

**Als je niet tegen de hitte kan, moet je niet in de keuken komen:
A comparison of English loanwords in Dutch and in Flemish TV shows**

MA Thesis English Language and Linguistics

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1. Introduction

The Netherlands and Belgium are neighbouring countries in Western Europe, who share a quite entangled history of being together and apart, being at some stages in history one country, and at other points two separate countries. The official language spoken in the Netherlands is standard Dutch [Netherlandic Dutch], but the linguistic situation in Belgium is rather more complicated, with a language border running through the country, separating the West and the East. In the East, Wallonia, people speak a dialect of French and in the West, Flanders, Belgians speak Flemish [Belgian Dutch], a dialect of Dutch. On the whole, Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers can understand each other without any difficulties; this fact has led Verhoeven (2005) to state that there are only very small lexical differences between the two varieties (p. 243). However, the booklet *Hoe Vlaams mag uw Nederlands zijn?* [*How Flemish can your Dutch be?*] (2015) that was handed out for free as a New Year's gift along with the Belgian newspaper *De Standaard*, opposes this. This publication is a word list of 1,000 belgicisms, i.e. words that are frequently used in Belgium but not in the Netherlands, and, as the editors claim, are should not be used by Belgian Dutch speakers, because they differ too much from standard Dutch (p. 6). In fact, the Belgian radio channel *Radio 1* proved that there are important lexical differences between the two varieties of Dutch. The editors wrote a text that contained many words that appear only in Belgian Dutch. This text was then published on the internet and people were asked to give a standard Dutch translation. Flemish did not have problems with this at all, but Dutch people could not translate the text at all (Hautekiet, 2012). In fact, as Impe, Geeraerts and Speelman (2008) show, Belgian Dutch speakers have significantly less trouble understanding standard Dutch than Netherlandic Dutch speakers do with Flemish dialects (p. 114).

Because there do, in fact, seem to be lexical differences between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch, I wondered how the two different speech communities differed or not with regard to their loanword use; it is clear that the English language has become more and more present in both variants (Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts, 2014). An example is the quote in the title of this thesis, which is a free translation of the English expression “If you can't stand the heat, stay out of the kitchen”, which does not have an established Dutch equivalent, but was used in this way by the Dutch politician Wouter Bos in *Pauw* on March 17th, 2015.

The aim of my thesis, then, is to analyse and compare the frequency and use of (mainly) anglicisms used by Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers. A corpus of spoken, spontaneous language will be compiled from unscripted television shows and these

data will show if speakers of one language variety use more anglicisms than speakers of the other, and if the distribution of different types of loanwords in the chosen varieties is the same or different. The main research question, then, is whether the frequency and use of anglicisms differ between Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch speakers.

1.1. Theoretical background

In order to form some expectations with regard to the anglicism use of Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers, the literature on the subject will be presented and reviewed. This will be done in detail in chapter 2, but a brief overview will be given here as well. There is, to my knowledge, not much literature that describes and compares the use of English loanwords by the Belgians and the Dutch. Some research has been done on the phonological differences between Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch (Verhoeven, 2005; Adank, Van Hout & Van de Velde, 2007), but generally, lexical differences between these two variants have not yet been extensively studied or described. The only study that compares the borrowing behaviour of the speakers of these two different varieties of Dutch, which was conducted by Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts in 2014. They compiled a corpus of spoken language from the Dutch TV show *Expeditie Robinson*, which included Dutch and Flemish participants. However, the main goal of this research was to discover what situations trigger loanword use rather than to analyse the differences between the two linguistic variants. This research by Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2014) gave me the idea to use television shows as a corpus. Another inspiring project is the *World Loanword Database* [WOLD], which lists loanwords that occur in different languages in order to give researchers a ready-made database for them to be able to compare loanwords across different languages. However, since Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch are two varieties of the same language, and not two different languages, no distinction is made between the two in WOLD. However, the methodology of the WOLD project, and the way the generated lists of loanwords can be used, was an inspiration for my own research too. Other than that, Onysko's (2007) research on anglicisms in German has been an indispensable tool used in this project and Onysko's research together with Winter-Froemel (2011) has given me the framework for classifying loanwords and how to describe the use of different types of borrowings, namely their analysis of catachrestic and non-catachrestic loans, i.e. the loans that have and do not have native equivalents in the language that they are borrowed into.

1.2. Research variables

This research will focus on different types of loanwords as uttered by different types of speakers. The variables describing the loanwords are categories of language in which utterances can be divided (for instance, catachrestic or non-catachrestic), so they are not actually variables in the sense that age and gender are variables, but they will be referred to as variables in order to avoid lengthy and unnecessary constructions trying to describe them.

The first category that I used for describing the loanwords in the corpus is *language*, which refers to the language of origin of the loan. Since the main aim of my research is to analyse and compare the use of anglicisms of two different groups of speakers, obviously words borrowed from English will be recorded. Loans from most other languages will not be studied, except for loans from French. The reason for this is that, as section 2.4 will show, the outcome of this research regarding anglicism use of Belgian Dutch speakers depends largely on their use of frenchisms. Therefore, the total numbers and the averages of anglicisms and frenchisms will be compared in the first part of the results section, but for the other linguistic categories, only anglicisms will be examined.

The next of the linguistic categories I just mentioned is catachresis. I will explain what this means in more detail in section 2.5.2, but a short description will be provided here. The idea of catachresis from the Greek rhetorical tradition was used by Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011), who felt that a modified way of describing anglicisms was needed, because the traditionally available distinction between necessary versus luxury loans was deemed insufficient. Because these terms have largely negative connotations, Onysko and Winter-Froemel used catachresis to create a new model for analysing and describing loanwords. Catachrestic loans are close to, but not quite the same as, necessary loans, i.e. loans that have no native equivalent in the borrowing language, whereas non-catachrestic loans are those that do have a native equivalent, simply put. The frequencies and averages of catachrestic and non-catachrestic anglicisms of Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers will be compared, as well as these speakers' use of anglicisms with I-implicature and M-implicature. These terms are part of Levinson's theory of presumptive meanings (2000) and are used by Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) to further describe the pragmatic status of anglicisms, which was disregarded in the traditional necessary-luxury approach. I will also use this distinction concerning implicature to be able to conduct a deeper and more rigorous analysis of the linguistic properties of the anglicisms that are used by the two groups of speakers. In short, if a loan carries I-implicature, the word is unmarked and it represents the usual way of saying or expressing something. On the other hand, loans carrying M-implicature are marked

– they stand out and they are unusual, for instance by being more obtrusive, morphologically more complex, etc. Again, to be clear, the implicature of the loans will only be described for anglicisms and not for frenchisms.

Finally, two social and sociolinguistic variables will be included in this research, namely age and gender. The speakers that are in the dataset will be first coded for age. This will happen in two variables, namely a linear one where the actual age will be represented, and a categorical one where the speaker will be grouped into one of the three age categories, either 15-30 (young), 31-50 (middle-aged) and 51-75 (older). As well as the speakers' ages, the gender of the speaker, male or female, will be entered, as well as his or her nationality (Belgian or Dutch). Finally, the shows the speakers appeared in will also be noted, so that the shows can be compared to each other. For all of these groups of speakers, a full analysis of their loanword use will be made, so their total frequency and average use of anglicisms versus frenchisms will be taken into account, as well as the catachrestic and non-catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms carrying I-implicature and M-implicature.

Entering all this information into SPSS will enable me to provide a full description of the different types of loans for different groups of speakers. For instance, I will be able to test the effect of gender on loanword use, or the innovativeness of different speakers of different ages, because French, catachrestic loans carrying I-implicature are more conservative and less innovative than English, non-catachrestic loans carrying M-implicature.

1.3. Research gaps

As was already found in section 1.2, there are several gaps in the existing research that my paper will attempt to fill. The first is that few researchers have studied lexical differences between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch, let alone the differences in loanword use. The closest is research conducted by Van de Velde and Van Hout (2002) on the phonological differences between loanwords used by Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch speakers, although, again, these authors focus more on the pronunciation of loanwords than on the actual loanword use itself. The other example is the research done by Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2012; 2013; 2014), who have conducted different studies on loanwords in Dutch. These researchers are all affiliated with the Catholic University in Leuven (Belgium) and focus mostly on standard Dutch, although their 2014 paper also compared Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers. In the results, however, the main emphasis of the analysis lies on the contexts in which the loans were uttered and not on comparing different groups of speakers. My research also aims to fill a gap in that it uses Onysko and Winter-Froemel's

(2011) model of catachresis and implicature for quantitative analysis, whereas the Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) work mostly with the qualitative aspects of the different types of loanwords they find. Another factor that my paper can contribute to is the effect of age and gender on loanword use. Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (2009) do study the influence of gender on loanword use in speakers from Hull and from Ottawa. Their results are surprising, because women, who are usually more innovative than men, are here found to use fewer loans. Due to a regional interference, however, the results concerning gender are not entirely clear (p. 77). More results can be found in the research conducted by Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2014) also have age and gender as independent variables, but other than these two articles, I have not been able to find research-based sources on the influence of age and gender on loanword use.

Finally, my paper focuses on spoken language, which is also something that has not been looked into very often yet in anglicism-related research. Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2014) also use spoken language as their corpus, as their methods inspired my own. Other than their work, Sharp (2001) also uses spoken language recorded from two different groups of speakers of Swedish as her corpus and the other is a study by Sagmeister-Brandner (2008) on English used in Austrian radio and television. Other than that, anglicism research has focused mostly on written language, focussing for instance on language of the press (Viereck, 1980; Fink, 1997; Onysko, 2007; Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011), on advertising (Piller, 2001; Gerritsen, Nickerson, Van Hooft, Van Meurs, Nederstigt, Starren & Crijns, 2007; Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts, 2013), or on sports (Van Iperen, 1980; Posthumus, 1991).

1.4. Research questions

The aim of this thesis is to give a comparative analysis of the differences in loanword use in Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch, and in order to be able to do that, the following questions will need to be answered.

1. What are the differences in frequency and use of loanwords between Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch speakers?
 - a. Is there a difference in anglicism versus frenchisms use?
 - i. Netherlandic Dutch speakers use a higher number of anglicisms and a lower number of frenchisms than Belgian Dutch speakers.
 - b. Is there a difference in the catachresis of the anglicisms?

- i. Netherlandic Dutch speakers will use a lower number of catachrestic anglicisms and a higher number of non-catachrestic anglicisms than Belgian Dutch speakers.
- c. Is there a difference in implicature?
 - i. Netherlandic Dutch speakers use a lower number of anglicisms carrying I-implicature and a higher number of anglicisms carrying M-implicature than Belgian Dutch speakers.
- d. Does age effect the differences in use of anglicisms?
 - i. Younger speakers will use the highest number of anglicisms, followed by middle-aged speakers and then older speakers.
- e. Does gender effect the differences in use of anglicisms?
 - i. Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch female speakers use fewer anglicisms than male speakers.

I aim to answer all these questions in the final conclusions of this paper, and this will give a clear image of how Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic speakers differ and where they display similar tendencies in their use of anglicisms. These questions and hypotheses will be discussed in further detail in section 2.7.

1.5. Overview

The questions and hypotheses presented in the previous section will be answered in the course of this paper, which will be structured as follows: after this introduction, the relevant literature on the topic will be presented and discussed, in order for the hypotheses to be formed on the differences that might be found between the speakers of the two linguistic varieties. In the literature chapter, the status of English in both countries will be explored, as well as the language policy the countries have concerning loanwords and innovation. The English proficiency of the different groups of speakers will be examined, since this is sometimes assumed to have an influence on the borrowing behaviour of speakers (Field, 2002, p. 85). A third factor that will be dealt with is the history of Belgium and the Netherlands, specifically the parts that are relevant to the possible loanword use. After this research, key theoretical concepts such as catachresis and implicature will be elaborated on and some information on borrowing will be presented. Finally, the sociolinguistic variables that are included in this paper will be presented and explained. The reviewed literature will culminate in the research questions and hypotheses.

After the literature review, the methodology will be presented, where my corpus of six different television shows will be described. Here, the procedure used to compile the corpus and the tests employed in SPSS will be presented so that the research may be replicable. This chapter will lead directly to the results, where the main findings will be presented. These will be discussed in concluding chapter and followed by the final conclusion.

2. Literature review

2.1. Introduction

The aim of the second chapter in this thesis is to elaborate on the relevant literature and the theory on which the rest of this paper is based. In the upcoming sections, I will first discuss the background as to why a difference in the use of loanwords of Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch speakers might occur. The reasons include the history of the language varieties, the English proficiency of the two different groups of speakers and finally, the language policies of the respective countries. After this, the variables that this research is based on will be presented and explained.

As was mentioned in the introduction to this project, the aim of the research is to determine whether there is a difference in the use of anglicisms between Netherlandic Dutch speakers and Belgian Dutch speakers in television shows. Being Dutch, I have seen a considerable amount of Dutch television, but also quite a few Flemish productions and this, in combination with my interest in language, has led to an interest in the use of anglicisms by Netherlandic Dutch speakers and Belgian Dutch speakers; this has led me to the literature on the subject, all of which will be presented here. There has been some research into the use of anglicisms in the Netherlands and Belgium (the research that is closest to mine is that by Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts 2014), and the literature that will be reviewed in this chapter does not give a definitive answer to the question, which is why it is an interesting point for research.

2.2. The status of English

David Crystal (2003) states in his work on English as a global language that English has been spreading rapidly. In addition to the nations where it is spoken as a native language (“the USA, Canada, Britain, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, several Caribbean countries and a sprinkling of other territories” (p. 4)), it is also widely taught as a foreign language in over 100 countries, such as China and Russia, and it has even replaced French as the most important second language in Algeria, a former colony of France (p. 5). Crystal concludes that English is the language that is used by more people than any other language has ever been; in 2003, a quarter of the people in the world, which was then 1.5 billion, spoke English, which is more than the number of Chinese speakers, who are at 1.1 billion (p. 6). Keats (2010) adds that this number may actually increase by half a billion by 2016 (p. 161). Nicoline van der Sijs (2009) states that the influence of English from the United States and

Britain already started in the 19th century with multiple languages borrowing words from English, as the “political, cultural and technological influence” (p. 349) of the United States and Britain on the rest of the world grew. However, as multiple sources state (Labrie & Quell, 1997; Crystal, 2003, Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts, 2012) there has been a “true explosion of anglicisms starting in 1945” (Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts, 2013, p. 1043), after the Second World War. It was around this time that European countries started teaching children English in schools (Labrie & Quell, 1997, p. 7) and Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2012) state that “1945 forms a clear benchmark for the amount of English loanwords borrowed” (p. 766), which, as Crystal (2003) states, is the result of the United Nations (UN) and the UN language policy, the “chief international forum for political communication” (p. 12). Other international organisations that emerged in the late 40s also created a need for a language that everybody could speak and understand to enable international communication. Through television, radio, music, books, films (Stern, 1977, 128), advertising (Gerritsen et al., 2007; Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts, 2013), the educational system (Goethals, 1997), or magazines (Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011), English has become more and more present in the Western European society, and consequently in the Netherlands and in Belgium. As Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2013) observe, the contact situation between English and Dutch is a weak contact situation: “English is usually indirect, remote and asymmetrical, the English language started diffusing at a hitherto unknown rate in the second half of the twentieth century [...] English is intruding in local languages, most notably by means of lexical borrowing” (p. 1019). This is exactly what is going on now in the Netherlands and in Flanders; English is very much omnipresent and has been for a while (Stern, 1977; Booij, 2001), similarly in the Netherlands and Belgium (Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts, 2014). English influences the language use of Dutch speakers in the Netherlands and in Belgium: it is widely used on the internet, the job market, in industry and trade (Booij 2001, p. 353) and very much in advertisements and commercials (Gerritsen et al. 2007). The presence of English is also exemplified by the fact that both Dutch and Belgian TV prefers to subtitle and not dub shows and films (Booij, 2001, p. 353). Education is another domain where the presence of English can be seen in the Dutch language: although university courses are mostly taught in Dutch in the Netherlands, English is used at graduate and postgraduate levels, and doctoral dissertations are mostly written in English (Booij 2001, p. 353). The Belgian educational system, however, tries to avoid the extensive use of English (Van der Sijs, 2009, p. 343). This distribution of the influence of English in different domains already shows that there are similarities between the use of English in the Netherlands and Belgium, but there are also considerable differences. In the

following two sections, I will discuss some other aspects of the use of English in the Netherlands and Belgium, namely the English proficiency of the speakers and the way it might influence their use of English loans, and the language policy of the two different countries and the impact this has on the presence of English in Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch.

2.3. Proficiency

Einar Haugen, a Norwegian American linguist and one of the founding fathers of sociolinguistics, is also one of the first major academics to write on the nature and analysis of borrowing. In his paper on analysing borrowings (1950), he states that “For any large-scale borrowing a considerable group of bilinguals has to be assumed” (p. 210). This means that in order to borrow a word, the borrower is usually familiar with the donor language (the language from which the word or structure is borrowed), although complete bilingualism is not necessary, but a link between bilingualism and borrowing is often drawn (Field, 2002). A study done by the European Commission (2012) actually shows that 90% of the Dutch speak English “well enough in order to be able to have a conversation (p. 21), as opposed to Belgians, of whom only 52% stated to be able to do this. There is a problem with these results, however, and that is that no distinction has been made between the Flemish and the Walloons, so this result represents both Belgian Dutch speakers and Belgian French speakers. It is possible to try to calculate the result of Belgian Dutch speakers; the English proficiency of the French French speakers in this survey is given as 39% (p. 21). If the English proficiency of the French and the Walloons is the same, this would lead to the assumption that the Flemish would also have to be at roughly 65% to come to the average of 52%. This generalisation is a slightly dangerous one, however, since it assumes that the English proficiency of Walloons and the French is the same, but that the English proficiency of the Dutch and the Flemish differs.

A different study complicates matters further. This study was conducted by the organisation Education First (2014) and it also tested the English proficiency in the world, but it yields different results. EF tested 1.7 billion adults worldwide for their English proficiency and in this test, the Netherlands ranks second of all countries in Europe (after Denmark) with an average score of 68.98, which is labelled as “very high proficiency” (2014a, pp. 2-3). Belgium ranks ninth, with an average score of 61.20. Fortunately, Education First’s survey splits up the Flemish and the Walloons; the Flemish score 62.36 and the Walloons 58.83, which is ranked as “high proficiency” (2014b, pp. 2-3). It is not clear why there is this

discrepancy between the results of these two surveys, except perhaps the difference in methodology; the European Commission survey (2012) consisted of a questionnaire where the participants had to answer questions and respond to statements such as “I speak English well enough in order to be able to have a conversation (p. 21). The entire population was first stratified and from those groups participants were randomly selected. The EF test, however, was “open to any internet user for free” (Education First, 2015), which means that all participants had to be comfortable using the internet, must have found out about the survey that the EF was conducting and had to be willing to participate, which results in a very specific group of people who are possibly likely to score higher on an English test than a randomly selected group.

As well as being slightly more proficient, the Dutch also have an educational system that emphasises the importance of English more than the Belgian system does. In schools, English is taught as a first foreign language in the Netherlands and English courses start in primary school, whereas in Belgium English is taught as a second foreign language, French being the first, and courses do not start until the second year of secondary school (Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts, 2013, p. 1035). These results are very interesting since the survey by the EU (2012) shows that most Europeans (68%) have learned their foreign languages at school (p. 100).

2.4. Language policy

The next relevant aspect to examine in order to create a thorough review of the literature on the basis of which this research will be conducted is language policy, i.e. the deliberate attempt to regulate the language use of language speakers, usually by the government. Language policies can have a heavy impact on the use of loanwords; China, for instance, is known to have a heavy language policy and even has laws banning “the use of foreign words and the misuse of Chinese” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 2). France is another example of monolingual language-policy that is often mentioned; the Académie Française, an organisation guarding the French language, was founded in 1635 by Cardinal Richelieu and consists of forty poets, linguists, writers, etc., who are members for life. The main goal of the AF is to keep the French language pure and to spread its use (Spolsky, 2004, p. 63). Part of this purity is to keep foreignisms out, especially anglicisms, which they call “un réelle menace pour le français” [a real menace to French] (AF, 2015a). Part of the AF’s approach is to create an official and complete dictionary to help French speakers use the language correctly, as well as to give advice on how to use language; the AF’s website also has a section with questions

concerning the language in which they offer prescriptive advice on how to resolve difficult language problems in favour of the French language (AF, 2015b).

Like France, the Netherlands and Belgium also share an organisation that offers language advice, de Taalunie, the Dutch Language Union (DLU). Its most important goal is to “ensure that the grammar rules are easily accessible for the language user”. In order to do so, they have published several works such as *The word list of the Dutch language* [*De woordenlijst Nederlandse taal*, also known as *The green book* [*Het groene boekje*] (2005), containing a list of all Dutch existing words, in order to offer people a guideline on spelling, as well as *The dictionary of the Dutch language* [*Het woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*] and *The general Dutch grammar* [*De algemene Nederlandse spraakkunst*] for advice on grammar. Apart from that, the DLU also offers free language advice online, as the AF does, with the main difference being that the DLU’s advice is descriptive rather than prescriptive. When a language user is in doubt, for instance, about whether a verb is weak or strong, the DLU explains the historical reasons for the coexistence of a weak and a strong version of the verb, gives data on how many speakers use one variant and how many speakers use the other and advise the speaker to use the one s/he feel most comfortable with, instead of stating that one variant is wrong and the other is right.

Apart from these organisations that look after the Dutch language, there is some history of linguistic purism in the Netherlands, dating back mostly to the Middle Ages, when Latin became the language of the church and French as the language of court. Dutch had been in existence for a very long time, but up to the 16th century, there had been very little literature written in Dutch; most of it was in French or Latin. Beginning in 1254, however, the Netherlands started to use their own vernacular to write in (Willemys, 2013, p. 52). By the 16th and 17th century, the Dutch began to feel that too many foreign elements had entered their language and purisms, words from the native language to replace loans, were made up with *bouwmeester* for *architect* and *voorspreker* for *advocaat* (lawyer). As Janssens and Marynissen (2005) point out, the purists usually lost the fight against foreignisms. (p. 169). However, when Louis Bonaparte became king of the Netherlands and made Dutch the official language of state, a process of standardisation began, which continued through the 18th century. Linguistic norms and rules were constructed and described in books written mostly by school teachers (Janssens & Marynissen, 2005, p. 128). The rules were difficult, archaic, and complicated, which resulted in a writing language that was extremely formal. The French influence continued and was often mocked, but that did not stop many frenchisms (which will, for the sake of this paper, be taken to mean a recognizable French word, idiom or phrase

in the Dutch language) entering the Dutch language in this period (Janssens & Marynissen, 2005, p. 129). However, the French influence in the Netherlands was not nearly as large as in Belgium, as will become clear in the rest of this section. The Dutch concerns about French have mostly gone now, since English has become the most important language that Dutch borrows from. However, as Booij (2001) states, the Dutch are very tolerant towards the presence of English in their language (p. 2). In fact, there is very little purism in the Netherlands nowadays. There are only a handful of organisations fighting “de Engelse ziekte” [the English disease] (Grezel, 2007, p. 50), both the use of loanwords and the increasing notion of English as a global language. The basic idea of most of these organisations is that a speaker can express him or herself very well in their own language, without English, which is the way it used to be (Grezel, 2007, p. 51). These organisations, however, are very small – the largest has 550 members (Grezel, 2007, p. 52) and their influence on the language as a whole is minimal.

Mostly, then, the Dutch language policy protects domains rather than trying to rid the language of foreignisms; purism has been marginal as well. Belgium, on the other hand, is less tolerant towards the English in the Dutch language (Booij, 2001, p. 352). The language situation in Belgium is much more complicated than in the Netherlands: 59% of the Belgians are Flemish, 40% are Walloon and 1% speak German as their first language. Belgium also has a history of language purism, more specifically lexical purism, which is a “resistance against foreign words in favor of local or national neologisms” (Vikør, 2010, p. 9). This is a result of the fact that Belgium has often been occupied, invaded, attacked, and generally influenced linguistically and culturally by the French.¹ When in 1840 Belgium became independent, the constitution stated that the use of language was “L’emploi des langues usitées en Belgique est facultatif; il ne peut être réglé que par la loi, et seulement pour les actes de l’autorité publique et pour les affaires judiciaires” [the use of the languages spoken in Belgium is optional; it can only be set by the law, and only in cases of public authority and legal matters] (art. 23), but this actually led to the oppression of the Dutch speakers by the French speakers. As a reaction to this, the Flemish movement emerged, promoting the use of the Belgian Dutch language, quite possibly saving it from extinction (Jaspers & Van Hoof, 2013, p. 333). In order to do so, it was decided in 1844 that Flemish should simply follow the rules and norms of Standard Dutch as it was spoken in the Netherlands, saying that Flemish was corrupted by French, and in order to liberate themselves from the French domination, the Flemish would have to start

¹ For an elaborate overview of the history of Flanders, see de Vries (2007).

using Netherlandic Dutch, which “was seen to be much more modern, untainted by foreign occupation, a purer remnant of a magnificent past” (Jaspers & Van Hoof, 2013, p. 333). Following this decision, the Flemings started working on a Standard, and since the various dialects of Flemish contained many constructions directly translated from French or loanwords from French that did not exist in Standard Dutch, and therefore would not be understood by a speaker of Standard Dutch, a need was felt to remove these from Belgian Dutch (Absillis, 2009, p. 271; Van der Sijs, 2009, p. 342). This standardisation continued into the 20th century and developed into a period of strong purism between the 1950s and the 1980s. Multiple organisations emerged such as *De vereniging voor beschaafde omgangstaal* [*The union for civilised everyday speech*], whose goal was to “promote, outside of all political and philosophical ambitions, the use of the general colloquial variety in Flanders” ([VBO] as cited in Jaspers & Van Hoof, 2013, p. 334), or the *ABN-kernen* [*General Civilised Dutch cores*], in which the youth of Flanders united. This organisation sees it as its duty to “reconquer the playground for ABN” (Bouveroux, 1965, p. 4-5). Finally, advocates of pure Dutch also found their ally in the media; the BRT (the public broadcasting corporation in Flanders) saw it as their task to lead the Flemish people “up to the light” (Bal, 1985, p. 224) and hired linguists to ensure that their microphone speakers speak proper Standard Dutch, sending those speakers letters containing all the errors they made (Jaspers & Van Hoof, 2013, p. 335) and newspapers also offered columns with language advice (Jaspers & Van Hoof, 2013, p. 336).

A result of these strong tendencies in Flanders, according to Jaspers and Van Hoof (2013), is that there occurs hypercorrection: Belgian Dutch speakers believe that frenchisms should not be used in Standard Dutch, so all frenchisms are replaced with ‘purisms’, conservative forms from the native language, for instance *stortbad* for *douche* (shower). They conclude that “when Flemings are asked to choose between ‘proper’ Dutch terms and purist alternatives, they usually select purisms, just as they tend to prefer obsolete, archaic or solemn forms, assuming these are more correct” (2013, p. 348). The really strong purism has disappeared, but tendencies that were started by it still remain; the Belgian Constitution (2012), for instance, states that the government regulates the use of language in administrative contexts, in education and in judiciary (art. 129). On top of this, the amount of English in education is limited by the government to twenty per cent of the courses (Van der Sijs, 2009, p. 343), so apparently, there is a restriction on the influx of the English loanwords in the Belgian society. The Netherlands, on the other hand, has no such clause and language is not mentioned in the constitution at all.

The presence of French in Belgian Dutch and the following standardisation leads to two possible hypotheses concerning the use of English in these two varieties of Dutch. Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2014) state that the rejection of French loanwords could first of all lead to a heightened sense of purism for the Belgian Dutch speakers, which would then also influence their use of English. The other possibility is that there are now gaps in the Belgian Dutch language, left by the French words that are no longer used. These gaps could be filled by English loans, inspired by the contact with this language. The purism, then, could be general, i.e. directed at all foreignisms, or specific and be directed at only frenchisms (Vikør, 2010, p. 10). This is a question that needs further investigation, although answering this question is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Neither the Netherlands nor Belgium has a language policy as strict or dominant as France or China; they both share a very lenient organisation that ‘governs’ language use. In Belgium, there is a slightly more controlled language environment than in the Netherlands and Belgium has had a history that has featured several language purist upheavals. This is mostly due to the complicated multi-lingual situation in the country, but the presence of a language policy – albeit a lenient one – may have had an impact on the Belgians’ use of English loanwords.

2.5. Borrowing

Borrowing is a term applied to either the process of transferring a word from one language to another or to the resulting linguistic unit that has been transferred (Onysko, 2007, p. 10). Borrowing can occur in different ways and with different linguistic units. Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009c) describe different types of loans. First of all, a loanword is always a word; it may be complex or phrasal in the donor or source language, but is always unanalysable in the recipient language (p. 37). Another type of borrowing is loan translations or calques which are created by “an item-by-item translation of the (complex) source unit” (p. 38). An example is the word *loanword*, which is a translation of the German parts of the word *lehn-wort*. Loan meaning extensions occur when a polysemous meaning pattern from one language is copied to another; *mouse* used to mean *a type of rodent*, both in English and in Dutch; but when in English it also came to mean *piece of computer-related hardware*, the Dutch word *muis* also acquired this meaning, so the meaning of an existing, native Dutch word was extended to accommodate the meaning of the loanword. The next type of borrowing, loanblends, is a blend of borrowed material and native material. It occurs, for instance, in the Dutch public transport system, where travellers now have to use a card for

inchecken and *uitchecken*, in which *in* and *uit* are Dutch words, combined with the English loan *to check*. Finally, there are loan creations, which are very interesting words in recipient languages that look and sound like they were taken from a donor language, but are actually not. Examples are the German *handy* (cell phone) which sounds English, but English speakers would not be able to understand the meaning. The same goes for the Dutch word *beamer* (projector) which, again, sounds English, but no English speaker would understand its Dutch meaning without being explained it.

On top of these different types of loanwords, a different classification can also be made based on the reason for borrowing. The first reason is cultural. Cultural borrowings occur when a new concept is introduced in a borrowing culture, but the concept has no name yet, so the name for it is imported from the donor culture as well as the concept. A well-known example of this process is the word *computer*, which did not exist in Dutch until the computer was introduced from the United States; it could be said that cultural borrowings are necessary. Core borrowings, on the other hand, are not necessary because there is already a native word for the concept for which a new word is borrowed. The reason for this, Haspelmath and Tadmor state (2009c), is prestige (p. 48); a loanword may be more socially impressive than the native variant, so the loan is used to come across as more interesting and to “convey the social identity we want to be associated with (Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009c, p. 48). Finally, there are words that are borrowed because, for whatever reason, the native variant has become unusable. These borrowings are therapeutic, and can be used when a native equivalent has become taboo, or to avoid homonyms, i.e. when a language, through sound change, has two words that sound very much alike. For reasons of clarity and avoidance of confusion, a word can be borrowed from another language in order to eliminate the homonymy.

This short explanation of loanword taxonomy goes to show that there are so many different types of loans, borrowings and anglicisms that it is unsurprising that dictionaries disagree on the matter.

2.5.1. Anglicisms

The next section of this chapter will concern the variables that my research will be based on. First, the variable ‘anglicism’ will be discussed, then the catachresis and implicature and finally, age and gender.

The term *anglicism* is not easy to define, which is why it is important to have a clear definition of the term as it will be used in this research. A difficulty with defining *anglicism* is

that not all scholars agree on one clear definition and often conduct their research on anglicisms without defining the term (Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011; Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts, 2012). Onysko (2007) states that the problem is that the term is often used both in the sense of an occurrence of an English “language element” (p. 10) in another language as well as the name of the means by which the language element is transferred from the donor language to the receptor language.

Another problem surrounding the definition of the term *anglicism* is the exact unit of language that it refers to; Haugen (1950) calls anglicisms “patterns” (p. 212), so this might include anything from words to syntactic structures. Dictionaries also have this problem in defining the term; the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) states that an anglicism can be “a word, phrase or idiom”, *The Cambridge international dictionary of English* restricts its definition to “a word or phrase”; the free online dictionary says it is “a word, idiom, or feature” (dictionary.reference.com) and the Merriam-Webster only mentions “a feature”. What they do agree on, however, is that it is an English linguistic unit that occurs in another language.

As for this paper, however, a working definition for *anglicism* is warranted, on the basis of which the tokens in the corpus can be selected; all the words, phrases, sentences, idioms or structures that can be recognised as being English will be recorded, so any occurrence of English that I hear. This approach is based on Görlach’s (2001) definition, i.e. “a word that is recognizably English in form (in spelling, pronunciation, and morphology, or at least in one of these aspects), and as such accepted by the vocabulary of the receptor language” (p. xviii). The same applies to frenchisms, although the problem there is that French loans have been in the Dutch language for such a long time that sometimes they are fully integrated and thus unrecognisable as a frenchism.

2.5.2. Catachresis and implicature

Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) state that they would like to avoid the traditional distinction between necessary and luxury loans and use the terms *catachrestic* to replace what used to be called necessary loans, and *non-catachrestic* to replace luxury loans. The reason why they use the concept of *catachresis* instead of necessity and luxury is that they feel the terms necessary and luxury are purist and judgemental (p. 1551) and actually inaccurate (p. 1552). *Catachrestic* loans are words that are borrowed from another language and have no equivalent in the recipient language; an example in Dutch is for instance the word *musical* from English, for which there is no native equivalent. A luxury loan is a word that is

borrowed from another language, even though it has a native equivalent; a fairly recent example from Dutch is the use of the English *kids* instead of the native Dutch *kinderen*.

As a response to the division into luxury and necessary loans, Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) propose a new distinction that can be applied to language innovations from a pragmatic angle. This means that the authors do not only focus on semantic to define anglicisms, but also pragmatics. This distinction is made according to implicature (p. 1555), based on Levinson's theory of presumptive meanings (Levinson, 2000), which discusses the non-literal layer of language that needs to be inferred by the listener or implied by the speaker. Levinson's theory is that the listener's interpretation of this layer of meaning is not based on computations made by the listener, but rather on expectations on the way language generally works (p. 22). Levinson describes three different types of implicature, namely Q-implicature, which is not used in Winter and Onysko-Froemel's model, I-implicature and M-implicature. I-implicature, inferences of informativeness, is based on the principle that "what is simply described is stereotypically exemplified" (p. 32). Levinson gives the example sentence "he was reading a book", which a listener will understand as a regular person reading a stereotypical book (p. 138). M-implicature, inference of manner, is based on the principle that "what is said in an abnormal way, isn't normal" or a "marked message indicates marked situation" (p. 33). The example he gives is "he was reading a tome" which would lead listeners to infer that the book is not a regular type of book, but a very heavy, large volume that contains important, old information (p. 138).

The relevance of this distinction for loanword theory is the notion of markedness. As Levinson states in his theory, inferences of manner are usually marked, that is, the linguistic forms are "more morphologically complex and less lexicalized, more prolix or periphrastic, less frequent or usual, and less neutral in register" (p. 137) than usual. When Levinson describes inferences of manner as something that it said in an abnormal way, the utterance is marked. On the other hand, there are utterances carrying I-implicature; these are unmarked and said in a more usual way.

This part of Levinson's theory of presumptive meanings, describing the distinction between I-implicature and M-implicature, is used by Onysko and Winter-Froemel to be able to further describe anglicisms: anglicisms carrying I-implicature are unmarked. An example of an anglicism with I-implicature is *computer* which is so well integrated in most languages that it has become a normal expression. It is also a necessary or catachrestic loan (it has no native equivalent), which sometimes, but not always, carries I-implicature. A loan with M-implicature is, for instance, *absolutely*, which occurs once in the corpus of this research, and

which has a far more frequent native equivalent and attracts attention by being English in a place where English is not expected.

As stated above, implicature and catachresis overlap most of the time, in cases when catachrestic loans carry I-implicature and non-catachrestic ones carry M-implicature. However, sometimes a catachrestic loan may carry M-implicature: the word has no native equivalent, but it does stand out as being unusual. An example from the corpus of this paper is the word *spin-off*, which does not have a Dutch equivalent and it is fairly marked, because it is infrequent and not everybody knows what it means. This situation often occurs with words that are relatively new and have not had time to be integrated into the language and that have been too infrequent to spark a new native equivalent. There are also words or expressions that are non-catachrestic, so they have a native equivalent, but they are not marked. An example is the word *cadeau* (gift/present), which is a loan from French. It has Dutch equivalents, such as *geschenk* or *presentje*, but both of these are very formal, slightly archaic and not frequently used.

2.5.3. Spoken versus written language

The corpus compiled for this paper consists of loans taken from Dutch and Flemish television shows that were unscripted, so all the speech is spontaneous. The reason for this choice is that spontaneous spoken language has not been studied very often in relation to loanwords, and because my expectations are that there are more loans in spoken language than in written language.

As for the research that has been done, there has been a considerable amount of work on written language. Newspapers and magazines are popular sources for anglicisms research. The reason for this, Onysko (2007) states, is that newspapers and magazines are seen as “the main gateways for English words entering the German language”; television is a much more recent development, which could be a reason why there is more research on anglicisms in written language (p. 97). An example of this type of research is Onysko (2007) who used the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* as his corpus, and who finds that only 5.8% of all words are anglicisms (p. 317). Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) also use *Der Spiegel* to test their new framework of catachresis and implicature. Viereck (1980) and Fink (1997) also use German magazines and newspapers as their corpus. As well as newspapers and magazines, advertisement is another text type that has received quite some attention because 60-70% of all advertisements are multilingual (Piller, 2001, p. 153). Piller (2001) tests the German attitudes to anglicisms in German advertising, and Martin (2006) used advertisements to

examine the use of English as a global language and as a mixture with French as well as the interaction of the use of English in relationship with the French language policy. Gerritsen et al. (2007) look at the difference of English loanwords in advertisements in Belgium, Spain, France, Germany and the Netherlands.

There are far fewer sources available on anglicisms in spoken language. Sharp (2001) investigates the differences of use of English in Swedish between two groups of speakers, and Sagmeister-Brandner (2008) looks into the use of English in Austrian radio shows and television. Because there is so little research available on anglicisms in spoken language, it will be interesting to study this topic further.

Another reason why this is necessary is that written language and spoken language differs in several ways (Eggins, 2004, pp. 92-3). Spoken language is typically interactive and more social than written language because most of the time, there are two or more people involved in spoken language, and writing is usually done by one person. The utterances are unrehearsed and thus spontaneous, whereas written language usually occurs in isolation when a person is alone and it is also rehearsed, rewritten, edited and slowly composed. Because of this difference in mode, spoken language is often full of hesitations, false starts, repairs, repetitions and unfinished sentences, whereas written language is more structured and more cohesive, and written language also employs a more prestigious lexis (Eggins, 2004, pp. 92-3). The spontaneity and the less prestigious lexis of spoken language suggest that when speakers have less time to compose their utterances, the language is less inhibited and more anglicisms might creep in. On top of this, Rosenhouse and Kowner (2013) point out that language policy is normally directed at written language and that spoken language is usually freer (p. 45), which is another indication that anglicisms might in fact be more frequently used in spoken language than in written language. Because a large corpus is useful in conducting my research, spontaneous spoken language is the main point of interest.

2.6. Variables

2.6.1 Age

In sociolinguistic research, one of the variables that are often studied is age and the analysis of how different age groups or generations use language. As Wardhaugh (2010) states, “younger speakers are observed to use language differently from older speakers (p. 201). Chambers and Trudgill (1980) confirm this in their work on dialectology with their notion of NORMs – Non-mobile Older Rural Males (p. 29), who are the most ideal subjects

for studying a dialect; because their non-mobility, being rural, masculinity and high age are apparently all factors that cause a speaker to be conservative and to resist language change. This would imply that it is the younger speakers who are the forerunners of linguistic change, which is in fact confirmed by Trudgill's (1974) study of the Norwegian phoneme /æ/, which, by older speakers is often realised [ɛ], but younger speakers are more likely to pronounce it [æ], or even [a] (p. 226). Labov (2002), too, shows in a lecture at a conference in Seoul, that a salient feature of the Northern Cities Chain Shift, the fronting of *aw* in words like *south*, *out*, *down*, *now* etcetera, is age-related. The shift begins on the conservative sound [æo] and ends on the advanced form [e:o] seems to be directly related to age where the younger speakers use the innovative form and older speakers use the old form.

Another study concerning age (and gender as well) was conducted by Tagliamonte (2009), who studied the frequency of the quotative *be like* in English, which gradually replaced the *say*. According to Tagliamonte, it arose in the early 1990s and has increased ever since. The age effect she found is very strong; the speakers of over forty used *say* very frequently, but the frequency drops very steeply for younger speakers. The use of *be like* shows an inverted pattern as it is used most frequently by 17-19 year-olds, but also by other speakers up to 39 year-olds. For older speakers, it drops to a frequency of almost zero.

The abovementioned results are all related to language change, and not particularly to anglicisms, loans or borrowings. However, as the actual pervasive entrance of English loans in the Dutch language is still fairly recent (i.e. of the past thirty years), it can also be regarded as an on-going language change. For this reason, I believe that the results found by Trudgill and Labov are applicable to anglicism research as well.

The fact that there is a significant influence of age on language use is confirmed by Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2014). The authors found a significant result related to age in their research on loans in TV reality shows. They analyse the use of English loans as used by Belgian Dutch speakers and Netherlandic Dutch speakers who appear together in the Dutch and Belgian TV show *Expeditie Robinson*. What the authors of this research found is that there is no significant difference between age groups under forty, but comparing younger speakers to those over forty did yield a result: the older speakers used significantly fewer anglicisms than the younger participants in the show (p. 10).

Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (2009) also found a significant influence of age on loanword use (p. 76). In their study testing the usage of English loanwords by French-speaking Canadians, they found that younger speakers used more loans than older speakers, and the authors attributed this mostly the English proficiency, which was higher in younger

speakers (p. 76), which confirms my claim in section 2.2.1 that proficiency plays an important part in anglicism use.

Poplack, Sankoff and Miller's (2009) and Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts's (2014) results show that the trend that can be seen in language change, i.e. that young people are generally the speakers who propagate and diffuse the change also applies to anglicism research, where young speakers also seem to be those who use the anglicisms most.

2.6.2. Gender

The influence of gender on language use has often been the main focus of sociolinguistic research as well. Gender is usually defined in contrast to sex, where gender refers to the social roles that are associated with sex, and sex to the biological makeup of a person. In focus on gender-based differences in language use, Labov states (2001) states that women are often seen as the frontrunners of linguistic change (p. 274; 292-3). However, women are generally also more conservative when the linguistic change involved is stigmatised and innovative when the change is non-stigmatised (MacLagan, Gordon & Lewis, 1999, p. 19; Cameron, 2003, p. 190) and that they also prefer to use a more standard form of language (Cameron, 2003, p. 187). When speakers are conscious of the change, women tend to favour the incoming prestige form and when speakers are unaware of the change, women also use the new forms more than men (Labov, 2001, p. 293). The reason for this, Labov states, is that women want to ensure the social mobility of their children by using more prestige forms. Another explanation he poses (1990) is that women, because of their socially insecure position, tend to use more prestigious forms. Middle class women are seen as setting the standard and lower middle class (LMC) women try to imitate their language to improve their social position, but usually in a hypercorrect way. These LMC women teach their children the hypercorrect variant and thus introduce language change (p. 224).

One study of interest concerning gender was conducted by Milroy and Milroy (1992), who defined a new model to explain linguistic change. The authors proposed that a linguistic change is spread from one group to another by a person who has weak ties with both groups (1992, p. 177). In their paper, they discussed a phonetic change that spread through Belfast, i.e. the backing of /a/ to [ɛ] following velar consonants (/k, g/) (1985, p. 346). Milroy and Milroy find that women used the new variant more and more frequently than men (1985, p. 360). So here, again, women were more likely than men to use a new variant of language. The explanation Millroy and Millroy (1985) gave was that women were more likely to be central members of a group, but they were also usually employed in places outside the group, so they

had ties of varying strength with two groups, thus bringing linguistic innovations from one group to another.

More recently, however, Tagliamonte (2009) studied the use of quotative *be like* in British English and Canadian English. The form has rapidly increased in frequency between 1995 and 2003, going from being used in 13 to 18% of the quotatives, with *say* as the most frequent alternative, to 31-36% in 2003. She found a strong age effect, with younger speakers using the form more frequently than speakers of over 40, but there was also a very strong gender effect, which was so strong that it was almost a restriction, i.e. only female speakers use it (p. 88).

Going back from the more general research to anglicism-related research, a very interesting observation can be made: the opposite pattern occurs. In the research concerning English in other languages, women suddenly used fewer new variants, i.e. the loanwords, than men. (Poplack, Sankoff and Miller 2009; Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts 2014; Sharp 2001). Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (2009), however, state that this finding in their research was due to a confounding regional interference, where there was a significant difference between men and women from Ottawa, but no difference for the participants from Hull. The reason for this was found to be that most of the male participants from Hull had actually worked in Ottawa, but the women had not (p. 77), so the results here can almost be discounted. Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2014), however, state that part of the explanation for this is that the most popular English loanwords, according to their corpus research, seem to be swearwords such as *shit* and *fuck*, which were more popular with men than with women, who express themselves more politely (p. 10). Another possible explanation was that women were more sensitive to linguistic norms, and that this was especially the case with words as opposed to sound change, which is the type of linguistic change that is most often described in studies concerning women and linguistic innovation (p. 10). They also add that, in the Netherlands, the frequency of English loanwords is higher in the core provinces than in the peripheral regions. This means that the use of loanwords is not yet equally dispersed in the rest of the country, so they are not yet established as an unmarked way of speaking. Women, hypothetically, would feel uncomfortable using the marked forms, i.e. the anglicisms (p. 11). Another explanation here is the generally held idea that since women tend to be more polite and insecure of their place in society, they will use more standard language to gain prestige, i.e. a higher level of respect related to their language variety. These careful linguistic tendencies of women could be a reason why women are found to use fewer loans.

This discrepancy between the progressiveness of language use by women in general and by women in relation to anglicisms is the reason why this variable is included in my research. Hopefully I will find some gender-related results which can shed more light on this interesting difference.

2.7. Research questions and hypotheses

Based on the reviewed literature and research presented above, I have formulated the following main research question: Does the way (frequency and types) Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch speakers use loanwords differ?

In order to answer this question, these subquestions and hypotheses will be taken into account:

1. What are the differences in frequency and use of loanwords between Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch speakers?
 - a. Is there a difference in frequency of anglicisms versus frenchisms between Netherlandic Dutch speakers and Belgian Dutch speakers?
 - i. Netherlandic Dutch speakers use a higher number of anglicisms and a lower number of frenchisms than Belgian Dutch speakers.
 - b. Is there a difference in frequency of catachrestic versus non-catachrestic anglicisms between Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch speakers?
 - i. Netherlandic Dutch speakers will use a lower number of catachrestic anglicisms and a higher number of non-catachrestic anglicisms than Belgian Dutch speakers.
 - c. Is there a difference in frequency of anglicisms carrying I-implicature and anglicisms carrying M-implicature between Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch speakers?
 - i. Netherlandic Dutch speakers use a lower number of anglicisms carrying I-implicature and a higher number of anglicisms carrying M-implicature than Belgian Dutch speakers.
 - d. Does age effect the differences in use of anglicisms between Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch speakers?
 - i. Younger speakers will use the highest number of non-catachrestic anglicisms carrying M-implicature. Middle-aged speakers use fewer anglicisms on the whole, and more catachrestic ones with I-implicature. Older speakers use a very low number of anglicisms. All

Belgian age groups will use fewer loans of any type than Netherlandic Dutch speakers.

- e. Does gender effect the differences in use of anglicisms between Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch speakers?
 - i. Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch female speakers use fewer anglicisms than male speakers.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will give an overview the methods I used in order to answer the research questions as presented in section 2.7. First of all, I will discuss the tools that I will use, the way my corpus was compiled and the process of data collection. Finally, I will give an overview of the procedure as follows, so that it would be possible for anybody to replicate my research.

The main method employed in this research was a quantitative corpus analysis with a few qualitative additions where necessary. After the corpus was compiled (see section 3.3) and it was analysed by means of a computer program for statistical analysis (SPSS). The research mostly relies on a frequency count of the numbers of loanwords in the corpus and the frequencies of loanwords of different groups of speakers were compared. For more detailed information on how this was done, see section 3.2. The frequencies of different word classes were also compared, such as the catachrestic versus non-catachrestic loans, as well as the effect of different sociolinguistic variables, such as gender and age.

3.2. Tools

As the hypotheses in section 2.7 state, the main point of analysis is to test the relationships between relevant variables. There were several groups of variables that were tested. For the loanwords, the balance between anglicisms and frenchisms, catachrestic versus non-catachrestic borrowings and those carrying I-implicature versus M-implicature was taken into account. This means that I looked at relative frequency, so the share of loans that were borrowed from English as opposed to French, or the percentage of the total number of loans that was catachrestic or non-catachrestic. The same was done for the implicature. Another way I compared these types of loans was by average frequency. For catachresis, for instance, this meant that, per speaker, I noted the number of catachrestic loans and non-catachrestic ones that were uttered by him or her and I compared the averages. This was done in SPSS with an independent samples t-test, which can be used to compare the different means of two groups. I also used this test to look at the difference in number of loanwords by Belgian Dutch speakers and Netherlandic Dutch speakers, with the nationality of the speaker as the independent variable and the average number of loans uttered as the dependent variable. In order to see how the use of different types of loans was divided between speakers of Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch, re-ran the independent samples t-test with the average number

of anglicisms, frenchisms, catachrestic loans, non-catachrestic loans, borrowings with I-implicature and borrowings with M-implicature. The same procedure was applied to test for an effect of gender. This helped to create a full picture of what types of borrowings were more popular with the different linguistic varieties, which was very useful in illustrating the conservativeness or the innovativeness of the speaker, because speakers who had a higher number of frenchisms also tended to score higher on catachrestic loans and those with I-implicature and lower on non-catachrestic borrowings and those with M-implicature.

For the effect of age, a different test was needed, because I divided the speakers into three different groups (15-30; 31-50 and 51-75), roughly corresponding to young speakers, middle-aged speakers and older speakers. These three groups were compared to each other using one-way ANOVA to test for a significant difference between the groups and then a post-hoc Tukey's test to obtain a more detailed analysis of the comparisons between the different groups, to see which groups differed from each other and in what way. I also used the ANOVA test and the averages of the frequencies with which the different types of loans were used to test the effect of age on anglicisms versus frenchisms, catachrestic loans versus non-catachrestic ones and borrowings carrying I-implicature or M-implicature.

The ANOVA test was also used to test the different shows, to see if there truly is a significant difference between shows of different genres and, again, between the different language varieties, because the shows were either from Belgium or from the Netherlands.

3.3. Corpus

The corpus for this research consists of loanwords from four different TV shows and a sports game. There are three subsets in these shows: two shows are news shows, one produced in Belgium and one in the Netherlands, with similar formats. The next two shows were entertainment shows, again, one Dutch, one Belgium, based on the exact same format. Finally, I used a live broadcast of a cycling event with different sets of commentaries, one Belgian Dutch and one Netherlandic Dutch. The TV shows that were included in this research are *Pauw* and *The Voice of Holland* in the Netherlands and *Reyers Laat* and *The Voice van Vlaanderen* in Belgium. The sports game that was included is the Liège-Bastogne-Liège cycling tour, with Dutch and Flemish commentaries. The reason why these shows were included is that they represent different genres. As Ammon, Dittmar and Mattheier (2006) state, there is a higher chance to find loanwords in genres as entertainment, sports, fashion and technology (p. 1887). Therefore, shows from different genres have been selected in order

to create a representative sample that can be used to draw conclusions that are also valid for the larger population.

The reason why I chose to compile my corpus based on TV shows is that quite some research has been done on anglicisms in written language (Fink, 1997; Martin, 2006; Onysko, 2007; Posthumus, 1991, etc.), but not as much on spoken language. This is the gap that my research hopes to fill: I expect to find more results in spoken language since it is more spontaneous and speakers do not have as much time to think of what they are going to say before they say it, so they have less control over their utterances. This is the reason why I believe that more anglicisms and frenchisms can be expected in spoken language than in written language (Sharp, 2007, p. 224).

3.3.1. Talk shows

Pauw and *Reyers Laat* are comparable late night talk shows in the Netherlands and in Belgium where both famous and non-famous guests are invited to discuss the latest news. *Pauw* is presented by journalist/presenter/producer Jeroen Pauw and *Reyers Laat* is presented by Lieven van Gils and Kathleen Cools, but the episodes I watched were all presented by Lieven van Gils. The shows are both slightly high-brow, targeted at people with higher education, discussing topics related to politics, medical innovations, astronomy, feminism, etc. I watched the episodes in the week from 16 March 2015 to 20 March 2015. *Reyers Laat* only runs from Monday till Thursday, and there were elections in the Netherlands on Wednesday March 18th, so that night was dedicated to presenting the results and there was no episode of *Pauw* that night. This resulted in four episodes of each show being included in this corpus. This number of episodes was chosen because this would give me around four hours of spoken language, which I deemed large enough to collect sufficient data for my corpus, and small enough for the size of this research.

3.3.2. Talent shows

The Voice of Holland and *The Voice van Vlaanderen* are, as the title already shows, based on the same format, designed by Dutch television producer John de Mol. Each season starts with *blind auditions* where the participants have to sing to the members of the jury who have their backs turned to the stage at the beginning of the performance, but who can turn their chairs if they like what they hear. The juries consist of four famous singers, namely Marco Borsato, Ali B, Trijntje Oosterhuis and Ilse de Lange in the Netherlands and Koen

Wauters, Regi Penxten, Bent van Looij and Axel Red in Belgium. After these blind auditions, the participants choose a coach from one of these jury members. The next part of the show consists of *battles* where two members of the same team have to sing a duet and the best is chosen to go to the live shows; the final four candidates go to the finals. *The Voice* is a reality television competition and is very popular; the same format is used in 57 different countries and sometimes the spin-off show *The Voice Kids* is produced and broadcast as well.

3.3.3. Sports

Finally, the cycling tour Liège-Bastogne-Liège was included. This is one of the oldest and most important road cycling events of the year. It runs through the Ardennes in Belgium, from Liège to Bastogne and back. It was broadcast live on 26 April 2015 and I watched part of it with Flemish commentary and part of it with Dutch commentary.

3.4. Procedure

Below, I will present the steps as I took them to compile my corpus and to conduct my research. First of all, I consulted an expert on Belgian culture for TV shows that had roughly or exactly the same format in the Netherlands and Belgium. From the list he compiled, I selected the shows based on the variation in genre. After that, I decided how many episodes I wanted to include, based on the size of my research and the number of loanwords and speakers I needed for the research. I then watched the selected shows and analysed the language used, obtaining the videos from different sources (i.e. television or the internet). I then compiled the corpus by watching the shows listing all the loans that were used. I also noted the relevant features of the speaker who uttered the loan. This information was then entered into SPSS, with two different datasets, one focusing on the borrowings and one on the speakers.

The set containing information on the loans consisted of all 1666 instances that I noted. Then the language of origin of the loan was noted, its catachresis and the implicature, along with the show in which the speaker had appeared. I mostly used this dataset to obtain the descriptives of the total numbers of borrowings for different speakers and different groups.

The other dataset was speaker profile, with his/her name, nationality, the television show this speaker appeared in, his/her gender and age. As well as the actual age, I also created a new variable dividing the speakers into the three different age groups. Along with this

profile, I calculated the number of loans each speaker used, as well as the number of anglicisms, frenchisms, catachrestic loans, non-catachrestic loans, loans carrying I-implicature and loans carrying M-implicature. This dataset was used for comparing the means of the different types of loan for the groups of speakers, so this was the set I used for the independent t-tests and the ANOVAs.

4. Results

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter the results of the research will be presented and the links with the literature will be pointed out. The first part of this chapter will present the distribution and demographics of the speakers whose utterances I recorded and of the numbers and types of loanwords that make up the corpus. In the second part, these findings will be quantitatively tested for statistical significance, and qualitative aspects will be considered, too; they will be elaborated on in the final chapter.

4.2. Participant profiles

4.2.1. Nationality

In total, utterances of 142 speakers were recorded; 57 of the speakers were Belgian and 88 of them were Dutch, which translates to roughly 40% Belgians and 60% Dutch. This inequality in distribution was most likely caused by the difference in format between *Reyers Laat* and *Pauw*, since *Reyers Laat* usually has three to four guests per show and *Pauw* invites up to eight guests.

Language	Speakers		Loans		Loans M
	N	%	N	%	
Belgian	57	39.3	610	36.6	10.89
Netherlandic	88	60.7	1056	63.4	11.88

Table 4.1. Summary of the data of the nationality of the speaker and all loans

The data in tables 5.1. and 5.2. in Appendix A, and their summary in table 4.2. show that the difference between the numbers of loans uttered by Netherlandic Dutch speakers and the Belgian Dutch speakers was not statistically significant with a t-test, although the total difference of 610 loans for Belgian Dutch speakers and Netherlandic Dutch speakers seems quite large, especially considering the fact that both groups of speakers had roughly the same amount of screen time. A more refined image can be composed when taking the different types of loanwords into account, as well as the variables age and gender, and the differences between the shows. The different types of loanwords, for instance the distinction between anglicisms and frenchisms, between catachrestic and non-catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms with I-implicature and M-implicature, will be examined in the following sections.

The results of the comparison between the different types of loans are presented below. Even though the significance can be divided by two to obtain the one-tailed significance, none of the results are actually statistically significant. These results will be discussed in further detail below, discussing the implications and the relevant links with the literature.

	t	df	Sig. (2.tailed)
Anglicisms	-0.822	143	0.413
Frenchisms	0.752	143	0.453
Catachrestic	-0.981	143	0.382
Non-catachrestic	-0.630	143	0.529
I-implicature	-1.042	143	0.299
M-Implicature	-0.385	143	0.701

Table 4.2. The results of the t-tests comparing Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers across different types of loans

4.2.2. Anglicisms and frenchisms

Instead of calculating the percentage of all the utterances that were loans as opposed to native words, I decided to include frenchisms to compare their averages numbers to anglicisms. This will give a clearer view on the relative numbers of anglicisms used by Netherlandic Dutch speakers and Belgian Dutch speakers, because absolute numbers may give a skewed image. If Belgian Dutch speakers, for instance, used the same absolute number of anglicisms as Netherlandic Dutch speakers, but a higher number of frenchisms, this would mean that the Belgians had relatively fewer anglicisms. Taking this approach also sheds some light on the information found in section 2.4, where the hypothesis had to be formed that Belgian Dutch speakers use fewer anglicisms than Netherlandic Dutch speakers at least partly depends on the Belgian speakers' use of frenchisms (Jaspers & Van Hoof 2013; Zenner Speelman and Geeraerts, 2014).

It turns out that 66% of the loans used by Belgian Dutch speakers were anglicisms as opposed to 75% anglicisms of Netherlandic Dutch speakers:

LanguageOrigin	Belgian			Netherlandic		
	N	%	M	N	%	M
English	406	66.6	7.26	795	75.3	8.94
French	204	33.4	3.77	261	24.7	2.93

Table 4.3. Summary of data concerning the origin of the loan and the nationality of the speaker

The t-tests that were conducted to compare the numbers of anglicisms and frenchisms between Belgian Dutch speakers and Netherlandic Dutch speakers can be found in table 5.2. in Appendix A and in table 4.2. above, but because they did not yield any significant results, they will not be presented here. The findings, in general, were that Netherlandic Dutch speakers use slightly more anglicisms than Belgian Dutch speakers but the difference is so small that it does not yield any statistically significant results. As for frenchisms, Belgian Dutch speakers use slightly more of them than Netherlandic Dutch speakers, but again, not enough for a statistically significant result. Other than statistical significance, however, a general trend can be observed: Netherlandic Dutch speakers use, in total, close to four hundred more anglicisms than Belgian Dutch speakers, but the difference is only 57 for frenchisms, which means that they are relatively more frequent in Belgium. This shows that the statement in section 2.4 that all French loans were removed from the Belgian Dutch language might be an exaggeration. The results shows above also show that Belgian Dutch speakers on the whole do use fewer anglicisms than Netherlandic Dutch speakers. These results will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

4.2.4. Catachresis and implicature

Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch are very evenly divided concerning their catachrestic and non-catachrestic loans. Rather over a third of their loans are catachrestic and two thirds are non-catachrestic, which is in line with what Onysko and Winter-Froemel found in their research that focused on anglicisms used in *Der Spiegel* (2011). This shows that my results, which were taken from unscripted television shows, so more or less spontaneous spoken language, can be compared to written language in a newspaper. These findings are very interesting, because they contradict the idea in section 2.5.3. that loanword use would be different in spoken language than in written language.

Catachresis	Belgian			Netherlandic		
	N	%	M	N	%	M
Catachrestic	119	29.3	2.11	242	30.4	2.74
Non-catachrestic	287	70.7	5.21	553	69.6	6.19

Table 4.4. Summary of the data concerning the speaker nationality and the catachresis of their recorded anglicisms

Although Belgian Dutch speakers use slightly fewer catachrestic loans than Netherlandic Dutch speakers, the difference is too small to cause an effect according to the t-

test. See table 5.2. in Appendix A for the t-test and table 4.2. above for its summarised results. The difference in the number of non-catachrestic loans between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers is slightly bigger, with Belgian Dutch speakers using fewer non-catachrestic loans than Netherlandic Dutch speakers, but the independent samples t-test does not yield a statistically significant result, which means that both groups of speakers are evenly divided.

Implicature	Belgian			Netherlandic		
	N	%	M	N	%	M
I-implicature	208	51.2	3.81	450	56.6	4.99
M-implicature	198	48.8	3.49	345	43.4	3.92

Table 4.5. Summary of the data concerning the speaker nationality and the implicature of their recorded anglicisms

Related to the catachresis of the anglicisms is the implicature. The implicature does not have the same distribution as the catachrestic loans, which is surprising as catachrestic loans mostly carry I-implicature and non-catachrestic loans M-implicature. Generally, half of the loans carry I-implicature and the other half of the loans carry M-implicature, which means that there are quite some non-catachrestic loans that carry I-implicature. An example is the anglicism *team*, which came up a lot in discussions on the upcoming cycling matches. It has a native equivalent, namely *ploeg*, and this was used frequently by Belgian Dutch speakers, but Netherlandic Dutch speakers used the loan *team*, which is a well-integrated word in the Dutch language. The distribution of I-implicature and M-implicature described above differs from what Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) find; their dataset gives one third I-implicature and two thirds M-implicature, which overlaps with the share of catachrestic and non-catachrestic loans.

The implicature of the loans is more evenly divided in the case of Belgian Dutch speakers, who use almost the same number of loans with I-implicature as those with M-implicature; the Netherlandic Dutch speakers seem to have a stronger preference for loans carrying I-implicature. Although Netherlandic Dutch speakers have much higher total numbers of loans, there is no statistically significant difference between the speakers of the two varieties of Dutch when comparing the averages by means of a t-test.

The data that was presented in this section can be summarized in a visual way in the following chart, based on the averages as presented in tables 4.3.-4.5.:

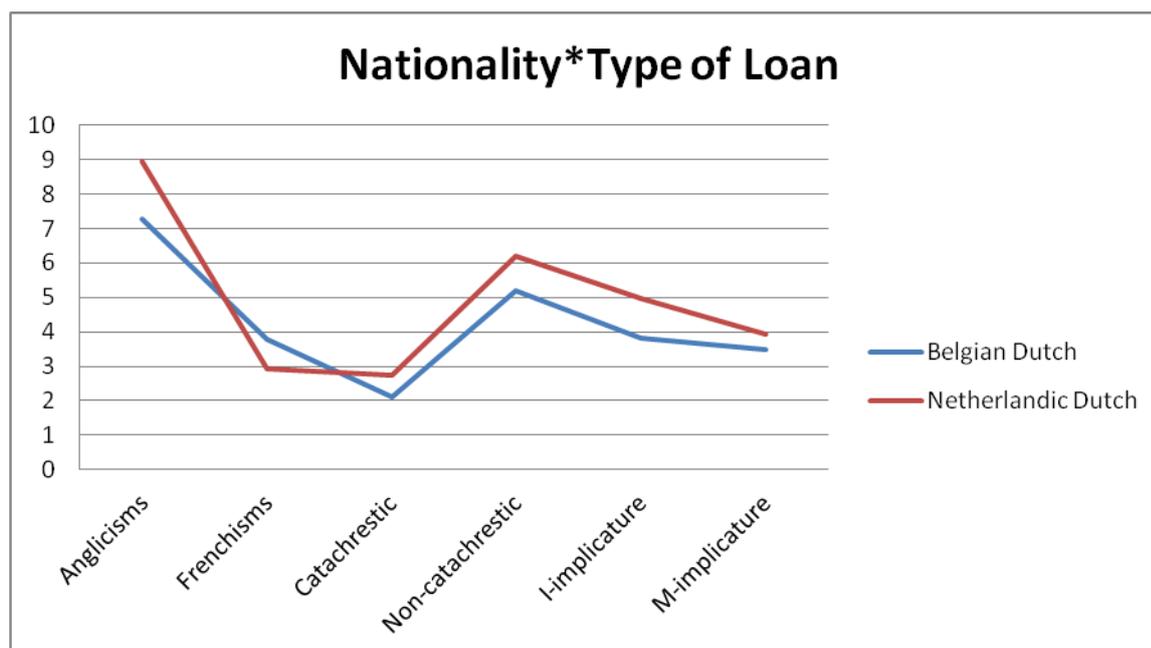


Figure 4.1. The average numbers of different types of loans as used by Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers

4.3. Variables

4.3.1. Age

The age groups were divided into clusters of 15-30, 31-50 and 51-75. In total, 65 speakers were in age group 1, i.e. 15-30, 48 speakers were aged between 31 and 50 and 29 of them were 51 or older. There is a slight difference in distribution for the Dutch speakers and the Belgian speakers; there is roughly the same number of Netherlandic Dutch speakers and Belgian Dutch speakers between the age of 15 and 30, which both hover around 45%, but there are more Netherlandic Dutch speakers between 31-50 and 51-75 than Belgian speakers. The reason for this is that there are more Netherlandic Dutch speakers overall and more older speakers in particular, especially in *Pauw*. The distribution of the speakers and the loans can be found below:

Age group	Speakers Belgium		Anglicisms Belgium		Speakers Netherlands		Anglicisms Netherlands	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
15-30	28	49.1	52	12.8	39	44.3	164	20.6
31-50	20	35.1	238	58.6	29	33	439	55.2
51-75	9	15.8	116	28.6	20	22.7	192	24.2

Table 4.6. Summary of the data concerning the anglicisms uttered by different age groups of different nationalities

The difference between the numbers of speakers per age group and the numbers of the loans they used is not entirely in proportion. Whereas over 44% of the Dutch speakers are aged between 15 and 30, only 20% of all the loanwords are uttered by them. This same discrepancy occurs in the Belgian data. The largest number of anglicisms, by far, is uttered by the middle-aged group of speakers; they make up a third of the sample, but around half of all the anglicisms were uttered by this group. Surprisingly, even the group of older speakers has used proportionally more loans than the youngest speakers.

The significant results of the post-hoc Tukey test will be presented below. The results of the comparisons between the age groups that have been left out of this table can be found in tables 4.3. and 5.3. in appendix B. In the following sections the findings will be discussed.

	Belgian Dutch speakers			Netherlandic Dutch speakers		
	Age		Sig.	Age		Sig.
Anglicisms	15-31	31-50	0.002	15-31	31-50	0.001
		51-75	0.015			
Catachrestic	15-31	31-50	0.004	15-31	31-50	0.017
		51-75	0.000		51-75	0.052
Non-catachrestic	15-31	31-50	0.010	15-31	31-50	0.001
I-Implicature	15-31	31-50	0.004	15-31	31-50	0.007
		51-75	0.000			
M-Implicature	15-31	31-50	0.016	15-31	31-50	0.001

Table 4.7. The significant results of the influence of age and language variety on loanword use

Anglicisms

The averages of the loans as used by the different age groups are as follows:

Loans	Belgium M	Netherlands M
15-30	1.89	4.21
31-50	12.25	14.83
51-75	12.89	9.60

Table 4.8. The average numbers of recorded anglicisms per age group

On average, for speakers of both linguistic variants, the one-way ANOVA pointed out a statistically significant effect of age on the numbers of loanwords used. Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers showed a similar distribution; for both groups, the difference between the youngest and the oldest group of speakers was statistically significant, as well as the difference between the youngest and the middle group. Obviously, looking at the

averages, there is no statistically different result between middle-aged and older speakers; however, the difference between these two groups is far larger for Netherlandic Dutch speakers, where older speakers do use rather few, but not statistically significantly fewer, anglicisms than middle-aged speakers. In fact, Netherlandic Dutch middle-aged speakers use very few anglicisms, even fewer than Belgian Dutch speakers of the same age group, but the t-test between them is not statistically significant ($p = 0.249$). The same goes for older speakers. Younger Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers differed with a statistical significance of $p = 0.001$ in an independent samples t-test.

Interestingly, the nature of the differences between the age groups is that the young speakers used a markedly lower number of loans than middle and older speakers. These results are rather surprising. As Tagliamonte (2009) and Labov (2002) state, the effect is usually reversed; young speakers are normally the ones to use the highest number of loans, followed by middle-aged speakers, with the older speakers trailing behind. My findings clearly contradict this, and this discrepancy will be discussed in further detail in chapter 5.

Catachrestic anglicisms

As for catachrestic anglicisms, these are used with the following frequencies:

Catachrestic	Belgium M	Netherlands M
15-30	0.25	1.31
31-50	3.10	3.93
50-75	5.67	3.80

Table 4.9. The average numbers of recorded catachrestic anglicisms per age group

The age effect for these loans is statistically significant; the one way ANOVA test results can be found in tables 4.2. and 5.2. in Appendix B and in summarised form in table 4.7. in this chapter. The youngest group uses the fewest catachrestic loans and there are also statistically significant differences between the Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch younger speakers. Middle-aged speakers use more catachrestic loans than the young speakers, with a statistically significant post hoc Tukey test result. Belgian Dutch older speakers employ the highest number of catachrestic loans, although this result was not statistically significant for either Belgian Dutch or Netherlandic Dutch speakers. Older Netherlandic Dutch speakers in fact use far fewer catachrestic loans than Belgian Dutch older speakers. Again, looking at what Labov (2002) and Tagliamonte (2009) found, these results for age are very surprising. It also shows that the hypothesis stating that Belgian Dutch speakers use

fewer anglicisms than Netherlandic speakers (see section 2.7) might need to be amended; it is true for younger speakers and middle-aged speakers, but the older speakers do not follow the general trend.

Non-catachrestic anglicisms

Non-catachrestic	Belgium M	Netherlands M
15-30	1.71	2.90
31-50	9.15	10.90
50-75	7.33	5.80

Table 4.10. The average numbers of recorded non-catachrestic anglicisms per age group

The one-way ANOVA test comparing the age groups for their averages of non-catachrestic loans also yielded a statistically significant result, which can be found in tables 4.2. and 5.2. in Appendix B and its summary in table 4.7. in this chapter. Young speakers use the fewest non-catachrestic anglicisms, all contrary to general beliefs and theory. The nationality also makes for a statistically significant result ($p = 0.010$) for young speakers. Netherlandic Dutch middle-aged speakers use more non-catachrestic loans than older speakers, which, in combination with the results for catachrestic loans, shows that older speakers of Netherlandic Dutch are rather more conservative than middle-aged speakers, using more loans that do not have a native equivalent and fewer loans that do. For Belgian Dutch speakers the difference between middle-aged speakers and older speakers is smaller, but otherwise similar to that recorded in Netherlandic Dutch speakers. The reason why this difference is smaller is that Belgian older speakers use more non-catachrestic loans than Netherlandic Dutch older speakers, showing that Belgians might, in this case, be less conservative than Netherlandic Dutch speakers because they seem to prefer anglicisms that do in fact have near-native equivalents.

Anglicisms carrying I-implicature

I-implicature	Belgium M	Netherlands M
15-30	0.86	2.38
31-50	5.55	7.72
50-75	9.11	6.10

Table 4.11. The average numbers of recorded anglicisms with I-implicature per age group

As for the implicature, there was again a significant effect for I-implicature. The youngest Belgian and Netherlandic speakers differ with a statistically significant result of the t-test (table 4.7.), while there are no statistically significant results comparing the middle-aged and older speakers of the different linguistic varieties. Again, following the general trend that has become clear through the other results, but which is surprising taking the literature into account (Tagliamonte, 2009; Labov, 2002), Belgian younger speakers use fewer loans than both middle-aged and older speakers, as the post hoc Tukey test pointed out, but the same test also showed that there is no statistically significant difference between Netherlandic young and old speakers. Belgian Dutch older speakers, on the other hand, use rather more loans carrying I-implicature than middle-aged speakers with the same nationality, and, similar to the results for catachrestic anglicisms, Belgian older speakers also use more anglicisms carrying I-implicature than Netherlandic Dutch older speakers.

Anglicisms carrying M-implicature

M-Implicature	Belgium M	Netherlands M
15-30	1.11	1.82
31-50	6.70	7.03
50-75	3.78	3.50

Table 4.12. The average numbers of recorded anglicisms carrying M-implicature per age group

For loans carrying M-implicature, there is again a statistically significant difference between the three different age groups, with the full results of the one-way ANOVA test presented in tables 4.2. and 5.2. in Appendix B and a summary in table 4.7. in this chapter. Only the difference between the youngest and the middle-aged speakers is large enough to yield a statistically significant result in the post hoc Tukey test; the same pattern that was found in the results concerning the catachresis of the loan is visible in the implicature: older speakers use a higher number of loans carrying I-implicature than middle-aged speakers and a lower number of loans carrying M-implicature. This shows that, although older speakers do not, in my research, use fewer loans in general, they do prefer more ‘conservative’ ones, namely the ones that do not have semantic near-equivalents; this means that older speakers mostly use anglicisms when there is no other choice. Middle-aged speakers use mostly ‘innovative’ loans, anglicisms that do have native equivalents and that are marked. There is, however, no statistically significant difference between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch middle-aged and older speakers, but there is one for younger speakers.

Summarising the findings from this section, the results showed that the average number of loans used by Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch young speakers usually differs enough to yield statistically significant results in t-test. This difference is much smaller for middle-aged and older speakers. Interestingly, Belgian Dutch speakers aged between 51 and 75 in almost all instances use more loans of any type than Netherlandic Dutch speakers; Netherlandic Dutch old speakers are also more conservative than Belgian Dutch old speakers and also more conservative than both groups of middle-aged speakers, using more catachrestic loans and loans carrying I-implicature than middle-aged speakers. A similar pattern can be observed for the Belgian Dutch middle-aged and older speakers, except for catachrestic loans, which older speakers do not use any less than middle-aged speakers. Young speakers utter the lowest number of borrowings in total.

These results are very surprising in relation to the literature as presented in section 2.6.1., mostly since Labov (2002) and Tagliamonte (2009) clearly state that young speakers are certainly the most likely to use anglicisms and that older speakers generally avoid these borrowings. The links between the literature and my own results will be discussed further in chapter 5. Below is a summary of the findings of age and nationality.

	M Belgian			M Netherlandic		
	Young	Middle	Old	Young	Middle	Old
Anglicisms	1.89	12.25	12.89	4.21	14.86	9.60
Frenchisms	0.54	5.75	9.44	0.21	2.83	8.40
Catachrestic	0.25	3.10	5.67	1.31	3.93	3.80
Non-catachrestic	1.71	9.15	7.33	2.90	10.90	5.80
I-implicature	0.86	5.55	9.11	2.38	7.72	6.10
M-implicature	1.11	6.70	3.78	1.82	7.03	3.92

Table 4.13. Summary of the average numbers of different types of loans uttered by different age groups of the two linguistic varieties

The data in this table can be presented in a visual way in the following two charts:

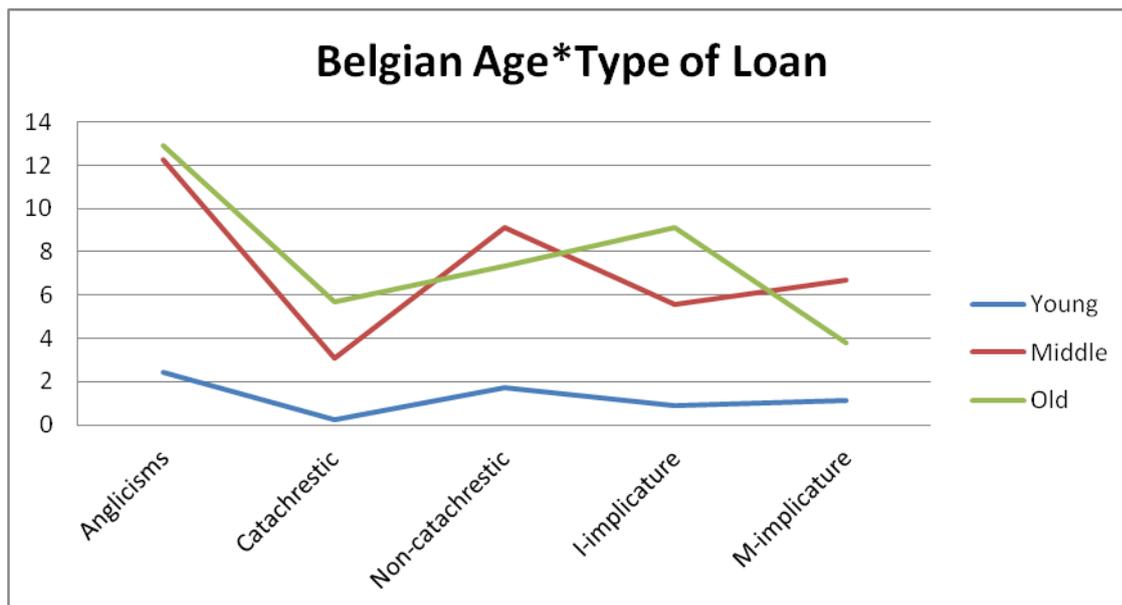


Figure 4.2. The averages of different types of loans across Belgian age groups

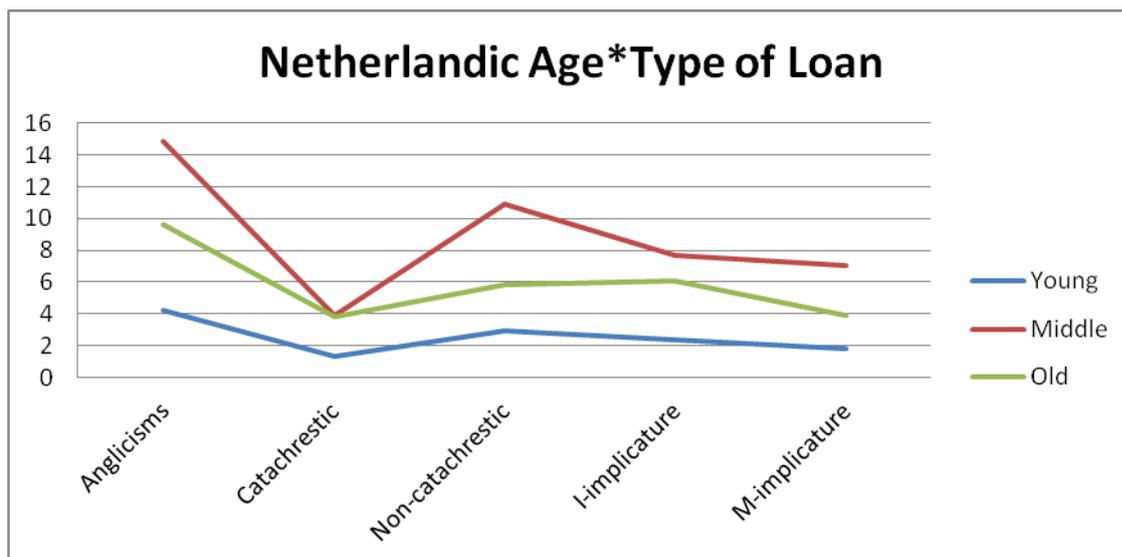


Figure 4.3. The averages of different types of loans across Netherlandic age groups

4.3.2. Gender

Speakers are evenly distributed in terms of gender and are representative of the distribution of men and women in the entire population. There is a slightly higher number of male speakers than the usual 50%; this difference is bigger for the Netherlandic Dutch speakers compared to the Belgian Dutch speakers.

Gender	Speakers Belgium		Loans Belgium		M Belgium	Speakers Netherlands		Loans Netherlands		M Netherlands
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	
Male	30	51.6	268	66	8.93	49	55.7	513	64.5	10.47
Female	27	48.2	138	34	5.41	39	44.3	282	35.5	7.00

Table 4.14. Summary of the data for gender and nationality

The statistically significant findings concerning gender are presented below. A more detailed account of the results, including the insignificant findings, can be found in tables 4.2. and 5.2. in Appendix C.

	Belgian Dutch Speakers			Netherlandic Dutch speakers		
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Anglicisms	1.203	55	0.234	1.303	86	0.196
Catachrestic	2.035	55	0.047	1.992	85.675	0.50
I-implicature	1.719	55	0.091	1.200	86	0.233

Table 4.15. The significant results of the t-test comparing male and female speakers of different nationalities

In order to give the results in the table above, the averages of the male and female Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers will be represented below:

	M Belgian		M Netherlandic	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Anglicisms	8.93	5.41	10.47	7.00
Catachrestic	2.97	1.15	3.47	1.82
Non-C.	6.03	4.30	7.00	5.18
I-implicature	5.00	2.48	5.82	3.95
M-implicature	3.97	2.96	4.63	3.03

Table 4.16. The average numbers of different types of loans as uttered by male and female speakers of different nationalities

The first interesting conclusion that can be drawn based on table 4.16. is that, although none of the differences between Belgian Dutch male and female speakers and Netherlandic Dutch male and female speakers are statistically significant, the differences, though present, are not very large. The second point of discussion is that female speakers, on average, use slightly fewer anglicisms than male speakers. The difference is larger for Netherlandic Dutch speakers than for Belgian Dutch ones, which also explains why the only t-test that yielded a statistically significant result was the one comparing Netherlandic Dutch men and women, although the results for Belgian speakers were almost statistically significant

as well. The same pattern, i.e. that male speakers use a higher number of loans than female speakers, is the same across all types of loans and the t-tests to calculate this give statistically significant results for two of the different types (catachrestic anglicisms and those with M-implicature (table 4.2. and 5.2. in Appendix C). There were no statistically significant test-results for non-catachrestic loans and M-implicature. The numbers in table 4.16. show that the similarity in the averages between male and female speakers is due mostly to the increased averages of the women. This means that, relatively speaking, female speakers use a higher number of non-catachrestic loans and borrowings with M-implicature. These are the more innovative, less justified loans, since they are the ones that do not have native equivalents and that are the least integrated in the language and are the most obtrusive and marked. It seems, then, that female speakers use anglicisms not so much out of need for them, but for prestige.

Interestingly, these slightly contradictory results confirm the findings in the literature as presented in section 2.6.2., where it is generally assumed that women use fewer loans than men (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller, 2009; Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts, 2014), but also that women tend to be more innovative in their language use (Tagliamonte, 2009; Labov, 2001). This will be discussed more in-depth in chapter 5.

In summary, the results for the different linguistic variants across different genders, related to the different types of loans are the following:

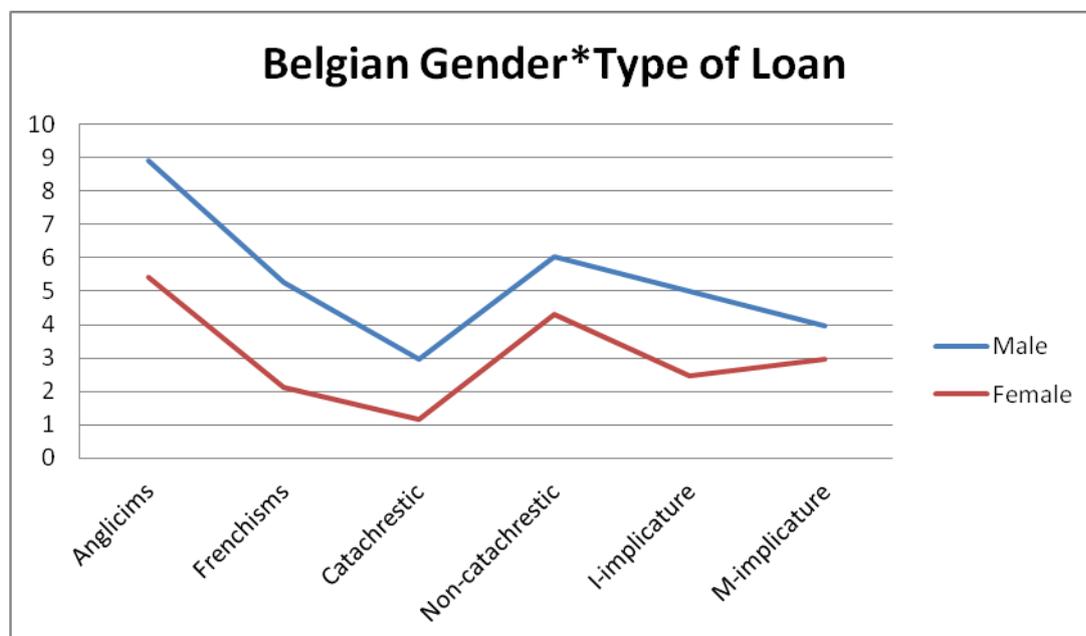


Figure 4.4. Summary of the averages of Belgian male and female speakers across different types of loans

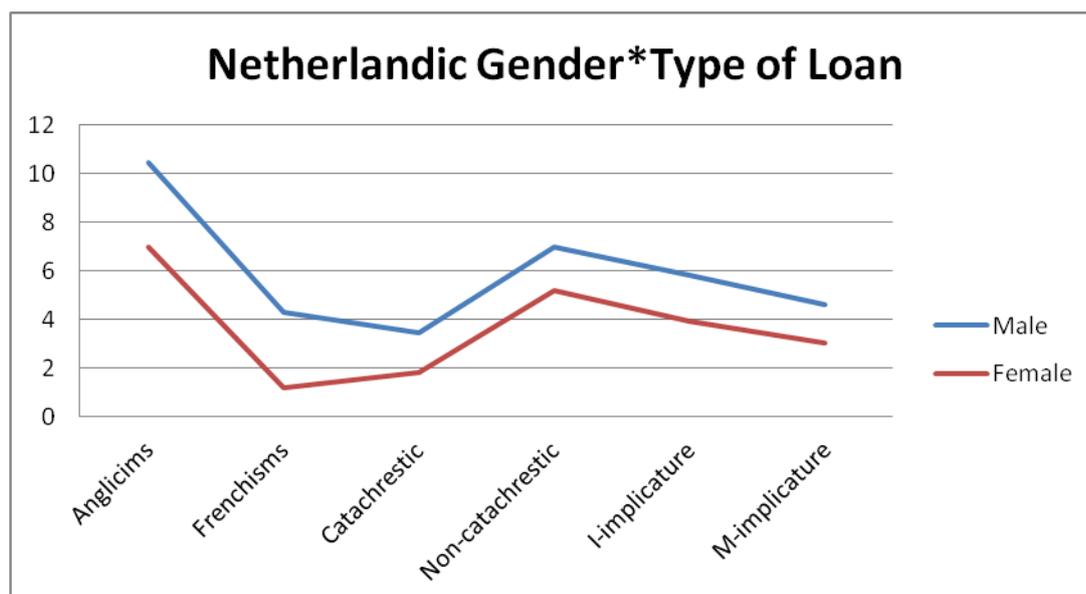


Figure 4.5. Summary of the averages of Netherlandic male and female speakers across different types of loans

4.3.3 The shows

The distribution of the speakers and the anglicisms they uttered in the different shows are represented below and can also be found in tables 1.1. and 1.2. in Appendix D:

Show	Speakers		Anglicisms		Anglicisms M
	N	%	N	%	
Reyers Laat	17	11.7	203	16.9	11.82
Pauw	29	20.4	189	15.7	6.52
The Voice van Vlaanderen	40	28.2	237	19.7	5.95
The voice of Holland	55	37.9	519	43.2	9.44
Sports Flemish	2	1.4	18	1.5	9.00
Sports Dutch	2	1.4	35	2.9	17.50

Table 4.17. Summary of data Show

As for the numbers of speakers per show, *The Voice of Holland* has the largest number of speakers, since there were so many participants who competed in the show, followed by *The Voice van Vlaanderen*, with *Pauw* on the third place and *Reyers Laat* as fourth. The cycling match Liège-Bastogne-Liège comes last, both for the Flemish and the Dutch version, because both have only two commentators for each. As for the total number of anglicisms used per show, they follow almost the same pattern, although here *Pauw* comes before *The Voice van Vlaanderen*; this means that a Dutch adult talk show contains more loanwords than a Flemish talent show, which contradicts the assumption in the literature that more loanwords

are found in the entertainment sector than in the news, with talk shows like *Pauw* and *Reyers Laet* somewhere in the middle. The sports shows are also low on both speakers and loanwords (Ammon, Dittmar & Matheier, 2006). This distribution of speakers and loans leads to an average frequency of loans per show where the Dutch sports programme actually has the most, followed by the Flemish sports. The next show is *Reyers Laet*, followed by *Pauw* and *The Voice of Holland* and *The Voice van Vlaanderen* come last. This, however, is also a result of the fact that these last two shows have a large number of speakers who have very little screen time, so they do not have the time to utter many loans.

Results

As was done to describe the use of loanwords for the different age groups and genders, the results for the different shows will be split up into different types of loans, namely the total number of anglicisms, catachrestic anglicisms, non-catachrestic ones, anglicisms with I-implicature and those with M-implicature. The averages of these are as follows:

	Reyers Laet	Pauw	The Voice van Vlaanderen	The Voice of Holland	Sports Flemish	Sports Dutch
Anglicisms	11.82	6.52	5.95	9.45	9	17.50
Catachrestic	5.24	2.07	0.88	2.67	4.00	11.00
Non-C.	6.59	4.45	5.15	6.76	5.00	6.50
I-imp.	8.35	3.93	2.08	5.00	5.50	15.50
M-impl.	3.47	2.55	3.93	4.42	3.50	2.00

Table 4.18. Summary of the averages numbers of different types of loans per show

These results can be summarised in the following chart:

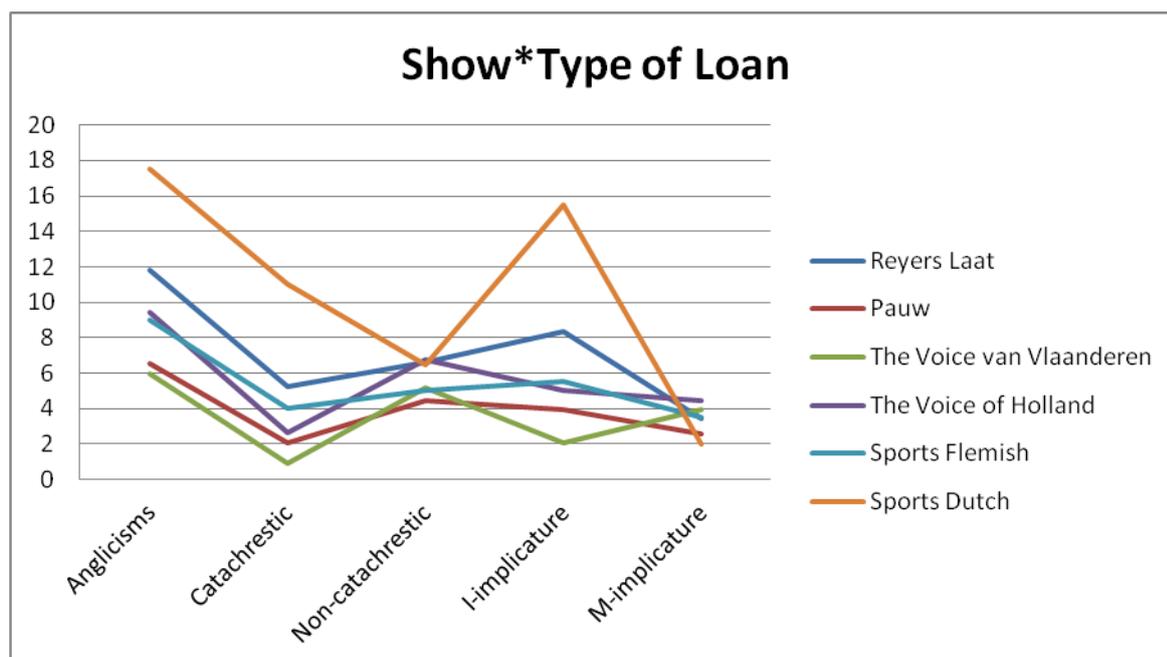


Figure 4.6. The results for the average numbers of different types of loans uttered in each show

The statistically significant results of the one-way ANOVA that was conducted, along with the post hoc Tukey test will be represented below and then discussed in the remainder of this chapter. For the other results, see tables 2.1-2.3. in Appendix D.

	Show	Show	Sig.
Catachrestic	Reyers Laat	Pauw	0.039
	Reyers Laat	The Voice van Vlaanderen	0.000
	Reyers Laat	The Voice of Holland	0.092
	Pauw	Sports Dutch	0.008
	The Voice van Vlaanderen	Sports Dutch	0.001
	The Voice of Holland	Sports Dutch	0.014
	I-Implicature	Reyers Laat	The Voice van Vlaanderen
The Voice van Vlaanderen		Sports Dutch	0.048

Table 4.19. The statistically significant results comparing the different shows

The talk shows

The full results of the tests presented in table 4.19 above that the following discussion is based on can be found in tables 2.1.-2.3. in Appendix D. The first two related shows, *Reyers Laat* and *Pauw* are both talk shows discussing current affairs and presenting news. As the research presented section 3.3. by Ammon, Dittmar & Mattheier (2006) shows, this type of shows are the field where fewer loanwords are expected. In addition, *Pauw* and *Reyers Laat* are also more high-brow than, for instance, the talent shows *The Voice of Holland* and

The Voice van Vlaanderen, which also results in a different distribution of the different types of borrowings. Strangely, the shows *Reyers Laat* and *Pauw* show a pattern that is the opposite of everything that has been found so far. Seeing as *Reyers Laat* is Belgian and *Pauw* is Dutch, the fact that *Reyers Laat* contains more loans in all categories, is very unusual. So far, Belgian Dutch speakers have used fewer loans than Netherlandic Dutch speakers, with the only exception being French loans. Closer analysis of the averages also shows that the speakers in *Reyers Laat* in fact use fewer frenchisms than those in *Pauw*. On top of that, Belgian Dutch speakers also do not show the more innovative loanword pattern that was found earlier (sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2.), whereas Belgian Dutch speakers were found to have a preference for non-catachrestic loans and those with M-implicature in comparison with Netherlandic Dutch speakers. Rather, the speakers in *Reyers Laat* adhere to the average pattern found in section 4.2.4. with slightly more non-catachrestic loans than catachrestic ones, and rather fewer loans carrying M-implicature than I-implicature.

In fact, the speakers in *Reyers Laat* show a distribution of different types of loans that is very similar to how borrowings are patterned for Netherlandic Dutch speakers, with high numbers of anglicisms, low numbers of frenchisms and not exceptionally high numbers of non-catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms carrying M-implicature. Two speakers that appear in *Reyers Laat* are, in fact, Netherlandic Dutch speakers, but the rest are actually Belgian. Also illustrative of the closeness of Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch borrowing behaviour is that there are no statistically significant differences between *Pauw* and *Reyers Laat* in the post hoc Tukey test. It seems, then, that the standardisation of Flemish as described by Jaspers and Van Hoof (2013) has been more successful in an environment where the target audience has a higher education.

The talent shows

The talent shows, *The Voice of Holland* and *The Voice van Vlaanderen* contain a lower number of loans than *Reyers Laat* and *Pauw*, which contradicts the idea posed by Ammon, Dittmar and Matheier (2006) that the entertainment sector contains a higher number of loans than more serious entertainment of the talk show type such as *Reyers Laat* and *Pauw*. This is illustrated very well by the fact that there are statistically significant differences where the Tukey test points out that *Reyers Laat* contains a significantly higher number of frenchisms, catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms carrying I-implicature than *The Voice of Vlaanderen*. This shows that the news shows contain more loans of different types than the talent shows, but that they are also more conservative in their use of borrowings, with a

statistically significant difference between catachrestic loans and loans with I-implicature, but not between non-catachrestic loans and M-implicature, which means that the talent shows have a preference for these last two types, the more innovative ones. On the other hand, the Dutch shows *Pauw* and *The Voice of Holland* show a different distribution; *The Voice of Holland* contains higher numbers of all types of anglicisms; the only category where *Pauw* contains more loans are the frenchisms. This means that, here, Ammon, Dittmar and Matheier's (2006) conclusions still stand.

There is, however, a problem with the comparison between the news shows and the talent shows, relating to the screen time of the speakers; since there are so many speakers in *The Voice* who have only very little screen time, there are many speakers who in total only utter around four anglicisms because they do not have time to say more. This problem will be discussed in section 5.3. The speakers in *The Voice of Holland* use more anglicisms of any type than those in *Pauw*, although there are no statistically significant results. This means that here, Ammon, Dittmar and Mattheier (2006) are indeed right, but that the difference is too small to be very meaningful. The speakers of *The Voice van Vlaanderen*, on the other hand, employ generally fewer anglicisms of any type than the speakers in *Reyers Laat*, with a statistically significant difference for catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms carrying I-implicature. This says more about the high number of loans in *Reyers Laat* than the low number of loans in *The Voice van Vlaanderen*, because the latter show contains similar numbers of anglicisms as *The Voice of Holland*, only fewer, though not with a statistical significance. Other than that, the speakers in *The Voice van Vlaanderen* are the only group of speakers that is reviewed in this paper who use more loans carrying M-implicature than those with I-implicature.

Sports shows

As for the sports shows, a result that can be expected when looking at the numbers in table 4.18. is that the averages for the Dutch commentators produce statistically significant results based on the one way ANOVA, which indeed they do. The post hoc Tukey test shows that this version of the cycling match was almost always significantly different from all other shows concerning catachrestic loans and those with I-implicature.

There are no statistically significant differences between the Belgian Dutch and the Netherlandic Dutch commentary tracks as computed by the post hoc Tukey test, although the averages clearly show a considerably higher number of anglicisms in the Dutch version than in the Belgian one. The same goes for the average differences between the two versions in

terms of catachrestic anglicisms and those carrying I-implicature are very large, there are no statistically significant effects. Interestingly, the Belgian version does not contain a very much higher number of non-catachrestic loans than the Netherlandic version. This means that, between catachrestic and non-catachrestic loans, the Netherlandic Dutch sports commentators seem to have a fairly strong preference for catachrestic loans over non-catachrestic ones, but that the Belgian Dutch sports experts do not do this. The same pattern can be observed in the implicature, where the Dutch sports commentators use much more loans carrying I-implicature, than those with M-implicature. The Belgian commentators also use more anglicisms with I-implicature, which is the usual pattern, but employing a lower number of loans carrying I-implicature and a higher number of those with M-implicature. Again, as already showed in section 4.3.1 on age, Belgian Dutch speakers tend to use more marked forms that have native equivalents than Netherlandic Dutch speakers.

5. Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

This paper had as its aim to compare and describe the anglicism use between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers. In order to do this, all the anglicisms that were used in six television shows of three different genres, each with a Belgian and a Dutch version were recorded and analysed for linguistic properties such as catachresis and implicature and two sociolinguistic variables, namely gender and age. This research has led to answers to the questions that were posed in section 2.7.; these answers will be presented in the following chapter.

5.2. Main findings

5.2.1. Anglicisms versus frenchisms

The literature presented in section 2.4. showed that the use of anglicisms for Belgian speakers depends on their use of frenchisms because the eradication of frenchisms as described by Jaspers and Van Hoof (2013) could lead to either a decrease in the number of anglicisms, assuming that the purist tendencies of Belgian Dutch speakers show in relation to frenchisms could be extended to anglicisms. Or, on the other hand, the removal of frenchisms from the Belgian Dutch language could leave the language with holes that would need to be filled with new words, for instance, anglicisms. The sources that were presented in section 2.3., however, show that Belgian Dutch speakers have a lower English proficiency than Netherlandic Dutch speakers (EF, 2014), which, according to Field (2002), is a factor that facilitates borrowing. Belgian Dutch speakers also start learning English at a later age than Netherlandic Dutch speakers; English is only the second most important foreign language in Belgium, after French, instead of the first, as it is in the Netherlands. This information has led to the formation of the hypothesis that Belgian Dutch speakers would use fewer anglicisms and more frenchisms than Netherlandic Dutch speakers.

As the results in sections 4.2.1. and 4.2.2. reveal, the Belgian speakers do indeed use fewer anglicisms than Netherlandic speakers (on average respectively 7.26 against 8.94), but this difference was not large enough to yield a statistically significant result. Aside from the statistical tests, however, the Belgian speakers' lower averages of anglicisms are very consistent and systematic, because they occur in each type of anglicism (catachrestic, non-catachrestic, I-implicature and M-implicature) and across nearly all groups of speakers. Two interesting exceptions to this rule are older speakers of Belgian Dutch, who have a

consistently higher average of anglicisms than the same age group of Netherlandic Dutch speakers. This is entirely contradictory to the literature (Sankoff, Poplack & Miller, 2009; Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts, 2014) which states that older speakers usually use the fewest borrowings of any kind. The implications of this will be further discussed in section 5.2.3. There is one other group of Belgian Dutch speakers that has a surprisingly high average for anglicisms; these are the speakers who appear on the talk show *Reyers Laat*, where all types of anglicisms are more frequent than in the Dutch talk show *Pauw*. Another interesting observation related to the speakers in *Reyers Laat* is that they use fewer frenchisms than the speakers in *Pauw*. This is unusual, since the findings in section 4.2.2., 4.3.1. and 4.3.2. show a higher average of frenchisms for Belgian Dutch speakers than for Netherlandic Dutch speakers. First of all, this shows that the influence of French in Belgium as described by de Vries (2007) has indeed been substantial. My findings also suggest, however, that the eradication of frenchisms from the Belgian Dutch language has not been as rigorous as Jaspers and Van Hoof (2013) claim. Their article, which illustrates how many frenchisms in Belgian Dutch have been replaced with newly invented or very old Dutch words, led to the hypothesis in section 2.7. that Netherlandic Dutch speakers would use more frenchisms than Belgian Dutch speakers. This part of the hypothesis, however, can now be rejected based on the findings of this research. The other part of the hypothesis, stating that anglicisms are more frequent in Netherlandic Dutch than in Belgium Dutch, can be tentatively confirmed.

5.2.2. Catachresis and implicature

The following two questions, concerning the frequency of catachrestic anglicisms and the implicature of anglicisms can be answered together. There is no statistically significant difference in the distribution of catachrestic and non-catachrestic anglicisms between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers. Both groups of speakers used roughly one third catachrestic anglicisms and two thirds non-catachrestic ones. There is a small, but statistically insignificant, difference in the distribution of anglicisms carrying I-implicature and those with M-implicature between the two groups of speakers; Belgian Dutch speakers use relatively fewer loans carrying I-implicature than Netherlandic Dutch speakers and slightly more anglicisms with M-implicature. This is a pattern that can also be observed in the findings concerning age and gender, and which shows that Belgian Dutch speakers tend to use more non-catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms carrying M-implicature than Netherlandic Dutch

speakers, using more anglicisms that do have a native equivalent in Dutch and also employ a higher average of marked anglicisms.

The findings discussed here show that the first hypothesis, stating that Netherlandic Dutch speakers would use relatively more non-catachrestic anglicisms and fewer catachrestic ones than Belgian Dutch speakers can be rejected, because there was virtually no difference. The hypothesis stating that Netherlandic Dutch speakers would use relatively more anglicisms carrying M-implicature and fewer anglicisms carrying I-implicature than Belgian Dutch speakers can also be carefully rejected, because, as it turns out, Belgian Dutch speakers seem to have a slight preference for marked anglicisms as opposed to the unmarked ones carrying I-implicature.

A note can also be made on how my findings relate to those of Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011), who defined the framework I have used. My findings concerning catachresis overlap exactly with those of Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011, p. 1557), who also found one third catachrestic anglicisms and two thirds of non-catachrestic ones. However, they also state that in their analysis (p. 1557), most catachrestic loans carry I-implicature and most non-catachrestic loans carry M-implicature. The results in my research, however, show that this is not the case in my corpus, because roughly half of all the anglicisms carry I-implicature and the other half carry M-implicature. This means that there is a fairly large number of the non-catachrestic anglicisms that carry I-implicature. These are anglicisms that do have native equivalents, but where the loan is equally or even more used than the native variant. Think, for instance, of the famous example *rekenaar* for *computer*, where *rekenaar* is a Dutch equivalent for the anglicism *computer*, but is very marked in Dutch. This discrepancy between might have arisen because there are fewer cases like *computer* and *rekenaar* in German, which was the main focus of Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) than in Dutch. On the basis of this research, however, no straight-forward answer can be given to this question, and more research could perhaps point out what caused this difference.

5.2.3. Age

Moving on to the sociolinguistic variables, an interesting pattern has emerged for both age and gender. According to the literature presented in section 2.6.1. (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller, 2009; Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts, 2014), younger speakers use loanwords most frequently, especially anglicisms. They are followed by middle-aged speakers, but older speakers seem to avoid using anglicisms most of the time. The hypothesis concerning age in

section 2.7., which is based on this prediction, must be rejected, however, because my results are almost the exact opposite of what is suggested in the above-mentioned sources. As the results in section 4.3.1. show, the younger speakers in my sample use the fewest anglicisms of all, with an average of 2.43 in Belgium and 4.41 in the Netherlands. In the overall results, they are followed by the middle-aged speakers who use a higher number of anglicisms, with on average 17.60 in Belgium and 17.69 in the Netherlands. Even more surprising, however, are the numbers for the older speakers: Belgian Dutch speakers between 51 and 75 years old used on average 22.33 loans and Netherlandic Dutch speakers of the same age had an average of 18 loans per person in all the television shows that were used. This is the exact opposite of the results that were found by Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (2009) and Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2014).

As for the distribution across different types of loans, the middle-aged group and the older group differed. The Netherlandic Dutch middle-aged speakers generally scored higher on anglicisms, non-catachrestic anglicisms, and anglicisms carrying M-implicature than older speakers, but this pattern was absent or reversed for Belgian Dutch speakers.

These findings confirm the hypothesis that older speakers use more ‘conservative’, i.e. catachrestic anglicisms carrying I-implicature. However, for Belgian speakers, this hypothesis must be rejected because the differences between the middle-aged and older speakers are too small or the opposite of the results of the loanword use of Netherlandic Dutch speakers.

A possible explanation for the borrowing behaviour of the older speakers of Belgian Dutch can be found in looking at individual cases. There was a total of nine speakers in this group; all of them were male, which according to Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2014) already causes an increase in loanword use, as men use more anglicisms than women. Second of all, five of these nine speakers have a university degree, which suggests that education may have had an influence on their borrowing behaviour. Also, one of these five speakers is Lieven van Gils, who is the presenter of the show and who leads the discussions, so he had much screen time and he used a considerable amount of 66 loanwords, many more than other speakers. 51 of the loanwords uttered by van Gils were anglicisms, which also contributes to the high average. Furthermore, three of the Belgian Dutch older speakers are sportsmen, and according to Ammon, Dittmar and Mattheier (2006), this also heightens the chance of anglicisms, because, as these authors state, more anglicism can be expected in sports than in most other genres. The ninth speaker of this group is a participant of *The Voice van Vlaanderen*. What this means is that this groups of speakers is a small one, and consists of

speakers who are not entirely representative of the real population. These results should therefore be treated with care.

5.2.4. Gender

As for gender, the literature painted a seemingly contradictory picture of the borrowing behaviour of speakers of different genders. Labov (2001) states that in general, women are the frontrunners of change, using more innovative forms than men. More specifically, Labov claims that women use more innovative forms in a change that speakers are as yet unaware of, but also when the speakers do know about the change and when there are two forms and the new form is seen as more prestigious. If a new form is stigmatised, women tend to avoid it more than men (Labov, 2001). Along these lines, it is also generally assumed that women prefer to use a more standard form of language (Cameron, 2003). Based on this, the hypothesis was formed that women use fewer loanwords than men. This hypothesis can now be confirmed, because as my research has pointed out, women do not use many loanwords, staying behind in their total numbers of loans. Belgian women have an average number of anglicisms of 5.41 as compared to 8.93 for men, while Dutch men and women have the same distribution, where women use on average 7 anglicisms and men 10.47. The hypothesis that female speakers use fewer anglicisms than male speakers can then be confirmed, although it must be added that it is not true for non-catachrestic anglicisms and those carrying M-implicature. For these are two types of anglicisms, the difference between male and female speakers is not statistically significant, and these were non-catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms carrying M-implicature. Men, on the whole, still use more non-catachrestic anglicisms than women, and the same goes for loans carrying M-implicature, but these differences are not large enough to yield statistically significant results, whereas all the other types of anglicisms do. Relatively speaking, then, women use more non-catachrestic loans and loans carrying M-implicature than men. This means that, on the whole, women use fewer loans, but when they do use them, female speakers prefer innovative types of loans more than male speakers do. This is an observation that has, to my knowledge, not been made before in other literature and is therefore a good point for further research.

5.2.5. Shows

There is no research question concerning the differences between the different genres of television shows, but some small-scale research has been conducted on the background in

order to test the assumption that entertainment shows and sports contain more anglicisms than programmes that deal with current affairs (Ammon, Dittmar & Mattheier, 2006).

In my research, no statistically significant results were found between the shows of the same type produced in different countries. The results concerning the different shows did, however, show that there are differences between different genres, as was posed in the literature (Ammon, Dittmar & Mattheier 2006). As expected, the Dutch news show *Pauw* (6.52 anglicisms on average) contained fewer anglicisms than *The Voice of Holland* (9.44). However, the pattern was reversed for the Belgian Dutch shows; *Reyers Laat* (11.82 anglicisms on average per speaker), it turns out, contains more anglicisms than *The Voice van Vlaanderen* (5.95). As was already mentioned in section 5.2.1., *Reyers Laat* shows a very different pattern from what the results concerning Belgian Dutch speakers have shown so far. *Reyers Laat* contains more anglicisms, fewer frenchisms, and also fewer non-catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms carrying M-implicature; unlike other results, the borrowing behaviour of speakers in *Reyers Laat* does not reflect the historical influence of French in Belgium as clearly, and it also lacks the innovative behaviour that was observed in the Belgian Dutch speakers' general slight preference for non-catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms carrying M-implicature. In fact, the distribution of different types of loans that *Reyers Laat* shows resembles an exaggerated image of Netherlandic Dutch borrowing behaviour, with many anglicisms, few frenchisms, and a slight preference for conservative anglicisms. The image is exaggerated because the speakers in *Reyers Laat* use rather more of each type of loan than the speakers in *Pauw*. These results are very striking; one explanation for these unusual findings is that *Reyers Laat*, with fewer speakers (seventeen) and a higher total number of anglicisms (203) than *Pauw* (29 speakers and 189 anglicisms) would naturally have a higher average of anglicisms. If this is the case, screen time would be a more important determiner of anglicism frequency than the variety of Dutch the speaker uses. Another explanation is that the speakers appearing in *Reyers Laat* generally have a fairly high education. Another possible explanation for the Dutch-like pattern of anglicisms that the speakers appearing on *Reyers Laat* speakers show is that the standardisation as described by Jaspers and Van Hoof (2013). The authors state that Belgian Dutch speakers try to make their language use more like that of standard Dutch speakers. This process of standardisation might be executed with more success by people with a higher education. Indeed, Jaspers and Van Hoof (2013) state that this standardisation is mostly promoted by educated persons (p. 352). The hyperstandardisation described in the same article, where Belgian Dutch speakers' language becomes more Dutch than that Standard Dutch (p. 344), would also explain why the

speakers in *Reyers Laat* use more anglicisms than those in *Pauw* and not as many non-catachrestic anglicisms with M-implicature as other groups of Belgian Dutch speakers whose borrowing behaviour was studied in this paper. Contradicting this assumption, however, is the fact that it was also the higher educated people who were most ardently opposed to foreignisms (pp. 334-5), so in that case, the speakers in *Reyers Laat* would have to speak a 'purer' Dutch than they do.

Finally, the results of the cycling match also confirm Ammon, Dittmar and Mattheier's (2006) idea that sports games contain more loanwords than other types of shows. The results for these shows also show that Netherlandic Dutch speakers have a strong preference for catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms carrying I-implicature, but that the Belgian Dutch speakers differ in this. This coincides with the earlier findings discussed in section 5.2.3. where older speakers of Belgian Dutch turned out to be less conservative than Netherlandic Dutch older speakers. These results apply to the sports matches as well, because all commentators were around sixty years old, and are thus part of the older speaker group.

5.3. Limitations

There are several points where my research has not been able to address all the issues that arose, or where my methodology turned out to be lacking and caused problems and which I, due to time and space constraints, could not address in more detail.

First of all, the sample of speakers selected for my corpus (145) is too small to be able to reliably generalise to the entire population. This could be solved by conducting more research with bigger samples that are more representative.

A problem that already arose in section 5.2 is the point of screen time. This problem has skewed some of the results and has caused a very low average of anglicisms for younger speakers and a very high average for sports commentators. What happened here is that the younger speakers mostly occurred in the talent shows *The Voice of Holland* and *The Voice van Vlaanderen*, but they were all participants, and were therefore only given around ninety seconds of screen time for their performance, with a short introduction and the choice of the team they want to join. Because of this very limited screen time, most young speakers have only had time to utter not more than four loans. There were some extreme cases of language with a high loanword incidence, where one speaker uttered up to twelve loans, but mostly these speakers were very limited in what they could say, so the results cannot truly be generalised to the entire population. A solution here would be to find a show that has a Dutch and a Belgian version where young people are the focal point of the programme and get a

considerable amount of screen time. As for the older speakers, the speakers that were included in my research in the Belgian Dutch older speakers group were not really representative of the regular population either, because three of them were sportsmen and five others had university degrees. The inclusion of a show like *Benidorm Bastards*, which features older people from the regular population, and also older people than appear in my sample, might help the research.

A similar solution needs to be found for the sports shows, since both of these only featured two speakers who spoke most of the time, which is the reason why these shows have extremely high average numbers of loans. This problem would be difficult to solve, however, since sports shows generally do not feature very large numbers of speakers, because in most cases, only the commentators are present.

5.4. Implications for further research

Research that would be an interesting and relevant addition to mine would be the inclusion of written texts as well as spoken discourse to see if the assumption made in section 2.5.3. that spoken texts contain more loans is actually correct. Also, to make the research more complete, a full transcript of all the episodes in the corpus could be made to calculate the percentage of utterances that include loans. Another addition that could be made is to count all the instances where a loan could have been used but was not, which is something I noticed several times in especially *Reyers Laat*, where the word *ploeg* was often used for *team* and *magerzucht* for *anorexia*. This is relevant, because with this information, the number of actual loanwords could be compared to the number of words that could have been loanwords but were native equivalents, which could shed more light on when loanwords are used and why. Something else that needs further research is the effect of education on anglicism use, especially in Belgium, since the speakers in *Reyers Laat*, who are generally well-educated, seem to use rather anglicisms than less educated speakers. The effect is not as strong in the Netherlands.

5.5. Conclusion

All in all, this paper confirms that Belgian Dutch speakers systematically use fewer loans than Netherlandic Dutch speakers, but that the difference is not statistically significant and the types of loanwords used do not differ considerably, although older speakers of Belgian Dutch used more non-catachrestic anglicisms and anglicisms carrying M-implicature

than older speakers of Netherlandic Dutch, but this effect was absent in other age groups. In general, female speakers also use more non-catachrestic anglicisms carrying M-implicature than male speakers, but there are no statistically significant results for the differences in gender between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch speakers.

What this thesis has also shown is that English is truly very present in both Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch, although it is still more present in the Netherlands, where it is more tolerated and more important in education, which has resulted in a higher English proficiency in the Netherlands than in Belgium. In combination with the more linguistically tolerant nature of Netherlandic Dutch speakers, this has led to a higher frequency of anglicisms in the Netherlands than in Belgium. The question is, however, if the gap between the anglicism frequency between the two groups of speakers is closing; Belgian Dutch speakers are already more innovative in their choice of loanwords than Netherlandic Dutch speakers and older speakers are so in particular. Speakers in the high-brow Belgian talk show *Reyers Laat* in fact conform more to the expected Dutch borrowing profile – many anglicisms, few frenchisms, many catachrestic anglicisms carrying I-implicature – than Netherlandic Dutch speakers. It would be very interesting to return to this topic in a few years' time and see if the frequency and use of anglicisms of Belgian Dutch speakers has shifted closer to that of Netherlandic speakers, and, also, if the borrowing behaviour of Netherlandic Dutch speakers has remained the same.

The Netherlands and Belgium are neighbouring countries with speakers that speak different varieties of the same language. The two varieties are not so far apart as to be mutually unintelligible, but the lexical differences are present, as are differences in borrowing patterns, which are certainly worth exploring further as they reveal relevant linguistic information related to the intriguing differences between two otherwise seemingly very similar speech communities.

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