Flemish-Dutch

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1.   Lieke: Dagget wet (Axl Peleman)

Gê, gê moest is wete	You, if only you could know
Hoe fier dak op ê zen	How proud I am of you,
ê doeng en ê laten	Of the things you do and leave
Dak toch al jaren ken	Which I have known for years.
Mên hebbe en m'n houwe	Whatever I possess
lee neffe mêj in bed	lies in bed next to me.
Ik zen nen ambetante	I am a difficult man
en altaaid piereke zjust	and always too demanding,
Toch zen'kik dieje gelukzak	Still I am the lucky bastard
die door ê wordt gekust	who you always kiss,
Ik neem mieër as dak kan geven	I take more than I give,
maar da steekt nie zo na	but that doesn't matter all that much,
'k zien a gère suske, ik gon dood zonder ê	I love you, little Suzy, I'll die without you.
Vier weken toeren	Four weeks on the road
en 'k verander in een wrak	and I've changed into a wreck,
Ne zak petatten, ne kapstok zonder frak	a bag of potatoes, a hat stand without hat,
't Is echt waar.	it's really true.
Ik kus mên twee pollen,	I kiss both my hands
dak met ê zen getrôd	that I have married you,
nen hond met een goei baaske die heeft 't nooit	A dog with a good master
benôwd	never has to be afraid
ne vent me nie veul zeurgen	A guy with little sorrows
lacht meer as dattem blet	laughs more than he cries
kzien a gère suske, ettis ma dagget wet (3x)	I love you, little Suzy, just so that you know.

2.   The sounds of Dutch

2.1.   *Flemish Standard Dutch*

'Long' / 'Tense'			'Short' / 'Lax'		
/iː/	<ie>	dief 'thief'	/ɪ/	<i>	pit 'pit'
/uː/	<oe>	boek 'book'			
/yː/	<uu>	fuut 'bird sp.'	/ʏ/	<u>	put 'well'
/ø/	<eu>	beuk 'beech'			
			/ə/	<e>	de 'the'
/eː/	<ee>	beek 'brook'	/ɛ/	<e>	pet 'cap'
/oː/	<oo>	boot 'boat'	/ɔ/	<o>	pot 'pot'
/aː/	<aa>	maat 'measure'	/ɑ/	<a>	bak 'bin'

Table 1 – Vowels

/ɛi/	<ei>/<ij>	leid 'lead' / lijd 'suffer'
/œi/	<ui>	muis 'mouse'
/ɔu/	<ou>/<au>	bout 'bolt' / rauw 'raw'
/iy/	<ieu>	nieuw 'new'
/ui/	<oei>	bloei 'blossom'
/ai/	<aai>	haai 'shark'
/ey/	<eeu>	leeuw 'lion'

Table 2 – Diphthongs

	Bilabial	Labiodent.	Alveolar	Postalv.	Pal.	Velar	Glot.
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	
Nasal	m		n			ŋ	
Trill			r				
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ		x ɣ	h
Approximant	w				j		
Lateral			l				

Table 3 - Consonants

The velars fricatives and the rhotic are usually problematic for foreigners trying to learn Dutch:

/ɣ/	gaan 'go'	golf 'wave'	goed 'good'
/x/	charisma 'id.'	lachen 'to laugh'	echt 'real(ly)'
/r/	daar 'there'	boren 'to drill'	recht 'straight'

Some annoying consonant clusters that are relatively common:

Syllable-initally

/sx/	school 'school'	schijnen 'shine'	beschuit 'type of biscuit'
/sxr/	schrik 'fear'	schrijven 'write'	schraal 'meager'
/gr/	graag 'eager'	groente 'vegetable'	begrijpen 'understand'
/kr/	krabben 'scratch'	onkruid 'weeds'	kracht 'force'
/spr/	spraak 'speech'	spreken 'speak'	springen 'jump'

Syllable-finally

/rst/	barst 'crack'	dorst 'thirst'	verst 'furthest'
/ŋst/	angst 'fear'	hengst 'stallion'	

This can lead to more annoying word-internal consonant sequences:

slachthuis	/ˈslɑxthœis/	'slaughterhouse'
dichttrekken	/ˈdɪxtrɛkən/	'put shut'
dichtschroeven	/ˈdɪxtsxruvən/	'screw down, screw to close'
angstkreet	/ˈɑŋstkreːt/	'cry of fear'

2.2. The Brabantian dialect of the Kempen

'Long' / 'Tense'			'Short' / 'Lax'		
/iː/	< ie >	bier 'beer'	/ɪ/	< i >	frit 'fries'
			/ʏ/	< e >	welle 'we'
/uː/	< oe >	boer 'farmer'	/ʊ/	< oe >	loemp 'stupid'
/yː/	< uu >	muur 'wall'	/y/	< u >	just 'just'
/øː/	< eu >	veul 'many'	/ø/	< o >	worrem 'worm'
			/ə/	< e >	ne 'an'
/ɛː/	< ee >	geve 'give'	/ɛ/	< e >	gen 'no'
			/ɔ/	< o >	pot 'pot'
/ɐː/	< aa >	baard 'beard'	/a/	< a >	kat 'cat'
/æː/	< ê >	gê 'you'			

Table 4 – Vowels

/iə/	< ieë >	hieël 'entire(ly)'
/uə/	< oeë >	schoeën 'beautiful
/ɔə/	< oë >	roët 'window'
/ɔːi/	< aai >	gaai 'bird sp.'
/aːu/	< ou >/< au >	vrau 'woman'

Table 5 – Diphthongs

The correspondences between vowels in Standard Dutch and in the dialects, though not isomorphic, are usually quite systematic.

Consonant inventories do not normally vary too much between dialects and the standard language.

3.   Konversoase: gûje môrrege

3.1.   Text

Jos: A Marie, gûje môrrege. Hoe goaget ermee?

ʔa maˈriː | ˌɣʏjəˈmørəgə || huːˈɡɐ(ə)gətərmeː

'Good morning Mary. How are you doing?'

Marie: Goe senne, me mê goa alles goe. En me ê?

ɣuː sənə || mɛ mæː ɣɐː aləs guː || ɛmɛ ʔæː (or: ɛmɛjæː)

'Very well, I am very well. What about you?'

Jos: Och, tgoa wel. Zoewas gewoeënlek è.

ɔx | ˈtxɐ·wɛl || zuˈwas ɣəˈwuənləkɛ

'Oh well, as usual, you know.'

Marie: Allê, ik loatê mer is doen è.

Aˈlæː | ɪk ˈlɐtæ ˈmørɪs ˈduːnɛ (or: ˈklɐtæ ...)

'Well, I'll leave you to it.'

Jos: Dasgoe. Allê, totte volgende kiejer è!

dasˈxuː || aˈlæː | tɔtə ˈvɔlɣəndə ˈki·jərɛ

'Good. See you next time!'

Marie: Joa, salukes è.

jɔː | saˈlukəsɛ

'OK, bye.'

3.2.   Vocabulary:

gûje môrrege: good morning

hoe goaget ermee: how are you doing (< *hoe goa-g-t er-mee* 'how go-LIG-it
   LPRO-with)

ermee: pronominal adverbial, special construction in Dutch consisting of the locative particle *er* and an 'de-prepositional' adverb, the combination of which creates an adverbial.

me mê goa alles goe: lit: 'with me goes everything well.'

en me ê: and with you?

Tgoa wel: ~ it is reasonably ok. (< et goa wel 'it goes PRT')

zoewas gewoeënlek: as usual

e: ubiquitous particle

zoewas: like, as, similar to; e.g. *zoewas ê* 'like you'

allê (alle): commonly used particle, means something like 'well' (< Fr. *allez* 'lets go')

ik loatê mer is doen: lit: 'I let you PRT PRT do'

totte volgende keër: see you next time; *totte < tot-de* 'till-the'

joa: yes

salukes: bye (< Fr. *salut* + *-ke* 'diminuitive' + *-s* 'plural')

3.3.   Grammar

3.3.1.   Personal pronouns

	Singular				Plural		
	Nom		Acc	Obl	Nom	Acc	Obl
	Free	Bound					
1	ik, ikke	k-	mê, me	mê	welle, we	os	os
2	gê, ge	g-	ê	ê	gelle, ge	elle	elle
3M	hê	(hêj-)	hem, em	hem			
3F	zê, ze	(zêj-)	ze	hoar	zelle, ze	ze	hun
3N	et	t-	et	—			

Table 6 – Kempen Brabantian pronouns

3.3.2. Simple present of the verb zen 'zijn'

	Normal	Short	Repeated	Inverted	
1S	ik zen	kzen	kzennekik	zennekik	'I am'
2S	gê ze	—	gê zeddegê	zeddegê	'you are'
3M.S	hê is	—	hê issê	issê / is hê	'he is'
3F.S	zê is	zis	zissê	isse / issê	'she is'
3N.S	et is	tis	tisset	isset	'it is'
1P	welle zen	—	welle zenwelle	zenwelle	'we are'
2P	gelle ze	—	gelle zegelle	zeddegelle	'you are'
3P	zelle zen	—	zelle zenzelle	zenzelle	'they are'

3.4. Standard Dutch

Below is a rendering of the conversation above in Standard Dutch.

> Jos: Goedemorgen, Marie, hoe gaat het ermee?
>
> Marie: Goed hoor, met mij gaat alles goed. En met jou?
>
> Jos: Ach, het gaat wel. Niets bijzonders.
>
> Jos: Wel, dan laat ik je nu maar.
>
> Marie: Prima. Tot de volgende keer!
>
> Jos: OK, tot ziens.

4. Introduction

4.1. Geography

The Dutch language is spoken by around 20 million people in the Netherlands and Flanders, the northern part of Belgium (see Map 2). There are also Dutch-speaking populations in the ABC Islands, Suriname and Indonesia (all former Dutch colonies) and in the northern part of French Flanders. Afrikaans is a 17th-century offspring of Dutch.

The Flemish standard variant of Dutch is spoken in Flanders by around 6 million people. Most language materials today will focus on the Dutch dialect spoken in the North of the province of Antwerp (see Map 1).
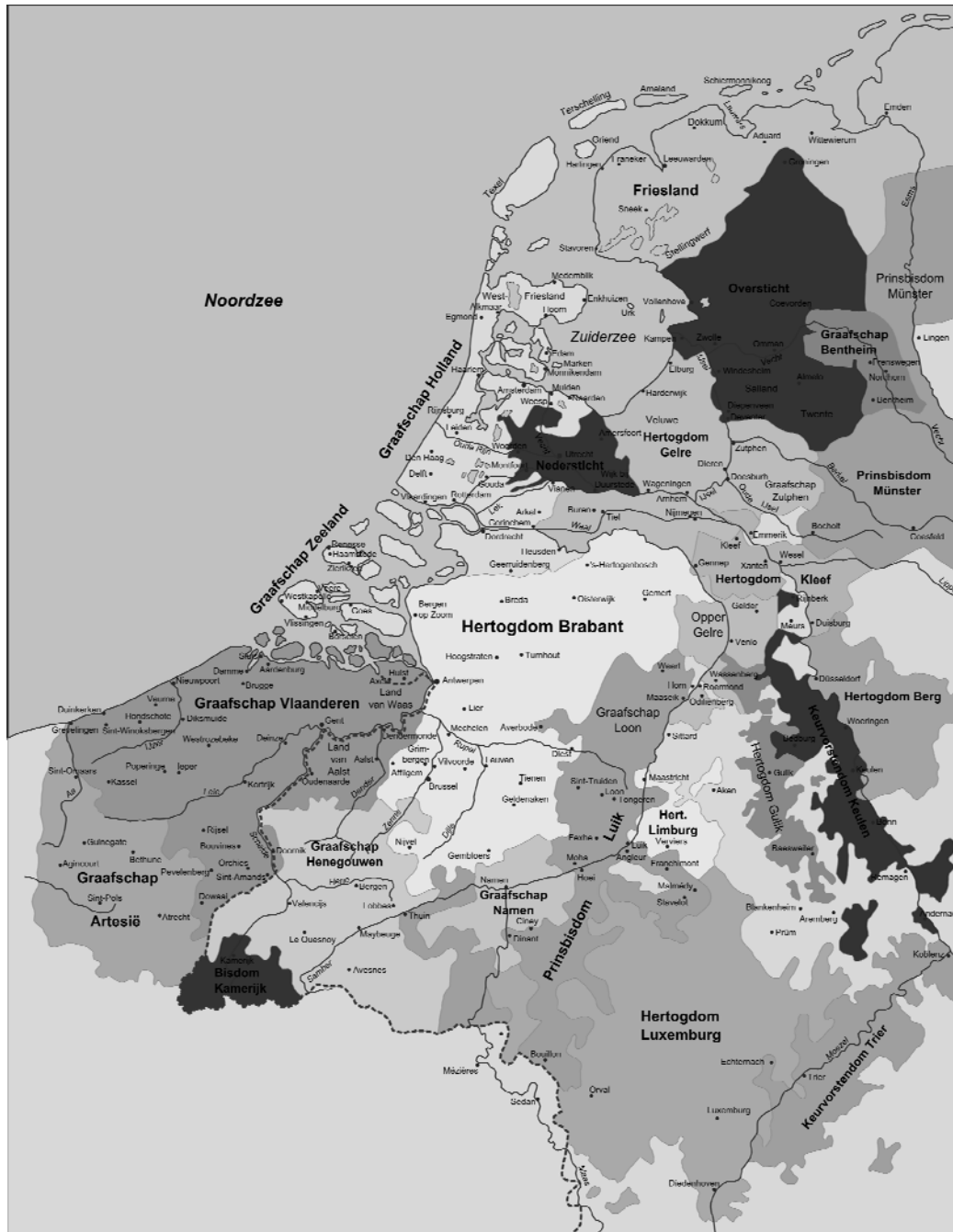
Map 1 – Province of Antwerp (l.) and the Arrondissements of Turnhout (tr.) and Antwerp (br.)

Map 2 – Belgium and the Netherlands (from Vandeputte et al. (1986))

Today, political and linguistic boundaries are fixed (by political agreement) and more or less coincide. This situation came into existence only recently (the language boundary in Belgium was fixed in 1932). In the past, both the Dutch language area and the boundaries of the Low Countries have changed considerably. In general, I'd dare to say that both political and linguistic boundaries have somewhat contracted

over the centuries.

Map 3 – The Low Countries in the 14ᵗʰ century

4.2. *Dutch and 'Flemish'*

4.2.1. Classification and names

Dutch is a West-Germanic language and is historically most closely related to Low German.

Indo-European > Germanic > West-Germanic > Low-Franconian

'Nederlands' / 'Netherlandish'

From *neder* 'low-lying' and *land* 'country', originally used for the country that was lying below the Rhine.

> Dit deel van Belgica den Catholijcken Coninck toebehoorende, wort gemeynlijck Nederlandt geheeten, overmits de nederigheydt ende leegheyt nae de wilde Zee streckende: Wordt oock bykants gantsch Kerstenheyt deur genoemt Vlaenderen, nemende 'tdeel veurt geheel.

> This part of Belgica, which belongs to the Catholic King, is generally called Nederland, because it stretches itself low and empty to the wild Sea. By almost the entire Christian world, it is also called Flanders, taking a part for the whole.

> *Kiliaan (1612)*

Later it referred to a number of political entities, all of which included parts of the present-day Low Countries.

The term was first used to refer to the language in the Low Countries in 1482 and has remained into use till the present day. However, it had to compete with different other terms and only gained the upper hand around the end of the 19th century. It is presently the generally accepted term to refer to the Dutch language, in both the Netherlands and Belgium.

'Dietsch' / 'Dutch'

In much of the Middle Ages, Dutch dialects were often referred to as *Dietsch* or *Duutsch* (cognate the present-day term *Deutsch* 'German').

Willem, die Madocke maecte,	Willem, who created Madocke,
Daer hi dicken omme waecte,	Could not sleep because
Hem vernoyde so haerde	it annoyed him so much
Dat die avonture van Reynaerde	that the adventures of Reynaert
In dietsche was onvolmaket bleven	had remained unfinished in Dutch

Van den Vos Reynaerde, 13th century, edition de Keyser & van Elsander (1984)

Willem, the writer who had also written the Madocke, now disappeared, was unhappy because the story of the fox Reynaert had not yet been translated from the French original, *Le Roman de Renard*.

The term *Dietsch*, which now funnily enough only survives in English and not in Dutch, was used regularly at least since the 13th century and goes back to Old-Dutch *þiet* 'people, crowd' (> Middle Dutch *diet*) and means 'the language of the people'. This in turn is related to the proto-Germanic adjective **peudiska-* 'of the people' (< *peuda- 'people' + **-iska* 'ADJR').

'Hollands' / 'Hollandish'

Originally referring to the County Holland (see Map 3) and later to the Province of Holland (Map 2). Probably from *Holtlant* 'the land were wood was copious' (< *holt* 'wood'   and *lant* 'land'; certainly pre-12th century.

Especially in Flanders, the term *Holland* is often used – especially in Belgium – to refer to the Netherlands as a whole, and *Hollands* often refers to the Dutch language as it is spoken in the Netherlands, as opposed to the Dutch dialects of Flanders.

'Vlaams' / 'Flemish'

Adjective of *Vlaanderen* 'Flanders'. First attested in 1080 as Old Dutch *flamisk*, from *flamo* (n.) 'Flemish' and *-isk* 'adjectivizer'. Probably from *flandr-* 'inundated area'.

The name 'Flemish' has been used to refer to the Dutch spoken in Flanders since at least the 13th century.

> Taurus dats in vlaems .i. stier
> '*Taurus* which in Flemish is *stier*'
>
> Jacob van Maerlant, *Der Naturen Bloeme*, end 13th century (van Maerlant (1287))
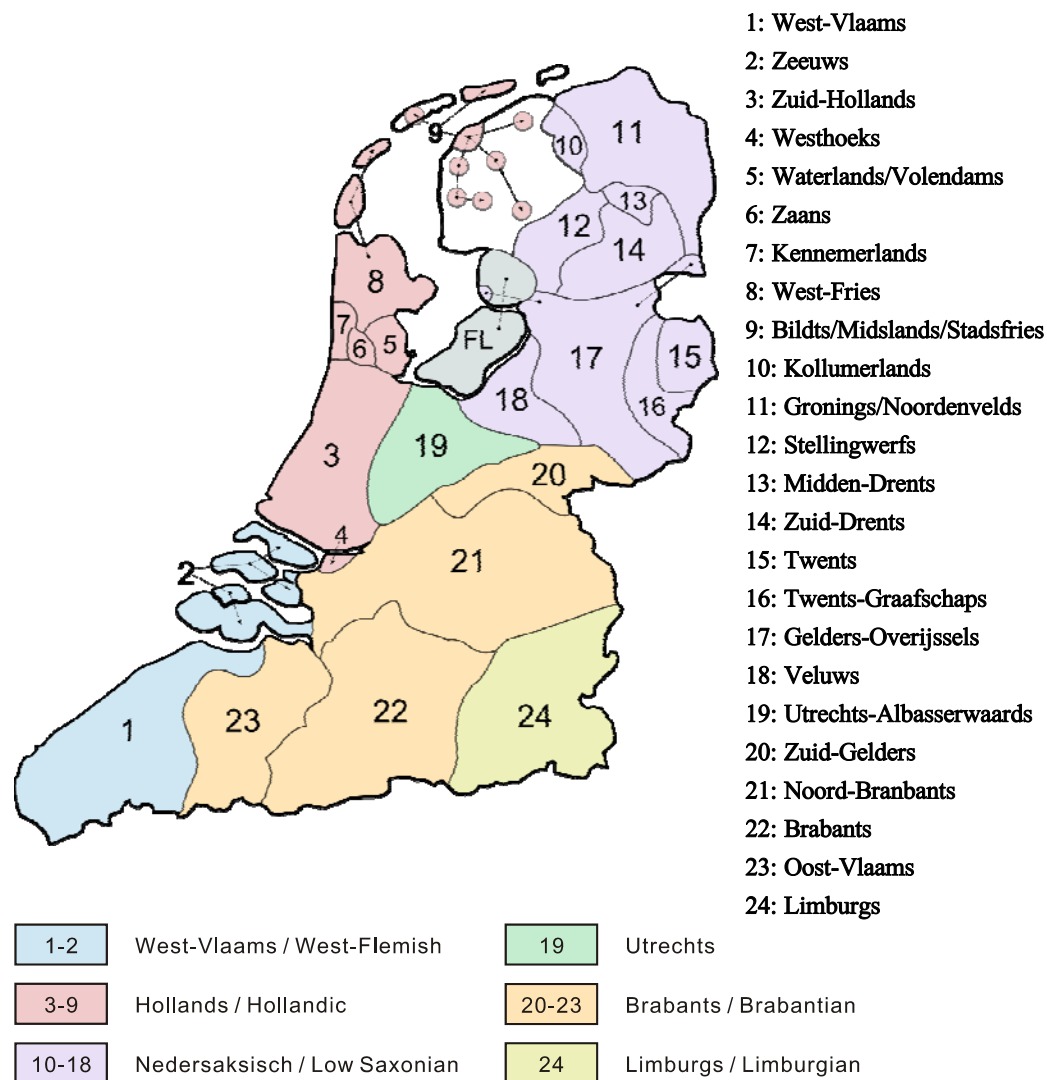
It can now both refer to the Dutch standard language and the collection of Dutch dialects spoken in Flanders. The term gained popularity during the Flemish Movement, which in the young Kingdom of Belgium fought for the official acceptance of Dutch as an official language.

There is no strong linguistic ground to consider Flemish to be a language separate from the Dutch spoken in the Netherlands and, similarly, the Dutch dialects spoken in Belgium do not form a dialectal subgroup separate from the dialects spoken in the Netherlands (see Map 4), so from a linguistic point-of-view it is safe to say that there is no such thing as 'the Flemish language'.

However, although the Standard Dutch as it is spoken in Flanders and Standard Dutch as it is spoken in the Netherlands are mutually understandable, there are some marked differences.

4.3.   Dialectal variation

Dialectal variation in the Dutch language area is considerable. Map 4 gives rough subdivision of the main dialect areas. I should be held in mind that the map is a gross simplification and that the Low Countries actually a large dialect continuum with Low German in the East. Dialects sometimes varied considerably from village to village.
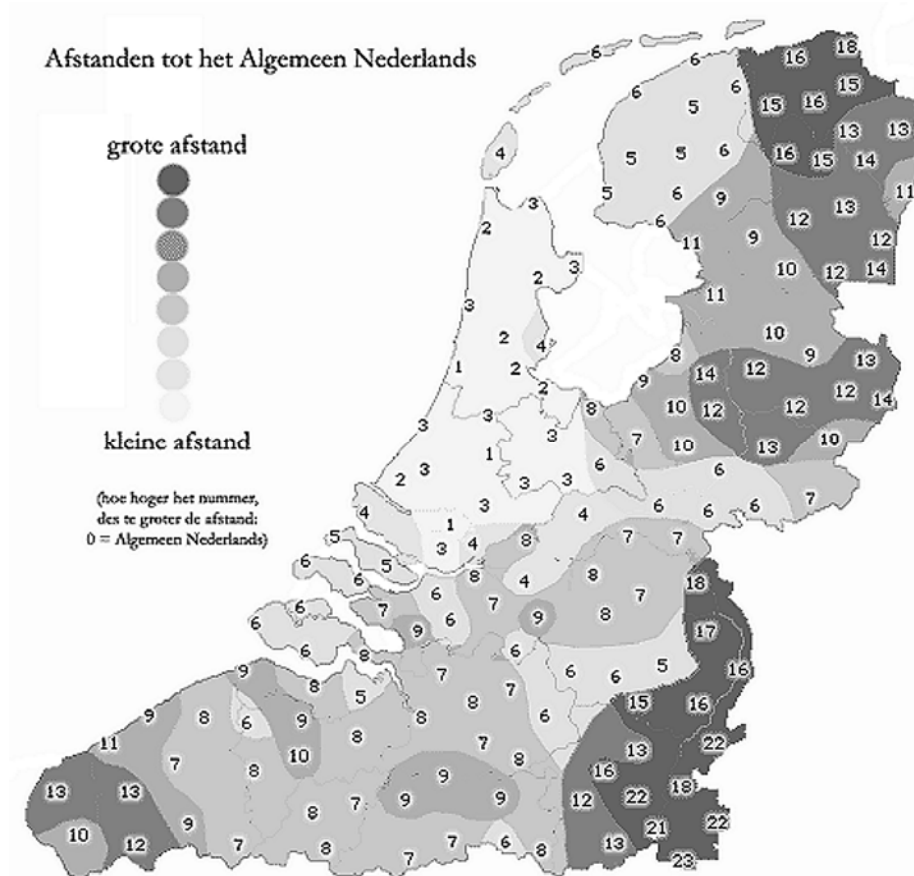
1: West-Vlaams
2: Zeeuws
3: Zuid-Hollands
4: Westhoeks
5: Waterlands/Volendams
6: Zaans
7: Kennemerlands
8: West-Fries
9: Bildts/Midslands/Stadsfries
10: Kollumerlands
11: Gronings/Noordenvelds
12: Stellingwerfs
13: Midden-Drents
14: Zuid-Drents
15: Twents
16: Twents-Graafschaps
17: Gelders-Overijssels
18: Veluws
19: Utrechts-Albasserwaards
20: Zuid-Gelders
21: Noord-Branbants
22: Brabants
23: Oost-Vlaams
24: Limburgs

1-2 West-Vlaams / West-Flemish	19 Utrechts
3-9 Hollands / Hollandic	20-23 Brabants / Brabantian
10-18 Nedersaksisch / Low Saxonian	24 Limburgs / Limburgian

Map 4 – Dutch dialects

In contrast to what Map 4 seems to suggest, dialectal variation is especially large in Flanders and the southern part of the Netherlands (see map van Ginneken & Endepols (1917))

It is actually more accurate to say that much dialectal diversity has been – and is being lost – due to a standardization process that has been going on for centuries but

gained momentum from the 17th century on, at which time is spread from Holland to the rest of the Dutch language area.

This is mirrored today in the phonological distance of the different dialects in the Dutch language area to Standard Dutch.

Map 5 – Distance of dialects to Standard Dutch (Hoppenbrouwers & Hoppenbrouwers (2001)).

Although neither Belgian nor Dutch people think of it like that, many Dutch dialects are presently endangered.

4.4.   Standard Dutch

According to van den Toon et al. (1997), the development of a standard language distinguishes four main phases:

1. selection of a dialect
2. codification of grammatical and lexical preferences
3. extension of the supra-regional variants to functional areas that were formerly the domain of dialects
4. general acceptance

The first phase of standardization was already present since the Middle Ages. Codification of grammar and spelling gained momentum in the 17th century in the Netherlands, but only since the end of the 19th century in Flanders.

At the moment, the official standard for the Dutch spoken in Belgium and the Netherlands is prescribed by the Dutch Language Union (*Nederlandse Taalunie*). However, there are some (phonetic, lexical and grammatical) variations between the Dutch standard in the Netherlands and that in Flanders.

In present-day Flanders, in addition to Standard Dutch, there is also a official supra-local Flemish regiolect that is spoken and can be understood by the majority of people in the Flemish area (with the exclusion of West-Flanders and Limburg).

Standard Dutch
Hoe gaat het met je? Wat ben je van plan deze namiddag te doen?

Flemish regiolect ('Verkavelingsvlaams')
Hoe gaat het met u? Wat zijn u plannen voor deze namiddag?

Dialect (Kempen)
Hoe goatet ermê? Wa zen ê planne veu dieëze noamiddag?

5.   Conversoase: Kunde gê mê hellepe?

5.1.   Text

Jos: Ha Lewie, ik zen de Jos.
         haː ləˈwiː | ɪk zɛn də ʒɔs

         'Hi Louis, I am Joseph.'

Lewie: Ha Jos, os Marie hee me van ê verteld. Hoewist moat?
         haː ʒɔs | ɔsmaˈriː ˈheːmə vanˈæ vərˈtɛlt || huˈwɪstmɐːt

         'Hi Joseph, my Mary has told me about you. How are you, mate?'

Jos: Goe goe, engê?
         ɣuː ɣuː | ɛŋˈɣæː

         'Good good, and you?'

Lewie: O, tgoawel è. Veu wa zeddegê hie?
         oː | ˈtxɐwɛlɛ || vœˈwa zɛdəɣæˈhiː

         'Oh, reasonably well. Why are you here?'

Jos: Ah, kwildekik vroagen of gê mê nie kunt hellepe.

a: | ˈkwɪldəkɪk ˈvrɐɣən ˈɔfxæmæ nikʏntˈhɛləpə

'Well, I wanted to ask you if you can help me.'

Mênen otto hie hee probleme.

mænənɔtoː hiː heː prɔblemə

'My car here has problems.'

Lewie: Mo joenge toch. Kzallis zien watter te doen valt se.

mɔ ˈjuŋətɔx | ksalɪˈsiːn watərteˈdunvɑltsɛ.

'[Expression of pity]. I'll see what I can do.'

Jos: Sgoe. Mercikes è

sxuː | mɛrsiːkəzɛ

'Good.'

5.2.   *Vocabulary*

zen: to be

ik zen de Jos: lit: I am the Jos; in some dialects of Dutch, a definite article can be used with proper names referring to people if they are identifiable in the context.

os Marie: lit: our Mary; in many Dutch dialects, but not in the Standard language, a member of one's family is often preceded by the plural first person possessive pronoun. E.g. *ozze Gerd* (masc.), *os Uli* (fem.)

hee: simple present of *hemme* 'have'; here used as an auxiliary to form the present perfect

vertelle van X: tell about X

hoewist: < hoe is et 'how is it'; how are you doing

moat: take a guess: comparable to Australian…

engê: and you

tgoawel: ok, reasonably well; < et 'it' goa 'goes' wel 'particle'

wel: Dutch discourse particle expressing confirmation; exact meaning hard to define

veu wa: for what?

hie: here

kwildekik: < ik wil-de-k-ik '1S.Nom want-PST-1S-1S'

vroage of: ask whether; the final /n/ in *vroage(n)* surfaces because of liaison with *of*

kunne: can, be able to

hellepe: help

mên: my; here a masculine form mêne + -n 'liaison'

mênen otto hie: my car here

probleme hemme: have problems; note that here *hemme* is used in its possessive
    meaning, unlike the auxiliary above.

Mo joenge toch: expression of pity towards a male; lit. something like 'but you poor
    boy'

mo (AN maar): (conj.) but; here used as an (untranslatable) particle

toch: particle expressing – amongst others – 'nevertheless, still, yet, all the same,
    rather, indeed, actually' (Van Dale N-E)

kzallis: < ik zal is 'I will PRT'

eens: particle expressing reinforcement

zien: see, watch

zien watter te doen valt: see what can be done

sgoe: < da is goe 'that is good'

mercikes: diminutive of French *merci*

5.3.   Grammar

5.3.1.   Hemme 'have; auxiliary for perfect tense'

	Sg.		Pl.	
	Normal	Inverted	Normal	Inverted
1	ik hem	hemmekik	welle hemme	hemmewelle
2	gê het	heddegê	gelle het	heddegelle
3M	hê hee	heetê / hee hê	zelle hemme	hemme zelle
3F	zê hee	hee zê		
3N	et hee	heetet		

5.3.2.   Grammatical gender and attribution

Each noun in Dutch has a grammatical gender. Attributive words such as determiners,
adjectives, possessive pronouns and demonstratives agree in gender with the head
word.

		mên 'my'	êw 'your (sg.)'	os 'our'	
Masc.	-e(n)	mênen	êwen	ozzen	otto 'car'
		mêne	êwe	ozze	gast 'fellow, guy'
Fem.	-Ø	mên	ê	os	vrou 'woman; wife'
Neut.	-Ø	mên	ê	os	hoës 'house'
Pl.	-Ø	mên	ê	os	otto's 'cars'

	ne 'indef.'	schoeën 'beautiful'	
Masc.	ne	schoeënen	otto 'car'
	ne	schoeëne	gast 'fellow, guy'
Fem.	en	schoeën	vrou 'woman; wife'
Neut.	en	schoeën	hoës 'house'
Pl.	Ø	schoeën	otto's 'cars'

5.4. *Translation in Standard Dutch*

Jos: Dag Louis, ik ben Jos.

Louis: Dag Jos, mijn Marie heeft me over je verteld.

Hoe gaat het ermee, vriend?

Jos: Goed hoor, en met jou?

Louis: Och, het gaat wel. Waarom ben je hier?

Jos: Ah, ik wilde je vragen of je me niet kan helpen.

Er is iets mis met mijn auto.

Louis: Maar jongen toch, ik zal eens kijken wat ik kan doen.

Jos: Prima, dank je wel.

6.   A short history of the Dutch language

From approx. 400 A.D. onward, a number of Germanic groups arrived in the area that now includes the North of France and the Low Countries. The area below the Nether Rhine (i.e. from the Southern Netherlands southward) was inhabited by West-Frankish people. North of the Great Rivers, Frisian dialects were spoken. Towards the east (and in England) Saxon tribes were living. The coastal areas of the present-day Netherlands and Belgium were inhabited by people who spoke an Ingvaeonic dialect (related to English and Frisian).

From the 6th century onwards, the High-German Consonant Shift create a rift between

the West-Frankish dialects and what would become the High German language area.

$$\text{Phase 1:} \quad \begin{Bmatrix} p \\ t \\ k \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} ff \\ ss \\ hh \end{Bmatrix} \Big/ V\_\_ \quad \text{and} \quad \begin{Bmatrix} p \\ t \\ k \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} f \\ s \\ h \end{Bmatrix} \Big/ \_\_\#$$

$$\text{Phase 2: Alemannish and Bavarian dialects:} \quad \begin{Bmatrix} p \\ t \\ k \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} pf \\ ts \\ k\chi \end{Bmatrix}$$

$$\text{Phase 3:} \quad \begin{Bmatrix} b \\ d \\ g \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} p \\ t \\ k \end{Bmatrix}$$

Interestingly, the present-day boundary between Romance and Germanic languages already stabilized between the 6th and 9th century, although it would shift somewhat to the north in the following centuries.

6.1.   Old Dutch (till ± 1200)

6.1.1. History

The oldest attestation of Dutch is an interlinear translation of Latin psalm texts, the *Wachtendonkse Psalmen*, written in the early 10th century (±900) but passed down to us through a 16th century copy.

> 1.1 Salig man ther niucht vor in gerede ungenethero, ende in uuege sundigero ne stunt, inde in stuole suffte ne saz.
> 1.2 Navo in euun Godes uuille sin: inde in euuin sinro thenken sal dages inde nachtes.
>
> '1.1: Blessed is the man that does not sit in the assembly of the ungodly, and in the path of the sinners does not stand, or in the seat of doom not sits.
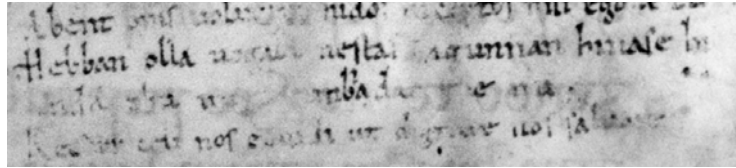> 1.2: But in the law of God his will is: and about his law will he thing by day and by night.'
>
> **ungenethero**: gen. pl. of *un-genethe* 'un-grace' / **sundigero**: gen. pl. of *sundigo* 'sinful' / **suffte**: gen. sg. of fem. *suft* 'sigh' / **euun**: dat. sg. of *ewa* 'law'
>
> *Wachtendonkse Psalmen*, Psalm 1, s. 1-2

A very famous example of Old Dutch – long considered to be the oldest Dutch text – is the following stretch of text, a *probatio pennae* written around 1100 by a West-Flemish monk who was working as a copyist at the monastry of Kent.

Hebban olla vogala nestas hagunnan hinase hi[c] [e]nda thu uu[at] unbida[n] [uu]e nu

'All birds have begun to make nests, except for me and you. What are we waiting for?'

Picture 1 – 'Hebban olla vogala'

6.1.2. Some linguistic characteristics

Consonants: b d g v p t k f þ h r l m n
Semi-vowels: j w
Vowels: a e i u   aː iː uː
Diphthongs: eu ia io ie iu

Old Dutch still retained much of the Old-Germic nominal and adjectival morphology. There are four vocalic stems (on *a*, *ô*, *i* and *u*), three consonantal stems (on *n*, *ter* and *nt*) and so-called root nouns (in which nominal inflection attaches directly to the root). There are four cases. A fifth, the instrumental case, is only retained in a number of idiomatic constructions.

	Masculine		Neuter	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Nom	dag	daga	wort	wort
Gen	dages / dagis	dago	wordes, wordis	wordo
Dat	dage / dagi	dagon	worde, wordi	wordon
Acc	dag	daga	wort	wort

Table 7 – Illustration nominal morphology: Old-Dutch *a*-stems

There is a class of weak verbs   and seven classes of strong verbs, which have umlaut in (a) the simple present singular and/or (b) in the simple past.

	Simple present		Simple past	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	plural
1	nimon	nemon	nam	nâmon
2	nimis	nemet	nâmi	nâmet
3	nimit	nemunt	nam	nâmon

Table 8 – Illustration strong verb: *nemon* 'take'

6.2.   Middle Dutch (± 1200 – ± 1550)

6.2.1. History

From the 9th till the 12th century, the Dutch language border slowly moves northward into the Counties of Holland and Utrecht . At the end of the 12th century, the group of dialects then spoken in the Low Countries and the North of France is generally called Middle Dutch. There was no fixed supra-regional standard. The linguistic prestige dialect was typically that of the political-economical centre of gravity, which shifted throughout the centuries. From the 13th century onward, the Flemish towns of Bruges, Ypres and Ghent (in the present-day West-Flemish dialect area) became economic power houses. Under influence of the French Romantic literature, a Dutch literary tradition arose based on courtly romance and Christian ideals.

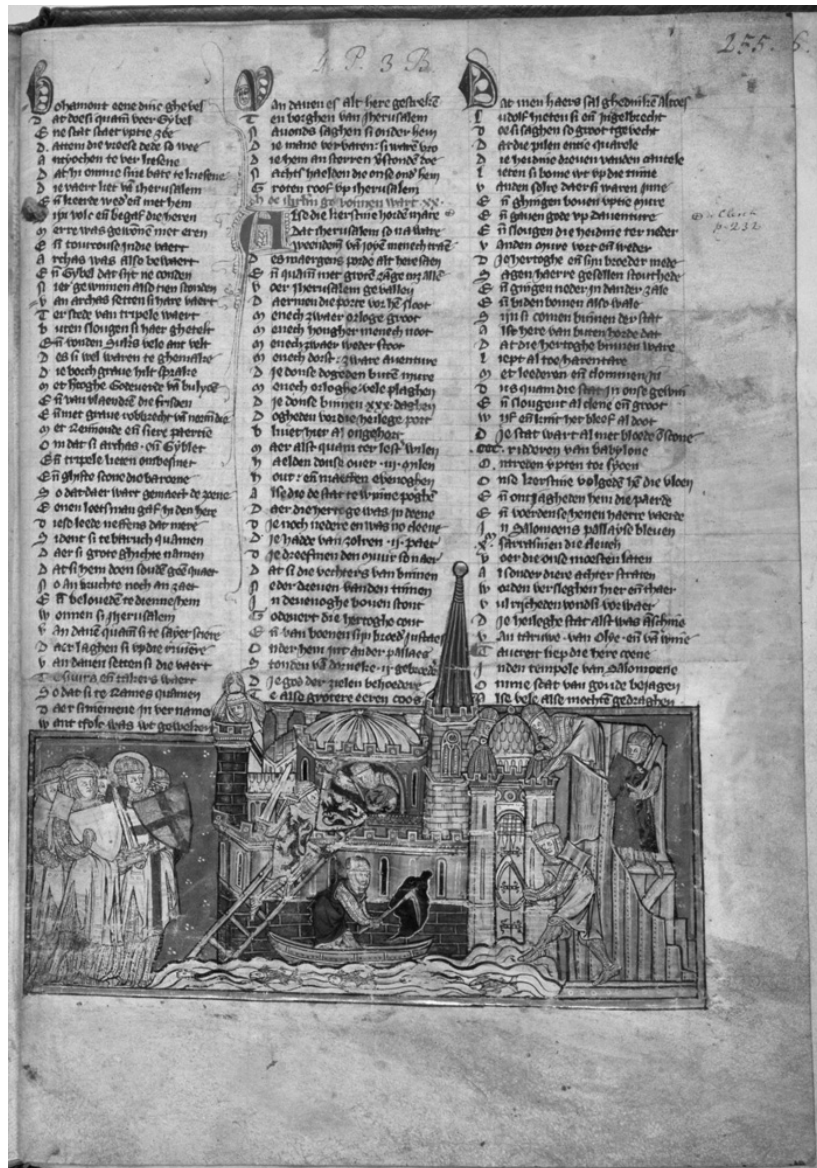|	
In gods namen ende in sijnen vreden	In Gods name and with his protection
Soe beghennen wij deser reden	Like this we begin this story
Ende spreken inden beghinne aldus:	And we speak in the beginning such:
Sancti spiritus	
Assit nobis gracia	
Ende bidden gode daer na,	And after that we pray to God
Den troester ende den volleyst,	For the solace and the help
Dat vanden heilighen gheyst	of the Holy Spirit
Die ghenade mit ons sy, …	whose mercy is with us

Heinric van Veldeke, Prologue of the *Sint Servaes legende* (1170-1180), from van Es (1976)

FRaeye historie ende al waer	A true history and very truthful
Mach ic v tellen hoort naer	can I tell you, listen to it.
Het was op enen auontstont	It happened on a certain evening
Dat karel slapen begonde	that Charlemagne went to bed
Tengelem op den rijn	In Egelen on the Rhine
Dlant was alle gader sijn.	All the land there was his
Hi was keyser ende coninc mede	He was emperor and also king.
Hoort hier wonder ende waerhede	Hear now wonder and truth
Wat den coninc daer gheuel	What happened there to the king
Dat weten noch die menige wel	Many people still recall

Anon., *Die historie van coninck Karel ende van Elegast* (1486-1488)

In the 14th century, with writers like Jacob van Maerlant, Jan van Boendale and Jacob van Ruusbroec, the epic tradition was complemented with contemplative and descriptive work, for instance Maerlant's famous *Spiegel historiael*, a historical

encyclopedia in five volumes that was only completed after his death.

Picture 2 – A page of Maerlant's Spiegel Historiael (1325-1335, Royal Library Den Haag)

During the Middle Dutch period, the Dutch dialects went through a series of changes that resulted into a shape that is more or less recognizable to modern Dutch speakers, especially those in Flanders.

6.2.2. *Some linguistic characteristics*

Already during the Old-Dutch period, /þ/ had become voiced/ð/ and then developed into /d/. The grapheme <th> was sometimes still retained (e.g. *diederic* vs. *thideric*, *thiederic*, etc.) As in present-day West-Flemish dialects, it is likely that there were syllabic nasals and nasalization and liquidization.

      scuteln 'saucers'   /skytəln̩/

      miner / *minre* 'my'   /miːⁿr/

      polr 'polder'   /poˡr/

A number of new diphthongs come into existence. In the 12th century there is already diphthongization of /uː/ to /ɔu/. After the 13th century /iː/ diphthongizes to /ɛi/. At some point during the Middle Dutch period, /yː/ shifts to /ʌi/ or /ʌy/.

A major change between Old and Middle Dutch is vowel reduction in unstressed syllables, which led to the loss of nominal declension and much of the verbal morphology.

      hebban olla vogala nestas hagunnan > hebben alle vogele nesten begonnen

      /hɛban ɔla voːgala nɛstas hagunan/   /hɛbə alə voːgələ nɛstə bəgɔnə/

Nominal (and adjectival) morphology varies from dialect to dialect, but most variation can be subsumed under two inflection types.

	Type I		Type II	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Nom	vader	vadere	cnape	cnapen
Gen	vader	vadere	cnapen	cnapen
Dat	vader	vaderen	cnape	cnapen
Acc	vader	vadere	cnape	cnapen

Table 9 – Nominal inflection of Type I (*vader* 'father') and Type II (*cnape* 'boy')

More inflectional variation has been retained in the pronominal system:

		1	2	3		
				Masc	Fem	Neut
Sg	**Nom**	ic	du	hi	si	(h)et
	Gen	mins	dins	sins	hare	sins
	Dat	mi	di	hem(e)	hare	hem(e)
	Acc	mi	di	hem	hare	(h)et
Pl	**Nom**	wi	ghi		si	
	Gen	onser/onses	(j)uwer/uwes		haer	
	Dat	ons	(j)u		hun	
	Acc	ons	(j)u		hun	

Table 10 – Middle Dutch pronouns (standard system)

Clisis of pronouns (which is widespread in many present-day dialects of Duch) has been attested in Middle Dutch.

- 1S: apocope of verbal declension: *hebbe ic* 'have I' > *hebbic*
- 2S: assimilation with the voiceless verbal suffix: *heves du* 'have you' > *hevestu*
- 3S: M: *hevet hi* 'has he' > *heveti* / F: *moet si* 'must she' > *moetsi* / N: *gaet het* 'will it' > *gaetet*
- 1P: *heb wi* 'have we' > *hebwi*
- 2P: complete regressive assimilation of the stem: *gaet ghi* 'go you' > *gadi*

6.3. The 15th and 16th century

In the 15th century, the silting of the Zwin, the estuary that was the entrance to the harbour of Bruges, caused commercial activities to be gradually shifted to the (inland) harbour of Antwerp, which was then part of the Duchy of Brabant (see Map 3).

From a political perspective, this will turn out to be somewhat irrelevant. After his father was murdered in 1419, the Burgundian Duke Philips the Good inherits Flanders from his father. In the following years, he will unite almost all of the Dutch-speaking area under his banner and install a centralized administration for the entire Low Countries. Under his reign, the arts would flourish . In 1425, the University of Leuven, the first university in the Low Countries, was founded by Duke John IV of Brabant.

The Dukes of Burgundy were Francophone and in contact with them French was the language of communication, but the people remained Dutch-speaking and local administration was normally conducted in Dutch. Because of the economic importance of Flanders and Brabant, local administrators could even ask for privileges and Mary of Burgundy even consented that only 'gheboren vlaminghe, vlaemsch sprekende ende verstaande' (born Flemings, speaking and understanding Flemish) could get official positions.

In 1482, Mary of Burgundy dies and the Netherlands are inherited by her husband, the Habsburger Maximilian of Austria. His son Charles V, who was born in Ghent in 1500, became the most successful emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. In the so-called Pramatic Sanction of 1549, he unified the entire Dutch-speaking area of his empire as the Seventeen Provinces with a separate regional government and declared them indivisible. This created a feeling of national and cultural unity and the terms *Nederduytsch* and *Nederlandsch* came into general use to refer to the Dutch language. Gradually, the first treatises on the Dutch language appear, e.g. Joas Lambrecht's *Néderlandsche Spellijnghe* (1550). In 1584, the first Dutch grammar was published in Amsterdam: Hendrik Laurenszoon Spieghel's *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche Letterkunst* (A Dialogue on the Dutch Language), a work with the programmatic goal to prevent the neglect that the people were showing to their mother tongue. **Picture 3 –**

First page of the Introduction to the *Twe-spraack*

The political unity of the Dutch language area was only temporary. In 1555, Charles' son Philip II, King of Spain, becomes Lord of the Low Countries. In 1566, the Iconoclastic Fury (*Beeldenstorm*) broke out in what is now the North of France. Incited by Calvinist preachers and fueled in the underground *Hagenpreken* (lit: Hedge Preachings), adherents of the new Protestant faith attack churches and destroy statues and Catholic paraphernalia. Philip answers by sending the Duke of Alva to the Netherlands. Alva's ruthless behaviour alienated both Protestants and Catholics.

Many Protestants, noblemen and rich traders fled to the North, especially to Holland. Alva managed to get the Southern Netherlands (present-day Flanders) under control and in 1585 Spanish troops captures Antwerp. The Dutch rebels answered by blocking the River Scheldt, hereby effectively shutting down the harbour of Antwerp. This would be the prelude to the Eighty-Year War, lead by William of Orange, and the creation of the United Provinces .

6.4. The 17th century: The Golden Age of Holland

6.4.1. History

Politically and religiously, present-day Flanders was now separated from the Netherlands and the Eighty-Year War brought cultural exchange more or less to a standstill. Flanders became a part of the Spanish empire and lost its economic and cultural dominance. The United Provinces, in effect a republic, saw the dawn of their Golden Age, where culture and literature would blossom in the patrician *Rederijkerskamers* (Chambers of Rhetoric).

Drama, poetry and expository literature flourished and conscious efforts were made to develop a new kind of Dutch that was able to serve as a literary and administrative standard and was suited for the sophisticated cultural environment created by Dutch economic prosperity. Amsterdam became the centre of Dutch culture and its 'Prince of Dutch Letters' was Joost van den Vondel.

Op de afbeeldinge van den Heer Johan van Oldenbarnevelt

Dit 's Grootvaâr, van wiens deugt geen eeuwen zullen zwijgen

Hy deê zijn Rechters zelfs het hair te berge stijgen,

Toen hy ter vierschaer quam al even wel gemoedt.

Zijn vyant dronk de doot aen zijn onschuldig bloedt.

> **About the picture of Mr Johan van Olenbarnevelt**
>
> This is the Great Danger, whose virtues the ages will talk about
>
> The hairs of his judges he even caused to rise
>
> When he came to the lawcourt in an equally good mood
>
> His enemy drank death with his innocent blood.

From Joost van den Vondel (1646), *Hekeldichten* (transl: *Satires*).

The supreme authority of the Republic, the Staten-Generaal, commissioned a Bible translation in the vernacular, based on Hebrew and Greek originals. In 1637, the Statenbijbel was published. It was written in a hybrid Dutch, stripped of strong dialectal influences and in the centuries to come would have an enormous influence on the literary language of the Netherlands.

> Godt schept den hemel ende de aerde, v[ers] 1, 2. ende het licht, op den eersten dach, 3. Op de[n] tweeden, het uytspansel, met scheydinge der onderste ende bovenste wateren, 6. Op den derde[n] scheydt hy het Drooge ende de Wateren, 9. Schept Gras ende vruchtbare Boomen

> God creates heaven and earth, v. 1-2, and light, on the first day, 3. On the second, the firmament, with the separation of the waters below and above, 6. On the third he separates the Dry and the Water, 9. and creates grass and fertile trees

Biblia, dat is: De gantsche H. Schrifture (Statenvertaling 1637), Genesis 1:1-10

Picture 4 – Title page of the Statenbijbel (1637)

6.4.2.   Some linguistic characteristics

The phonological reduction of unstressed syllables that already started in the Old Dutch period and continued during the Middle Dutch period leads to the complete loss of unstressed syllables in many words.

putte 'wel' > *put*
vrouwe 'woman' > *vrouw*

Interestingly, the back vowel /ɑ/ is fronted and lenghtened to something like /aː/ in 17th century Amsterdam. This 'clear a' was associated with civilized speech in the Golden Age.

Reducation and standardization led to a further simplification of nominal and verbal paradigms. On the other hand, some new complexity was consciously introduced into Dutch. Overly inspired by ideas of the Renaissance, innovative minds in the 16th and 17th century had reintroduced Latin elements into the grammar of written Dutch.

Nominal case was on its way down in the spoken language, but is kept artificially alive in the literary language of the 17th century (and beyond). The genitive, for instance, was used profusely. The examples below are from van der Horst (2008:vol. 2, p. 1077-8)

With nouns:

Twee vaanen <u>voetvolx</u> (voetvolk-s)	'two banners <u>of the foot-soldiers</u>'
Eene maandt <u>solds</u>	'one month <u>of soldiers' payments</u>'
Een druppel <u>oordeels</u>	'a drop <u>of judgement</u>'
Echter, ziende noch wat <u>tyds</u> over	'But, seeing [that he] still had <u>some time</u> left'

With infinitives:

Na een wijl <u>kloppens</u> aen de buitenste poorte	
	'After a while <u>of knocking</u> at the outer gate'
Naer tachtentig mijlen <u>varens</u>	'After eighty miles <u>of sailing</u>'

With nominalized adjectives:

iets <u>nieuws</u>	'something <u>new</u>'
al wat hy <u>goeds</u> bezit	'everything <u>good</u> he possesses'
yet <u>wichtighs</u>	'something <u>important</u>'

Sometimes with measurements:

Een mylle <u>waters</u>	'one mile <u>of water</u>'
vs. wel 3 mylen <u>water</u>	'not less than three miles <u>~~of~~ water</u>'

Another sign of this Renaissance influence is the prolific use of bare participles (examples from van der Horst (2008:vol. 2, p. 1150ff)).

(1) Zommighe ruyters, nochtans, ontglipten, <u>laatende</u> paarden en waapenen achter

sommigh-e	ruyter-s	nochtans	ontglip-t-en
some-PL	rider-PL	nevertheless	get.away-PST-PL

laat-en-de	paard-en	en	waapen-en	achter
leave-INF-PRTC	horse-PL	and	weapon-PL	behind

'Nevertheless, some drivers got away, leaving behind their horses and weapons.'

(2) Johan, <u>overlijdende</u>, liets achter, twee zoonen [...]

Johan	overlijd-en-de	liets	achter	twee zoonen
J.	pass.away-INF-PRTC	leave.PST	behind	two son-PL

'John, passing away, left behind two sons.'

(3)   Maar den avond <u>beginnende</u> te vallen, hoorden ik van verre eenige lieden
      naderen

maar   den   avond   beginnende   te   vallen
but   the.Nom   evening   begin-INF-PRTC   to   fall

hoor-de-n   ik   van   verre   eenig-e   lied-en   nader-en
hear-PST-LIG   1S.Nom   from far   some-PL   person-PL   approach-INF

'But when the evening began to fall, I heard from afar some people come near'

6.5.   The 18ᵗʰ en 19ᵗʰ century in the Netherlands

The standardization of Dutch from the Golden Age onward had largely remained a matter of the literary elite. The spoken vernacular had broken up in a large number of mutually unintelligible dialects, so much so that in the beginning of the 18ᵗʰ century the linguist Lambert ten Kate remarked that it would be impossible to pick one for a standard.

> "zo agt ik het niet onveilig, dat men het gebouw veste op het meest
> doorgaende en eenstemmigste Gebruik, zo in de beschaeftste Spreektael, als in
> de schriften der agtbaerste en geleerdste Nederduitsche Schrijvers."

> 'I find it not unsafe [to proclaim], that a building should be built on the
> foundations of the most common and consistent use, in the civilized spoken
> language, like in the writings of the most honourable and learned
> Nether-Dutch writers.'

> ten Kate Hz. (1721:14)

In the 19ᵗʰ century, innovative Dutch writers would react against this artificial writing language that had evolved away from the real language of the people, beginning with the publication of the anti-colonial novel *Max Havelaar* by Multatuli in 1860. Notwithstanding this evolution, the political unity and prosperity of the Netherlands during the 18ᵗʰ, 19ᵗʰ and 20ᵗʰ century had as a result that a Dutch standard language gradually developed itself.

6.6.   The 18ᵗʰ and 19ᵗʰ century in Flanders

The situation was different in Belgian Flanders. After the Spanish period, Flanders became a part of the Austrian empire from 1713-1793 and then passed to France. Under this long period of foreign rule, the social gap between the (often foreign) rulers and the lower classes was increasingly expressed by language: the nobility and administration spoke (or pretended to speak) French, the populace spoke various

dialects of Dutch. French became the language of all administration and of the legal courts. In this climate standardization of Dutch or the development of a literary language was impossible.

When Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo in 1815, the Southern Netherlands (Flanders) are ceded to William I   and become part of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. William declared Dutch to be the only official language of the realm and decreed that in the Southern province it was prohibited to use French as a language of administration. Unsurprisingly, this led to resentment among the Francophone nobility in the South, and the Roman-Catholic clergy had its own reasons to be unhappy about their new Protestant king.

In 1829, the Belgian revolution broke out and in 1830 the Kingdom of Belgium came into existence. French became again a French-speaking nation and William's rather authoritarian language politics created anti-Dutch feelings, although the government officially expressed the need to translate official documents in 'Flemish'. In the eyes of most of the French-speaking elite, Flemish was a language spoken by the peasantry, unsophisticated and of no importance. This attitude would survive far into the 20th century.

The Frenchification and the romantic momentum of the Belgian revolution created a renewed interest in the Flemish national past, among a small class of Flemish (but sometimes Francophone) intellectuals. They saw the Frenchification as a threat to the Dutch language and started to write in Dutch. An example of the first is Hendrik Conscience, whose novel De Leeuw van Vlaanderen (The Lion of Flanders) is a mythicised description of the victory of the Flemish armies over the French in the Battle of the Golden Spurs in 1302.

> De roode morgenzon blonk twyfelachtig in het oosten, [2] en was not met een kleed van nachtwolken omgeven, [3] terwyl haer zevenkleurig beeld zich glinsterend in elken dauwdruppel herhaelde; [4] de blaewe dampen der aerde hingen als en onvatbaer weefsel aen de toppen der boomen, [5] en de kelken der ontwelkende bloemen opened zich met liefde om de jongste strael van het daglicht te ontvangen.

> The red morning sun shone hesitantly in the east, [2] and was not shrouded with a robe of night clouds, [3] while her seven-coloured image was glisteningly repeated in every drop of dew; [4] the blue vapours of the earth dangled like a insusceptible fabric from the tops of the trees, [5] and the chalices of the budding flowers opening with love to receive the young rays of the morning light.

> H. Conscience (1838), *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen, of de Slag der Gulden Sporen*, p.1-2.

One group of writers and language idiologues, the 'localists', wanted to return to the

ancient Flemish language the past, free from pernicious foreign (and Protestant) influences of the Northern Dutch standard language. Its most famous exponent of the second movement is Guido Gezelle, a Flemish priest who became famous for his poetry with West-Flemish dialectal influences and gathered a literary movement of young seminary students around him.

Het Schryverke.
(Gyrinus natans.)

The whirligig beetle

O krinklende winklende waterding,	Oh crinkling winkling waterthing
Met 't zwarte kabotseken aen,	Wearing little black boots
Wat zien ik toch geren uw kopke flink	How I love to see your stout little head
Al schryven op 't waterke gaen!	Writing on the little water pool!
Gy leeft en gy roert en gy loopt zoo snel,	You live and you move and you walk so fast
Al zie 'k u noch arrem noch been; […]	Although I can't see your arm nor leg

Guido Gezelle (1858), *Vlaemsche Dichtoefeningen*. Brussel: H. Goemaere.

Another group, the 'integrationists', of which Jan Frans Willems was probably the most important exponent, saw a solution for the Flemish problem in a cultural integration with the Netherlands.

Picture 5 – J.F. Willems (1818), *Aen de Belgen*, p. 6-7.

The group of people striving for the promotion of Dutch in Flanders is often refered

to as the *Vlaamse Beweging* (Flemish Movement) although they were never formally part of a single group. Initially, they strove for literary and cultural recognition, but in the last decades of the 19th century the movement increasingly developed a political and social ideology, especially after it realigned itself with progressive democratic forces within the Catholic Church.

Demands were put for the restoration of Dutch as an official language of the kingdom, student protests broke out asking for education in Dutch, and demands were made to make Dutch the language of the administration in Flanders. Walloon civil servants saw this as a threat to their position and founded political counter-movements. The government passed some language equality laws were passed, which were mostly symbolic and did not change anything in practice.

> Manifesto of the Walloon League of St. Gilles
>
> There are – or rather, there were – only two Flemish demands which were justified.
>
> First, that in the courts of law the defendants should not be tried in French if they did not understand that language. The law of 1873 gave teh Flemings complete satisfaction in that respect, and they have hardly made use of it.
>
> Secondly, that civil servants, in their contacts with the public in the Flemish part of the country, should have a sufficient understanding of the local speech of those who are illiterate with regard to French. In anticipation of the knowledge of French becoming more general as a result of compulsory primary education, we can easily satisfy those Flemings ignorant of that language by sending Flemish civil servants to their part of the country.
>
> However, if this minority should continue to flaunt its ignorance, should then the Walloons and all educated Flemings be subjected to the tyranny of that ridiculous 'mother tongue' that serves no purpose? Should it be forcibly be introduced in to Parliament, law-making, education, the army and every sector of public administration, putting to disadvantage the Walloon race, the more intelligent and enlightened of the two? [...]
>
> From Fredercq (1906), *Schets eener geschiedenis der Vlaamsche Beweging*, vol. I, p. 197.

While around the turn of the century Dutch was generally accepted to be the standard language of Flanders (in some places, it was even used in the local administration), there was no language legislation that recognized this tendency. There was still a large economic gap between the Francophone upper classes and the Dutch-speaking middle and lower classes, the educational system was completely French, and the appointment of Flemish civil servants was deliberately blocked by the Francophone central administration.

The Flemish movement, who had gained in strength, grew increasingly frustrated with the lack of political progress and the unwillingness of Wallonia and Francophone upper class to accept bilingualism in Belgium. In the beginning of the 20th century,

they would radicalize and start to pursue the idea of a monolingual Flanders.

6.7.   The 20th century

6.7.1. pre-1920s

The First World War intensified the clash between the two language communities in Belgium. The German empire, which saw the annexation of Belgium and Holland as of crucial importance, started to pursue a *Flamenpolitik* (Flemish Policy) in 1914 , mainly in order to win over Holland: the Flemish people and the Dutch language got a preferential treatment; the University of Ghent could teach in Dutch; and cultural links should be forged between Flanders and the Netherlands.

A small number of Flemish sympathizers, the so-called Activists, took the opportunity the Germans gave them . As a whole, the Flamenpolitik was a failure, since even the majority of Flemish sympathizers refused to collaborate with their occupiers. However, it rekindled feeling of patriotism among many Flemish, helped by the situation at the Western Front, which further aroused the Flemish-Walloon antagonism.

Flemings made up about 60% of the Belgian army at the Front in West-Flanders, but the infantry was up to 70% percent Flemish, many of them uneducated and unable to understand French. The officers, on the other hand were almost exclusively Francophone and most didn't speak Dutch. Dissatisfied soldiers held secret meetings and secretly organized protest. They organized themselves in what was going to be called the Front Movement (*Frontbeweging*), which would after the war fight for Flemish self-rule.

> On the Necessity of the Flemish Movement
>
> QUESTION: *Is the Flemish Movement necessary?*
> ANSWER: Yes, urgently necessary, because Flemish life was hindered and close to death in every essential respect.
>
> *Q. Surely this is an exaggeration? The Flemish are alive, after all, and notes for their health.*
> A. The Flemish eat, work, sleep, stand, marry, have their habitations – but any slave does that, who has no life of his own; and it is a life *of our own* that is the question here, the Fleming's own Flemish life.
>
> *Q. What does the Fleming stand to gain from this life of his own?*
> A. This: that with the whole heritage of his blood and race – that is, his nature, his name and his language – he enjoys complete freedom, justice and respect in his own country, and when abroad as much as that nature, name and language entitles him to.
>
> Cyriel Verschaeve (1918), *The Flemish Nationalist's Catechism*. From Hermans et al. (1992:240)

After the war, constitutional reforms were carried out in 1918 and 1921 which introduced universal male suffrage but also made Dutch the language of local and provincial goverments in Flanders and allowed the University of Ghent to offer part of its courses in Dutch. Further changes were not made and the Flemish Movement had lost some of its shine immediately after the war because of it being associated with collaboration with the German enemy. Slowly, however, the Flemish cause gained impetus, especially after the Catholic Church put its wait behind demands for social reforms in Flanders.

On 28 June 1932, Flanders was officially recognized as monolingual Dutch-speaking, Wallonia as French-speaking and Brussels as bilingual. The language boundary would be determined decenially by census.

6.7.2. The 1930s and World War II

In the 1930s, Flanders was – like most of Europe – in the grip of right-wing radicalisation and anti-Belgian groups in the Flemish Movement started to associate with fascist elements in Germany. In 1933-4, the anti-Belgian and anti-democratic *Vlaams Nationaal Verbond* (VNV, Flemish National Union) tried to unify the fragmented nationalist groups. Although they denied it, the VNV received financial support from Germany. When the German army invaded Belgium in May 1940, they already had local support and an idiological framework, the *Flamenpolitik* from WWI, ready. Contrary to what the VNV had hoped for, the Germans did not pursue their Pan-Netherlandish dream, but closed the border with the Netherlands and prepared Belgium for annexation in the Germanic empire.

After the end of the war in 1944, Flemish nationalism was unsurprisingly associated with collaboration with the Nazis. The Resistance was predominantly French-speaking and left-wing and they wanted to be repaid for their sacrifices. Language came to the forefront in politics. Language laws were openly flouted and in the 1947 sensus there was a drop from 40-50% in the number of Dutch-speakers in certain municipalities compared to the 1930 census, indicating that many did not wish to consider themselves as Flemish anymore. The attitude against collaborators and perceived collaborators was hostile and often violent.

On the night of 15 March 1946, the Yser Tower, a monument to Flemish soldiers who died in the First World War, was blown up. Its desecration (the monument bore the inscription 'All for Flanders – Flanders for Christ') helped to rekindle pro-Flemish and anti-Walloon sentiment. Another factor was the so-called *Royal Question*. King Leopold III's ambiguous attitude towards the German occupier led to demands for his dismissal after the Liberation. The Walloons and anti-Catholic parties were in favour
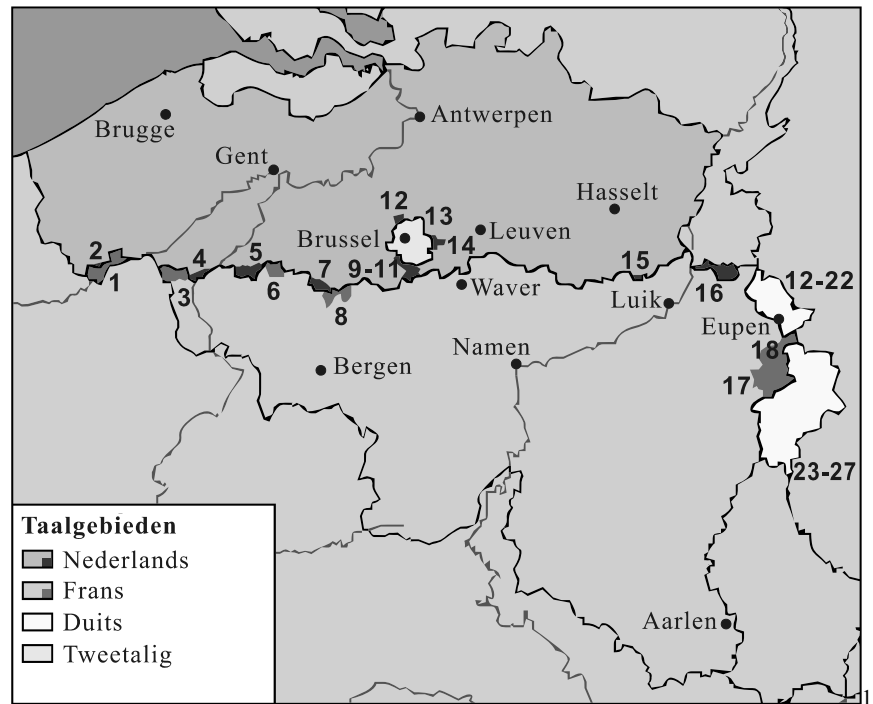
of his abdication; the pro-Flemish and Catholic parties wanted him to return. In a referendum held on 16 March 1950, 57% of the population voted for the king's return: 72% in Flanders and 42% in Wallonia. This led to violent rioting in the industrial centres of Wallonia and when the protesteres threatened to march to the capital, the king abdicated in favour of his son Boudewijn. Both Flamingants and Catholics saw this outcome as a bitter insult to Flanders.

6.7.3. The 1950s till the present

In the 1950s and 1960s there was a gradual shift of industrial activity from Wallonia to Flanders. The increased economic wealth caused a population increase in Flanders and because of various language laws that had been mainly introduced during the Interbellum, a Dutch-speaking middle class came into existence. Wallonia, on the other hand, went into decline and the coal mines that had been a pilar of their economy gradually went into demise.

Due to the increasing cultural prestige of Dutch, the Flemish Movement gained mass support from the 1950s onward. In the 1950s and 1960s the administration of Flemish companies were gradually converted to Dutch, although in some regions the top echelons remained predominantly Francophone till well into the 1960s. In 1962, the language boundary between Flanders and Wallonia was fixed by law and the Ministry of Culture was split into a Dutch-language and a French language ministry. It was only in 1973 that it was declared by official decree that the language of Flanders was 'the Dutch language'.

The Flemish Movement had finally attained all of its original goals, but the problems between Belgium's two communities were still not solved. The problem started to centre more and more around Brussels, which over the years had evolved in an overwhelmingly Francophone city with a militantly anti-Flemish population and which now rapidly expanded into the surrounding Flemish countryside. In order to completely federalize the country, the question of Brussels would have to be solved. In 1980 Belgium was separated into three regions (Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels) with extensive local powers. Because of Walloon demands for the expansion of the territory of Brussels, the actual government, the Brussels Regional Council, was only instituted in 1989, after another constitutional reform.

1: Comines-Warneton (Komen-Waasten) / 2: Mesen (Messines) / 3: Mouscron (Moeskroen) / 4: Spiere-Helkijn (Espierres-Helchin) / 5: Ronse (Renaix) / 6: Flobecq (Vloesberg) / 7: Bever (Biévène) / 8: Enghien (Edingen) / 9: Drogenbos / 10: Linkebeek / 11: Sint-Genesius-Rode (Rhode-Saint-Genèse) / 12: Wemmel / 13: Kraainem / 14: Wezembeek-Oppem / 15: Herstappe / 16: Voeren (Fourons) / 17: Malmédy (Malmund) / 18: Waimes / 19-22: Lontzen, Raeren, Eupen, Kelmis (La Calamine) / 23-27: Burg-Reuland, Sankt Vith (Saint-Vith), Amel (Amblève), Bütgenbach, Büllingen (Bullange)

Map 6 – Language regions and municipalities with bi-lingual facilities

6.7.4. *The linguistic unification of the Dutch language*

After Belgian independence, Dutch and Flemish linguists increasingly cooperated. From 1949 onward, they held conferences together and around the same time they started to work on the *Woordenboeck der Nederlandsche Taal* (Dictionary of the Dutch Language), the first instalment of which would be published in 1864 and the last (43th) volume in 1998. To make such an endeavour possible, the first editors Matthias de Vries en Lambert A. te Winkel, had to develop a consistent spelling system, which in 1864 was offically adopted as the standard spelling in Belgium and in 1883 in the Netherlands. Throughout the 20th century numerous spelling reforms will be introduced, from 1954 onward accompanied by the Green Book (*het Groene Boekje*), a prescriptive word list.

Year	Spelling	Area
1804	Spelling Siegebeek	NE
1844	Willems-spelling	BE
1864-1883	Spelling de Vries-te Winkel	BE-NL
1934	Spelling Marchant aka Kollewijn-spelling	NE
1946-1947	Spelling Reform I	BE-NL
1955	Spelling Reform 1955	BE-NL
1996	Spelling Reform 1996	BE-NL
2006	Spelling Reform 2006	

Table 11 – Dutch spelling systems in the 19th and 20th century

This obsession with spelling is in part a result of the strong normative character of linguistics in the 19th and 20th century in the Dutch language area. An example from a historical grammar of Dutch:

> Wat ons niet verbaast is dat in dat gesproken Nederlands veel ongrammaticale zinnen voorkomen; vergissingen, versprekingen, hervattingen zijn niet van de lucht, er komen herhalingsconstructies voor en bijzinnen krijgen vaak de vorm van een hoofdzin (Uijlings 1956: 54 e.v.). Een aantal van die constructies komt met grote regelmaat voor; ze zijn nader beschreven door Frank Jansen (1981) en het is niet uitgesloten te achten dat sommige daarvan ten slotte aan schrijftaalnormen zullen gaan voldoen.

> What does not surprise us is that spoken Dutch contains many ungrammatical sentences: mistakes, slips of the tongue, resumptions are frequent, many repetitive constructions are used and subordinate clauses often get main clause constituent order [...]. A number of these constructions have a high frequency; they have been described in detail by [...] and it is not out of the question that some of them will eventually become part of the written norm.

> van den Toorn et al. (1997:518)

At the end of the 19th century, it is perceived as important in the Netherlands and in Flanders to speak *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands* (Standard Civilized Dutch). (This was later renamed *Algemeen Nederlands* (Standard Dutch), after people repeatedly brought up the argument that non-standard variants of Dutch were not necessarily uncivilized...)

In 1980, Belgium and the Netherlands erect the Nederlandse Taalunie (Dutch Language Union), an international organization that is responsible for the development of unified language policies in the Dutch linguistic area. This includes the publications of periodic reforms of the Dutch spelling in the Green book, but also things like the promotion of Dutch education overseas and the promotion of Dutch

literature. In cooperation with the Univeristy of Nijmegen, they also published the Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst, a comprehensive reference grammar of spoken Dutch (online available on: http://www.let.ru.nl/ans/).

7. Some interesting linguistic properties of the Brabantian dialects of the Kempen

7.1. Unmarked word order

AVO in main clauses. AOV in subordinate clauses, but…

7.2. Agglutination, contraction, liaison, fusion

The Kempen dialect is highly agglutinative, even across phrase boundaries, has complicated rules for contraction and the insertion of ligature and in some cases fused two or more morphemes. See conversations above and below for some examples.

7.3. Grammatical gender

In Northern Standard Dutch, grammatical gender has been largely eroded. The only consistent relic is the opposition in definite particles between *de* (masc./fem.) and *het* (neuter).

In the Kempen, much of the original gender system has remained intact. We already saw some of this in 5.3.2. Each noun has an inherent grammatical gender. Attributive deictics, adjectives and anaphoric personal pronouns agree in gender and number with their target noun.

	Def.	**Indef.**	**Prox.**	**Dist.**	**Adj.**	
Masc.	de(n)	ne(n)	deze(n)	dieje(n)	-e(n)	otto 'car'
Fem.	de	een	dees	die	-Ø	bloem 'flower'
Neut.	et / t-	een	dees	da	-Ø	hoës 'huis'

Agreement with pronouns:

(4) Mênen otto, hêjis schoën.

mên-en   otto hê-j   is   schoën
my-MASC   car he-LIG   is   beautiful

'My car, it (lit: he) is beautiful.'

7.4. *Umlaut in the present tense*

In Modern Standard Dutch, strong verbs have umlaut only in past tenses. In the Kempen, there is a group of verbs that shows umlaut in the past, but also in (some forms of) the singular simple present:

spreke 'speak'

INF		spreke	/spreːkə/
Spres.	1S	ik sprek	/spreːk/
	2S	gê sprekt	/ sprɛkt/
	3S	hê/zê/et sprekt	/sprɛkt/
	1P	welle spreke	/spreːkə/
	2P	gelle sprekt	/sprɛkt/
	3P	zelle spreke	/spreːkə/
Spast	Sg.	ik/gê... sprak	/sprak/
	1P	welle sprake	/sprɐːkə/
	2P	gelle sprakt	/sprøkt/
	3P	zelle sprake	/sprɐːkə/

At least three classes can be distinguished:

		INF	SPres.			SPast		
			1S	2/3S/2P	1/3P	Sg.	1/3P	2P
1	wete 'know'	/weːtə/	/weːt/	/wɛt/	/weːt(e)/	/wɪst/	/wɪste/	/wɪst/
2	loëpe 'run'	/luəpə/	/luəp/	/løpt/	/luəpə/	/løptə/	/løptə/	/løptə/
3	zwêge 'be silent'	/zwæɣə/	/zwæx/	/zwɛxt/	/zwæɣə/	/zweːx/	/zweːɣe/	/zweːxt/

Other class 1 verbs (eː-ɛ-ɪ): *geve* 'give', *neme* 'take'

Other class 2 verbs (uə-ø-ø): *woëne* 'live, inhabit', *koëpe* 'buy', *stoëte* 'nudge', *toëne* 'show'

Other class 3 verbs (æ-ɛ-eː): *rêze* 'travel', *blêve* 'stay', *wêze* 'point'

7.5. *Complicated diminuitives*

Standard Dutch has two diminutive suffixes *-je* /jə/ and *-tje* /tʃə/:

huis 'house'	>	huisje
weg 'road'	>	wegje
boer 'farmer'	>	boertje
vrouw 'woman'	>	vrouwtje

In the Kempen dialect (and many other Brabantian dialects) you have six suffixes for expressing the diminutive.

-ke	/kə/	V__	fotto 'photo' > fottooke
		ə(n)__	toëre(n) 'tower' > toëreke
		{f v}__	hof 'garden' > hofke; sloaf 'slave' > sloafke
		{m p}__	roam 'window' > râmke; klop 'hit' > klopke
		{əm lm rm}__	stôrrem 'storm' > stôrremke; film > filmke
		{lp}__	schelp 'shell' > schelpke
		{r ər}__	boer 'farmer' > boerke; letter 'letter' > letterke
		{s ʃ}__	tas 'cup' > taske; sjakosj 'handbag' > sjakosjke
		some z__	boës 'pipe' > bôske
-eke	/əkə/	some {l n}__	bol 'sphere' > bolleke; man 'man' > manneke
		some t__	put 'well' > putteke (or putsje)
		some z__	hoas 'huis' > hoazeke
-ske	/skə/	k__	boek 'book' > boekske
-eske	/əskə/	g__	weg 'road' > weggeske
-sje	/ʃə/	d__	raand 'border' > randsje
		some t__	pint 'glass of beer' > pintsje
-tsje	/tʃə/	some {l n}__	woafel 'waffel' > woafeltsje; stiën 'stone' > stiëntsje

In addition, in a number of nominal roots, the diminutive suffix triggers vowel shortening/umlaut:

'street'	stroat /strɐːt/	> /strøtʃe/
'hour'	uur /yːr/	> /yrkə/
'chalk'	kraat /kraːt/	> /krɛtʃə/
'tail'	stɛːrt 'tail'	> /stɛrtʃə/

7.6. *Pincer constructions*

Typical both to Standard Dutch and Dutch dialects are so-called pincer constructions, in which phrases that are functionally/syntactically closely connected are maximally separated by all other phrases in the clause (except for the subject).

A first type are verb-object pincers:

(5)   Hê leest een gazet.

hê   lees-t   een   gazet
he.Nom read-3S   INDEF.MASC   newspaper

'He reads a newspaper.'

(6)   Hê <u>leest</u> iederen oavend êgelek wel, veu zoever dakkik wet, vanaf dattem
        toaskomt tottatem goa sloapen <u>een gazet</u>.

hê <u>lees-t</u>   [ieder-en   oavend] [êgelek   wel]
he read-3S   each-Masc   evening   actually   PRT

[veu   zoever   da-k-ik   wet]   [vanaf   da-t-em   toas-kom-t]
for   as.far   as-1S-1S know   from   that-LIG-3S   home-come-3S

[tot-da-t-em   goa sloap-en]   <u>een</u>   <u>gazet</u>
till-that-LIG-3S   go   sleap-INF   INDEF.MASC   newspaper

'Each evening, from the moment he comes home till when he goes to bed, he
actually reads a newspaper, as far as I know.'

Pincers also occur with separable composite verbs, a special subclass of verb
compounds in Dutch whose infinitive consists of an adverb and a verbal root (the
adverb is usually related to a preposition). In inflected forms the adverbial element
functions as a free constituent in the clause. Examples:

oankome 'arrive' < *oan-kome* 'at-come' → *ik kom oan* 'I arrive'
opstappe 'mount, get on' < *op-stappe* 'on-step'
                        → *kstap oep* 'I get on'
bêwerreke 'retouch' < *bê-werreke* 'near-work'
                        → *ik werrek da bê* 'I retouch that thing'

In actual clauses, all other constituents except for the subject, will normally occur
between the verbal head and the adverbial element.

(7)   Ik <u>kom</u> zoelang as ik mê herinner elleken oavond zoe ongevêr ronte zellevden têd <u>oan</u>.

ik   kom   [zoelang as ik mê herinner]   [elleken oavond]
I   come   as long as I remember   each evening

[zoe ongevêr]   [ronte zellevden têd]   oan
approximately   around the same time   at

'As long as I remember, I arrive each evening approximately around the same time.'

A third type of pincer constructions involves complex verb phrases. In main clauses, only the inflected member of a complex VP occurs in second position. All other members will be moved to the end of the clause.

(8)   Ik <u>wil</u> da liever veu da zêtkan zien allemaal toch wel schoën <u>afgewerrekt hemme</u>.

ik   wil   [da]   [liever]   [veu   da   zê-et-kan   zien]
I   want.3S   that.NEUT   preferably   before   that she-it-can   see

[allemaal]   [toch   wel]   [schoën]
all   rather   PRT   beautifully

<u>af‹ge›werrek-t</u>   <u>hem-e</u>
complete-‹PRF.PRTC›   have-INF

'Before she is able to see it, I'd rather want to have complete everything beautifully.'

8.   Conversoase: totte volgende kiejer

8.1.   Text

Jos   Lewie, ik denk dakkik is na houës goa gaan se. Tis al loat oant wôrre.

         'Louis, I think I will go home now. It is getting late.'

Lewie   Dasgoe Jos, goat mer.

         'That's ok, Joseph, you just go.'

         Ik goan hie ok bekans men schup afkôsse.

         'I'm almost stop myself.'

        Ik zen much oant wôre.

        'I am getting tired.'

Jos   Alle, kzenner mee weg.

        'OK, I'm leaving.'

Lewie   Joa, salu è Jos

        'OK, goodbye Joseph.'

Jos   Tot môrrege è Lewie

        'See you tomorrow, Louis.'

8.2.   *Vocabulary*

denke: think

dakkik: *da-k-ik* 'that-1S-1S'

noa houës goan: go home

hoas: house

goan: go; here used for expressing the future

tis al loat oant wôre: it's already getting late

loat: late

wôrre: become

dasgoe: < *da is goe* 'that is good'

goat mer: you go

goat: third singular of *goan* 'go'

mer: particle

ik goan hie: I will here (note that *goan* is here again used as a future)

ok: also

bekans: almost

men schup afkôsse: lit: to clean my shovel > to stop working

schup: shovel

afkôsse: wipe off

zen … oant … : progressive construction < *zen* 'to be' *oan* 'at' *-t* 'it; 3S.N'; e.g. *gê ze onnoeëzel oant doen* 'you are behaving silly'; *hê is oant sloape* 'he is sleeping'

kzennermee weg: I am leaving; lit: I am gone with it < *k-zen ermee weg* '1S-be.1S.PRES with.it gone'

tot môrrege: till tomorrow; see you tomorrow

8.3. Grammar

8.3.1. Declension of the strong verb goan 'go'

		Simple Present		Simple past	
		Normal	**Inverted**	**Normal**	**Inverted**
1S	+Ø	ik goa	goanekik	ik ging	gingekik
2S	+t	gê goat	goadegê	gê gingt	gingdegê
3S.M	+Ø	hê goa(t)	goa hê	hê ging	gingtê
3S.F	+Ø	zê goa(t)	goase	zê ging	gingtsê
3S.N	+Ø	et goa(t)	goadet	et ging	ginget
1P	+n	welle goan	goan welle	welle ginge	ginge welle
2P	+n	gelle goat	goadegelle	gelle gingt	gingt gelle
3P	+n	zelle goan	goan zelle	zelle ginge	ginge zelle

8.3.2. Declension of the weak verb kôsse 'clean, wipe'

		Simple Present			Simple past	
		Normal	**Inverted**		**Normal**	**Inverted**
1S	+Ø	ik kôs	kôssekik	+te	ik kôste	kôstekik
2S	+t	gê kôst	kôst gê	+te	gê kôste	kôstegê
3S.M	+t	hê kôst	kôst hê	+te	hê kôste	kôste hê
3S.F	+t	zê kôst	kôst zê	+te	zê kôste	kôste sê
3S.N	+Ø	et kôst	kôstet	+te	et kôste	kôste et
1P	+n	welle kôsse	kôsse welle	+te	welle kôste	kôste welle
2P	+n	gelle kôst	kôst gelle	+te	gelle kôste	kôste gelle
3P	+n	zelle kôsse	kôsse zelle	+te	zelle kôste	kôste zelle

9. Lieke: Zuipe (Katastroof)

9.1. Song text

(refrein)

1 zoape, zoape, da kannik goe	Boozing, boozing, I am very good at it
da kannekikke blindelings en me m'n ogen toe	I can do it blindly and with my eyes closed
zoape, zoape, tegen m'n hoar omoeëg	Boozing, boozing, straight into my follicles
mêne mond is nog ni leeg of mijn keel is weeral droeëg	By the time my mouth is empty, my throat is dry again
2 vanaf dak was geboren was kik al intelligent	At birth I was already very intelligent
ik pakte recht ner moeders beust gelak ne grote vengt	I immediately took my mother's breast like a big boy
t was nie voor mee te spelen, dak pakte ner die beust	It wasn't just to play that I was grabbing for this breast
oek nie vuurt seksuele, 't was van de groeëten deurst	It was also nothing sexually, I just was very thirsty
3 ik zopekik alles leeg, ons moe wist gieëne road	I emptied everything, my mother didn't know what to do
ik blette totdak kreeg ne mellekottomoat	I cried until I got a milk dispenser
oeëk toen ik al op school zat, beterde het geen flouët	When later I went to school, the situation did not improve
as niemand maai indoeëg had, zoop ik den inktpot ouët	If nobody kept an eye on me, I emptied out the ink pot

(refrein)

4 oep zestieng joar waskik al wêreldkampioeng	On my sixteenth I already was a world champion
kzoop z'allemoal onder toafel, aan maai was niks te doeng	I drank them all under the table, I was a lost case
na zêve doage drinke, lag iederieën al plat	After seven days of boozing, everybody was lying flat on their backs
doarnoa gingk oep de lappe want ik waskik nog nie zat	But I went out to party because I was not drunk yet
5 zoeë zattek is in Olland, 't was een iejer vur de Bellege	One day I was sitting in Holland, it was an honour for the Belgians
die kezen oanet leren oeda Bellege kunne zwellege	To learn those cheeseheads how the Belgians can guzzle them down
zoeë zopekik in m'n eentje wel twintig voate leeg	On my own I emptied twenty barrels
oemda'k dan zekers wist da'k e vatje groatis kreeg	Because only then I could be certain that I got another one for free

44/47

(refrein)

6	ik ging noar ne genêshieër, dieje mij toen 's onderzocht	I went to a doctor who did a check-up
	dieje vent beziengkik noeët nie mieër, ik voelde ma bekocht	I'll never have a look at that guy, I felt ripped off
	et was nog een joenk gasje, hê kwam mer pas van tschool	It was only a young chap, he had just finished school
	hê zee: gê hechen bloed moat, das zoaveren alkool!	He said: mate, you don't have blood, that's pure alcohol!

7	en allist gieën gehêm menieër, toch blevvet onder ons	And although it's no secret anymore, sir, I won't tell anyone
	ê moag daddis gieën moag nie mieër daddis begot een spons	Your stomach is no stomach, it is a goddamned sponge
	ê keelgat is gen keelgat, vengt, al denktegê van wel	Your throat is not a throat, although you might think so
	ak vergelijk dannist toch drekt de Kennedy-tunnel	If I have to compare it: it's like the Kennedy tunnel

(refrein)

9.2. Interlinearized text

(9)   zoape, zoape, da kannik goe

zoape	zoape	da	kan-ik	goe
booze	booze	that	can.1S.PRES-1S	well

(10)   da kannekikke blindelings en me m'n ogen toe

da	kan-ne-k-ikke	blindelings
that	can.1S.PRES -LIG-1S-1S	blindly

en	me	mên	oog-en	toe
and	with	my	eye-PL	closed

(11)   zoape, zoape, tegen m'n hoar omoeëg

zoape	zoape	tegen	mên	hoar	omoeëg
booze	booze	against	my	hair	up

(12)   mêne mond is nog ni leeg of mijn keel is weeral droeëg

mên-e	mond	is	nog	ni	leeg
my-M	mouth	be.3S.PRES	still	not	empty

of	mijn	keel	is	weeral| droeëg
or	my	throat	be.3S.PRES	again	dry

9.3.   Vocabulary

zoape: drink excessively, especially alcohol; (v.) to booze

da kannik goe / ik kan da goe: I am very good at it

blindelings: blindfolded, blindly

me m'n ogen toe: with my eyes closed

tegen m'n hoar omoeëg: excessively, boundlessly; lit: up into my hair

9.4.   Standard Dutch

Zuipen, zuipen, dat kan ik goed

Dat kan ik blindelings en met mijn ogen toe

Zuipen zuipen, [onvertaalbaar]

Mijn mond is nog niet leeg of mijn keel is weeral droog

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