niet. I <i>en</i> know that man not	<i>En... niet</i>
	b	k'(en) een niets gekocht I <i>en</i> have nothing bought	<i>en... niets</i>
(4)WF	a	Je n'ai jamais rien dit à personne I <i>ne</i> have never nothing said to no one	<i>(ne) jamais, rien, personne</i>
	b	k'(en) een nooit an niemand niets gezeid I <i>en</i> have never to no one nothing said	<i>(en) nooit niemand niets</i>

2. Jespersen's cycle (Dahl 1979) and the status of *en* in Flemish dialects

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb [*ne, en, LH*] is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word [*pas, niet, LH*], and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word. (Jespersen 1917: 4)

Table 1. Jespersen's cycle in English (See also Horn 1989 : 455) Jespersen (1917:9-11)

Stage I Clitic	Stage II clitic+free morpheme	Stage III free morpheme	Stage I' free morpheme > clitic
<i>ic ne secge</i>	<i>I ne seye not</i>	<i>I say not</i>	<i>I do not say</i> <i>I don't say</i>
Old English	Middle English	Early Modern English	Present Day English

Table 2. Middle English (Wallage 2008)

Period	<i>Ne</i>	<i>Ne...not</i>	<i>not</i>
1150-1250	60,5	38,5	1
1250-1350	22,9	67,7	9,4
1350-1420	1,9	10,5	87,5
1420-1500	0,8	1	98,3

Completion of transition from Stage II to Stage III: variable:

English:	around 1350-1420	(Wallage 2005:195)
High German :	by 1300 (Dal 1966: 164; Lockwood 1968:207f.; Jäger 2006:211)	
Dutch :	1600	(Burridge 1993:190f)

BUT:

Flemish dialects/*tussentaal* retain preverbal marker to this day: see van der Auwera and Neukermans 2004, Zeijlstra 2004, Van der Auwera and de Vogelaer (to appear) for Flemish dialects in general and Haegeman 1995, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2003; Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991, 1996; Haerberli & Haegeman 1998 for West Flemish, De Caluwe 2007 for the Flemish *tussentaal*.

It might appear as if the retention of *en* in WF is perhaps due to language contact with French, where *ne* is also retained. However, in spoken French *ne* is often omitted, and (more importantly) in WF the function of *en* has changed over time. What was simply a component of negation marking has become an emphatic marker.

2. The use and interpretation of preverbal *en* in the Flemish dialects

2.1 Overview (*Van der Auwera and De Vogelaer to appear*)

Based on microvariation S(yntactische) A(tlas) van de N(ederlandse) D(ialecten) (syntactic atlas of Dutch dialects) project: questionnaires in 110 locations in Flanders.

2.1.1. Manifestations of Stage III

Generally available throughout the Flemish dialects, including negative doubling/spread. Negative doubling/spread do not depend on the presence of *en* in the dialect (as also shown by Bayer for Bavarian, for instance)

2.1.2. Some manifestations of "Stage I"

52 locations/ 110, situated in the West (West Flanders, French Flanders, East Flanders).

Emphatic contradiction: *en + doen*:

Purely formal, non-negative uses of *en* (cf. Tavernier 1959: 246-7: 'expletive'):

→ in many Flemish varieties of Dutch, *en* can be used as a mere marker of affective polarity

2.1.3. Manifestations of Stage II

VdA&DV (to appear: 16-23): questionnaire based material: regional variation: 110 locations

-Embedded declarative clauses: Stage II: throughout the Flemish dialect area: 66 locations

-Main declarative clauses: Stage II: esp. Southern East Flemish, French Flemish: 33 locations

-Non declarative main clauses:

Negative imperatives: esp. French Flanders, southern West Flanders: 10 locations

Negative questions: East Flemish:

V-initial *yes-no* question: 2 locations

Conjunction *maar*+ *yes-no* question: 9 locations

Wh-P-initial: 14 locations

2.2. Completing the data: West Flemish

2.2.1. L. Haegeman's intuitions

- "Stage II": clause types: no obvious restriction wrt main/embedded:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|-------------------------|
| (5) | a. | da Valère dienen boek niet (en)-kent
that Valère that book not (EN).knows
'that Valère does not know that book' | embedded clause |
| | b. | Valère (en)-kent dienen boek niet
Valère (EN) knows that book not
'Valère doesn't know that book.' | main declarative |
| | c | (En)-komt (tet) doa nie an.
(EN) come (tet) there not on
'Don't touch that.' (from Haegeman and Van de Velde 2006: (15)) | imperative |
| | c. | (En)-ee-j gie doa niemand gezien?
(EN) have.you you there n.one seen
'Did you (really) not see anyone there' (from Haegeman 2007:fn.3) | <i>yes/no</i> -question |

- expressive function of *en*: both main and embedded:

- (6) A: Geef me nen keer Valère zenen telefoon!
 give me once Valère his phone number 'Give me Valère's phone number.'
 a. B: k'(en) een-k ik Valère zenen telefon nie.
 I (EN) have -I I Valère his phone not
 'I don't have Valère's number.'
 b. B: k-zeggen jen toch dan-k em nie (en)-een.
 I say you particle that -I him not (EN) have
 'I am telling you I don't have it.' (Haegeman 2002:11)

2.2.2. West Flemish corpus (1960s)

Corpus material: 2 transcribed recordings. (i) Dudzele, 20 April 1964. +/- 6000 words
 (ii) Moerkerke, 5 July 1965: +/-9.500 words

Table 3a. Negation data Dudzele

Dudzele	Niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	maar	total
-en	24	13	5	0	1	0	0	43
+en	2	1	2	0	0	0	1	6
Total	26	14	7	0	1	0	1	49

Table 3b Negation data Moerkerke

Moer-Kerke	niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	maar	total
-en	23	8	10	1	0	0	0	42
+en	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	5
Total	25	10	11	1	0	0	0	47

Table 3c The distribution of en according to main/subordinate finite clause

	Main total	En	Sub total	En	All finite cl	en
Dudzele	42	5	7	1	49	6
Moerkerke	33	2	14	3	47	5
	75	7	21	4	96	11

Key:

Niet X: negated constituent with sentential scope (12a)

geen N: negative NP ('no NP')

n-word: negative indefinite and n-words e.g. *niemand* ('no one'), *niets* ('nothing'), *nooit* ('never'), etc

NC: negative concord, co-occurrence of *niet* and an *n-words* (12b)

NS: negative spread, co-occurrence of two n-words or other negative indefinite expressions (12c,d)

- (7) a. da se doa **nie meer** weunt
 That she there no more lives
 b. da ze da **nooit nie** weet
 That she that never not knows
 c. k'em er **niks ne meer** va gekocht
 I have there nothing no more of bought
 d. daar was **nieverst geen plaats**
 there was nowhere no space

2.2.3 Uses of en

- expressive function of *en*: 1964/5

- (8) L: Da wierd allemale er platse gekeernd
 That was all locally churned
 A: ja't eh, enne ,oe dejen se dat azo?
 Yes, and, how did they do that?
 L: ja , in de g'elen ouden tijd lieten ze die melk verzuren hé. De melk lijk of dat je was
 hé wier ton gekeernd hé.

- In the very old days the let the milk go sour. The milk as it was was then churned
- A: ja
- L: omdan der euh afromers nog nie en bestonden.
Because there eu ‘decreamers’ not yet en existed
- A: nee’s, nee’s
No, no
- L: Da bestond nog niet hé.
That existed not yet , hé (recording, Moerkerke, UGent, Dutch Department 5.07.65)

(9) Anecdotal evidence: **2007-2008:**

MV: female, °1953, Heist dialect:

- a. Ze kreeg een koeksje zonder zuiker.
She got a biscuit without sugar.
‘K’en eten da niet. Pak da mo were me!’
I en eat that not. You can take it back
K’en moen da nie en, die Becel.
I en must that not have, that Becel. (MV. Heist dialect, 02.01.08)
- b. K’gingen no de viswinkel en j’is gesloten. K stoengen do.
I went tot he fish shop and it is closed. I was standing there.
K’en an geen vis vu morgen.
I en had no fish for tomorrow. (MV. Heist dialect, 04.12.07)
- c. K woaren al een eure bezig me kerstkoarten te moaken.
I was already an hour busily making Christmas cards
Mo t’en ging nie.
But it en went not (MV. Heist dialect, 05.12.07)
- d. (reaction to proposals for investment from bank)
T’en interesseert myn nie
It=EN interests me not
‘I am not interested in this’ (MV Heist dialect 19.09.08)
- e. k’een al overall gezocht in us en k’en vinden ze nievers.
I have already everywhere searched in house and I.EN find her nowhere
‘I have looked for it everywhere and I don’t find it.’
(MJL, Lapscheure dialect of, 11.06.2008)

MJL: female, ° 1931, Lapscheure dialect

- e [doctor:] ‘Kom gie binnen zes maanden ne keer terug.’
Come you in six months once back
‘come back in six months’ time’
M’en een wonder zelfs geen ofsproake gemoakt.
We en have we even no appointment made.’
‘We haven’t even made an appointment.’ (MJL, Lapscheure dialect: 15.05.2008)
- f M’een under da gezeid moandag. Mo k’en een aleens da duozeke nie getoogd.
We have them that told Monday. But I en have even that little box not shown
‘We told them about it on Monday. But we did not show them the little box.’
(MJL, Lapscheure dialect: 15.05.2008)
(the box is a gift from a restaurant to which MJL had been, in the conversation afterwards LH had said : you can show it to their visitors on Monday)

2.3 East Flemish data

2.3.1. East Flemish corpus data

3.3.1.1. Opstal Buggenhout (De Pauw 1973)

Buggenhout Opstal: 2 transcribed recordings: 45 minutes

- Opstal I: PV, male, °1907
RC, female, °1918.
- Opstal II: CK, male, °1912,

FM, female, °1912.

Table 4 a. Negation data Opstal I

Opstal I	niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	maar	total
-en	40	15	15	11	1	6	0	88
+en	6	0	0	1	0	1	0	8
Total	46	15	15	12	1	7	0	96

Table 4b. Negation data Opstal II

Opstal II	niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	maar	total
-en	38	18	5	2	1	4	1	69
+en	10	1	5	0	0	1	0	17
Total	48	19	10	2	1	5	1	86

Table 4c: The distribution of en according to main/subordinate clause

	Main total	En	Sub total	En	total	en
Opstal I	92	7	4	1	96	8
Opstal II	76	15 ¹	12	5 ²	88	20
	168	22	16	6	184	28

2.3.1.2. Ghent (Leemans 1966: 186-193)

Table 5. Gent dialect: Overall distribution of en (based on Leemans 1966: 186-193)

Gent	Niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	total	maar
-en	?	?	?	?	10	11	391	36
+en	34	0	10	5	1	1	51	1
Total	?	?	?	?	?	?	442	37

3.3.1.3. The dialect of Geraardsbergen (Vergauts 1971: 194-207)

Table 6 Geraardsbergen dialect (Vergauts 1971: 204): totals:

GB	main	sub
+en	205 (47.1%)	31 (65.9 %)
-en	230	16
total	435	47

The much higher frequency of *en* in Geraardsbergen confirms VdA&DV's (to appear) observation that the particle *en* remains more frequent in this context in southern East Flemish dialects. Vergauts does point out that the use of *en* declines with younger speakers.

2.3.2 Uses of en

- (10) daarmee kwamp ik daar in Zele.
 'Then I arrived there in Zele.'
 En daar roepe z'achter mij(n) gat: 'Staan blijven!
 'And there they called behind my back: Stop!
 'Maar ik en bleef nie staan, ik zijn voorts gere(d)en.
 But I EN remained not stand, I am further ridden
 'But I did not stop, I rode on.' (Opstal II, De Pauw 1973:8)
- (11) a. LH: Ik wil niet op uw handen kijken.
 I want NEG on your hands look
 'I don' want to sit and watch while you work'
 b. XX K'en ee kik do geen last van.
 I EN have there no bother of
 'It wouldn't bother me at all'
 (native speaker from Deinze, in his 50s, p.c. 08.01.2008)
- observe: emphasis does not impose use of *en*.
- (12) Enne... ze zee tege mij: 'wat erre gij daar gezeet?'

¹ This includes 2 non-negative uses of *en*

² This includes 1 non-negative use of *en*

And she said to me: what have you said?
 'Ik iet(s) gezeet? ... 'k em ekik niks gezeet'
 Me, say something? I have not said anything.
 'Da's wel! G'eet daar iet gezeet;'
 You did, you said something.
 'Ik 'em niks gezeet', zei'k ...
 ... 'As ge zegt da g'et gezeet 'et dane...dan moogde naar 'uis gaan;'
 ... 'If you tell me what you have said, then you can go home.'
 'A, 'k en moen ekik da niet zeggen, wane ik 'em 'et nie gezeet', zei ik
 Ah, I EN must I that not say, because I have it not said.' I said
 'I don't have to tell you what I said, because I did not say anything.'
 (Buggenhout Opstal I;1.7-13)

3. Anecdotal evidence from the 'Tussentaal' (cf. De Caluwe 2002, 2007)

- (13) a. Hij kan em zelf komen halen als t den goejen nie en is.
 He can him self come get if it the good-en not EN is
 'He can collect (the computer) himself, if this is not the correct one.'
 (Claudine Muylle, 26..5.9 10.45, speaker of Ghent dialect)
- b. Da kantje is daar. Maar k'en wil da kantje nie.
 That side (of me) is there. But I=EN want that side not.
 'That aspect of me exists. But I don't want to admit it.'
 (IDB, 28.01.09, 13.30, speaker of Aalter dialect)
- c. Ze dacht dat ze in Baarle Klooster ging zijn.
 She thought that she in Baarle convent would be
 Ze komt daar in een omgeving dat ze niet en kent
 She comes there in an environment that she not EN knows
 (MW, 19.08.08, 14.15 telephone conversation, speaker of dialect of Erpe Mere)
- (14) a. Goedkoop en is't nie, maar ge hebt kwaliteit
 Cheap EN is it not, but you get quality (about wine) (HDP, 15.11.07 about wine)
- b. Ge kunt niet accepteren dat er in de officiële vergaderingen op Vlaams grondgebied Frans gepraat wordt. Dat en gaat nie.
 You cannot accept that in the official meetings on Flemish Territory French talked is.
 That EN goes not
 'One cannot tolerate that French is being used in official meetings on Flemish territory. That just won't do.' (HDP, 16.11.07 comment on TV programme)
- c. Ge kunt toch nie verwachten dat de mensen 110 jaar worden en op 55 op pensioen gaan.
 You cannot expect that people live till 110 years old and retire at 55.
Dat en gaat niet.
 That EN goes not
 That won't do (HDP, 25.11.07, 10.05 a.m)
- d. Ik heb dat ook nog gedaan. Maar als z'u duidelijk zeggen: 'Dat en mag niet'...
 I have that also still done. But when they you clearly say: that EN may not
 'I used to do that too. But when they clearly tell you: 'You should not do that'
 (HDP, 27.01.08 comment on official reimbursement policies)
- e. Ik zeg aan DB (name omitted): G'hebt nu te kiezen of te delen, maar dat en kan niet.
 I say to DB: You have now to chose or to share, but that EN cannot
 'You have to make a decision, but that is not possible'
 HDP, 07.02.08, discussing different deployment of personnel)
- f. HDP: Der staan er daar in die nen interessante job hebben,
 there stand some there in who an interesting job have
 dat ge denkt, dat moet toch wat zijn: Hun netto inkomen is... 1500 euro!'

that you think, that must indeed something be. Their net income is... 1500 €. 'You find people there who have an interesting job, you think: they must have decent pay, their net income is... 1500 €.'

LH: [simultaneous]: 1500 euro

HDP: 'Da kan toch niet? dat en kan toch niet?'

That can *toch* not, that EN can *toch* not

'That cannot be right, that cannot be right, can it?' (HDP, 10.02.08)

b Als ge in zo een situatie zit zo een week dervan tussen, dat en helpt niet.

If you in such a situation sit, so a week from in between, that EN helps not

(HDP, 30.3.2008)

HDP is originally from Opstal. Observe that the latter speaker seems to use *en* only in main clauses.

4 The development of negation

'Bipartite negation' (stage II) = polarity + negation

Haegeman (2003): *en*: marker of polarity, licensed by negation

Rowlett (1998) for Romance: [NEG]= semantic negation

French: Stage I: *ne*: [NEG]: encodes negation

Stage II: *ne* does not have [NEG]; encodes polarity.

Breitbarth (2008): the same development takes place in Germanic: at stage II of Jespersen's cycle the preverbal particle does not serve to encode negation.

In the Flemish dialects the function of *en* has further narrowed: it has acquired an emphatic function. For some speakers of the tussentaal it seems to also have become restricted to main clauses. The bipartite negation is retained in Flemish dialects. It might be that contact with French, which also has bipartite negation, plays a role, but observe that the development of Flemish is negation is also independent from French in that it has reanalyzed *ne* as a marker of emphasis.

where Latin *non* survives into Old and Middle French, it becomes restricted to a very specific type of contexts: in emphatic contradictions or corrections using the auxiliaries *estre* 'be' and *avoir* 'have' or vicarious *faire* 'do' replacing a full verb in a preceding affirmation.

"*Non* s'emploie d'abord dans une construction d'allure très particulière, qui a complètement disparu du français moderne. Il s'agit de corriger, en en prenant le contrepied, une affirmation qu'on vient de produire soi-même, ou bien de nier tout net une affirmation que vient de produire une autre personne." (Foulet 1968:235).

Tr. '*Non* is used primarily in a construction of peculiar appearance, which has entirely disappeared from Modern French. It is used to correct, by opposing it, an affirmation just made by the speaker himself, or to succinctly contradict an affirmation just made by another speaker.'

Fonseca-Greber (2007) has studied the use of *ne* with Swiss French speakers. Finding that it is used in a very low, but stable, 2.5% of the possible contexts in the conversational speech of educated middle-class Swiss French speakers, she raises the question *why* it is preserved in spoken French at all. She attributes the survival of *en* to two factors. On the one hand, the use of *en* may be due to 'micro-shifts' into a more formal register; these occur typically when speakers are discussing 'institutional' or legal topics. On the other hand, and importantly for the current discussion, Swiss French speakers manifest a new use of *ne* in bipartite negation: as a marker of emphasis. Fonseca-Greber shows how the use of *ne* in her corpus of conversational Swiss French correlates with the use of other markers of emphasis, for instance, lexical means such as '*strictement, franchement, absolument*', repetition, slower speech rate, pitch prominence, contrast, or a combination of these means.

- (15) S1 : et ben les répondeurs ça sert à quelque chose...non...(...)
And well answering machines, they have some use, don't they
S12 : mais nous on a même pas de répondeur...mais papa **il n'en veut pas**...
But we we don't even have an answering machine... but daddy he EN them wants not
(Fonseca-Greber 2007 :262)

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