'Arme rijke taal'

Audiovisual Translation
and
Minority Language Planning
in
Pluricentric Language Areas

A case study of
Flemish Public Service
Broadcasting

R. De Ridder

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Flemish Public Service Broadcasting

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Presented for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work, that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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List of Abbreviations

ABC islands	Group of islands in the Caribbean comprising *Aruba*, *Bonaire*, and *Curaçao*
ANW	Algemeen Nederlands Woordenboek
BD	Belgian Dutch
BE	Belgium (country code)
BHF	Belgischer Hör- und Fernsehfunk
<BN>	label "Belgisch Nederlands" in Prisma dictionary
BRF	Belgisches Rundfunk- und Fernsehzentrum der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft
BRT	Belgische Radio- en Televisieomroep
BRTN	Belgische Radio- en Televisieomroep Nederlandstalige uitzendingen
CLVV	Commissie voor Lexicografische Vertaalvoorzieningen
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
DE	German (language code)
EBU	European Broadcasting Union
EN	English (language code)
FR	French (language code)
INR	Institut National de Radiodiffusion
ITV	Independent Television
KWIC	Key Word In Context
LLH score	log-likelihood score
NBG	Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap
ND	Netherlandic Dutch
NIR	Nationaal Instituut voor de Radio-omroep
NL	The Netherlands (country code); Dutch (language code)
<NN>	label "Nederlands Nederlands" in Prisma dictionary
NOS	Nederlandse Omroep Stichting
OCMW	Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn
OCR	Optical Character Recognition
OM	Openbaar Ministerie
POS	Part Of Speech
RBBN	Referentiebestand Belgisch-Nederlands
RBN	Referentiebestand Nederlands
RTB	Radio-Télévision Belge
RTBF	Radio-Télévision Belge de la Communauté française
SMG	Scottish Media Group Productions
SOCO	Scenes of Crime Officer
SoNaR	Stevin Nederlandstalig Referentiecorpus
SSS islands	Group of islands in the Caribbean comprising *Sint Maarten, Saba*, and *Sint Eustatius*
STEVIN	Spraak- en Taaltechnologische Essentiële Voorzieningen in het Nederlands
STV	Scottish Television
TR	Technische Recherche
TST-centrale	Taal- en Spraaktechnologiecentrale
UNASUR	Unión de Naciones Suramericanas
UTF-8	Universal Character Set with 8-bit Transformation Format
VD	Van Dale dictionary
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie
VRT	Vlaamse Radio- en Televisie omroeporganisatie
VTM	Vlaamse Televisie Maatschappij
WSBN	Woordenboek van de Surinaamse Bijdrage aan het Nederlands

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Reglindis De Ridder: *'Arme rijke taal'. Audiovisual Translation and Minority Language Planning in Pluricentric Language Areas.*
A case study of Flemish Public Service Broadcasting.

This dissertation explores the language-planning role of audiovisual translation through a case study of Flemish public service broadcasting (VRT). Since its establishment, VRT has been a significant language-planning agent for the Dutch language in Belgium ('Flemish'). Areas, like Belgium, where a smaller or minority language is spoken generally rely more on translation than major language areas do. The written standard, therefore, is disseminated to a significant extent through translated, rather than original texts. Subtitles in many such language areas have become significant disseminators of the written standard and can be an underestimated language-planning tool. This dissertation investigates the use of marked Belgian Dutch lexis in VRT's television subtitles over a fifteen-year period and compares it to the common practice in both original and translated Dutch-language fiction. The Dutch written standard, shared by Belgium and the Netherlands in Europe, is still an exclusively Netherlandic Dutch standard, particularly, in translated texts. VRT's general language policy, since the late 1990s, has gradually become more open to the use of its own national variety. By means of a diachronic analysis of a representative corpus of subtitles, the extent to which this Belgian variety has recently been used specifically in subtitles is investigated. If VRT increasingly includes Belgian Dutch words and phrases in its subtitles, this practice could provide a counterbalance to the on-going purist approach of the transnational Dutch publishing industry. This could mean that VRT, through its subtitles, is now contributing to the development of a richer, more inclusive Dutch written standard, reflecting the diversity of Dutch with all its national varieties (Netherlandic, Belgian, Surinam, and Caribbean Dutch). This research yields original data in relation to the use and dissemination of Belgian Dutch variants in Belgium, and in doing so illustrates the language-planning scope and effects of audiovisual media and subtitles, in general.

0. A few words on terminology

0.1. 'Flemish', 'Flemings', and 'Flanders'

In the very first line of his book entitled *Het Verhaal van het Vlaams* [The Story of Flemish] (2003), Roland Willemyns (2003, p.7) is quick to explain that the use of the word 'Vlaams' [Flemish] in his title is provocative. It was the first time a book on the history of Dutch was published that focused on the 'Southern Netherlands', which roughly corresponds to the present-day Belgian part of the Dutch language area. From the 19th century onwards, the variety of Dutch used in this part of the language area has been popularly called 'Vlaams' [Flemish] (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). This popular term, however, is not used in academia. For this reason, its literal English translation 'Flemish' is not used here either. Unlike 'Belgian Dutch', the term 'Flemish' may create the erroneous impression that it is a distinct Germanic language, rather than the Belgian national variety of Dutch.[1] Bruce C. Donaldson also explains in his *Dutch: a linguistic history of Holland [i.e. the Netherlands] and Belgium* (1983) that the Belgian variety of Dutch is indeed still Dutch:

> The most common and only official designation for Dutch in the language itself is Nederlands. [...] During the last few years, there has been a concerted effort in Belgium to replace the word Vlaams in all official titles and correspondence by the word Nederlands, reinforcing the idea that there is in fact no distinction between Nederlands and Vlaams. (Donaldson 1983, p.5)

What is more, the term 'Vlaams' [Flemish] is often laden with derogatory connotations, for example, implying that it is not 'proper' Dutch, but simply some regional dialect. As Guido Geerts (1992, p.78) explains, "[the French-speaking Belgians] regard 'le flamand' [Flemish] not so much as a different language from Dutch, but as a dialect (or a collection of dialects without an all-embracing unifying language)".

The Dutch noun 'Vlaams' [Flemish], is nowadays used neither in academia, nor in any Belgian official documents to refer to the language of the majority of Belgians. On the tenth of December 1973, the Flemish Cultural Council passed the *Decreet van 10 december 1973 betreffende de officiële benaming van de taal gebruikt door de*

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[1] In a publication on audiovisual translation (Fong 2009, p.260), for example, this 'Flemish' is wrongly described as a language "close to German and Dutch": "there are two language communities in Belgium - one speaks Flemish, which is close to German and Dutch, while the other speaks French" [author's emphasis]. The author also forgot to mention the third, German-speaking Community in the Walloon Region.

Vlaamse Gemeenschap [Decree of 10 December 1973 on the Establishment of the Official Designation of the language used by the Flemish Community] (Cultuurraad voor de Nederlandse cultuurgemeenschap 1973). In this decree, the term 'Flemish' was rejected and the official language of Belgium's Dutch-speaking Community officially became 'Dutch'. The decree proposal of 4 December 1973 went as follows:

> De geschiedenis van de zuidelijke Nederlanden en, meer bepaald, de overwegende rol daarin gespeeld door het Graafschap Vlaanderen, gaven aanleiding tot de ruime verspreiding zoals wij die thans nog kennen van de termen «Vlaams» en «Vlaamse taal» tot aanduiding van de taal gebruikt in het Nederlandse taalgebied van België. Meer en meer evenwel, vooral sinds de jongste wereldoorlog, breekt het besef door dat deze «Vlaamse taal» deel uitmaakt van de verscheidenheid die op tal van gebieden de rijkdom van de Nederlandse stam uitmaakt en dat dienvolgens de juiste benaming van deze taal «het Nederlands» of «de Nederlandse taal» is. Het past bijgevolg het gebruik van de juiste benaming te stimuleren en het daarom bij decreet te bekrachtigen. (Voorstel van decreet tot vaststelling van de officiële benaming van de Nederlandse taal 1973)
>
> **English translation**
>
> Because of the history of the southern part of the Low Countries and, more specifically, the overriding role the County of Flanders played in it, the terms 'Flemish' and 'Flemish language' have become established designations for the language used in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. However, particularly since the Second World War, **there has been a growing realisation that this 'Flemish language', in fact, contributes to the linguistic diversity that in many ways characterises the wealth of the Dutch linguistic origins. Thus, the correct designation for this language is 'Dutch' or 'the Dutch language'.** This is why it is appropriate to encourage the use of these correct terms and to ratify it by decree [author's emphasis and translation]

As the above text in bold shows, this decree also highlights the role of Belgian Dutch with regard to enriching the Dutch language as a whole.

In Belgium, but also outside its borders, the word **'Vlamingen'** [**Flemings**] and its foreign-language equivalents (e.g. 'Flemings' (EN) and 'Flamands' (FR)) are often used to refer to the approximately 61%[2] of the Belgians, who are native speakers of Dutch. This term, however, is not without ambiguity. Because of this it is not used here either. It is an ambiguous term, as it could refer to people living in West and East Flanders (i.e. the Belgian part of the former County of Flanders) only, and those

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[2] It is not possible to establish the exact numbers of (monolingual or bilingual) Dutch- and French-speakers in Belgium. Hence, the above-mentioned 61% is just an estimate based on Belgium's 2012 population figures (Directorate-general Statistics and Economic information 2012): 9,866,884 Belgian nationals, of which 5,897,366 live in the Dutch-speaking region. As regards the number of Dutch-speaking Belgians in Brussels, Rudi Janssens (2008) recorded that an estimated 15.6% of Brussels citizens in 2006 were raised in Dutch (either monolingually, or bilingually). Applying the same percentage to the Belgian nationals living in Brussels in 2012 (i.e. 767,813), would mean one could assume there are another 119,779 Dutch-speaking Belgians living in the capital. This brings the total number of Dutch-speaking, Belgian nationals to approximately 6,017,145 or 60.98% of the 2012 Belgian population.

are just two of the five Dutch-speaking, Belgian provinces commonly referred to as 'Flanders'. Moreover, there are also Dutch-speaking people living outside the Flemish Region, such as the Dutch-speaking minority[3] in the Brussels Capital Region and, as a result, this term could exclude these people. Thus, the neutral and unambiguous designation 'Dutch-speaking Belgians' or 'Belgian Dutch speakers', which ignores their exact place of origin and residence is deemed more appropriate here. Likewise, '(Belgium's) Dutch-speaking region' or 'Dutch-speaking Belgium' is used in the following and not 'Flanders'. Willemyns (2003) indicated that the noun '**Vlaanderen**' **[Flanders]**, in fact, does not exist officially: in official documents the adjective 'Vlaams' [Flemish] can be used in combination with 'Region' or 'Community', but the noun 'Vlaanderen' [Flanders] never occurs. However, the words 'Flemish', 'Flemings', and 'Flanders' were not removed from the quotations cited in this dissertation.

0.2. 'Holland' and 'Hollands'?

Other popular terms that are not used in Dutch-language academia are '**Holland**', as an alternative designation for the Netherlands; and '**Hollands**' for Netherlandic Dutch. 'Hollands' can colloquially be used to refer to the most prestigious variety of Dutch in the Netherlands. The main Dutch publishing houses, newspaper publishers, and national radio and television broadcasting services have their offices in the urban agglomeration, Randstad. It comprises the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht. This region is regarded as the linguistic centre of gravity of the standardisation of Dutch, as this was where the supra-regional variety came into being (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). These cities in the west influenced the Dutch standard variety that had started to develop from the 17th century onwards, in that the variety that was deemed *educated* there had the most prestige (idem). 'Randstadnederlands' [Randstad Dutch] is sometimes used to designate the Netherlandic variety of standard Dutch. The Randstad area comprises the two Holland provinces (i.e. North Holland and South Holland), but also the province of Utrecht. Thus, the term 'Holland' does not cover the entire Randstad region. The Netherlands, as a whole, are made up of 12 provinces, hence using 'Holland' (i.e. North and South Holland) to refer to the Netherlands, would mean to exclude those

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[3]As Janssens (2008) and van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) point out, Dutch speakers in Brussels do not consider themselves 'Flemings'. They do not refer to their variety of Dutch as 'Flemish' either (see also "Ten oosten van Gent houdt het Vlaams op. Wij spreken Brabants" [To the east of Ghent, Flemish stops. We [in Brussels and Antwerp] speak *Brabants*] (van Istendael 1988, p.121).

ten other provinces. Similarly, the variety of one region cannot represent all other varieties of the country. Thus, 'the Netherlands' and 'Netherlandic Dutch' are used here and not 'Holland' and 'Holland Dutch', regardless of what might be common practice amongst English-speakers.

0.3. 'Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden'

In Dutch, a distinction is made between the singular noun '*Nederland*' and 'Het Koninkrijk der *Nederlanden*' [the Kingdom of the Netherlands], in which the plural form of 'Nederland' is used: 'Nederlanden'. The English word for 'Nederland' is, confusingly, already in the plural from: 'the Netherlands'. The Netherlands in Europe, however, are only one constituent state of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The latter has territory in the Caribbean as well. It covers four countries in total, in alphabetical order:

1. 'Aruba'
2. 'Curaçao' [Curacao (EN)]
3. 'Nederland' [the Netherlands (EN)]
4. 'Sint Maarten' [Saint Martin (EN)[4]]

In the following, 'the Netherlands' is used for the third item in this list, 'Nederland', only.

0.4. 'De Lage Landen' and 'De Nederlanden'

'De Lage Landen' [lit. the Low Countries] and 'De Nederlanden' [lit. the Netherlands] are historic terms used in the Dutch language to denominate this historic region covering the present-day Benelux (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) and the French departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais. In the following, this historic region is referred to as 'the Low Countries', and 'the Netherlands' is only used for the European country right above Belgium. The southern part of 'the Low Countries' was separated from the northern part in the 16th century, which was when a distinction was made between the 'Noordelijke Nederlanden' [the northern Netherlands], which roughly corresponds to the modern Netherlands, and the 'Zuidelijke Nederlanden' [the southern Netherlands]. Both terms are used here. Because the plural noun 'the Netherlands' is the official English translation of

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[4] Saint Martin (in English) is spelled in exactly the same way as Saint Martin (in French), the larger, French part of the island. This is why *Sint Maarten* will be used here.

'Nederland' (singular), the term 'De Nederlanden' (plural) [lit. the Netherlands] is not used in this sense to avoid confusion. 'The Low Countries' is used instead. In this way, the following differentiation can be made without causing ambiguity: the 'northern part of the Low Countries' then refers to the 'Noordelijke Nederlanden' [the northern Netherlands] and 'southern part of the Low Countries' refers to the 'Zuidelijke Nederlanden' [the southern Netherlands]. Nowadays, 'de Lage Landen' [lit. the Low Countries] is still used to refer to the Netherlands and the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium.

0.5. Netherlandic, Belgian, Surinam, and Caribbean Dutch

In 1980, an official Dutch language-planning body was established, the 'Nederlandse Taalunie' [lit. and henceforth the Dutch Language Union]. In its early days, the emphasis was indeed clearly on *union*. This implied the linguistic integration of the Dutch-speaking Community in Belgium with Dutch nationals to safeguard linguistic *unity* in the immediate Dutch language area (i.e. Belgium and the Netherlands). Linguists and policy makers were convinced there was only one linguistic centre (the Randstad area in the Netherlands) and only one, standardised – and therefore *uniform* – Dutch language. This meant that both the Dutch and the Dutch-speaking Belgians officially spoke one and the same language and this, in real terms, implied the assimilation of Belgian Dutch speakers. Little attention was paid to variation, which was usually glossed over for the sake of this higher ideal of linguistic *uniformity* and *unity*. Belgians simply had to adopt the Netherlandic standard and Belgian elements in Dutch were considered deviations from that standard (e.g. Parqui, den Boon and Hendrickx 2010). Some Belgian linguists, however, had already started to challenge this idea in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. Geerts 1983; Jaspaert 1986; 1989).

In the 1990s, the Belgian sociolinguist Kas Deprez applied Michael Clyne's theory of pluricentric languages, which pertains to written and spoken language alike, to the Dutch language area (Geeraerts 2001). Clyne built on Wolfram Kloss's term 'pluricentric' in this theory:

> The term pluricentric was employed by Kloss (1978 II: 66-67) to describe languages with several interacting centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms. Pluricentric languages are both unifiers and dividers of peoples. They unify people through the use of the language and separate them through the

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> development of national norms and indices and linguistic variables with which the speakers identify. (Clyne 1992, p.1)

In 1992, Geerts (1992, p.78) pointed out that the idea of pluricentricity was contentious in Belgium, as the Dutch speakers "who do not accept a pluralistic view of Dutch […] quite likely [represented] a good majority". Gradually, however, linguists and policy makers started to realise that the ideal of monocentricity was untenable. Pressurised by the linguistic reality they accepted that the Belgians have their own linguistic centre in the Brabant area with Antwerp and Brussels as its main cities. This is also the area where the Belgian broadcasting stations, newspaper publishers, and the main publishing houses are located. After the turn of the century, the Dutch Language Union's discourse changed accordingly. All of a sudden, *collaboration* between the Dutch and Dutch-speaking Belgians came to the fore, rather than *integration* or *assimilation* of the latter (e.g. Smedts 2008; van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). In its English-language brochure, the Dutch Language Union explains:

> The richness of language is found in its variation. Every language user puts something of himself into how he uses Dutch. But the essential characteristics of Dutch spoken by all of these people are the same. They read the same newspapers and books; use the same dictionaries and grammar rules. They can also understand each other, albeit occasionally with some difficulty and a degree of goodwill. (Nederlandse Taalunie 2009)

The Dutch Language Union nowadays explicitly accepts pluricentricity and national variation. Today, it acknowledges that Dutch is one language with more than one national variety.

Two national varieties were officially recognised by the Dutch Language Union in 2003: Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch (Nederlandse Taalunie 2003b). Later Surinam Dutch and Caribbean Dutch: including Aruba Dutch, Curacao Dutch and Saint-Martin Dutch (Nederlandse Taalunie 2012) were added to the list of standard varieties of Dutch. Thus, the terminology used in the following corresponds to the official terminology used by the Dutch Language Union (Nederlandse Taalunie 2003b and 2012):

1. 'Nederlands Nederlands' [lit. *Dutch Dutch*, which is translated into English here with 'Netherlandic Dutch']
2. 'Belgisch Nederlands' [Belgian Dutch]
3. 'Surinaams Nederlands' [Surinam Dutch]
4. 'Curaçao Nederlands' [Curacao Dutch]
5. 'Aruba Nederlands' [Aruba Dutch]
6. 'Sint-Maarten Nederlands' [Saint-Martin Dutch]

Deprez favoured the term 'Flemish Dutch', rather than 'Belgian Dutch' for the Belgian national variety of Dutch:

> Flemings and Dutchmen can easily be identified on the basis of their language use. Hence, we may discern Flemish-Dutch, a national variety of Dutch made up in turn of a collection of varieties, ranging from very Dutch to very Flemish. (Deprez 1997, p.250)

However, for the afore-mentioned reasons, any reference to 'Flemish', 'Fleming', or 'Flanders' is avoided in the following pages. Rather, 'Belgian Dutch' is used to refer to this national variety, as opposed to 'Netherlandic Dutch', the variety used in the Netherlands. This term clearly indicates that one and the same language is meant: the Dutch language. Thus, Belgian Dutch refers to Dutch as it is used in Belgium, or the Belgian *natiolect*. 'Flemish Dutch' could be wrongly interpreted as a 'regiolect' (cf. 0.8. Dialect, regiolect, and natiolect). In 1997, the Belgian lexicologist and lexicographer Godelieve Laureys (2010) coined the term "natiolect" precisely because she wanted to differentiate between national and regional varieties.

Some Dutch linguists, like the late P.C. Paardekooper (2003) are of the opinion that South Africa should enter the Dutch Language Union as well. However, Afrikaans is a daughter language of Dutch, which developed into a separate language. In 1925, the *Afrikaners* decided to replace their former official language Dutch by Afrikaans. By doing so,

> they unambiguously confirmed (not to say proclaimed) the independence of their language. This is much more important than the well known <sic> linguistic facts (Geerts 1992, p.72)

Thus, it cannot be considered a national variety of Dutch today, although Afrikaans is undoubtedly still closely related to Dutch linguistically.

0.6. 'Verkavelingsvlaams' and 'tussentaal'

Another controversial term that, strangely enough, is widely used in Dutch-speaking academia is '*Verkavelingsvlaams*' [lit. Residential Plot[5] Flemish]. The Dutch word 'verkaveling' is, according to the 14th edition of the authoritative Dutch dictionary, *Van Dale Groot woordenboek van de Nederlandse taal* (den Boon, Geeraerts and van der Sijs 2005), a "general Belgian Dutch" word for a residential plot, or land that had been parcelled out and turned into desirable residential areas. Nevertheless, this variety is not associated with the smart set. In fact, it is the variety used across the

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[5] In the English-language literature, the term 'Verkavelingsvlaams', however, tends to be translated as 'allotment Flemish' (e.g. Grondelaers and van Hout 2011; Hinskens 2007; Schuurman et al. 2003; Tummers, Speelman and Geeraerts 2005)

board by people from all walks of life. According to Koen Plevoets, Dirk Speelman and Dirk Geeraerts (2008, p.202) this variety of Belgian Dutch, "is shown to be a colloquial variety that is particularly employed among the post-'68 generation, regardless of sex and social level". To the Belgians such 'verkavelingen' are an eyesore and, as one can read from Geert Van Istendael's description below, the term 'Verkavelingsvlaams', by the same token, has rather negative connotations. It is described as a non-standard, colloquial variety of Dutch some Belgians use to distance themselves from local dialects.

Van Istendael, a Belgian writer and former journalist at the Flemish public service broadcaster, first used this term in an article in the *Nieuw Wereldtijdschrift*, a Belgian literary journal, in 1988. He was commissioned by a Dutch publishing house to write a book to explain Belgium to its northern neighbours. This book, *Het Belgisch labyrinth* [The Belgian maze] (1989) came out a year later and was very successful. Van Istendael edited this 1988 article into a chapter on the Dutch language in Belgium in this book (Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012). Although very fond of his Belgian[6] accent, he does not want to hear of a Belgian variety of Dutch and considers it a threat to his mother tongue, standard Dutch. Although he admires the local Belgian dialects, he despises the colloquial variety of Belgian Dutch that was slowly swallowing up the Belgian Dutch dialects at the time. What follows is his renowned description of this variety:

> Er is trouwens nu iets nieuws, iets vuils de taal in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden aan het aantasten. Een manke usurpator in kale kleren, maar hij heeft de verwaandheid en de lompheid van de parvenu. Hij heet Verkavelingsvlaams. Het is de taal die gesproken wordt in de betere villa's op de verkavelde grond van onze verminkte dorpen. Het is de taal van de jongens en de meisjes die naar een deftige school gaan en andere kinderen uitlachen omdat die zo onbeschaafd praten. (van Istendael 1988, p.15)
>
> **English translation**
> Something new, something rotten is encroaching on the language of the southern Netherlands. A poorly clad usurper with a limp, yet he has the arrogance and the rudeness of a parvenu. He goes by the name of Verkavelingsvlaams. It is the language spoken in the desirable villas in our scarred villages that have been parcelled out. The language of those boys and girls who go to decent schools and scoff at other children because their language is so unbearably uncivilised. [author's translation]

This term, as can be seen above, is heavily laden with value judgements. Nevertheless, it is still used by Dutch linguists (e.g. Willemyns 2013) and language planners (e.g. Hendrickx 17 July 1998), who in doing so stigmatise not only the

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[6]"Mind you, I do not want to speak like the people from the Randstad. I do not want to lose my [Belgian] accent, my rolling 'r', my soft 'g', my pure monophthongs 'ee' and 'oo'. I think they are much more musical than the sounds produced in the Netherlands" [author's translation]. (van Istendael 1988, p.14)).

variety, but also the majority of Dutch-speaking Belgians, who speak it.[7] Kevin Absillis, Jürgen Jaspers, and Sarah Van Hoof denounced the use of this term in *De manke usurpator. Over Verkavelingsvlaams* [The usurper with a limp. On 'Verkavelingsvlaams'] (2012), a publication devoted to this colloquial variety of Belgian Dutch.

Other terms are 'soap-Vlaams' [Soap Flemish] (Geeraerts 1999), 'Schoon Vlaams' [Decent Flemish] (Goossens 2000), and 'Lui Vlaams' [Lazy Flemish] (Notte and Scheirlinck 2007). A term wrongly believed to be neutral and, thus, appropriate for this spoken variety of Dutch is *'tussentaal'* [interlanguage] (Taeldeman 1992). As José Cajot (2012) clarifies, the term *interlanguage* is taken from second language acquisition theory. It was first used by Larry Selinker (1972) and refers to a language located on the linguistic continuum between a language learner's native language and the language they are aiming to learn. The idea was that this Belgian, spoken variety of Dutch was merely an 'in-between' language that could one day become a 'proper' language, namely standard Dutch. Hence, it was believed to be merely a temporary stage in the standardisation process of Dutch in Belgium.

Nowadays, however, linguists (e.g. Cajot 2010; De Caluwe 2009b; Goossens 2000; Haeseryn 2004; Taeldeman in Notte and Scheirlinck 2007) agree that this variety is not evolving towards standard Dutch, but rather establishing itself as an informal, supra-regional, Belgian variety in its own right. Johan De Schryver (2012) makes a plea to stop using both terms '*Verkavelingsvlaams*' and '*Tussentaal*' and agrees with De Caluwe (2009b) and Cajot (2010) that '*omgangstaal*' [colloquial language], as in the German 'Umgangssprache', should be used instead to denote this colloquial variety of Belgian Dutch. Johan De Caluwe (2009b, p.21) refers to this variety as the "de facto standard language for informal communication in Flanders, the colloquial variety" [author's translation]. In the following, this variety is referred to as 'colloquial Belgian Dutch'.

0.7. 'Minority' versus 'minoritised'

In his *Linguistic minorities in Western Europe* (1978), Meic Stephens included a chapter on Dutch-speaking Belgians. This is remarkable, as they constitute the majority in Belgium, their language is one of the country's official languages, and

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[7] cf. also "For 150 years this lot [i.e. Dutch-speaking Belgians] has fought to be able to speak Dutch. Now that they are allowed to do so, they make a mess of it" [author's translation] (van Istendael 1988, p.15)

Dutch is used by approximately 23 million speakers worldwide (Nederlandse Taalunie 2014). If one applies the definition of *The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (Council of Europe 1992), the above would indicate that Dutch is not a 'regional' or 'minority language' in Belgium. Stephens, however, gave the following explanation:

> the Flemings [Dutch-speaking Belgians] are to be considered here [as a linguistic minority in Western Europe] because, for over a hundred years, they were ruled by Walloons [French-speaking Belgians] and denied their linguistic rights (Stephens 1978, p.23)

Just like linguistic minorities, one could say Dutch speakers in Belgium are a speech community in a subordinate position. On the one hand, this has long time been the case because of the presence of a prestigious, majority language, French, within its own borders – albeit it in a numerical minority. On the other hand, Belgian Dutch has long had a peripheral status vis-à-vis Netherlandic Dutch. In the present dissertation, the position and the status of Belgian Dutch and its speakers within the Dutch language area today is reviewed.

Dutch is not a minority[8] language, but one of the **smaller, 'lesser-used'** (Cronin 2003) **languages**. It is also a **'less-translated language'**, or a language that is "less often the source of translation in the international exchange of linguistic goods, regardless of the number of people using [it]" (Branchadell and West 2005, p.1). As is the case with minority language cultures, the Dutch-language culture is "a translation culture par excellence" (Cronin 2003, p.139). Especially with regard to fiction, Dutch is what Michael Cronin (idem, p.145) calls **"source-language intensive"**, in that, actually, more texts are translated into, than authored in Dutch. In 2005, for instance, over 70%[9] of fiction titles published in Dutch were translations (de Haan and Hofstede 2008, p.46).

'Minority' according to Cronin (2003, p.144) is, "the expression of a relation, not an essence". Cronin (2000, p.28) deals with political and historical extra-linguistic effects on languages, whilst explaining how even majority languages can become "minoritised". The status of larger languages can indeed change easily. As English is dominating the globalised world, major languages (e.g. French and German) have come to be 'minoritised', in that they experience many of the

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[8] Particularly in Translation Studies, however, Dutch is sometimes called a minority language (e.g. Stella Linn's article "Trends in the translation of a minority language [own emphasis]: The case of Dutch" (Linn 2006)).

[9] There is an error in the English translation of the brochure in which "Aandeel vertalingen op totale boekproductie per genre (1985-2005)" (de Haan and Hofstede 2008, p.46) was translated with "Share of translations in total book translation production per genre, 1985-2005". This should be "Share of translations in total book production per genre".

phenomena more often associated with minority languages. For instance, they start to feel the same need to engage in language-planning efforts, e.g. terminology creation in the face of an onslaught of newly coined English concepts from information technology (O'Connell and Walsh 2006).

One could argue that Dutch in Belgium became *minoritised* in relation to the major language, French. This prestigious language became the de facto official language in the southern part of the Low Countries after the partition in the 16th century and overshadowed the lower-prestige spoken varieties of Dutch that were predominantly used there. What is more, there was a real risk of the Dutch language disappearing altogether in this part of the Low Countries. For a few decades now, however, the French language is no longer considered a *threat*. Even so, the southern part of the Low Countries remained under foreign rule for 200 years, and was not directly involved in the standardisation process of Dutch in the North. The standardisation of Dutch in Belgium was delayed and could only firmly take root in the 19th century. This had profound implications for the status of Belgian Dutch and its speakers. As a result, one could also argue that Belgian Dutch became *minoritised* in relation to Netherlandic Dutch.

The Dutch language in the South had had a lower status since the South was separated from the North of the Low Countries in the 16th century. The partition of the Low Countries meant that Dutch largely lived on in the form of lower-prestige varieties there, while Dutch in the northern part developed into a fully-fledged standard language. The only available (Netherlandic) standard variety of Dutch has enjoyed the highest status from the 18th century onwards. This had an impact on publication activity as well. In the late 1990s, the Dutch language was officially recognised as a pluricentric language with two linguistic centres in Europe, but the Netherlandic Dutch standard continued to be upheld in publishing. The Belgian Dutch variety, consequently, can be considered a **"non-dominant variety"** of Dutch (Muhr 2012). There is a fear that this national variety is diverging into a separate language, which would imply a language spoken only by six million people that could never stand a chance against majority languages like English. This perception has resulted in intensive language-planning efforts in Belgium to put a halt to further divergence. Van Hoof and Jaspers (2013) even speak of 'hyperstandardisation' in this regard.

In the opinion of Cronin (1995, p.87), "[l]anguages that derive their minority status from spatial realignments find themselves in close proximity to countries where the language has majority status" from which translators benefit. However,

with Belgian translators generally being passed over for literary translation jobs (Hofstede 2007b; Naaijkens 2009), it is doubtful that Belgian Dutch speakers can indeed fall back on this larger Dutch "linguistic hinterland" (Cronin 1995, p.87). In 1998, Lawrence Venuti edited a special issue of *The Translator* on translation and minority. Venuti (1998, p.135) described minority as a "cultural or political position that is subordinate" and is "occupied by languages and literatures that lack prestige or authority". In this sense, one could argue that Belgian Dutch can be seen as a **minority standard variety**, in that it is a standard variety that still lacks prestige in the publishing industry of the Dutch language area, in particular as the language of translation. Clem Robyns put it this way:

> Although there still are publishing houses and literary critics who are convinced that Belgian Dutch speakers cannot write, little by little, Belgian authors are allowed to use their own Belgian Dutch idiom. This, however, is still taboo in literary translations. Hence, translations maintain a specific definition of culture in Dutch-speaking Belgium: Netherlandic Dutch is the language of that culture and the Belgian Dutch idiom could perhaps be tolerated (preferably only in Belgian Dutch folk literature), but could never be the norm [author's translation] (Robyns 2004, p.198)

According to Helga Bister Broosen and Roland Willemyns (1988), the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium constitutes what they call the "external" periphery. In their model of the Dutch language area in Europe, the Randstad region is the one and only linguistic centre and the rest of the Netherlands belongs to the "internal"
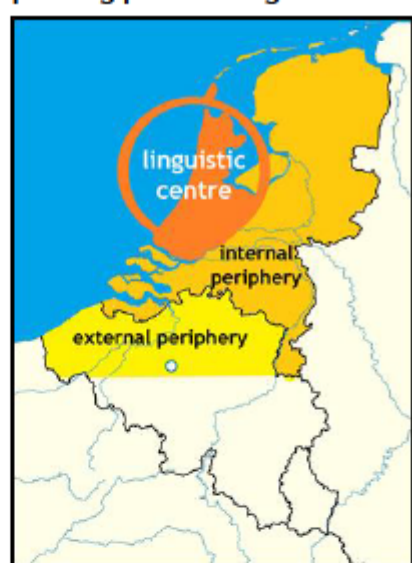
Figure 1: Centre and peripheries
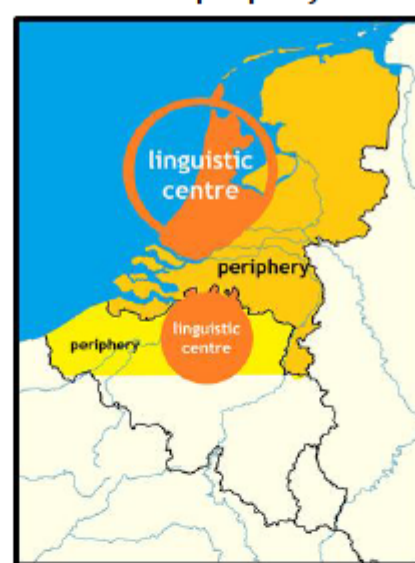
Figure 2: Bicentric model

periphery (as visualised in <u>Figure 1. Centre and peripheries</u>). Dutch speakers in Belgium live in the external periphery and adopted a foreign, non-Belgian, Dutch standard. This is why van der Horst and van der Horst (1999, p.389) say that this standard is "much more external" [author's translation] to the Belgian Dutch speakers than it is to the Dutch nationals who are not from the Randstad region. Surprisingly, however, although the Dutch language area has become accepted as pluricentric with two linguistic centres since the late 1990s, Willemyns still uses this

superseded model (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009; Willemyns 2013). This model was replaced by the bicentric model visualised in <u>Figure 2. Bicentric model</u>, in which the existence of a second linguistic centre in Belgium, more specifically in the Brabant region, is recognised. In this new model, Belgium has its own linguistic centre and periphery.

0.8. Dialect, regiolect, and natiolect

In English, the term 'dialect' can be used to designate any variety of a language. In the following, however, 'dialect' is only used for a given variety that is specific to a certain area and its use, therefore, is limited to this area only. When dialect speakers from different towns or cities come into contact with each other, a process of dialect levelling (Auer 1998) may occur. This involves a smaller local dialect losing some of its specific features that restrict its use to its original area and, in doing so, it can develop into a regiolect. This term was coined by Cor Hoppenbrouwers (1983). Regiolects are language varieties that are used in larger regions mainly in informal conversations and are considered more prestigious than the local dialects. Regiolects, therefore, could be described as the next stage when one moves away from dialect towards the standard variety on the linguistic continuum (cf. <u>Figure 3</u>).
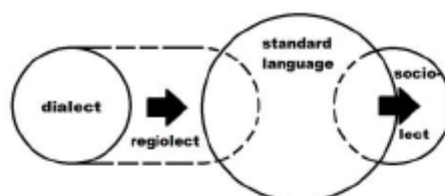
Figure 3: Hoppenbrouwers's linguistic model (1983, p.1)

With the development of standard Dutch in the Renaissance, a process of dialect loss slowly started in the Low Countries (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). In the 20th century, dialect speakers were stigmatised and their variety was considered a sign of backwardness (e.g. van der Horst and van der Horst 1999). In Belgium, this process of dialect loss started later, but in recent decades, it caught up with the Netherlands. According to Permentier (2004), standard Dutch only started to be widely spoken in the 1950s in Belgium. However, Van der Horst and van der Horst (1999) believe that standard Dutch was in those days only spoken by 50% of the Dutch population and probably not more than 20% of Belgian Dutch speakers. Today, the position of dialects is still strong in the province of West Flanders (e.g. van der Sijs

and Willemyns 2009), but elsewhere colloquial Belgian Dutch varieties are spoken, rather than local dialects[10] (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009).

Dialects and regiolects are non-standard varieties of a language. Most striking are pronunciation differences between these non-standard varieties and standard varieties, but there are also morphological, syntactic and lexical differences. With regard to the linguistic function, standard varieties are traditionally more prestigious. They are used by the government and in education and are deemed appropriate in situations that are more formal. Drawing on this dialect-regiolect terminology, Godelieve Laureys devised the term "natiolect" to make a distinction between regional varieties and national varieties of a language. Such a natiolect then is a national variety of a language used in more than one state (Laureys 2010). Belgian Dutch is a "variety of a standard language limited to a certain national area" (Shveitser-Nikolskij (1986) quoted in Clyne 1992, p.2). The term national variety was introduced by Elise G. Riesel in 1962 and Clyne defines it as follows:

> National varieties, those of nations or national groups, are differentiated from dialects – local and regional – varieties at the status level though not always in their linguistic indices. (Clyne 1992, p.2)

The linguistic situation in Dutch-speaking Belgium is usually described by using a continuum scale with dialect and standard Dutch as its extreme points (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). When, within a linguistic community, different varieties of a language are used in different situations, this is called diglossia. Usually a more informal variety is used to express *solidarity* and a more formal variety when *power* or *status* prevails (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). This implies that language users switch to a different variety depending on the situation. However, Frans Hinskens explained that in the Dutch language area

> the role of common medium for everyday oral communication was not taken over by the standard language, but rather by two new types of non-standard variety, viz. 'regiolects' and 'regional varieties of the standard language, which developed in the linguistic space between the traditional dialects and the standard language (Hinskens 2007, p.284)

These two varieties are the above-mentioned colloquial Belgian Dutch in Belgium and 'Poldernederlands' in the Netherlands.

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[10] Since the late 1990s, an increasing number of young pop singers have started to use their local dialect (e.g. the West Flemish hip-hop of *Flip Kowlier* and *'t Hof van Commerce*) or colloquial Belgian Dutch variety, rather than Standard Dutch in their songs, e.g. *Axl Peleman, Fixkes, Hannelore Bedert, Mira, Tourist, Safi&Spreej, Halve Neuro, Uberdope.*

1. Introduction

Onze arme rijke taal [Our poor rich language] (BRT 1960-1962) was one of several language programmes on Dutch-language national radio and television in Belgium. In the 1960s and 1970s, such expert advice on 'correct' usage of Dutch was ubiquitous in Belgium's Dutch-language media (Beheydt 1991; Goossens 1975; Goossens 2000; Van Hoof and Jaspers 2013; Vandenbussche 2010). The written and spoken media were indeed put to use as language-planning tools to help standardise the language of Belgium's Dutch-speaking population. In fact, Sarah Van Hoof and Jürgen Jaspers (2013, p.332) refer to the period from the 1950s until the 1980s as an era of *hyperstandardisation* "involving a fiercely propagandistic, large-scale, extensively broadcast, scientifically supported and enduring ideologisation of language use in all corners of Flemish society". In essence, the goal was to 'teach' the predominantly dialect-speaking target audience standard Dutch. Until at least the 1970s, standard Dutch had been synonymous with the Netherlandic variety of standard Dutch, the standard variety used in the Netherlands. As *Onze arme rijke taal* [Our poor rich language], *Hier spreekt men Nederlands*[11] [Dutch spoken here], and *Voor wie haar soms geweld aandoet*[12] [For those who tend to violate their language] illustrate, the titles of these language programmes on Dutch-language national radio and television already clearly set the tone.

After the 1980s, such intense language-planning efforts slowly petered out. Nonetheless, the Flemish public service broadcaster continued to pay attention to its linguistic output in an effort to expose its audience to – what it deemed – *correct*, standard Dutch. To date, the Flemish public service broadcaster (VRT) still plays an exemplary role for Dutch-speaking Belgians. In 1998, VRT employed a full-time language adviser, who was put in charge of linguistic matters. The public service broadcaster, previously, had often relied on academic expertise in such matters (Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991). Linguistic purification has always been a key

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[11] This programme took its title from signs that were posted in shops in Brussels to let Dutch-speaking customers know they could speak their mother tongue there and did not have to change over to French. The programme makers applied this sign to the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, where "Dutch spoken here" emphasises that standard Dutch is the official language and not local dialects, or regional varieties.

[12] This is a reference to a line of poetry by the famous West Flemish poet, Guido Gezelle (1830-1899), in which he calls upon Dutch-speaking Belgians 'not to violate their language'. The programme makers appealed to their viewers not to violate the Dutch language by using non-standard, regional features. Ironically enough, Gezelle was opposed to the introduction of the Netherlandic Dutch standard in the 19th century (cf. Chapter 2. The History of Modern Dutch). He was in favour of a separate Belgian standard, therefore, the 'violation' Gezelle mentions in his poem, probably, refers to the *dutchification* of the Belgian variety of Dutch.

element in the standardisation process of Dutch in Belgium (Geeraerts and De Sutter 2003). At VRT, dialectal and French elements were also considered a blight and had to be eradicated and replaced by their (Netherlandic) standard Dutch counterparts. Even so, the Belgians were not expected to sound exactly like the Dutch. The standard of spoken Dutch in Belgium is still clearly demarcated today. It is referred to as *VRT Dutch*, the variety of Dutch used on VRT's radio and television channels, by its newsreaders in particular. Ludo Beheydt (1990) pointed out that by 1990, Belgium and the Netherlands each had developed their own national broadcasting variety. Although the Flemish public service broadcaster still used Netherlandic Dutch as its standard, it gradually developed its own Belgian spoken variety, which deviated particularly with regard to pronunciation and intonation from its Netherlandic counterpart (Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991).

In the late 1990s, VRT explicitly started to allow for the use of typically Belgian features of Dutch in their general language policy. VRT wanted to take into account **"more than it had done in the past**, that the Dutch standard, as it is used in Belgium, **can differ on a limited number of points** from the variety of standard Dutch commonly used in the Netherlands" [author's emphasis and translation] (Hendrickx 17 July 1998). Previously, such Belgian Dutch elements would have been dismissed as dialect and, consequently, were believed to have no place in standard Dutch language usage. Features of marked Belgian Dutch, however, remain largely excluded from fiction. As a result, exposure to the Belgian national variety is very low, in the Netherlands, which has wider implications for the development of the Dutch language in general. The shared written standard of Dutch is, in real terms, still largely Netherlandic. Fiction and literary publication, particularly translations continue to uphold this standard. Taking up more variants from its other national varieties, however, would enrich this smaller, but much broader language, which the Dutch, after all, share with other Dutch speakers not only in Europe, but also overseas. At present, however, this process is being stymied and hence it is still possible, fifty years after programmes such as *Onze arme rijke taal* [Our poor rich language] were broadcast, to pity the Dutch language as a 'poor rich language', albeit for entirely different reasons.

1.1. The Dutch written standard

Unlike spoken Dutch, there is only one written standard. Since the 1950s, the Dutch and the Belgians have applied the same orthography rules and they also share the same grammar. Grammar and spelling rules have been laid down in the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* [General Dutch Grammar] (Haeseryn et al. 1997) and *Woordenlijst Nederlandse Taal* [Word list of the Dutch language. Official orthography] (Nederlandse Taalunie 2012) respectively. As far as Dutch lexis is concerned, an estimated 90% of Dutch words and phrases are shared by the Belgians and the Dutch (cf. <u>2.5. Dutch lexicography</u>). Nonetheless, there are a number of words and phrases, *natiolectisms* (Martin 2001), that are typical of either the Belgian, or the Netherlandic Dutch natiolect. Because of insufficient language contact, the Dutch are often not familiar with Belgian Dutch natiolectisms. Conversely, younger generations of Dutch-speaking Belgians, who, unlike the older generations, have hardly been exposed to Netherlandic Dutch, are no longer au fait with Netherlandic natiolectisms. As "[o]f all language levels, the lexicon is indeed displaying the largest amount of variation (both regional and otherwise)" (Willemyns 2013, p.119), these lexical differences pose certain problems in Dutch-language publication and translation, as explained in the next subsections.

1.1.1. Dutch literary publication

In the world of literary publishing, the Netherlandic Dutch written standard largely continues to be upheld (Absillis 2008; 2009a; 2009b; Bultinck 2003; Hermans 2001). This means that Belgian Dutch words and phrases, for decades, have been removed from literary writing prior to publication. Typically, Dutch editors are hired to remove geographically marked, Belgian linguistic features from manuscripts, or as Absillis puts it:

> All sorts of evidence suggest that, at least in the case of the Manteau publishing house, books were Dutchified (or de-Flemished) to a degree that went well beyond the ordinary conception of editorial intervention. (Absillis 2009a, p.275)

One of such Dutch editors was Jeroen Brouwers. In the 1960s, before he became a successful writer, he started his career as a literary editor at the Belgian publishing house Manteau. Ten years later, he claimed in one of his polemical writings that Belgian Dutch literature was "forged" [author's translation] (Brouwers 1978, p.194). He went on to explain, "it is not what Flemish *writers* write – or rather how Flemish writers write – the reader gets to read, but what the *rewriter* [i.e. the editor] made

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of it" [author's translation] (idem). Interestingly, when Brouwers submitted his latest novel in 2014,[13] his editor drew his attention to his use of "Flemish" words. Brouwers, however, did not allow the editor to remove these natiolectisms (Cloostermans 2014). The Belgian Dutch features that are removed often pertain to Belgian Dutch natiolectisms. Some Belgian novelists even proactively avoid using marked Belgian Dutch while writing. The well-known Belgian novelist Kristien Hemmerechts, for example, admitted that she used to consult the Van Dale dictionary while writing her books to make certain that she did not use marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases. She puts it this way:

> When I heard my characters speak, they spoke Belgian Dutch, but while writing down the dialogues, I found myself translating everything into general, standard Dutch. [author's translation] (Hemmerechts 1996, p.87)[14]

If her editors still discovered features of marked Belgian Dutch in her manuscripts, she allowed them to remove those (Hermans 2001). This could also imply replacing Belgian Dutch natiolectisms by their Netherlandic counterparts that may be uncommon in Belgium. The reason for this, as she put it, was that she wanted to write Dutch literature and not "Flemish" literature (Hemmerechts 1996). Other acclaimed Belgian authors like Tom Lanoye, Dimitri Verhulst, and Stefan Hertmans, however, do not unconditionally yield to their editor's corrections in this way. They do use marked Belgian Dutch in their writing particularly in dialogues. After a literary tour with two[15] of her Belgian colleagues in 1995, Hemmerechts grew to appreciate Belgian Dutch in literary writing. Fifteen years later in 2010, she joined her colleagues (e.g. Tom Lanoye in Lanoye 2000, Dimitri Verhulst in Vandendaele 2010, Erik Vlaminck in Vlaminck 2013) in openly voicing her dissatisfaction with the practice of removing Belgian Dutch features. Moreover, she hinted at the broader implications when saying, "if the Dutch language wants to survive, it has to take up as many variants as possible" [author's translation] (Hemmerechts 2010, p.46).

Linguists have published extensively on the Belgian Dutch variety, primarily on the much maligned colloquial spoken variety (e.g. Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012; Cajot 2010; Geeraerts and De Sutter 2003; Geeraerts 2001). With regard to written Dutch, most linguists seem to agree that the standardisation process has succeeded in Belgium (e.g. Cajot 2000; Willemyns 2003) and that Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch lexis are converging, since the Belgians massively adopted Netherlandic Dutch variants in the 1950s and the 1990s (Deygers and Van Den Heede

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[13] *Het Hout* (Brouwers 2014)
[14] "De stemmen die ik hoorde en die ik op papier wilde krijgen, spraken Vlaams, maar uiteindelijk heb ik wat ze zeiden in het Nederlands vertaald." (Hemmerechts 1996, p.87)
[15] Geertrui Daem and Leo Pleysier (Geletterde Mensen/Behoud de Begeerte 1995)

2000; Geeraerts, Grondelaers and Speelman 1999). However, the above shows that natiolectisms are still a cause for concern in Dutch publication.

Since the 2000s, a number of Belgian authors have complained about editors finding fault with Belgian Dutch features in their writing (e.g. Appel 2013; Cloostermans 2006; Hermans 2001; Lanoye 2000; Vandendaele 2010; Vlaminck 2013). Conversely, Dutch critics have disapproved of books in which Belgian Dutch natiolectisms were used. In 2009, for example, a Dutch literary critic, Arie Storm, reviewed the latest novels[16] of three young Belgian authors and complained that their language was "so *Flemish*" that Dutch nationals would "hardly be able to read them" [author's translation] (Storm 2009). This, of course, is wildly exaggerated. One of the books Storm reviewed, for instance, was nominated for the two most prestigious literary prizes[17] in the Netherlands. Two years later in 2011, a Dutch culinary journalist caused a stir when he criticised the publication of a cookery book[18] by a popular Belgian television cook in its "original", "untranslated" Belgian Dutch version (Jacobs 2011). Most fiction published in the Dutch language area, however, is imported, foreign fiction (de Haan and Hofstede 2008, Gottlieb 2004; Humbeeck 2006; Verhoeven 2006). As a result, translated fiction may play an even bigger role when it comes to exposing Dutch speakers to the Dutch language and the further development and dissemination of a Dutch written standard. In the next sections, Dutch-language translation is briefly discussed.

1.1.2. Dutch literary translation

The one-sided standard that is largely upheld in Dutch-language publishing also has significant implications with regard to the position of Belgian Dutch translators. In *De kracht van vertaling: Verrijking van taal en cultuur* [The power of translation: enrichment of language and culture] (Bloemen et al. 1998), a number of Belgian translators gave vent to their frustration about the narrow standard and the low status of Belgian Dutch translators resulting from it. In 2005, the Dutch Language Union commissioned a survey (Nederlandse Taalunie 2008) on literary translation in the Dutch language area. In total 157 translators responded of which 80% were Dutch nationals. The researchers involved in this project are quick to explain, however,

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[16] *Beleg* (Tom Naegels 2009), *Kentucky, mijn land* (Paul Baeten Gronda 2009), and *Dit is van Mij* (Saskia De Coster 2009)
[17] Saskia De Coster's novel *Dit is van mij* (2009) was nominated for the *Libris Literatuur Prijs* and for the *AKO Literatuurprijs* in 2010.
[18] *Dagelijkse kost* (Jeroen Meus 2011)

that this discrepancy is certainly not due to a lack of interest on behalf of the Belgian translators, but rather to the proportionally significantly smaller number of Belgian literary translators. Based on figures from 2004, a number of approximately 60 Belgian nationals as opposed to approximately 600 Dutch nationals were professional literary translators in the second half of 2004 (Nederlandse Taalunie 2008). What is more, a substantial part of the foreign fiction Belgian translators translate is not general fiction, but children's literature, as this genre is particularly published in Belgium.

The outcome of this survey, amongst others, was that Belgian translators, seven years after the publication of the above-mentioned *De kracht van vertaling* (Bloemen et al. 1998), still complained that Dutch publishing houses preferred to work with Dutch nationals. The Dutch Language Union called this "discrimination" "unacceptable" [author's translation] (Naaijkens 2009). Rokus Hofstede pointed out that, although one third of Dutch fiction is written by Belgian authors, less than one tenth of imported fiction is translated by Belgian nationals (Hofstede 2007b). In 2007, this survey was supplemented by another survey in which five Dutch and four Belgian publishers were interviewed (Nederlandse Taalunie 2008). One of the Dutch publishers admitted they never worked with "Flemish" translators, because they "translate into *Flemish*, not into Dutch" [author's translation] (idem). Similarly, a Belgian publishing house conceded it hardly ever hired Belgian translators so as to avoid having to edit out Belgian Dutch features. The seven remaining publishing houses explained they had no objections to hiring Belgian translators, but the majority agreed that Belgian linguistic features had no place in translated fiction. Only one Dutch publisher begged to differ and noted that their readership even appreciated the use of marked Belgian Dutch in translations.

Most of the nine publishing houses that partook in the 2007 survey confirmed that the use of marked Belgian Dutch is indeed still not accepted in Dutch literary translation (see also Denissen 2000; Robyns 2004; Verhoeven 2006). Frans Denissen (quoted in Bloemen et al. 1998, p.80), a celebrated Belgian translator, regrets that because of this Belgian translators have "no influence whatsoever" on the development of standard Dutch, as:

> their editors lump together all their potential linguistic innovations — even those triggered by the source text — with all — supposed, or otherwise — Belgian dialectisms and natiolectisms, and ruthlessly banish those from their translations. The editor's reasoning is usually: I am not

familiar with that word or phrase, so it is probably Flemish[19] [author's translation] (Frans Denissen quoted in Bloemen et al. 1998, p.80)

Two years later, Denissen (2000, p.75) put it this way: "in the year 2000, the language of translated literature is still exclusively Randstad Dutch [i.e. the Netherlandic variety of standard Dutch]" [author's translation]. He goes on to explain that, even if the source text is written in a regiolect, marked Belgian Dutch words or phrases – no matter how fitting they may be – have no place in translated fiction with the exception of drama.[20] Denissen (2000, p.76) is also of the opinion that the most stimulating Dutch neologisms originated from drama translations and mentions *Ten Oorlog!* (Lanoye and Percefal 1997), a marked Belgian Dutch translation of Shakespeare's *The Wars of the Roses*, in this regard.

Bible translations in the 16th and 17th century played a crucial role in the standardisation process of European languages. A written variety was needed that catered for all language users of a language area. As a result, the contribution of the translators and editors who were involved in the Dutch *Statenbijbel* (1637) is held in high esteem. It was the fruit of true co-operation between all the main Dutch-speaking dialect areas in the North and the South (cf. Chapter 2. The History of Modern Dutch). Today, imported books are still translated for the entire language area, but the written standard does not allow for Belgian Dutch features. Most translations, therefore, are marked for one specific geographic region, in that they are written in Netherlandic Dutch. The latest *Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling* [New Bible translation] (2004) was translated exclusively by Dutch nationals. Nonetheless, a Belgian panel was convened to ensure this translation was also "*acceptable* for a Belgian audience" [author's translation] (Gillaerts 2010, p.132)[21]. Members of this panel explained that they "were asked, in the first place, to highlight *hollandisms* [i.e. Netherlandic Dutch natiolectisms] in the translation" (idem).

In 2006, another distinguished Belgian translator, Bart Vonck, condemned the Dutch attitude with regard to Belgium, which in his opinion sometimes bordered on

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[19] "In het Nederlands vertalende Vlaamse vertalers hebben geen enkele invloed op de Nederlandse taal, aangezien hun eventuele taalvernieuwende vondsten, ook als die door de oorspronkelijke tekst zijn ingegeven, door hun redacteur op één hoop zullen worden gegooid met hun al dan niet denkbeeldige 'vlamismen' of 'belgicismen', en genadeloos zullen worden weggebrand. [...] Vaak is de redenering: dit woord of deze uitdrukking ken ik niet, dus zal het wel Vlaams zijn." (Bloemen et al. 1998, p.80)

[20] Drama translations seem to allow for such *deviating* language use. In Scotland, for instance, some drama is translated into Scots (e.g. Corbett and Findlay 2005; Findlay 2003; 2004).

[21] In October 2014, Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap released a new Bible translation in every-day language, *Bijbel in Gewone Taal* [The Bible in every-day language]. This time, a single Belgian national was asked to scan the translation for words and phrases that are less common in Belgium (Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap 2014b).

neo-colonialism (Verhoeven 2006). Nonetheless, Vonck accepted and adheres to the Netherlandic Dutch standard in his translations and never heard any complains that he translated into 'Flemish' (idem). One[22] of Vonck's latest and well-received poetry translations, however, was criticised by a Dutch translation scholar (Linn 2011) for being 'too *Flemish* for a Dutch audience'. In the same year, a (Netherlandic) Dutch translator opened a thread entitled "Kunnen Vlamingen goede vertalers Nederlands zijn [Can Flemings be good Dutch translators]?" and openly questioned the competence of Belgian Dutch translators in a popular translators' web forum, proz.com (Pietervertaler 2011). The above illustrates that the one-sided written standard compromises the position of Belgian Dutch and the status of Belgian Dutch translators. Two translation scholars, Désirée Schyns (2002; 2008) and Rokus Hofstede (2007a; 2007b; 2007c; 2007d), both of whom are Dutch nationals, have criticised this one-sided written standard and called for a broader written standard. Surprisingly, this has triggered little further reaction to date;[23] in particular, academia remains largely silent on this topic.

1.1.3. Dutch Audiovisual Translation

With regard to Audiovisual Translation, three recent phenomena can be observed in the Dutch language area that did provoke a lot of debate: firstly, the open intralingual subtitling of Dutch into Dutch in both Belgium and the Netherlands. Some Belgian television series (e.g. *Flikken* (1999-2009 VRT)) are popular in the Netherlands as well, but these Dutch-language programmes are broadcast with (Netherlandic Dutch) subtitles there. Likewise, television series from the Netherlands (e.g. *Baantjer* (1995-2006 Endemol Entertainment)) broadcast by VRT had until recently been specially subtitled for their Belgian audience. Dutch and Belgian television broadcasting, therefore, seem to feel the need to subtitle each other's Dutch-language television series into Dutch with open subtitles. What is more, open intralingual subtitles are also used in non-fiction in both countries. Although this practice also exists in the Scandinavian language area, it is uncommon in most other language areas (Hendrickx 2011). The French broadcasters, for instance, do not use

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[22] *Verzamelde gedichten* (Federico García Lorca 2009)
[23] Early November 2014, however, the results of a survey revealing that almost 60% of Belgian language professionals was in favour of a more Belgian-flavoured written standard caused a lot of commotion in Dutch-speaking Belgium (e.g. Houthuys 2014, Houthuys and Van den Eynde 2014).

open intralingual subtitles to translate French varieties uttered by Swiss, Canadian, or Belgian French speakers (idem).

Secondly, since the release of the first feature-length computer-animated film *Toy Story* by Pixar in 1995, Belgian varieties of Dutch have been used in the Dutch-language dubbed version of animated films for the Belgian market. When *Toy Story* came out on VHS video tape in Belgium, it no longer carried the Netherlandic Dutch dubbed version, but rather a Belgian Dutch one. Animation DVDs, nowadays, allow for more than one translated version. These offer a distinct Belgian Dutch dubbed version in addition to the Netherlandic Dutch version, and the original version. Lieve De Wachter and Jordi Heeren (2010) analysed and compared dubbed versions of animation films into Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch varieties and observed that the differences between the two were on the increase.

Another interesting phenomenon is that a number of Dutch and Belgian films have been remade in the Dutch language area. Within five years of the original film's release, remakes of the following Dutch and Belgian films were produced:

Original Dutch films that were remade in Belgium:
In Oranje (NL, J. Lürsen 2004) - *Buitenspel* (BE, J. Verheyen 2005)
Alles is Liefde (NL, J. Lürsen 2007) - *Zot van A.* (BE, J. Verheyen 2010)
Original Belgian films that were remade in the Netherlands:
Loft (BE, E. Van Looy 2008) - *Loft* (NL, A. Beumer 2010)
Smoorverliefd (BE, H. van Mieghem 2010) - *Smoorverliefd* (NL, H. van Mieghem 2013)

This is probably unique, since Henrik Gottlieb (2005) points out such remakes within the same linguistic community are normally only produced to update older film classics. These three phenomena may be contributing to a further isolation of both parts of the language area in Europe because of reduced exposure to the other national variety of Dutch in Belgium and the Netherlands.

1.2. Existing research and new contribution

1.2.1. Dutch (Socio)Linguistics and Literary Studies

Linguists in Belgium and the Netherlands have published extensively on the Dutch language. Several general histories of Dutch have been written (Brachin 1977; de Vooys 1970; de Vries, Willemyns and Burger 1993; Donaldson 1983; Janssens and Marynissen 2003; van den Toorn et al. 1997; van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009; van der Wal and van Bree 2008; Willemyns 2013). One of these monographs, *Het verhaal van het Vlaams: de geschiedenis van het Nederlands in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* [The story about the Flemish language: the history of the Dutch language in the southern part of the Low Countries] (Willemyns 2003) focusses specifically on the development of Dutch in Belgium. Varieties of Dutch are also covered in later histories of Dutch and Nicoline van der Sijs paid particular attention to "World Dutches" in her book *Wereldnederlands: oude en jonge variëteiten van het Nederlands* [World Dutch: old and new varieties of Dutch] (van der Sijs 2005a; 2005b).

Particularly the divergence between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch prompted a proliferation of research on the Dutch language in the past few decades (e.g. Claes 1991; Cohen 2004; De Caluwe 2006b; 2009a; Deprez 1990; 1997; 1998; 1999; Geeraerts, Grondelaers and Speelman 1999; 2001; Goossens 2000; Hendrickx et al. 2010; Hendrickx 2006; Janssens 2004; Stroop 2003a; 2003b; Van de Velde, van Hout and Gerritsen 1997). The recognition of Dutch as a pluricentric language with national varieties of standard Dutch in Belgium and the Netherlands also has ramifications for lexicography. Until the late 2000s, however, dictionaries have not described the Dutch lexicon neutrally, in that no labels were used for Netherlandic Dutch natiolectisms. Only Belgian Dutch natiolectisms were labelled. This meant that Belgian Dutch, in reality, was still considered a deviation from standard (i.e. Netherlandic) Dutch. Lexicologists and lexicographers addressed this problem (Debrabandere 2000; Geeraerts 2000; Haeseryn 2006; Hendrickx 2009; Hendrickx 2010a; Laureys 2010; Martin 2001; Martin 2010; Smedts 2008), but it was not until 2009 that the first dictionary was published in which both natiolects were described equally (Martin 2001; 2010a; 2010b; Smedts 2008).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Netherlands and Belgium also witnessed the development and expansion of a non-standard, colloquial spoken variety of Dutch. As

indicated in <u>0.8. Dialect, regiolect, and natiolect</u>, 'Poldernederlands' [Polder Dutch] (Stroop 1997a) is the term used for the non-standard, colloquial spoken variety of Netherlandic Dutch. This variety was first used in the 1970s by women in the Randstad region, but is believed to be taking over the Netherlandic Dutch standard (Stroop 1997a; 1997b; 1998). These non-standard varieties of Dutch have generated a lot of interest and concern, particularly the Belgian colloquial variety, as they are feared to contribute to the further divergence of (spoken) Dutch (Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012; Cajot 1998; De Caluwe 2006c; 2009b; Geeraerts 2001; Hendrickx 2006; Hinskens 2007; 1997; 2003a; Stroop 1990; 1998; 2003b; 2006; Tops 2001; van der Horst 2008; 2010).

Absillis (2008; 2009a; 2009b) conducted in-depth research into literary publishing in Belgium and analysed the editing policy of the Manteau publishing house from 1951 to 1970. Similarly, Steven Hermans (2001) looked into the linguistic standard used in Belgian literature. He compared three original Belgian manuscripts with their published end products[24] and verified which editorial suggestions for change the three different Belgian authors actually took on board. Hermans observes that the editors indeed tended to *dutchify* the original manuscripts and, in particular, marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases were removed, although, arguable, these do not always pose actual comprehension difficulties. However, Belgian authors can decide to keep their original Belgian Dutch variants. Only one of the three authors, Tom Lanoye, did not accept most of the changes suggested by his editor, unless his editor could convince him that Dutch nationals would not understand the word or phrase he used.

The novels analysed in Absilis's and Hermans's research, however, were edited and published before the Dutch language was recognised as a pluricentric language. Today, fifteen years after the official recognition of Belgian Dutch, thorough analysis of editorial changes in recent fiction is long overdue. New research would allow an insight into the potential impact this turning point in the history of Dutch had on the linguistic standard used in fiction and editorial practices. It is important to determine what exactly the revisions are that editors make. The assumption is that particularly marked Belgian Dutch lexis is removed. Editors may replace words and phrases for the simple reason that they sound unfamiliar to them. These words and phrases, however, could be (general Dutch) creative language use, or new coinages that are expressions of the author's voice. It is also important to establish which

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[24] *Wit Zand* (Kristien Hemmerechts 1993), *Naar Merelbeke* (Stefan Hertmans 1994), and *Het Goddelijk Monster* (Tom Lanoye 1997).

alternatives are used to replace the original lexis. This could be either marked Netherlandic Dutch or general, unmarked Dutch variants. Similarly, more research needs to be done on the impact of this one-sided linguistic standard on the further development of Dutch in general. Reception studies and surveys could give an insight into reading habits on both sides of the border. If Dutch speakers in Europe are only exposed to their own natiolect, the implications could mean that they become alienated from each other.

1.2.2. Dutch Translation Studies

Michael Cronin opened his chapter on "Minority" in the latest edition of the *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies* as follows:

> The relationship between translation and minority languages has been a relatively neglected topic for much of the existence of translation studies. [...] Although a number of the significant theorists in translation studies in the 1970s and 1980s, for example, came from smaller countries such as Belgium, Israel and the Netherlands, this did not translate into a specific concern with the position of minority languages. (Cronin 2009, p.169)

As explained in 0.7. 'Minority' versus 'minoritised', his notion of 'minorty' does not apply solely to de facto minority languages (e.g. *Gaeilge* [Irish Gaelic]), but also to other languages that have become minoritised. This "specific concern" Cronin mentions is still absent in the Dutch language area, if one considers the limited research that has been done into the impact of the one-sided, Netherlandic written standard on the development of Dutch, in general, and the position of Belgian translators, more specifically.

Cronin (2003, p.154) touched upon Irish English heteroglossic translation practice between 1906 and 1926 and predicted that, with the spread of major languages, this phenomenon would become more common and "figure even more prominently in discussions on translation and minority languages". However, the debate on the linguistic standard applied in translated fiction in pluricentric language areas has hardly started. In the case of the Dutch language area, Belgian translators have expressed dissatisfaction with the present situation and Dutch translation scholars, Désirée Schyns (2002; Schyns and Noble 2008) and Rokus Hofstede (2007a; 2007b), have called for such a debate. Yet, this does not seem to have resulted in much response in Translation Studies.

In Audiovisual Translation, some research has been conducted into the use of national varieties in dubbing, e.g. Luise von Flotow (2009; 2010) discusses Canadian

French dubbed versions. Similarly, as previously mentioned, De Wachter and Heeren (2010) compared the Belgian and the Netherlandic Dutch dubbed version of animation films. In written fiction, however, only one translation is published that caters for all Dutch speakers. The linguistic standard used in this translation seems to be beyond discussion. Linguists seem to be at odds with translators when they claim that the standardisation process with regard to written Dutch has succeeded in Belgium. As early as 1994, the literary scholar Jan Walravens remarked:

> The linguistic and cultural differences between the Netherlands and Flanders have been discussed in numerous articles and a wide variety of book-length publications [...], while the specific problems they entail for the translator are seldom brought to the fore. (Walravens 1994, p.122)

The implications of the narrow written standard, especially in relation to translation in the Dutch language area, seem to meet with a lack of (Belgian) interest although Belgian translators have complained about their status for more than fifteen years. Some research, however, was recently conducted by Isabelle Delaere, Gert De Sutter, and Koen Plevoets (2012). They examined the linguistic standard applied in both translated and original texts in Belgium. To that end, they used the Dutch Parallel Corpus (TST Centrale 2010) and compared texts written by Belgian authors with translations by Belgian translators. One of their findings was that that, generally, translations displayed less features of Belgian Dutch than non-translated Belgian Dutch texts.

The above-mentioned relatively new phenomena relating to Dutch audiovisual translation have resulted in a number of publications (e.g. Cuvelier 2006; Ekker 2011; Hendrickx 2003b; van Doorslaer 1997). In particular, intralingual subtitling of Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch spoken varieties in fiction and non-fiction in Belgium has been thoroughly analysed (Remael, De Houwer and Vandekerckhove 2008; Slembrouck and Van Herreweghe 2004; Vandekerckhove et al. 2006; Vandekerckhove, De Houwer and Remael 2007; 2009). In 2011, open intralingual subtitles used in a Belgian Dutch reality TV show that was broadcast in the Netherlands were analysed as well (De Boeck and Oosterhof 2011). Similarly, a large diachronic corpus of the Flemish public service broadcaster's home-produced, Dutch-language fiction series has been scrutinised with regard to the use of spoken Belgian Dutch varieties (Van Hoof 2010; Van Hoof and Vandekerckhove 2013).

So far, however, no similar research has been conducted into the use of marked Belgian Dutch in the broadcaster's written linguistic output in interlingual fiction subtitles that translate a foreign-language source text into Dutch. In 1998, several accounts of interlingual subtitling practice at VRT were published (Hendrickx and

Reid 1998; Michielsen and Van de Velde 1998; Ockers 1998). However, actual interlingual subtitled language output has not yet been systematically analysed with regard to the linguistic standard adopted in such subtitles. In 1989, Dirk Delabastita drew attention to the linguistic standard adopted in translation in pluricentric language areas and the potential impact of audiovisual translation on language development:

> If the target language has different major geographical variants, which one has been selected? Example: the option between a 'Dutch' [i.e. Netherlandic Dutch] and a 'Flemish' [i.e. Belgian Dutch] variant of Dutch, or between an Australian, British, American, or "Mid-Atlantic" variety of English; this question relates to the important hypothesis that linguistic usage on T.V. has a major modelling impact on the linguistic norms of a speech community. (Delabastita 1989, p.206-207)

Henrik Gottlieb (2004) and Eithne O'Connell (2004a; 2004b) dealt with language-planning implications of subtitles. Similarly, research has been carried out on the role of subtitles in language learning (e.g. d'Ydewalle and Van de Poel 1999; Danan 2004; Kothari 2008; Ghia 2012; O'Connell 2011; Van Lommel, Laenen and d'Ydewalle 2006; Vanderplank 2010) and the European Commission funded ClipFlair, a project for foreign language learning through interactive revoicing and subtitling of clips (Zabalbeascoa Terrán 2013). However, more research needs to be conducted into the connection between (audiovisual) translation and language change. In the German language area, some research has already been done into this matter (e.g. Becher, House and Kranich 2009; Bisiada 2013; Herbst 1994). Gottlieb (2012) investigated the impact of subtitled English-language programmes on Danish. Such smaller language areas would particularly benefit from more research into the linguistic standard used in subtitles, as subtitles could be important disseminators of this standard, and hence potentially powerful language-planning tools.

1.2.3. Novel contribution

Significant research has been conducted into the contentious issue of open intralingual subtitling practices translating Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch varieties into Dutch in both fiction and non-fiction. The present study seeks to supplement this research, by analysing trends in open interlingual fiction subtitles with regard to the use of marked Belgian Dutch. These are the subtitles to which the majority of the Dutch speakers in Belgium can be expected to be exposed to the most. As Gottlieb (2004, p.84) points out in "pro-subtitling speech communities — e.g. Scandinavia and the Dutch-speaking countries — subtitling has established itself as one of the dominant written text types in public life". The Dutch translation scholar Cees Koster

(1997, p.30) even goes so far as to say that given that "subtitles are for many people often the only written text type they are exposed to" [author's translation], subtitling editors-in-chief are "responsible for the development of Dutch" [author's translation]. What happens in subtitling is, therefore, perhaps more significant from a language-planning perspective than what happens in publishing. Because of VRT's established language-planning role in Belgium and its recently changed language policy, an analysis of its open, interlingual subtitles is long overdue. This is why a representative number of VRT subtitles was systematically analysed in the present research.

1.3. Aims and objectives

Belgian Dutch was officially recognised as a national variety of Dutch in the late 1990s. VRT's language policy changed accordingly. The broadcaster announced that it would no longer adhere to the Netherlandic Dutch standard, but rather adopt its own Belgian Dutch standard. The present study seeks to establish if this new language policy also applies to their subtitled programmes. It investigates the broadcaster's use of marked Belgian Dutch lexis in subtitles that were created and broadcast between 1995 and 2012. The objective is to determine, firstly, how the Belgian broadcaster's attitude towards its own national variety has evolved in its language policy. Secondly, the objective is to assess if its language policy is reflected in its actual language output. Questions that arise include: What policies has VRT had in relation to Belgian Dutch since the 1990s and how have these influenced its subtitling policies? Has VRT, since the late 1990s, also allowed for Belgian Dutch features in subtitled texts? Do these subtitled texts provide a counterbalance to the Dutch publishing industry's standardised texts by drawing on Belgian Dutch words and phrases in this written text type and if so, to what extent? By granting increasing visibility to Belgian Dutch variants at a time when these variants continue to be excluded from other Dutch written text types, VRT could be a major language-planning agent today. Thus, this research yields interesting data in relation to not only the use and dissemination of Belgian Dutch variants, but also with regard to the language-planning scope of audiovisual media and subtitles, in general.

1.4. Structure

The first part of this dissertation covers the multidisciplinary theoretical framework against which the diachronic subtitle analysis is conducted in the second part of this dissertation. The first part starts with a brief history of the pluricentric Dutch language in Chapter 2. The History of Modern Dutch, which also attempts to shed some light on the status of the different Dutch natiolects. In Chapter 3. VRT and language planning, qualitative data regarding VRT's language policy is studied. Similarly, its language-planning role in Belgium is evaluated in this chapter. The second part of this dissertation covers the quantitative analysis of a sample of its actual language output. In Chapter 4, first of all, the methodology, which draws heavily on corpus linguistics, is elucidated and the different corpora that were used in this diachronic analysis of VRT television subtitles are discussed. Chapter 5. Analysis, explains how these linguistic resources were deployed using corpus linguistics techniques. The results and findings of the analysis are reviewed in Chapter 6. Results and findings. To conclude, the final chapter, Chapter 7. Conclusion, brings together both parts of the dissertation by assessing the results of the quantitative subtitle analysis in the light of the findings of the theoretical framework.

2. The History of Modern Dutch

2.1. Introduction

A sound understanding of both modern-day Dutch as a pluricentric language and the relationship between its two European natiolects, Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch, is essential for this dissertation. This is why it is necessary to look at the history of the language and its "two motherlands", as Willemyns (2013, p.xi) puts it, namely Belgium and the Netherlands. Like most[25] language areas, the Dutch language area disregards national borders. Just like other pluricentric language areas, it consists of more than one linguistic centre and, correspondingly, has more than one standard variety. The Dutch language was born in the southern part of the Low Countries, but "came of age" in the northern part (de Vries, Willemyns and Burger 2003, p.59 translated by and quoted in Willemyns 2013, p.80). It became a fully-fledged standard language in the territory that is now the present-day Netherlands, while in the area that covers the present-day Belgium a foreign standard language was adopted to be used in situations that are more formal. The Netherlandic variety of Dutch, which was at that time the only available standard variety of Dutch, thus, started to enjoy the highest status in the 18th century. As Michael Clyne explains:

> "[a]lmost invariably, pluricentricity is asymmetrical, i.e., the norms of one national variety (or some national varieties) is (are) afforded a higher status, internally and externally, than those of the others" (Clyne 1992, p.405)

The relationship between the two European linguistic centres in the language area, however, is more complex because of its particular history outlined in this chapter.

The traditional claim that the Netherlandic standard variety remains the dominant form in the language area indeed could be challenged. In the 1990s, Deprez (1998, p.106) spoke of — what he called — the "Flemish claims on Dutch" and explained that, "[m]any Flemings [...] feel that Flanders is entitled to make a contribution" to the Dutch language. These claims are founded, amongst others, on the fact that the cradle of Dutch stood in the southern part of the Low Countries, in what is now Belgium. Hence, it was Deprez's firm conviction that the County of Flanders and the Duchy of Brabant were "historically predestined to constitute the

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[25] E.g. Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi-Urdu, Korean, Macedoninan/Bulgarian, Malay, Pacific Pidgin Englishes, Portuguese, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, Swedish, Tamil. (Ammon 2005, p.1551)

centre of the *Nederlanden* and to bring about the Netherlandic/Nederduits language"
(idem). Historic events in the 16th century, however, prevented this from happening.
The standardisation of Dutch continued in the northern Netherlands, while the
southern Netherlands came, and remained under foreign rule for 200 years.

This, however, did not mean that the standardisation of Dutch in the North
took place without any "southern" input. A large part of the Dutch-speaking
intellectual elite in the Southern Netherlands, in fact, fled to the Northern
Netherlands and was involved in the standardisation process of the Dutch language
there. This is why Edgard Blancquaert expressed great indignation in the introduction
of his pronunciation guidelines *Practische uitspraakleer der Nederlandsche taal*
[Practical pronunciation guide of the Dutch language]:

> But also the other provinces in the South and not in the least the
> provinces of Flanders and Brabant whence hosts of eminent Protestants
> emigrated after 1585 contributed to the development of the vernacular in
> the North. How wrong then can it be of some Dutch speakers in Belgium
> today to display such an aversion to this "Hollands" [i.e. Netherlandic
> Dutch], as if it were something foreign and unfamiliar! [author's
> translation] (Blancquaert 1964, p.18)

The standardisation of the Dutch vernacular started slowly in the Renaissance, the
standard variety of Dutch was at first used in writing only, but later on also in speech
(van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). The Dutch language in itself, of course, is much
older. Dutch is a continental West Germanic language and its earliest stage is
referred to as *Oudnederlands* [Old Dutch]. *Oudnederlands* is an umbrella term for the
earliest dialects of Dutch spoken from approximately 600 until 1100/1150 (van der
Wal and van Bree 2008). The earliest written texts in existence date back to the
ninth century (Willemyns 2003) and, typically, it is the beginning of a language's
written tradition that truly and tangibly marks its actual birth. For this reason, the
second stage, *Middelnederlands* [Middle Dutch] from approximately 1100/1150 to
1500/1600 (van der Wal and van Bree 2008), in which important literary texts were
written, tends to be considered the actual first stage in the history of Dutch
(Willemyns 2003).

From the 13th until the end of the 16th century, the cultural and socio-economic
centre of gravity was roughly situated in present-day Belgian regions: the County of
Flanders and the Duchy of Brabant, respectively (Deprez and Wynants 1990; Deprez
1997). *Middelnederlands*, therefore, established itself in the present-day Belgian
region as the language of culture and, as a result, the written variety of Middle Dutch
was "firmly Flemish [i.e. it displayed features of the variety of the County Flanders]
[...] in its roots even in the non-Flemish parts of the Dutch language territory [i.e.

beyond the County of Flanders]" (van de Craen and Willemyns 1988, p.46). It is worth remarking that as early as the 13th century, public servants in these regions also started to use the vernacular, rather than Latin in official documents (Deprez 1997; Willemyns 2003). In the 16th century, *Middelnederlands* gradually started evolving into *Nieuwnederlands*, Modern Dutch.

The starting point for this chapter on the history of this pluricentric language is the 16th century; a century that witnessed "particularly far-reaching changes in the Dutch language" (van der Horst and van der Horst 1999, p.11). It marks the beginning of the standardisation process of Dutch and, as a result, the beginning of language planning in the Dutch language area at large (Willemyns 2013). Also noteworthy is that prior to the 16th century, there had been no political entity uniting the Dutch-speaking regions. What is more, there was nothing uniting these regions. There was no political, no economic, and no cultural union, as a result, there was no need for a supra-regional standard variety of Dutch (van der Horst and van der Horst 1999). This was about to change in the 16th century. Gradually, a written standard started to establish itself. A spoken standard, however, did not come into being until the late 19th century. *Nieuwnederlands* [New or Modern Dutch] is the designation for this third stage in the development of Dutch, the period from 1500/1600 onwards (van der Wal and van Bree 2008). Slowly but surely, a supra-regional Dutch language developed, which little by little started supplanting the local dialects (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009).

In the 17th century, translators and editors from the four main Dutch-speaking regions were appointed to collaborate on an official, standardised translation of the Bible. This resulted in the Protestant *Statenbijbel* [lit. States' Bible] (1637), which is considered a milestone in the history of standard Dutch. After the Middle Ages, momentous extra-linguistic events occurred such as the Fall of Antwerp (1585) and the ensuing political partition of the Low Countries (1648). The southern part of the Low Countries was separated from the northern part and the cultural and socio-economic centre of gravity, which had been in the southern regions since the 13th century, shifted to the North at the end of the 16th century. For 200 years, the South would remain under foreign rule with French as the de facto official language. For this reason, linguists until recently have downplayed the position of Dutch in the South. In 1988, Piet Van de Craen and Roland Willemyns, for example, summarised these historic events as follows:

> In the north, the standardization of Dutch, strongly influenced by the southern writing tradition and the numerous immigrants who had fled the south, gathered momentum. In the south, on the other hand, where

French became more prominent, the elaboration of the Dutch standard language decreased and eventually stopped (van de Craen and Willemyns 1988, pp.46-47).

Similarly, the following quotation taken from a history of the Dutch language illustrates how linguists underestimated the status of Dutch in the South and the role of the South in the development of the Dutch language after the partition:

The standardisation of Dutch took place in the North and, for centuries to come, the South disappears almost completely out of our sight. [author's translation] (van der Wal and van Bree 2008, p.186)

In any case, Dutch remained the language of the majority in those southern regions. As explained below, recent research sheds new light on this period and the role the South played in it.

History books of the Dutch language have been criticised for not conveying the whole picture and describing the history of Dutch too much from a one-sided, Dutch (i.e. non-Belgian) perspective. This is why, in 2003, the Belgian linguist Roland Willemyns – somewhat provocatively – published his history of "Flemish", Het Verhaal van het Vlaams, the title of which fitted in nicely in the list of other histories of Dutch he co-authored:

1. *Het Verhaal van een Taal* [The Story of a Language] (de Vries, Willemyns and Burger 1993)
2. *Het Verhaal van het Vlaams* [The Story of the Flemish Language] (Willemyns 2003)
3. *Het Verhaal van het Nederlands* [The Story of the Dutch Language] (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009)

Not surprisingly, there is a significant degree of overlap between those books. *Het Verhaal van het Nederlands* [The Story of the Dutch language] (2009) was updated and, subsequently, revised and translated for an English-speaking audience. The main contribution of this history of Dutch is that it discarded a number of myths. This book, *Dutch: Biography of a Language* (Willemyns 2013) came out in 2013 and, therefore, is the latest history of Dutch.

The extra-linguistic context in which a language develops has wide implications intra-linguistically. As a result, historic events such as the partition of the Southern and the Northern Netherlands, as well as the Reformation in the 16th century, but also the Dutch colonisation of *Sint Maarten*, Curacao, Aruba, and Surinam in the 17th century had a significant impact on the Dutch language and what were to become its national varieties. Indeed, in those centuries, the seeds of its natiolects were sown. This is why this third stage in the development of Dutch, *Nieuwnederlands* (Modern Dutch), is the main focus of attention in this chapter on the history of Dutch. The political and cultural events in the 16th century and the language standardisation

process in subsequent centuries are discussed in the following. This chapter concludes with the Dutch colonisation of Islands in the Caribbean Sea, Surinam, and South Africa. It is important to highlight this often-overlooked fact that the Dutch language of today is more than the language spoken in its "motherlands", the Netherlands and Belgium.

2.2. Dutch in the 16th century

The 16th century witnessed the origins of the Low Countries as a political entity, when in 1548, the Seventeen Provinces, an area that roughly corresponds to present-day Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, became part of the Burgundian Circle with Brussels as its capital. In the following, it becomes apparent that the 16th century was, both culturally and linguistically speaking, a very eventful period in Western Europe, but all the more so in the Low Countries. As Geert Craps (2000) writes in his 'Een geschiedenis van de Nederlandsen' [A history of the Dutches], it was roughly towards the end of the 16th century that Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch started to go their own way. Subsequently, in the 17th century, other, non-European, varieties of Dutch were born, some of which survive today and are now officially recognised as national varieties of Dutch by its sole official language-planning body, the *Nederlandse Taalunie* [The Dutch Language Union]. These varieties have had and still have an impact on the Dutch language in general. It is fair to say that today language planners, as a result, have to come to terms with this richness of the Dutch language vis-à-vis the notion of a uniform, standard language.

In the regions that more or less correspond to the Netherlands and Belgium today, the economic and cultural centre of gravity had largely been in present-day, Dutch-speaking Belgium between the 13th and 16th century. These parts of the Low Countries also left their mark on the Dutch language. The County of Flanders[26] with its capital *Brugge*[27] was, both economically and culturally speaking, the wealthiest region, between the 13th and 14th century. In the 15th century, the Duchy of Brabant became the new economic and cultural centre of gravity until the end of the 16th century (Deprez 1997). The capital of the Duchy of Brabant was Brussels. Antwerp boasted the main European port. In the Brabant city of *Leuven*[28], the very first

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[26] This county also comprised a small part of present-day Dutch and French territory: in the North, *Zeeuws-Vlaanderen* [Zeelandic Flanders] in the Netherlands, and, in the South, the *Département du Nord* and *Département du Pas-de-Calais* in France.

[27] In the English-speaking world, this city is mostly known under its French name, *Bruges*.

[28] In the English-speaking world, this city is mostly known under its French name, *Louvain*.

university of the Low Countries was established in 1425. Other well-known Brabant cities, such as Breda and *'s-Hertogenbosch*,[29] are now part of the Netherlands.

Although writers and government officials had already started to use the Dutch vernacular in the Middle Ages, Latin remained the language of religion and science (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009; van der Wal and van Bree 2008). The status of "the language of the people" was nowhere near the prestige of the classical languages. This was about to change when, in the first half of the 16[th] century, Dutch little by little "c[a]me of age: a language to speak and to write, to praise God, to pursue science, alongside with being the language of poets and administrators it had been for centuries before" (de Vries, Willemyns and Burger 2003, p.59 translated by and quoted in Willemyns 2013, p.80). In their history of Dutch, Nicoline van der Sijs and Roland Willemyns (2009) discuss four major events that started to undermine the strong position of the Latin language in the 16th century.

Firstly, because of the invention of the printing press in the 15th century, books became more widely available throughout subsequent centuries. Printers gradually started using the vernacular, which increased exposure to the written language and its different varieties. Secondly, the Reformation in the 16th century took a great deal of interest in common people's everyday language. Martin Luther translated the Bible into the vernacular. His translation approach, which is also significant from a language-planning perspective, was the following:

> Man muß [...] den gemeinen Mann auf dem Markt drum fragen, und denselbigen auf das Maul sehen, wie sie reden und darnach dolmetschen (Martin Luther quoted in Störig 1963, p.21)

> **English translation**
> You must ask [...] the ordinary man in the market <sic> and look at their mouths, how they speak, and translate that way (translated by and quoted in Munday 2008, p.24)

Numerous copies of the Luther Bible were printed and circulated. In the Low Countries, the Bible had already been translated several times before the authorised Protestant *Statenbijbel* was printed in 1637. Unlike Luther's Bible, however, the language used in the *Statenbijbel* was rather formal and stilted and it would take generations of writers to make written Dutch more natural, when people finally started to *write as they speak*. Thirdly, a renewed fascination with antiquity and classical literature in the Renaissance also induced interest in one's own vernacular and attempts were made to *raise* one's own language *to the level of* Latin and Greek, which were held in high esteem. Subsequently, first attempts were made, in

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[29] In the English-speaking world, this city is mostly known under its French name, *Bois-le-Duc*.

the Low Countries, to regulate spelling and grammar, and the first dictionaries were published. Fourthly, Van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) mention the revolution against King Philip II of Spain and his Counter Reformation. Large parts of the cultural and intellectual elite in the Duchy of Brabant, where the standardisation of Dutch had slowly started, fled to the County of Holland in the North. In the North, Dutch eventually developed into a fully-fledged language that could challenge the monopoly position of Latin as the language of culture and science. These four major events are briefly discussed in the next subsections.

2.2.1. The printing press

Willemyns (2013) points out that the shift of the economic and cultural centre of gravity from the County of Flanders to the Duchy of Brabant, in the 15th century, was what brought the linguistic diversity of Dutch and its regional variation to the fore. When the printing press became more widely used towards the end of the 15th century and in the course of the 16th century, the literate and more affluent Dutch speakers from all parts of the Low Countries encountered different varieties of written Dutch in books. This awareness of the way Dutch was written elsewhere, van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) explain, prompted the standardisation of Dutch. The most prestigious variety of Dutch in those days was the variety of the Duchy of Brabant, which was heavily influenced by the variety of the County of Flanders (e.g. Deprez and Wynants 1990); still this did not necessarily mean that printers resolutely replaced other regional features by their more prestigious counterparts. In fact, some of those printers can be considered the first language planners in that they avoided language forms they deemed 'too regional' to be understood everywhere and endeavoured to use a more general Dutch to reach a wider audience. Printers, thus, started to standardise the language. They also started to codify the Dutch language and *purify* it by removing loanwords. In particular, French loanwords were replaced prior to publication.

Robert B. Baldauf and Richard B. Kaplan (1997, p.29) explain that the two main forms of language planning are corpus and status planning. Status planning "consists of those decisions a society must make about language selection and the implementation to choose and disseminate the language or languages selected". Corpus planning "consists of linguistic decisions which need to be made to codify and elaborate a language or languages" (idem). Some of the 16th century printers, in this sense, can be considered status planners since their selection and use of a given

Dutch variety in the books they printed, exposed other language users to this variety. This circulation of the written variety, moreover, allowed it to gain more recognition, which, in turn, may have resulted in its use in more situations. Additionally, some printers were corpus planners, because they *purified* the language and looked for more general, lexical variants. Some printers also codified and elaborated the Dutch language by printing dictionaries, and drawing up grammar and orthography rules (e.g. Willemyns 2013).

2.2.2. The Bible

Just as Martin Luther's 1534 Protestant translation of the Bible was not the first German-language Bible, several[30] Bible translations into Dutch were completed before the authorised Protestant[31] *Statenbijbel* came out in 1637. In fact, the first ever Dutch-language book to be printed was one of such Bibles, the *Delftse Bijbel* (1477). Nicolaus van Winghe published the first official Catholic Bible translation, the *Leuvense Bijbel* (1548), in the Duchy of Brabant (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). The Bible translators tried, just like the above-mentioned printers, not to restrict the use of their Bibles to a certain region; all of the Low Countries and the bordering Low German area were to benefit from these translations. Most of these Bibles became successful and are believed to have helped the standardisation of Dutch (idem). Probably unconsciously, Bible translators too engaged in language-planning activities, such as establishing a more or less standardised language variety, actually using this variety, and, therefore, disseminating it.

Willemyns (2013, p.93) considers the *Statenbijbel* the "most influential language-planning instrument by far". When the translation was commissioned in 1618, two translators from Friesland, two from West Flanders, one from Zeeland, and one from Holland were appointed. Their translation, subsequently, was revised by people from all over the Low Countries, Willemyns concludes:

> As a result, the language of the Statenbijbel — actually created for that purpose — carefully combined northern and southern characteristics and became the basis of the northern written language and writing tradition, thus preventing northern and southern varieties of the language from growing too far apart. (Willemyns 2013, p.94)

Willemyns (2003) explains that, in case of doubt, southern and preferably Brabant

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[30] The main Dutch translations of the Bible have been digitalised and are freely accessible online day (Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap 2014a; van der Sijs 2008)

[31] The first Protestant translation was the *Liesveltbijbel* (1542) that used Luther's translation as the source text. The *Statenbijbel* translated the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek, and, thus, was considered *purer* in that it went back to the *original source*.

[i.e. originating from the Duchy of Brabant], rather than Flemish [i.e. originating from the County of Flanders] variants were chosen over northern variants mostly. Therefore, the Brabant variety of Dutch was still held in high regard at the time.

Because of the on-going standardisation process of Dutch in the North, which had gathered momentum in the 17th century, the language of the Bible with its southern features, however, appeared rather archaic by the time the translation was finally completed. Nonetheless, the *Statenbijbel* remained in circulation until 1951, when it was replaced by a new translation, *Bijbel in de Nieuwe Vertaling* [The Bible translated anew] or *NBV 1951*, which was updated in 2008. The *Statenbijbel* and the preceding translation process have undoubtedly had an effect on the standardisation process of Dutch. It is, however, doubtful that this Protestant *Statenbijbel* had been "read and reread for three centuries in churches, schools, and homes" (Willemyns 2013, p.94) in the southern regions as well,[32] as those had become predominantly Catholic again before the turn of the 16th century. As far as the codification of the standard variety is concerned, southern features of Dutch were found in the *Statenbijbel* and the southern contribution is hence beyond doubt. However, with regard to the implementation and dissemination of this variety through the Bible, this status-planning process probably primarily took place in the North.

2.2.3. The Renaissance

Prior to the Modern Era, no noteworthy grammars were written or other attempts were made to linguistically describe – or *prescribe*, for that matter – the vernacular in Western Europe (van der Wal and van Bree 2008). In 1485, *Exercitium Puerorum*, a Latin textbook was printed in which for the first time some features of Dutch were implicitly described (idem). The renewed interest in the classical languages in the Renaissance also instigated corpus-planning efforts with regard to the vernacular. Latin texts were translated into the vernacular, and in doing so, the latter was further developed and *upgraded* to the status *of* Latin. The Latin language was still believed to be a superior and more prestigious language, but there was a growing conviction that the vernacular could become such a prestigious language as well. Moreover, the Western Europe of the 16th century was a period in which national identity was growing, which contributed to an increased interest in one's own

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[32] After the *Leuvense bijbel* (1548), the *Moerentorfbijbel* (1599) became the official Bible for the Catholics, which had remained in use until the beginning of the 20th century. Then the *Canisiusvertaling* (1939) was used, which was replaced by the *Willibrordvertaling* (1978) and is largely used until this day (Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap 2014).

language (idem).

In the 16th century, the most influential Dutch grammar was written, *Twespraack vande Nederduitsche Letterkunst* [lit. Dialogue on the Dutch Grammar] (Spiegel 1584). The standard it uses was modelled on the sociolect of the cultivated and educated classes and this introduced a new language-planning approach still applied in the Dutch language area today (Willemyns 2013). Not so much the regional variable, but rather the social variable became decisive when it came to selecting the linguistic standard (idem). Highly influential too was Cornelis Kiliaan's dictionary, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae sive Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum* (1574 and 1599), in which he added etymological information and regional labels to headwords. Willemyns (2013, p.83) calls it the "first scientific dictionary of a vernacular in Europe". Pontus de Heuiter from Delft, published his *Nederduitse Orthographie* [Dutch Spelling] in 1581, which was particularly interesting because de Heuiter was the first who did not use his own dialect as the standard, but rather attempted to use a more general Dutch.

The Low Countries took specific pride in their Germanic language. Dutch was believed to have all it needed to become a fully-fledged language, unlike Romance languages that were believed to be degenerated daughter languages of Latin (van der Wal and van Bree 2008). The general belief, however, was that the Dutch language had for a long time been neglected and needed to be modelled on Latin. But first and foremost, the language had to be *expurgated*, since other languages *had fouled* it. When it came to purifying the lexicon of Dutch it were the Romance words in particular that had to be removed; German words did not meet with as much opposition (van der Wal and van Bree 2008). Other than such corpus-planning efforts, language planners, likewise, engaged in status planning. Several pleas were made to expand the use of the vernacular to other more prestigious domains such as science. Simon Stevin, the renowned humanist from Brugge, who emigrated to the North, could also be regarded as an active language planner. First, he set an example by publishing his scientific work in Dutch and in doing so increasing the status of the language. Likewise, Stevin was a corpus planner, who coined several new terms and some of his mathematical terms[33] are still in use today.

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[33] E.g. "wiskonst"/"wiskunde" [mathematics], as opposed to "Mathématiques (FR), Mathematik (DE), Mathematics (EN), Matematica (IT), Matemáticas (SP) all of which have the same etymological Greek root.

2.2.4. The Partition of the Low Countries

When the Habsburg Netherlands were united in 1548, the Low Countries for the first time became "more or less a political entity of its own" (Willemyns 2013, p.78). The above illustrates that this period was also marked by several corpus- and status-planning efforts. For the first time, grammar (*Voorreden vanden noodich ende nutticheyt der Nederduytsche taalkunste* (1556), *Twe-spraack van de Nederduitsche Letterkunst* (1584)) and orthography rules (*Nederlandsche Spellijnghe* (1550), *Neederduitse Orthographie* (1581) were laid down. Similarly, the first dictionaries were printed (*Naembouck* (ca. 1551), *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum* (1574)). Willemyns summarised this as follows: "thanks to the combined efforts of Flemings, Brabanters, and Hollanders, a written standard language was gradually taking shape" (Willemyns 2013, p.xiv).

The year 1585, however, marked a turning point, as the *Val van Antwerpen* [Fall of Antwerp] in the *Tachtigjarige Oorlog* [Eighty Year's War] (1568-1648) resulted in the de facto partition of the Low Countries. The Southern Netherlands became known as the Spanish Netherlands and remained under Spanish rule until 1714. The County of Holland prospered, while the once so prosperous Duchy of Brabant started to struggle economically and soon lagged behind culturally and linguistically. A large part of the Dutch-speaking intellectual elite and wealthy merchants fled to the North[34] for religious, political, and economic reasons. In the North, these "southerners" not only helped the further standardisation of Dutch (e.g. the afore-mentioned Simon Stevin), but also financially contributed to the economy (Willemyns 2003). This southern contribution to the standardisation of Dutch, was downplayed by van der Sijs (2004) and Boys Hendriks and Howell (2000). In 2007, Johan Taeldeman, however, invalidated their arguments, and concluded:

> the South, and mainly Brabant, had a decisive influence on the language standardi[s]ation in the 16th and 17th century Holland (Taeldeman 2007, p.107 translated by and quoted in Willemyns 2013, p.92)

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[34] The results of a 1622 census were mentioned in Willemyns (2003 and 2013): 1/3 of the Amsterdam population was of southern origin, in Haarlem 50% and in Leiden, as much as 67%.

2.3. After the 16ᵗʰ century

2.3.1. The Dutch language in Europe

The *Gouden Eeuw* [Golden Age] is a term used to refer to the 17th century in the north of the Low Countries. It was an age of great prosperity both economically and culturally speaking. In the South, the situation was much bleaker. Dutch was still used in literature and – be it to a lesser extent – by local governments. Nonetheless, French had long been the official language and, although not spoken by the majority, had cast a shadow on the language of the majority because of its prestige. The interest of the southerners in language and literature, which had once been so keen, started to wane in this period. Willemyns (2003) puts this down to the *Tachtigjarige Oorlog* [Eighty Year's War] (1568-1648), as there was a brief period of revived interest thanks to the *Twaalfjarig Bestand* [Twelve Years' Truce] (1609-1621). This truce allowed southern *rederijkers* [lit. rhetoricians; amateur poets and theatre groups that were a highly influential part of the Dutch-language[35] literary tradition] to travel to the North to compete with northern *rederijkerskamers* [societies of *rederijkers*] in the famous *landjuwelen* [yearly theatre competitions].

After 1621, there was no significant language contact between the South and the North, where the standardisation process meanwhile had gathered momentum. Willemyns describes the language situation in the North, as follows:

> the people of Holland were taught by southerners, heard southern sermons in their churches and were entertained by southern Rederijkers in their theaters. The spoken word in Holland was heavily accented with a southern flavor and a lot of that Flemish [i.e. originating from the County of Flanders] and Brabantic [i.e. originating from the Duchy of Brabant] influence was there to stay in standard Dutch forever, be it mostly in the more formal written variety. (Willemyns 2013, p.87)

In the second half of the 17ᵗʰ century, the southerners who had moved to the North, however, became completely assimilated and their marked southern features of Dutch vanished (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009).

In the northern part of the Low Countries, the spoken variety of the cultured, upper classes in the County of Holland was developed into the standard variety of Dutch and codified. Dictionaries, orthography and grammar rules were published in the North and circulated through the writings of its authors, e.g. Joost van den

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[35] In fact, the *rederijkers* even have two masterpieces of European literature, to wit *Elckerlyc* and *Mariken van Nimweghen*, to their names (Willemyns 2013).

Vondel (1587-1679) and P.C. Hooft (1581-1647) (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). What is more, in the first half of the 17th century, these writers edited their older work and removed southern features from their earlier writings in an effort to streamline it with newer linguistic conventions (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). These linguistic conventions were hardly known in the South, where people slowly started to become alienated from the northern variety. Written Dutch in the South became archaic compared to Northern Dutch. This, however, did not mean that Dutch only managed to live on in the form of local dialects in the South. Dutch was still used in writing albeit in a written variety that had become archaic (Willemyns 2013).

In the early 17th century, the personal pronoun 'du' [you, singular] had completely disappeared and 'gij' [you, singular and plural] was introduced in writing. This personal pronoun was also used in the *Statenbijbel* (1637). At the same time, 'jij' [you, singular and stressed form] and 'je' [you, singular and unstressed form] were introduced and became commonly used in speech (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). In the South, people continued to use 'gij' [you, stressed singular form or plural form] and 'ge' [you, singular and unstressed form]; until this day, these forms are used in colloquial Belgian Dutch. They also occur in Belgian Dutch fiction dialogues. Local dialects continued to serve as the colloquial spoken variety all over the Low Countries. In the northern cities, however, people started to disapprove of the *common* language of the country folk and started to distinguish themselves linguistically by paying particular attention to their language usage. This *beschaafde* [civilised, cultivated] Dutch used in the cities gradually converged, although it was still possible to pinpoint these accents to a certain city until the late 19th century (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009).

The South came under Austrian rule in 1714 and had remained so for most of the 18th century. Although these political events resulted in a separation of the North and the South, all ties were not broken altogether. A cultural and linguistic connection was still felt with the North. This particularly comes across in J.B.C. Verlooy's famous essay *Verhandeling op d'Onacht der moederlyke Tael in de Nederlanden* [Essay on the negligence of the mother tongue in the Low Countries] (1788). Verlooy drew on the historic past of the united Low Countries and a shared language and culture and it was his unswerving conviction that the status of Dutch in the South could only be elevated with the help of the North (De Ridder 2001). His essay highly influenced language planners in the 19th century, who decided to adopt the northern Dutch standard when Belgium became independent from the

Netherlands (Willemyns 2013). Policy makers today hold a similar view when they insist on linguistic unity with the Netherlands because a separate language in Belgium would only be used by around six million language users, as opposed to the approximately 23 million Dutch speakers Europe counts today.

In the 18th century, the language variety used by *educated* speakers and leading writers, became the norm for what was considered to be *good* and *correct* Dutch (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). In the South, writers attempted to adhere to this northern norm, nevertheless this had hardly any effect on their spoken varieties (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). The 17th and 18th century also witnessed a remarkable expansion of the Dutch lexicon. New Dutch terms were coined, but many French terms were taken up as well. In the 18th century, lexicographical activity in the North increased extensively. More dictionaries were written and an attempt was made to describe the Dutch vocabulary in greater detail. Standardisation activity also continued in the South, where several grammars were published, *Ontwerp van eene nederduytsche spraekkonst* [A draft of a Dutch grammar] (1713) and the popular *Nieuwen Nederlanschen Voorschriftboek* [New Dutch regulations] (1714) which had been in use until 1833. In 1752, another grammar *Oprecht onderwys van de Letterkonst* [lit. Sound instruction of the grammar] and *Woordenschat oft letterkonst* [lit. Vocabulary or grammar] was released, both of which gave evidence of the fact that people were familiar with the Dutch standard used in the North, even so, van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) continue, these reference works did not promote it, nor did their authors use it in their own writing.

The most important grammar of the South at the time was *Nieuwe Nederduytsche spraekkonst* [New Dutch Grammar] (1761) by Jan Des Roches. Des Roches was originally from the northern part of the Low Countries, but he became a teacher in the South. He was appointed as an adviser on educational and linguistic matters by the Austrian ruler (Willemyns 2013). Linguists have long mocked his grammar as nothing but a grammar of the Antwerp dialect, but as Willemyns (2013, p.98) explains, new research by Gijsbert Rutten and Rik Vosters (e.g. 2010; 2012) revealed that:

> the author produced a comprehensive compilation of linguistic ideas taken from the works of southern Dutch predecessors [...], northern Dutch normative grammars [...], a Dutch introduction to Latin as well as the French grammatical tradition. Rather than a mere amateur, Des Roches appears to have been a rather learned and creative grammarian. (Willemyns 2013, p.98)

It is remarkable that Des Roches, unlike his colleagues, promoted a marked southern standard. He also wrote a dictionary *Fransch-Nederduytsch Woordenboek* (1782) and

both reference works were used in schools. His orthography rules were officially introduced in 1777 (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). Vosters and Rutten (2013) also analysed another 18th century grammar from the South *Snoeijmes der Vlaemsche tale* [The trimming knife of the Dutch language]. In brief, the widespread belief that the southern part of the Low Countries was a linguistic wasteland in the 18th century has had to be reviewed (Willemyns 2013). Indeed the above-mentioned grammars suggest that a – what could be considered – separate standardisation process took place in the South.

The reunification of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands and the language policy of King William, however, introduced the Netherlandic norm and put a halt to this separate standardisation process of Dutch in the South (Willemyns 2013). The 17th century also saw the territorial expansion of the Dutch language outside of Europe, where Dutch met foreign languages and started to take its own course. These non-European varieties of Dutch, however, also affect the general Dutch standard particularly as regards vocabulary (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). Van der Sijs (2005a, p.96-97) explains that it is "highly likely that these ethnic varieties will to a greater or lesser extent supply loanwords to standard Dutch". This is why ethnic varieties of Dutch are briefly discussed in the following section.

2.3.2. Dutch beyond European borders

As explained above, the southern part of the Low Countries was separated from the North, and Dutch, as it continued to be spoken there, developed differently. At the end of 20th century, it became recognised as a standard variety of Dutch, Belgian Dutch. However, other varieties of Dutch appeared elsewhere as well. The 17th century saw the territorial expansion of the language outside of Europe, where Dutch in some cases took its own course as well. The Dutch language was, be it sometimes inadvertently, exported to other continents. Pidgins[36] and creoles[37] developed with Dutch as one of its constituent parts, but *Ethnic Dutch* also developed. Van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) describe such ethnic varieties of Dutch as Dutch as it is used by non-native speakers. In Ethnic Dutch, there is language interference with the

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[36] A pidgin is "a simplified form of language, typically with a reduced grammar and vocabulary, used for communication between groups speaking different languages who have no other language in common, usually in situations where there are strikingly different levels of power in a colonial setting. A pidgin is not spoken as a first or native language." (Campbell and Mixco 2007, p.161)

[37] "The traditional definition of a creole is a language descended from a pidgin that has become the native language of a group of people - a creole is a pidgin that has acquired native speakers" (Campbell and Mixco 2007, p.44)

speaker's native language that causes this variety to deviate from standard Dutch (idem). They make a distinction between ethnic varieties that came into being outside of Europe and the more recent ethnic varieties that came into being on Dutch soil, **Yiddish Dutch** and **Turkish-Moroccan Dutch**. Surprisingly, no mention is made of Turkish-Moroccan Dutch that developed on Belgian soil and as a result share features of Belgian Dutch.

The first group of non-European ethnic varieties of Dutch is larger, however, some of these varieties (**American Dutch** and **Indo(nesian) Dutch**) have disappeared completely (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). The only still existing varieties van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) mention are *Surinaams Nederlands* and *Curaçao Nederlands*. The latter term, however, seems to cover *Aruba Nederlands* and *Sint-Maarten Nederlands* as well. The Dutch Language Union, however, officially recognises the following ethnic varieties as separate national varieties of Dutch today (Nederlandse Taalunie 2012): Surinaams Nederlands' [Surinam Dutch], 'Curaçao Nederlands' [Curacao Dutch], 'Aruba Nederlands' [Aruba Dutch], and 'Sint-Maarten Nederlands' [Saint-Martin Dutch].

Another 17th-century variety of Dutch was *Kaapnederlands* [Cape Dutch]; originally, this variety was merely a spoken variety of Dutch, but, in 1925, it was codified into a separate and new, official, South African language: Afrikaans. Afrikaans is the only daughter language[38] of Dutch and, although not a (standard) variety of Dutch, deserves separate mention here. One of the reasons, as Jacques Van Keymeulen (2010) pointed out, is that there are a number of interesting analogies between the history of Afrikaans and Dutch in Belgium. In both cases, for instance, the numerical language majorities were dominated by a language minority and they both have approximately six million speakers. What makes the two cases so entirely different, however, are the language-planning decisions made when the need was felt for a fully-fledged, official standard language.

The *Afrikaners* [the (white) descendants of the 17th century Dutch colonisers] indeed took the decision not to adopt the Netherlandic standard variety. They decided to standardise their own language variety of *Kaapnederlands* "in a reaction against both English and Dutch" (Van Keymeulen 2010, p.135). This standard variety developed into the separate, daughter language of Dutch it is today: Afrikaans. As Deprez (1997, p.249) pointed out, "Flemish was not developed as a standard

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[38] "a language descended from another language" (Campbell and Mixco 2007, p.39)

language: it could have been, but it was not." It is certainly not inconceivable that, *in a reaction against French and Dutch* – to apply Van Keymeulen's afore-mentioned wording to the Belgian case – the Dutch-speaking Belgians would have decided to standardise their own language variety when the country became independent from the Netherlands in 1830. What is more, as the above shows, separate standardisation processes had already started in the South, where Flemish [i.e. originating from the County of Flanders] and Brabant [i.e. originating from the Duchy of Brabant] varieties in the past had acquired high prestige. A group of Catholic activists[39] from the province of West Flanders, who became known as the *particularists*, in fact, opposed the adoption of the (Protestant) standard and advocated a separate, Belgian standard. They had to taste defeat from the *integrationists*, who opted for the Netherlandic standard, which was in the end reintroduced in Belgium (e.g. Willemyns 2013).

2.3.3. Dutch in the 19ᵗʰ century

A wave of *Gallomania* characterised by a deep respect for the French language and culture swept over Europe in the 18ᵗʰ century, but blew over at the end of the century (Willemyns 2003). In 1795, the Low Countries came under French rule. In the North, which was not annexed to France, Dutch was not replaced by French and remained the official language. In fact, this French period had a favourable effect on the standardisation of Dutch in the North (Willemyns 2013). The official and authoritative spelling, Matthijs Siegenbeek's *Verhandeling over de spelling der Nederduitsche taal en bevordering van eenparigheid in derzelve* [Treatise on the spelling of the Dutch language and the promotion of the uniformity thereof] (1804), and grammar, Petrus Weiland's grammar, *Nederduitsche spraakkunst* [Dutch Grammar] (1805), were written and introduced there. The Dutch language of the South, however, fared less well, although new research suggests that Napoleon's gallicisation policy was never fully implemented throughout the annexation period and its effects, therefore, have to be put into perspective (Willemyns 2013). The gallicisation in the South had already started towards the end of the 18ᵗʰ century, with more and more educated Dutch speakers discarding their native language for the sake of upward social mobility. This was at a time when other European countries started to renew their interest in their own vernaculars (Willemyns 2003). Nonetheless, the annexation of the South to France in itself caused the Dutch

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[39] Most famous of which the celebrated poet Guide Gezelle (1830-1899).

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speakers to lose their numeric majority and had dramatic consequences for the prestige of Dutch in the South (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009).

When Napoleon was defeated, the Low Countries had been reunited again for about 15 years between 1814 and 1830 in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. This kingdom under William I was to serve as a buffer state against France after the Napoleonic Wars. King William tried to undo the gallicisation by introducing new language policies aimed at culturally and linguistically reuniting the North and the South. On the 16th of March 1815, William I said in front of parliament:

> It is a whole people, that comes to join us, already fraternized with us through its traditions, its language and its industry as well as through its memories. (translation by and quoted in Willemyns 2013, p.110)

Dutch, the language of 75% of the population (consisting of 2,314,000 northerners and 2,351,000[40] southerners), became the official language, which was to contribute to the political reunification (Willemyns 2003). In 1823, public life in the originally Dutch-speaking southern regions was officially *dutchified*. Willemyns (2013) remarks that the mere fact that this switch to Dutch could be made so quickly, corroborated recent views on how the Dutch language in the South managed to overcome the two centuries of foreign rule. Dutch became the only language of instruction in primary and secondary schools in those regions (idem). William I also engaged in status planning in the predominantly French speaking regions, where he attempted to elevate the prestige of Dutch (Willemyns 2003).

When Belgium became independent in 1830, however, Dutch was immediately replaced by French as the one and only official language. This lead many linguists (e.g. de Vries, Willemyns and Burger 1993; Janssens and Marynissen 2003; van den Toorn et al. 1997) to wrongly believe King William's language-planning efforts had failed (Willemyns 2013). For two reasons this is considered too negative a conclusion. On the one hand:

> although short-lived, [it] was of the utmost importance to the Flemings, who, for the first time in centuries, experienced that their language was not held in contempt anymore but was used in administration, politics, the judiciary, and education (Willemyns 2013, p.115)

Thus, King William I boosted their linguistic self-esteem, but he also confronted Dutch speakers in the South with the necessity of a standard variety. On the other hand, Willemyns (2013) also agrees with Rutten (2011), who attributes great value to the reintroduction of the northern standard, as it stopped the separate

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[40] Van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) explain that the southerners were indeed in the majority because at the time the Limburg region was part of the South. In 1838, this region was devided between Belgium and the Netherlands.

standardisation process in the South. In any case, when the South came under Dutch rule, much to the southerners' frustration – it became apparent to all layers of society that Dutch in the North had become very different indeed from the Flemish, Brabant, and Limburg varieties spoken in the South. Historians (e.g. Reynebeau 2003) believed that particularly the French-speaking elite was opposed to William's language policy, and that this was one of the reasons why the independence of Belgium came about. However, linguists deny that disaffection with William's language policy was one of the reasons (e.g. Willemyns 2013). William's rule mainly met with opposition on two fronts in the South. The liberals believed William's policy was too reactionary and the Catholics believed it was "too progressive" (idem). In this sense, the independence of Belgium occurred because of political and religious, rather than linguistic reasons.

2.4. Non-European ethnic varieties of Dutch

All of the ethnic varieties of Dutch described below were born in former Dutch (i.e. non-Belgian) colonies. Although Belgium used to have colonies[41] in Africa and although "Belgian entrepreneurs founded businesses, traded goods and exported capital all over the world, while missionaries spread the Catholic faith" (Vanthemsche 2012, p.1) in the 19th century, Belgium did not export the Dutch language. The Congo Free State was created in 1885 and King Leopold II of Belgium became its absolute ruler. As Guy Vanthemsche (idem, p.21) explains, "theoretically, Belgium had no link with this new African political entity", until 1908 when it officially became a Belgian colony. Willemyns (2013, p.210) points out, "contrary to Belgium, the colonies had no official language policy although, in principle, Belgian legislation— including the language regulations— was applicable to the colonies as well". French, however, was the de facto language of administration and jurisdiction, while most of the Belgian expatriates in the Congo were Dutch speakers (idem). For their children French- and Dutch-language schools were established and, in the 1950s, a university offering courses in both French and Dutch (idem). When the Democratic Republic of the Congo became independent from Belgium in 1960, French was introduced as its only official language. Likewise, French is also one of the official languages in Rwanda and Burundi today. In short, "[k]nowledge of Dutch in former Belgian Africa is virtually nonexistent <sic>" (Willemyns 2013, p.211).

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[41] The Belgian Congo and, after the first world war, Ruanda-Urundi.

2.4.1. Surinam

In 1667, the Dutch exchanged New Netherland, the capital of which was to become New York, with the British for Surinam, at that time a British colony. Surinam was populated mainly by slaves and the main language spoken there was *Surinamese* or *Sranan Tongo*, a creole that developed out of the local African languages, Indian and the languages of the colonisers: Portuguese and English (Willemyns 2013). The slaves were not allowed to learn or speak Dutch, because this was seen as a privilege. In general, the Dutch coloniser believed that allowing the inhabitants of their colonies to speak Dutch would undermine their authority (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). In this sense, Dutch colonisers had no language-planning intentions whatsoever overseas. It was only after 1876, when education became compulsory and Dutch became the language of instruction in Surinam schools that Dutch started to feature more prominently in Surinam society. Other languages (e.g. Hakka, Hindi, and Javanese) were brought to the country by Asian immigrant workers in the 19th century and, to this day, Surinam's linguistic pallet is multi-coloured. Nonetheless, the country's only official language to date is Dutch. A Surinam variety of Dutch slowly developed over the centuries, but language contact with Dutch has always remained considerable, Netherlandic Dutch that is. In 2014, the Dutch linguist Jan Stroop spent three weeks in Surinam and paid close attention to the Surinam variety of Dutch he encountered there in speech and writing. His impressions were that Surinam Dutch was – unsurprisingly – much closer to Netherlandic Dutch with regard to pronunciation, lexis, and syntax, than Belgian Dutch (Stroop 2014). Nonetheless, he also observed that the Surinamese have not yet taken over the 'Poldernederlands' variety (idem).

The country became independent in 1975, but Dutch remained the only official language. The Surinam people these days consider their variety of Dutch their language (van Veelen 2004); thus, it is not considered the language of the oppressor anymore. Moreover, Surinam people who emigrated to the Netherlands because of the political and economic instability after the country's independence brought their variety of Dutch along with them. Thus, today, Surinam Dutch is also spoken within Dutch borders by an estimated 350,000 Surinam people living in the Netherlands (ACB Kenniscentrum voor Emancipatie en Participatie 2010). Surinam became an associate member of the Dutch Language Union in 2004 and, in 2005, the Dutch Language Union's official word list added almost 500 Surinam Dutch words (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). In the current edition of the Van Dale dictionary (consulted in August 2014), the label "((afkomstig uit) Surinaams-Nederlands)" [(from) Surinam

Dutch] was used a mere 327 times. Although Van Dale dictionary is the authoritative dictionary, the limited amount of Surinam Dutch lexis it has taken up since 2005 gives the wrong impression of the real contribution of this variety to the Dutch lexis.

The *Woordenboek van het Surinaams-Nederlands: een geannoteerde lijst van Surinaams-Nederlandse woorden en uitdrukkingen* [Dictionary of Surinam Dutch: an annotated list of Surinam Dutch words and phrases] (van Donselaar 1976) contained as many as 1,400 headwords and its 1989 edition, *Woordenboek van het Surinaams-Nederlands* [Dictionary of Surinam Dutch] (van Donselaar 1989) as many as 6,600 (van der Horst 1989, p.628). In 2008, Renata De Bies and Willy Martin published the *WSBN: woordenboek van de Surinaamse bijdrage aan het Nederlands* [Dictionary of the Surinam contribution to Dutch] with more than five thousand headwords. One year later, a new Surinam Dutch dictionary was published: *Prisma woordenboek Surinaams Nederlands* [The Prisma dictionary of Surinam Dutch] (De Bies, Martin and Smedts 2009). It contains between four thousand five hundred and five thousand headwords. This shows that in the past decades, serious efforts have been made to list and describe Surinam Dutch vocabulary and, as the title of *WSBN: woordenboek van de Surinaamse bijdrage aan het Nederlands* [Dictionary of the Surinam contribution to Dutch] emphasises, its contribution to the wider Dutch language.

With the publication of the first monolingual Surinam Dutch word lists and dictionaries, as early as the 1970s, one could argue that Surinam Dutch, in fact, was then already acknowledged as a national variety of Dutch. In his 1976 dictionary, the late Jan van Donselaar described Surinam Dutch as a "variety of Dutch with its own systematic characteristics" and a variety with "a more or less independent development" (van Donselaar 1976, p.9 quoted in Geerts 1992, p.73). In 1989, Joop van der Horst, who reviewed the second edition of van Donselaar's dictionary, described this variety of Dutch as follows:

> Surinam Dutch is a variety of Dutch that cannot be demarcated sharply. It can best be described as a language continuum. On the one hand, there is Surinam Dutch that is very similar to European Dutch [Netherlandic Dutch that is] and that is used by educated Surinam people. On the other hand, however, there is Surinam Dutch brimming with indigenous words and phrases. Most Surinamese agree their Surinam Dutch cannot be pinned down anywhere specific on the continuum. In formal situations, their language deviates to a lesser extent from the official, standard Dutch while in everyday use much more typical Surinam Dutch elements feature in their variety of Dutch. [author's translation] (van der Horst 1989)

As far as the status of this ethnic variety is concerned, it was officially acknowledged by the Dutch Language Union in 2005 when it took up around 500

Surinam Dutch words in its latest official *Woordenlijst der Nederlandse Taal* [Official Word list of the Dutch language]. This is a reference list of over one hundred thousand words spelled according to the official Dutch orthography rules. This word list is used as a reference work to look up the official spelling of words. Netherlandic, Belgian, and Surinam Dutch words are included in this list without any usage label or definition.[42] Only some grammatical information is given: the word gender of nouns and their plural forms, and the simple past and past participle in the case of verbs. This list is printed in *Het Groene Boekje* [The Green Booklet] (Nederlandse Taalunie 2005a), but also freely available online (Nederlandse Taalunie 2005b). Every ten years, the official word list is updated and in June 2013, the Dutch Language Union announced that it would include more Surinam words in its 2015 edition of the *Woordenlijst* (Nederlandse Taalunie 2013).

On 12 December 2003, Surinam signed the Dutch Language Union Treaty and, in 2004, it became an associate member. The then Director of the Ministry of Education, Adiel Kallan, explained that, "the Surinamese increasingly realise that Dutch, Surinam Dutch that is, is their language" [author's translation] (van Veelen 2004, p.305). For more than ten years, attempts had been made to make Surinam a member of the Dutch Language Union. The Dutch Language Union did not want to put too much pressure on the country and this is why Surinam did not become a full member. The yearly contribution of Surinam was to amount to only fifty thousand euro. By comparison, the Belgians usually pay half as much as the Dutch contribution. In the latest policy plan (Nederlandse Taalunie 2012, p.21), the Dutch contribution to the 2013 budget was 7,598,500€, the Belgian contribution 3,445,500€ and Surinam's contribution was reduced to 35,000€.

The Dutch Language Union co-operates with Surinam on three levels (Nederlandse Taalunie 2003a). Firstly, Dutch speakers in Surinam are assisted in general, e.g. by providing language tools such as its language-advice website. Secondly, the Dutch Language Union supports Dutch-language education and Dutch-language teaching in Surinam. Thirdly, it is also involved in the promotion of Dutch literature in Surinam. Surinam's representation within the Language Union's different bodies is rather small. On the other hand, separate Surinam bodies have been established dealing with specific, Surinam matters pertaining to literature and education. Also worth mentioning is that, since 2008, Surinam Dutch has been one of

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[42] For the sake of disambiguation, however, similar (sounding) words are referred to together with additional grammatical information. The Surinam Dutch word 'wiet', for instance, means 'onkruid' [weed] in Dutch and the Dutch word 'weed' means marihuana or cannabis This is why 'weed' was given the explanation "(marihuana)".

the official working languages of the UNASUR (Union of South American Nations) next to Spanish, English and Portuguese. In fact, the inclusion of Surinam Dutch was one of the conditions for Surinam's entry into the UNASUR (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). Van der Sijs and Willemyns welcome this, as it expands the range of influence of Dutch in parts of the world where Dutch creoles and pidgins are disappearing (idem).

2.4.2. The former Netherlands Antilles

The *Nederlandse Antillen* [Netherlands Antilles] in the Caribbean comprised the *ABC islands* (*Aruba, Bonaire*, and *Curaçao*) in the *Leeward Islands* (i.e. not including the Venezuelan archipelago) and the *SSS islands* (*Sint Maarten, Saba*, and *Sint Eustatius*). All of these islands had been part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands until 2010. The official language of the Netherlands Antilles is Dutch and, since 2007, two additional official languages have been introduced: English and Papiamentu. Today, *Aruba, Curaçao*, and *Sint-Maarten* are independent states. *Bonaire, Sint Eustatius*, and *Saba* became special municipalities of the Netherlands. In 1634, the Dutch took over the ABC Islands from the Spanish and instantaneously introduced Dutch as the official language. Nonetheless, Spanish remained a very influential language and, in contrast to Surinam, the position of Dutch, at present, is much weaker in the ABC Islands (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). Two thirds of the population use Papiamentu, a Portuguese creole, which was only introduced as the language of instruction of primary schools in 2002 (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). In the 19th century, Dutch was taught as a foreign language in schools and students embarking on secondary education did so entirely through Dutch (Ammon et al. 2004). On the SSS islands English is mainly used.

Van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) point out that, although Dutch has official status on the ABC Islands, it is hardly a part of the daily lives of its inhabitants. This variety of Dutch is influenced by Papiamentu, and Papiamentu left its mark on the specific Curacao Dutch lexis. Curacao Dutch lexis, unlike Surinam Dutch lexis, however, has never been recorded in a word list, let alone described in a dictionary (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). In June 2013, however, the Dutch Language Union (Nederlandse Taalunie 2013) announced that it would take up thousands of new words including some Caribbean Dutch words in the 2015 edition of its official *Woordenlijst der Nederlandse Taal* [Official Word list of the Dutch language]. Curacao Dutch is sometimes stigmatised as *Dutch riddled with errors*, which is why

some of its speakers attempt to filter out Papiamentu features (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009).

2.4.3. South Africa

Kaap de Goede Hoop [Cape of Good Hope] was never intended to become a Dutch colony, but merely a refreshment post for the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* [Dutch East India Company] (VOC), between Europe and Asia (Ward 2009). This company was founded in the 17th century and became "the world's largest trading and shipping company with a fleet of over one hundred ships, thousands of employees, some thirty settlements in Asia and six divisions in the Dutch Republic, each of which had its own offices, warehouses and shipyards" (Jacobs 1991, p.98). In 1652, Jan van Riebeeck became the first head of the VOC settlement in South Africa. By 1690, it had become a permanent colony, the Dutch Cape Colony (Ward 2009). Immigrants from the North and the South of the Low Countries settled in South Africa and, of all the European languages spoken there, Dutch held the strongest position (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). The official language of the Dutch Cape Colony remained Dutch until 1795, when the British took over and introduced English as the official language. Unlike the Dutch, who adopted no language policy whatsoever in their colonies, the British adopted "a very aggressive Anglicization policy" (van Rooy and van den Doel 2011, p.8).

Jan van Riebeeck spoke a southern Holland dialect and his variety of Dutch is believed to have influenced the colloquial Dutch variety, *Kaap-Hollands*, used in Cape of Good Hope (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). Little is known of *Kaap-Hollands*, as the only sources that have been handed down since then are official documents that were drawn up in Dutch (idem). This colloquial variety of *Kaap-Hollands*, became known as *Afrikaans-Hollands* to distinguish it from *Hooghollands*, a term used to refer to standard Dutch (Ponelis 2005). Bertus Van Rooy and Rias van den Doel (2011, p.1) explain, "language contact between the colony and the metropolis was less extensive", as a result, *Afrikaans-Hollands* diverged further away from metropolitan Dutch and developed into a separate language that became known as Afrikaans (Ponelis 2005). Mainly non-native speakers of Dutch standardised Afrikaans and this further contributed to the linguistic divergence (van Rooy and van den Doel 2011). In writing, standard Dutch had been used until Afrikaans was standardised at the turn of the 19th century (Van Keymeulen 2010). In the second half of the 19th century, white Afrikaans-speakers, *Afrikaners*, started a linguistic

movement promoting their variety of Afrikaans. Political disaffection with the British ruler and an ambiguous hankering to the olden Dutch times further instigated this movement.

In 1925, Afrikaans was finally recognised as one of the official languages next to Dutch, but it was not until 1983 that Dutch lost its official-language status (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). Although the apartheid regime was only introduced de jure in 1948, racial segregation had already started in colonial times under Dutch and British rule. Black people, who made up the majority of the Afrikaans-speakers, were, as a result, neither involved in this linguistic movement, nor in the standardisation process (Van Keymeulen 2010). Moreover, this standardisation process was marked by the removal of features associated with the "black" variety of Afrikaans, or the variety of the *bruinmense* [coloured people] (idem). Van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009, p.149) believe that by doing so Afrikaans was *dutchified* to a certain extent, while Van Keymeulen (2010) stresses that efforts were made to maintain enough distance with Dutch. The "black" variety of Afrikaans deviates from the "white" variety and it remains to be seen if those varieties will further diverge or converge (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). Because of the strong position of English in the media and in public life, the position of Afrikaans beyond the private sphere is threatened. This is why, Van der Sijs and Willemyns believe one Afrikaans language that is accepted and cherished by both *witmense* [white people] and *bruinmense* could be the key to the future of this language (idem).

Afrikaans words and phrases are not taken up in general Dutch dictionaries, such as *the Van Dale Groot woordenboek van de Nederlandse taal* (den Boon, Geeraerts and van der Sijs 2005) and *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin and Smedts 2009). In 2011, after ten years of hard work, Willy Martin (2011) published his *Groot Woordenboek Afrikaans en Nederlands* [Comprehensive dictionary Afrikaans and Dutch]. Comprising approximately 45,000 Afrikaans headwords of which 30,000 are shared by both languages, it is the most comprehensive dictionary of Afrikaans (idem). The book additionally contains approximately 15,000 Dutch words that are translated into Afrikaans (idem). In 2008, more than eighty years after South Africa severed all linguistic ties with Dutch, the Dutch Language Union (Nederlandse Taalunie 2007, p.38) – in its own words – "cautiously" started to draw on the "the close linguistic ties" Afrikaans has with Dutch for future co-operation with South Africa on linguistic matters [author's translation]. In 2010, the Dutch Language Union and the Republic of South Africa signed a letter of intent for closer co-operation acknowledging the above and

suggesting that, "this linguistic relationship offers perspectives and opportunities for the exchange of expertise and experience in language related contexts" (idem). In its latest policy plan for the period from 2013 to 2017, the Dutch Language Union states: "the linguistic affinity between Dutch and Afrikaans has a lot to offer to the mutual strengthening of both languages" [author's translation] (Nederlandse Taalunie 2012, p.13).

2.5. Dutch lexicography

The acknowledgment of Dutch as a pluricentric language at the turn of the century, eventually, was bound to have an influence on lexicography. In the above sections, some light was shed on the description of non-European Dutch lexis in word lists and specialised dictionaries. In this section, general Dutch dictionaries are discussed. Lexicographers apply usage labels in dictionary entries when the usage of a given headword, or of one of its senses, is restricted. Such restrictions occur at different levels, e.g. restriction to a certain region, register, style, subject field, or time period. Sydney I. Landau (1989; 2001) differentiates between the following nine most common types of usage labels:

1. **currency or temporality** (e.g. *archaic, obsolete*)
2. **frequency of use** (e.g. *rare*)
3. **regional** or **geographic variation** (e.g. *U.S., British, regional, dialect*)
4. **technical** or **specialised terminology** (e.g. *astronomy, sports*)
5. **restricted** or **taboo sexual** and **scatological usage** (e.g. *vulgar, obscene, offensive*)
6. **insult** (e.g. derogatory, sexist, racist, offensive, disparaging, contemptuous)
7. **slang**
8. **style, functional variety**, or **register** (e.g. *informal, written, colloquial, literary, poetic, humorous, baby talk*)
9. **status** or **cultural level** (e.g. *nonstandard, substandard, illiterate*)
   (Landau 1989, p.174; 2001, p.217-218)

The Van Dale dictionary, the authoritative Dutch dictionary (Willemyns 2013), does not use any such usage labels when the Van Dale lexicographers deem words and phrases to be part of the general – i.e. unmarked – standard Dutch lexis. In such cases, lexicographers imply that there are no restrictions whatsoever to the use of these words and phrases in the Dutch language area. They do, however, use similar usage labels as Landau's labels mentioned above whenever they believe that the use of a given word or phrase is restricted and, therefore, cannot be said to be part of the general Dutch lexis. This is why, in the introduction of the dictionary, they admit that their dictionary is "implicitly normative" [author's translation] (den Boon, Geeraerts and van der Sijs 2005, p.xiii).

As Landau's list of usage-label categories shows, such labels are also used to signal geographic variation. In the Dutch language area, it was not until the late 1990s that the geographic variation label 'Belgian Dutch' was introduced in the Van Dale dictionary. Previously, other usage labels were applied to the Belgian Dutch variants that were included in the dictionary. As the examples below illustrate, Belgian Dutch variants were labelled 'gall.' [Gallicism], 'gew.' [regional], 'arch.' [archaic], 'w.g.' [rarely used], 'niet alg.' [not generally used (i.e. not widespread in the whole language area)] etc. The only neutral label that was used for Belgian Dutch words and phrases in the 12th edition of 1992 was 'in Belg.' [in Belgium]. <u>Table 1</u> shows selected examples of words and phrases that have been labelled differently in the Van Dale dictionary since 1992. These examples were taken from the analysis conducted in <u>Chapter 5</u>.

	12th ed. (1992)	14th ed. (2005)	VD online (2014)
mislukken [to be a failure]	(gall.) [Gallicism]	no label whatsoever (i.e. general Dutch)	no label whatsoever (i.e. general Dutch)
overeenkomen [to get on well with someone]	(gew.) [regional]	(alg.Belg.N.) [general Belgian Dutch]	(Belgisch-Nederlands) [Belgian Dutch]
panikeren [to panic]	(in Belg.) [in Belgium]	(alg.Belg.N.) [general Belgian Dutch]	(Belgisch-Nederlands) [Belgian Dutch]
parking [car park]	(niet alg.) [not generally used]	no label whatsoever (i.e. general Dutch)	no label whatsoever (i.e. general Dutch)
zetel [sofa]	(arch., iron.) [archaic or ironic]	(alg.Belg.N.) [general Belgian Dutch]	(Belgisch-Nederlands) [Belgian Dutch]
omslag [envelope]	(w.g.) [rarely used]	(w.g., alg.Belg.N.) [rarely used or general Belgian Dutch]	(Belgisch-Nederlands) [Belgian Dutch]

Table 1: Usage labels in Van Dale dictionary

From the 13th edition of the Van Dale dictionary (den Boon and Geerts 1999) onwards, a new set of labels have been used for Belgian Dutch variants that do more justice to the, then, recently recognised pluricentric variety of Dutch. Still, as the current Belgian editor-in-chief of the dictionary points out, the number of Belgian Dutch headwords in the latest 2005 printed edition of the dictionary is too low (Hendrickx 2009).

However, the main problem of the Van Dale dictionary is that, unlike Belgian Dutch, the existence of Netherlandic Dutch variants has so far not been acknowledged in the printed editions of the dictionary. Just like the general Dutch lexis shared by Dutch speakers in Belgium and the Netherlands, these Netherlandic Dutch variants have so far not been labelled in the printed editions of the dictionary.

This wrongly suggests that they are widespread in Belgium as well. This unequal treatment of the Dutch lexicon has met with criticism (cf. Debrabandere 2000; Geeraerts 2000; Haeseryn 2006; Hendrickx 2009; 2010a; Laureys 2010; Martin 2001; 2010; Smedts 2008). It was not until 2009, [43] however, that the first edition of *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands met onderscheid tussen Nederlands-Nederlands en Belgisch-Nederlands* [Prisma's concise dictionary of Dutch with distinction between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch] (Martin and Smedts 2009) was published. This smaller dictionary contains 70,415 headwords of which 3,108 (4,4%) are labelled <BN> [Belgian Dutch] and 4,246 headwords (6%) are labelled <NN> [Netherlandic Dutch] (Martin 2010b, p.33)[44]. The Van Dale dictionary, with its 280,126 headwords, is much larger and promised to follow suit in its next edition of the dictionary due in 2015.

In 2013, the Van Dale lexicographers started labelling some Netherlandic Dutch words and phrases in the online edition of the dictionary, which is updated twice a year. The new label introduced to that end was simply "Nederlands", i.e. Dutch – as opposed to 'Nederlands-Nederlands' [Netherlandic Dutch]), without any reference to the Netherlands per se. Labelling Netherlandic Dutch as 'Nederlands' [Dutch] and Belgian Dutch as 'Belgian Dutch' seems to imply that, according to the Van Dale dictionary, other national varieties of Dutch are currently still considered a deviation from standard – that is, Netherlandic – Dutch. Lexical variation between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch tends to be downplayed in the critical literature. Dirk Geeraerts (2000) is often quoted in this regard (e.g. van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009; Willemyns 2003; 2013). He claims that lexical differences between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch are small, since usage labels showing geographical restriction are applied in less than 2% of the entries in the authoritative Dutch dictionary, *Van Dale Groot woordenboek van de Nederlandse taal*, to label Belgian Dutch.

However, as the lexicologist Lut Colman (2009) rightly points out, claims about the amount of national variation in the Dutch lexicon should not be based solely on the percentage of marked Belgian Dutch, but rather ought to include also the percentage of marked Netherlandic Dutch. De Caluwe (2012) calculated the percentage of marked Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch in two dictionaries that do

[43] Although Martin (2010) explains that his dictionary did have a forerunner in 1958, the *Winkler Prins Woordenboek*, which labelled *zuidneerlandismen* [southern Dutch natiolectisms] and *noordneerlandismen* [northern Dutch natiolectisms].

[44] The labels <BN> and <NN> are also used in combination with the word "ook" [also]. An entry that is labelled <BN ook>, for instance, also has a Netherlandic Dutch counterpart that is common in Belgium. All words and phrases that were labelled <BN ook> and <NN ook> were included in the number of <BN> and <NN> items recorded here.

adopt the bicentric approach, in that they label both Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch. The two dictionaries in question are ANW (Algemeen Nederlands Woordenboek [General Dutch Dictionary]) and *Prisma handwoordenboek Nederlands met onderscheid tussen Nederlands-Nederlands en Belgisch-Nederlands* [Prisma's concise dictionary of Dutch with distinction between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch] (Martin and Smedts 2009).

The ANW dictionary is described as "a comprehensive online scholarly dictionary of contemporary standard Dutch in the Netherlands and in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium" (Moerdijk, Tiberius and Niestadt 2008, p.18) and is based on a dynamic corpus of Dutch written texts from 1970 to 2018. The Prisma dictionary was the first to introduce the label <NN> [Netherlandic Dutch] alongside its Belgian Dutch counterpart <BN>. De Caluwe's findings were that 9% of the 2012 edition of the (incomplete) online *ANW*, and 10.5% of the entries in the Prisma dictionary (Martin and Smedts 2009) show Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch geographic variation (De Caluwe 2012). A few months ago, Spectrum released its latest edition of *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014) and the percentage for this edition amounts to 11.3%. Consequently, at least an estimated 10% of Dutch lexis can be said to contain marked Belgian or marked Netherlandic Dutch lexical items. These respective variants tend to be less common, or sometimes even completely unknown in the other national territory.

Nonetheless, usage labels evolve as a language evolves. Words appear and disappear. Similarly, headwords that were once labelled 'vulgar' or 'offensive' may lose this label in later editions of a dictionary. In the case of the Dutch language, words and phrases that were considered Netherlandic Dutch a few decades ago, may now have become rather common in Belgium too and, therefore, be considered a part of the general, unmarked Dutch repository. Similarly, words and phrases that were once marked Belgian Dutch may be taken up in the general Dutch vocabulary over time and, as a result, they may lose their label in the dictionary. However, as it is the non-dominant variety, which is, furthermore, barely visible in Dutch-language publication, Belgian Dutch is not expected to play a significant role in enriching the general Dutch lexis. Nevertheless, van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) point out that some Belgian lexis has entered the general Dutch lexis. Belgian cycling commentators, more specifically, have managed to make a small contribution to the general Dutch lexicon. Van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) give the following examples of formerly marked Belgian Dutch sports terms that over the years have entered the general Dutch vocabulary:

1. een afgetekende overwinning	a clear-cut victory	
2. afzien	to struggle, suffer	
3. met afstand	by far	
4. demarrage	a break-away	
5. gekwetst	injured	
6. een (wieler-)klassieker	a (cycling) classic	
7. lossen	to not be able to stay with a group of cyclists, lagging behind	
8. koers	race	
9. nipt(e overwinning)	narrow (victory)	
10. op kop rijden	to lead, cycle up front	
11. recupereren	to recover	
12. soigneur	masseur, physiotherapist	
13. vals plat	a hidden gradient	
14. vlammen	cycle like lightning	

Table 2: Belgian Dutch variants that have entered the general Dutch vocabulary

These items were given the usage label 'wielersport' [cycling] or 'sport' [sports], but no regional or geographic variation label in the current edition of the online dictionary (consulted in August 2014). One exception is 'gekwetst', which is still labelled '(Belgisch-Nederlands, niet algemeen)' [not general Belgian Dutch] and, thus, according to the Van Dale dictionary, cannot be said to have become a part of the general standard Dutch lexis.

In the present research, the last three editions of the authoritative Van Dale dictionary and its online version were consulted. The 12th edition (Geerts and Heestermans 1995) was first published in 1992, but, as the Dutch orthographic rules changed in 1995, it was republished in 1995 to conform to these new rules. The 1995 version of the 12th edition was used for this analysis. The 13th edition (den Boon and Geerts 1999) was published in 1999 and the latest, 14th edition (den Boon, Geeraerts and van der Sijs 2005), is today almost ten years old. This edition included nine thousand new headwords. The printed version of the 14th edition contains 268.826 headwords and applied the most recent official spelling changes of 2005 (Van Dale 2013b). Its online version is most up-to-date and contains 280,126 headwords (Van Dale 2013a). When the online version of the Van Dale dictionary was consulted in August 2014, a quick search query revealed that the label 'Belgisch-Nederlands' was used more often than the label 'Nederlands' in the Van Dale dictionary. These figures were then compared to the most recent figures obtained from the Prisma lexicographers. Table 3 reveals that the opposite is true for the Prisma dictionary. This seems to suggest that the Van Dale dictionary is still reluctant to label Netherlandic Dutch variants.

	Prisma 2014	Van Dale 2014
number of headwords	70,475	280,126
Belgian Dutch	3,450 (4.9%)	4,153 (1,5%)
Netherlandic Dutch	4,545 (6.4%)	2,654 (0.9%)

Table 3: Natiolectisms in Prisma 2014 and Van Dale 2014

In general, the percentages for Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch labelled variants are still significantly lower than the percentage tallied in *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014) as Table 3 shows.

2.6. Concluding remarks

This chapter attempts to shed light on how Dutch became the pluricentric language it is today. Today, the Dutch language has two European natiolects and four national varieties overseas. As van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009) explain, the cradle of the written variety of Dutch stood in the County of Flanders. Then in the 16th century, written Dutch was heavily influenced by Dutch as it was spoken in the Duchy of Brabant. Therefore, 'Belgium' left a considerable mark on the Dutch language in the 15th and 16th century. Nonetheless, the language only came of age in the 17th century and it was in the territory that corresponds to the present-day Netherlands that it became a fully-fledged standard language. This is why the language is described as having "two motherlands": Belgium and the Netherlands. Nowadays, linguistic innovations originating from the South rarely have an impact on the wider Dutch language (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). Belgian authors and translators in particular, have hardly any influence on the development of the wider Dutch language.

Although the southern influence was much smaller after the partition of the Low Countries, there is what Kas Deprez (1998, p.106) referred to as the "historical weight of the South". This also led to what he called the Belgian "claims on the language" (idem). Many Belgian Dutch speakers "feel that [Dutch-speaking Belgium] is entitled to make a contribution" and he added, "the more so since it would seem that the Dutch do not sufficiently care about their language" (idem, p.10). As opposed to the southern part of the Dutch language area in Europe, the North indeed appears to take its language for granted. The South had to fight for its language and, today, most Dutch speakers in Belgium consider their language a substantial part of

their identity. From the outset, it was particularly the South that engaged in corpus planning (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). The first dictionaries and grammars were written there and, until this day, language planning of Dutch has always been high on the agenda in Belgium. The South did not only engage in corpus planning, but also in status planning. Since the 1970s, the Dutch language has been enshrined in the Belgian constitution, whereas this is, to date, still not the case in the Netherlands. So far, two proposals for constitutional amendment in this regard have been introduced, but the Dutch Council of State still does not deem it necessary to stipulate official language use in the constitution today (Project Versterking Grondwet 2014).

It was not until ten years after the official recognition of the Dutch language as a pluricentric language with two national varieties in Europe in the late 1990s that lexicographers started adopting the bicentric approach that did both natiolects justice. These were not the Van Dale dictionary lexicographers, but the lexicographers of the much smaller *Prisma Handwoordenboek*. The third national variety of Dutch to be recognised by the Language Union was Surinam Dutch. Only a small number of Surinam Dutch words have been included in the latest versions of the authoritative Van Dale dictionary. Those variants are labelled "((afkomstig uit) Surinaams-Nederlands)" [(from) Surinam Dutch]. In 2013, this dictionary, for the first time, started using a label for a number of marked Netherlandic Dutch variants. The new label the dictionary introduced to that end is "Nederlands" [Dutch]. Unlike the label "Netherlandic Dutch", this label still does not do justice to the equal description of the officially recognised Dutch natiolects in this dictionary, in which only Belgian Dutch and Surinam Dutch are labelled as such. Moreover, only a small number of Netherlandic Dutch natiolectisms were given this new label in the Van Dale dictionary.

Today, fifteen years after the recognition of Dutch as a pluricentric language, some linguists, however, still refer to the Belgian part of the language area as the periphery. What is more, Roland Willemyns even distinguishes between internal and external periphery, the latter being Dutch-speaking Belgium. In the 1980s (i.e. before the recognition of Dutch as a pluricentric language), Willemyns and Helga Bister Broosen conceived this model and applied it to the Dutch lexis. Oddly enough, Willemyns still draws on this model in his latest publications (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009; Willemyns 2013). This model does not take into consideration the two European linguistic centres and, thus, does not do justice to the pluricentricity of the Dutch language area. Therefore, this model is superseded today. The bicentric model as adopted by Willy Martin and Willy Smedts (Martin 2001; 2010a; 2010b) is the

new model for Dutch lexicography. Lexicography was dealt with in this chapter as well, since the analysis conducted in the present research focuses on geographically marked lexis. In the next chapter, VRT and its language-planning role is discussed and its attitude towards Belgian Dutch lexis.

3. VRT and language planning

Since its establishment, the Flemish public service broadcaster has played a significant language-planning role with regard to Dutch in Belgium. Robert B. Baldauf and Richard B. Kaplan define language planning as follows:

> an activity, most visibly undertaken by government (simply because it involves such massive changes in a society), intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers (Baldauf and Kaplan 1997, p.xi)

The radio broadcaster was mobilised to help introduce standard (Netherlandic) Dutch and encourage its acceptance in the 1930s (Hendrickx 2006; 2011a). Later, in the 1950s, it even assumed an educational role (idem) in *teaching* its predominantly dialect-speaking audience this standard variety. In 1998, VRT asserted it wanted to "remain the norm of the Belgian national variety of Dutch" [author's translation] (Hendrickx 17 July 1998). Baldauf and Kaplan build on Einar Haugen's model (Haugen 1983) to describe the language-planning process. First of all, a language (variety) is selected, subsequently it is codified, and then the linguistic norm is implemented and further elaborated (Baldauf and Kaplan 1997, p.29).

	Form (policy planning)	Function (language cultivation)
Society (status planning)	1. Selection (decision procedures) a. problem identification b. allocation of norms	3. Implementation (educational spread) a. correction procedures b. evaluation
Language (corpus planning)	2. Codification (standardisation procedures) a. graphisation b. grammatication c. lexication	4. Elaboration (functional development) a. terminological modernisation b. stylistic development c. internationalisation

Figure 4: Baldauf and Kaplan's revised language-planning model (1997, p.29)

Figure 4 shows that Baldauf and Kaplan distinguish between two main focal points: society and language, which results in a differentiation between status planning and corpus planning. The sociolinguists also include two extra variables in Haugen's original model namely: 'policy planning', which relates to form, and 'language cultivation', which relates to function.

Heinz Kloss coined the term *corpus planning* in 1969 and used it to denote the linguistic process of deliberately developing a language. *Status planning* involves raising the status of a language (variety). Consequently, status planning relates to decisions a society makes about language selection and language implementation, or

the dissemination of the linguistic norm, while corpus planning involves linguistic decisions to codify and elaborate a language or a particular variety of a language (Baldauf and Kaplan 1997). Accordingly, in Belgium the Netherlandic Dutch variety was 'selected' and 'implemented' in the 19th century. The Flemish public broadcaster played an important role in the implementation, or as Wim Vandenbussche (2010, p.310) puts it, it played "a paramount role in the spread of positive attitudes towards standard Dutch and served as the transmitter of the relatively unknown standard variety of Dutch for the larger part of the Flemish population".

Thus, in the standardisation process of Dutch in Belgium the first step was the selection (1. Selection in Figure 4. Baldauf and Kaplan's revised language-planning model (1997, p.29)) of a language (variety). The Netherlandic standard variety was selected, introduced, and promoted in Dutch-speaking Belgium. This variety was already a fully-fledged standard language. Netherlandic Dutch pronunciation, however, was never copied completely. The Belgians developed their own pronunciation rules (Blancquaert 1934). From the 1950s onwards, the Belgians and the Dutch both started applying the same spelling rules. The grammar they share includes a small number of features that are typical of Belgian Dutch. In the late 1990s, lexicographers started to describe the Belgian Dutch vocabulary more systematically. All of this relates to 2. Codification in Figure 4. Subsequently, this codified language was disseminated through legislation, education, and broadcasting (3. Implementation in Figure 4). Baldauf and Kaplan (1997) do not specifically mention the role of radio and television broadcasting in this regard, but the Belgian case illustrates that public service broadcasters can also directly or indirectly play a role here. Finally, the further development of the language is an on-going process that has to continue to ensure that the language remains an efficient means of communication in the future (4. Elaboration in Figure 4).

This chapter reviews the Flemish public service broadcaster's language-planning role in Belgium. In the next section, an overview of the history of the public service broadcaster is given against the backdrop of major political changes in Belgium. Subsequently, VRT's language-planning role is discussed. Finally, 3.3. The VRT taalcharter [VRT's language charter] and 3.4. VRT subtitling policy deal with the Flemish public service broadcaster's language policy. These last two sections focus in particular on the linguistic standard used at VRT, which informs the subtitle analysis conducted in the second part of this dissertation.

3.1. Flemish public service broadcasting

3.1.1. *Nationaal Instituut voor de Radio-omroep/Institut National de Radiodiffusion (NIR/INR)*

A century after the country's independence in 1830, the Belgian *Nationaal Instituut voor de Radio-omroep/Institut National de Radiodiffusion* [National Institute for Radio broadcasting] (NIR/INR) was established on the 18th of June 1930. The Belgium of the 1930s also saw the introduction of a series of significant language laws that gradually granted more linguistic rights to its Dutch-speaking Community. These linguistic rights included the right of the Dutch-speaking majority to communicate in their mother tongue with the Belgian government. Then, Dutch became the language of instruction in primary and secondary schools in the Dutch-speaking region. Subsequently, Dutch became the language of jurisdiction in this region. Finally, Dutch speakers could also do their military service through Dutch. In Brussels, children could go to Dutch-language schools. Similarly, the Dutch-speaking minority there gained all of the other afore-mentioned linguistic rights.

3.1.2. *Belgische Radio- en Televisieomroep* (BRT) and *Radio-Télévision Belge* (RTB)

In 1937, the Belgian state radiobroadcasting organisation was subdivided into a Dutch-speaking and a French-speaking section. Although it remained a single government broadcasting institution, Dutch- and French-language transmissions were, thereafter, produced and organised independently. Also worth mentioning here is that in 1946, the *Verdrag betreffende de culturele en intellectuele betrekkingen tussen het Koninkrijk België en het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*[45] [Treaty concerning cultural and intellectual relations between the Kingdom of Belgium and the Kingdom of the Netherlands] was signed. The aim of the treaty was to enable cultural unity and develop a common cultural policy. Both nations were to maintain permanent relations with regard to education, science and art and, in order to do so a Belgo-Dutch Commission was founded.

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[45] This treaty was based on the *Intellectueel Verdrag* [Intellectual Treaty] between both nations of 26-10-1927, which was never ratified.

With the advent of television in Belgium on 31 October 1953 (Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991), NIR/INR became Belgium's public radio and television broadcasting service (Dhoest et al. 2010). Nonetheless, Dutch- and French-language television were still organised separately. Promoting and safeguarding the Dutch language as well as its own culture and identity has always been of paramount importance to Belgian Dutch-language broadcasters (Cuvelier 2006; Dhoest et al. 2010). When the Belgian broadcasting law[46] was introduced on 18 May 1960, NIR/INR was ultimately subdivided into two autonomous public service broadcasting institutions. One was to cater for the Dutch-speaking and the other for the French-speaking audience. The former was named *Belgische Radio- en Televisieomroep* [Belgian Radio and Television Broadcasting] (**BRT**) and the latter *Radio-Télévision Belge* [Belgian Radio and Television] (**RTB**). As the English back translations from Dutch and French reveal, both broadcasting organisations had the same name. According to Annick Schramme (2006, p.199) this subdivision was a "decisive event" in "the struggle for Flemish emancipation". The 1960s also marked the Flemish Movement's struggle for cultural autonomy from the French-speaking part of Belgium, on the one hand, and cultural integration with the Netherlands, on the other (Schramme 2006). Broadcasters of both countries collaborated on co-productions and maintained regular contact.

Ten years later in 1970, the Belgian state underwent structural reform. The following is the first title of the Belgian constitution:

> Title I. On Federal Belgium, its components and its territory:
> Article 1
> Belgium is a federal State composed of Communities and Regions.
> Article 2
> Belgium comprises three Communities: the Flemish Community, the French Community, and the German-speaking Community
> Article 3
> Belgium comprises three Regions: the Flemish Region, the Walloon Region and the Brussels Region.
> Article 4
> Belgium comprises four linguistic regions: the Dutch-speaking region, the French-speaking region, the bilingual region of Brussels-Capital and the German-speaking region. (Belgian House of Representatives 2012)

The last article states that Belgium comprises four linguistic areas (three monolingual areas and one bilingual area): one monolingual Dutch-, French-, and German-speaking area, and one bilingual, French- and Dutch-speaking area. In 1970, the country became a federal state and "cultural autonomy" was granted to Dutch speakers, French-speakers and German-speakers. Three linguistic *Communities* were

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[46] *Wet houdende organisatie van de Instituten der Belgische Radio/Loi organique des Instituts de la Radiodiffusion-Télévision belge* (Belgium 1960)

established bringing together speakers of each of the country's three official languages: Dutch (the *Flemish Community*), French (the *French Community*), and German (the *German-speaking Community*).[47] This first state reform guaranteed that, from 1970 onwards, each *Community* could regulate cultural (including audiovisual media) and educational matters independently and at their own discretion (i.e. not at a federal, Belgian level).

3.1.3. *Radio-Télévision Belge de la Communauté française (RTBF), Belgischer Hör- und Fernsehfunk (BHF) and Belgisches Rundfunk- und Fernsehzentrum der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft (BRF)*

The establishment of these linguistic Communities led, in 1977, to the *Décret du Conseil culturel de la Communauté française de Belgique* [Decree of the Cultural Council of the French Community in Belgium] in the French-speaking Community. This decree turned *Radio-Télévision Belge* [Belgian Radio and Television] (RTB) into *Radio-Télévision Belge **de la Communauté française*** [author's emphasis] [Belgian Radio and Television **of the French Community**] (RTBF). It became a publicly owned broadcasting service ran by the Walloon[48] government. *Belgischer Hör- und Fernsehfunk* [Belgian Radio and Television Broadcasting] (**BHF**), which provided German-language broadcasts for Belgium's German-speaking minority, was subsumed under RTB in 1965. In 1977, BHF became an independent broadcasting organisation under the name *Belgisches Rundfunk- und Fernsehzentrum **der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft*** [author's emphasis] [Belgian Radio and Television centre **of the German-speaking Community**] (BRF). Thus, the two broadcasters added "of the French/German-speaking Community" to their original names. BRT, for its part, did not undergo any such name changes until the 1990s.

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[47] This official terminology is rather unfortunate, it would make more sense to use *Dutch-speaking* rather than 'Flemish', *French-speaking* rather than 'French', and German-speaking Community.
[48] 'Walloon' here refers to 'Wallonia', Belgium's French-speaking region: *la Wallonie*.

3.1.4. *Belgische Radio- en Televisieomroep Nederlandstalige uitzendingen (BRTN) and Vlaamse Radio- en Televisie omroeporganisatie (VRT)*

As pointed out by Dhoest et al. (2010), BRT became a rather elitist and patronising public service broadcaster particularly in the 1940-50s. This probably was heavily influenced by the first Director-General of the BBC's views on the educational role of public service broadcasting and the promotion and spreading of so-called *high* culture (Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991). In its strained attempts to emancipate the Dutch-speaking Community by transferring knowledge and even providing moral uplift, BRT's popularity declined rapidly (Dhoest et al. 2010). This gradually changed in the 1960s-70s when it started to factor in entertainment as well (Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991). Still, viewing figures, particularly from the late 1970s until the 1990s, revealed that in increasingly large numbers, Dutch-speaking Belgians started tuning in to Dutch television in the 1960s and the 1970s (Van den Bulck, et al. 2009). The proportion increased from 10% in 1969 to 20% in 1972 and to 25% in 1976 until the late 1980s (Schramme 2006). Schramme summarised it as follows:

> In other words, the Flemish television audience spent a quarter of its viewing time watching Dutch television channels – not so much for news bulletins or educational programmes, but for entertainment, an aspect which somehow seemed to be lacking in BRT's programming. Owing to this great interest in Dutch television, the 1970s and 80s would become a golden age for standard Dutch in Flanders. (Schramme 2006, p.203)

Unlike its Belgian counterparts, the Dutch channels, with their more diverse programming, managed to strike a better balance between culture and entertainment (Van den Bulck, et al. 2009). This increased the exposure to and, thus, familiarity with Netherlandic Dutch between the 1960s and the 1980s.

To the further detriment of BRT, 1989 also witnessed the launch of the first commercial Dutch-language TV station in Belgium: VTM (*Vlaamse Televisie Maatschappij* [Flemish Television Company]). It was an immediate success (e.g. Beheydt 1991). VTM succeeded in offering the Dutch-speaking audience the entertainment they had previously sought in the Netherlands. Another consequence of the arrival of commercial television was according to Jaspers (2006, p.112), "a fascination with 'common people' and the increasing participation of such people in televisual entertainment, resulting in a growing visibility of linguistic diversity." BRT started to struggle even more, now that it lost its monopoly position as Dutch-

language broadcaster in Belgium. BRT radio had already lost this monopoly position around 1980 (Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991).

In 1991, fourteen years after the name changes of its French-speaking and German-speaking counterparts (RTBF and BRF respectively), BRT by analogy added "Dutch-language broadcasts" to its name. Thus, *Belgische Radio- en Televisieomroep* (BRT) became *Belgische Radio- en Televisieomroep **Nederlandstalige uitzendingen**[49]* [author's emphasis] [Belgian Radio and Television Broadcasting **Dutch-language broadcasts**] (BRTN). Subsequently, in 1997, a decree was issued by the Flemish Parliament changing BRTN's legal status. It then became a Flemish government publicly owned broadcasting corporation and this led to its renaming in 1998 as *Vlaamse Radio- en Televisieomroeporganisatie* [Flemish Radio and Television Organisation] (VRT). The word 'Belgische' [Belgian], thus, was replaced by 'Vlaamse' [Flemish]. As explained in <u>0.1. 'Flemish', 'Flemings', 'Flanders'</u>, the use of 'Flemish' is somewhat problematic. In "Flemish Radio and Television Organisation" the word 'Flemish' refers to the Flemish Community, which is VRT's target audience (i.e. all Dutch-speaking Belgians). Thus, VRT is the Radio and Television Organisation of the Flemish Community. Therefore, it is important to note that the word 'Flemish' in "*Flemish* Radio and Television Organisation" does not refer to the language used in its broadcasts, which is officially called 'Nederlands' [Dutch] (i.e. not 'Vlaams' [Flemish]).

3.1.5. *Vlaamse Radio- en Televisieomroeporganisatie* (VRT)

The second state reform of 1980 meant that next to the Federal Belgian Parliament and Government, the Flemish and the Walloon Region were granted their own regional parliaments and regional governments. The competences of these regional institutions include language, culture, and (audiovisual) media. The Dutch-speaking region, for example, has its own Flemish Minister for Innovation, Public Investment, Media and Poverty Reduction. In 1997, VRT entered into a *Beheersovereenkomst* [management agreement] for five years with Belgium's Dutch-speaking Community represented by the Flemish Parliament. VRT, thus, was "commissioned by the Flemish Parliament to fulfil the public service broadcasting mission (*openbare*

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[49] The affixes "Nederlandse uitzendingen" [Dutch broadcasts] and "émissions françaises" [French broadcasts] were already mentioned in the Belgian broadcasting law of 18 May 1960 (Belgium Wet houdende organisatie van de Instituten der Belgische Radio en Televisie, p.3836).

omroepopdracht)" (Cuvelier 2006, p.25). However, this public service broadcasting mission remained rather vague in the first *Beheersovereenkomst* (Van Rompuy and De Graeve 1997). It stated that VRT was to provide diverse and high-quality programmes and should try to reach a wide audience. To that end, targets were formulated: VRT radio had to reach 55% of the Dutch-speaking population on a daily basis (idem) and its television stations, 76% for at least 15 minutes per week (idem). In the late 1990s, VRT's viewing figures started to improve.

In the Netherlands, the Media Law of 1988 decreed that 50% of its transmission time had to be devoted to Dutch- or Frisian-language programmes. Similarly, the Belgian *Kabeldecreet* [cable decree] of 1987, legalising commercial channels, prescribed that by 1994, 50% of all programmes of commercial broadcasters had to be local, Belgian productions. This was believed to be in contravention of the European Television without Frontiers directive propagating free movement of European productions in the EU. The directive also included the requirement that more than 50% of the transmission time be spent on European productions to counteract the onslaught of American productions in Europe. Under pressure from the European Commission, the phrase 'local productions', therefore, was replaced by 'Dutch-language European productions' in the *Kabeldecreet* [cable decree]. The 50% quota was thereafter reformulated as follows: "a considerable number of Dutch-language European productions" [author's translation] (Commissie Cultureel Verdrag Vlaanderen-Nederland 2005, p.5). Nevertheless, since 2002, VRT and VTM have managed to reach the original 50% target of local, Dutch-language television productions broadcast in prime time. In VRT's latest *Beheersovereenkomst 2012-2016* (Lieten and De Preter 2011), this quota was raised to 65%.

From 2008, both Dutch and Belgian public service broadcasters were asked to invest more in Dutch-language drama (De Jonge 2012). The Flemish Government even made specific demands as regards language varieties used in such Dutch-language TV drama formats (cf. 3.3.3. VRT's attitude towards colloquial Belgian Dutch). Target figures relating to the music VRT radio stations transmit were also set in the *Beheersovereenkomsten*. In *Beheersovereenkomst 2012-2016* (Lieten and De Preter 2011), VRT is required to spend at least 25% of the total radio broadcasting time on music productions from the Dutch-speaking Region[50] in Belgium to promote local artists (this was only 20% in the previous *Beheersovereenkomst 2007-2011*). Furthermore, now 30% of all music broadcast on its most popular channel, Radio 2,

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[50] This does not imply, however, Dutch-language music. Many Belgian artists sing in English.

must be Dutch-language music (Lieten and De Preter 2011). The changes come as the result of a recent survey of the Dutch-speaking population's viewing and listening habits and the Dutch-speaking population's expectations. These surveys were conducted to help inform policy makers. It is fair to say that VRT, since the 1990s, has developed from a rather elitist and patronising broadcaster into a more audience-oriented broadcasting service, nonetheless without losing its prestige as a public service broadcaster.

3.2. The language-planning role of VRT

3.2.1. The *beheersovereenkomsten* [management agreements]

From the outset, in Flemish public service broadcasting the emphasis has been on the Flemish Community's identity and culture and the use of standard Dutch (Delarue 2012; Dhoest et al. 2010). In the early days of radio broadcasting, however, there was no standard variety of Dutch in Belgium. From 1934, Edgar Blancquaert's pronunciation guidelines (Blancquaert 1934) served as the official guide at public service broadcasting (Beheydt 1991). What is more, from the 1930s, Blancquaert and his students scrutinised the broadcaster's language output. When serious pronunciation mistakes were made, the person in question was sent a note with a phonetic transcription of the correct pronunciation (Vandenbussche 2010). Sometimes experts in a given academic field, who contributed to programmes, were even post-synchronised:

> if their language proficiency or pronunciation was believed to be below standard, their speech was transcribed, corrected, and recorded again [author's translation] (Nic Bal quoted in Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991, p.91)

Nonetheless, this did not guarantee that the broadcaster's language output in the 1940s and 1950s was 100% standard Dutch. Most employees came from the Antwerp region and used their polished Antwerp dialect (Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991).

The linguist J.L. Pauwels pointed out in 1954 that first and foremost so-called "civilised" or "educated" pronunciation had to be observed, secondly "correct language usage", which also implied avoiding the use of Gallicisms (Beheydt 1991, p.30). In the Netherlands, the pronunciation standard of the NOS was based on one of

the later revised editions[51] A.M. Eldar's book *Spreken en zingen* [Talking and singing] which was first published in 1886 (idem). Towards the end of the 1980s, the Randstad variety, that is the *Gooise Randstadnederlands* of the Hilversum area, where the Dutch public service broadcaster has its seat, became the standard for the public broadcaster (idem). However, according to Piet G.J. van Sterkenburg (1989), who analysed the Dutch variety of the news broadcasts in the Netherlands, there is no official pronunciation standard in the Netherlands. The variety of the news broadcasts in the Netherlands does not have the same prestige, nor does it play the same exemplary role *BRT(N)/VRT Dutch* played and still plays in Belgium according to Beheydt (1991).

Ruud Hendrickx and Helene Reid (1998) indicated that VRT's only shareholder, the Flemish Parliament, not only made demands with regard to the content of VRT programmes, but also with regard to its language output. It expected VRT to "polish its language usage" [author's translation] (Hendrickx and Reid 1998, p.175). A recurring clause in the *openbare omroepopdracht* [public service broadcasting mission], since the first *Beheersovereenkomst 1997-2001*, in this regard has been:

> Het hele aanbod van de VRT wordt gekenmerkt door een hoge kwaliteit van de programma's, zowel naar inhoud, naar vorm als naar taalgebruik.
> **English translation**
> All of VRT's programmes have to be characterised by **high quality** in terms of content, form, and **language usage**. [author's emphasis and translation]

This sentence occurred in the first Media Decree (Belgium 1995, Titel II, Hoofdstuk 1, Art.4, Par.2) and was reproduced in its latest update (Belgium 2009, Deel II, Titel II, Art.6, Par.2).

It was not until the *2007-2011 Beheersovereenkomst* (Mary and Bourgeois 2006) that more light was shed on this "high quality of language usage". For the first time, the term 'standard language' was introduced in a *Beheersovereenkomst*, interestingly, with an indefinite article ('**een** aantrekkelijke, duidelijke en correcte **standaardtaal**' [**an** attractive, clear and correct **standard language**]). This seems to imply that there is more than one standard language:

> Het hele aanbod van de VRT wordt gekenmerkt door een hoge kwaliteit van de programma's, zowel naar inhoud, naar vorm als naar taalgebruik. VRT hanteert een aantrekkelijke, duidelijke en correcte standaardtaal die rekening houdt met en afgestemd is op de mediagebruiker. (Mary and Bourgeois 2006, p.18)

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[51] *Spreken en zingen* was first published in 1886 and the latest 48th revised edition came out in 2011.

All of VRT's programmes have to be characterised by **high quality** in terms of content, form, and **language usage**. VRT uses **an attractive, clear** and **correct standard language** that takes into account and is adjusted to the media user. [author's emphasis and translation]

Whilst preparing the latest *Beheersovereenkomst*, the Flemish Parliament issued a resolution on the 18th of May 2011, which stated that it was "VRT's duty" to use and "propagate" a standard Dutch. Here the suggestion seems to be that VRT can still choose *which* "clear standard Dutch" to use:

Het blijft een van de taken van de VRT een helder Standaardnederlands te gebruiken en te propageren. Dit geldt ook voor het fictieaanbod. (Belgium 2011, p.87)

English translation

It remains one of VRT's duties to **use and propagate a clear standard Dutch**. The same applies for the fiction programmes. [author's emphasis and lit. translation]

This eventually became in the latest *Beheersovereenkomst 2012-2016*:

De VRT zorgt ervoor dat haar journalisten, presentatoren en interviewers het Standaardnederlands gebruiken. De VRT gebruikt voorts waar dit kan en past een helder Standaardnederlands in haar programma's. De taaladviseur zorgt, in toepassing van het taalcharter, eveneens voor permanente aandacht voor het Standaardnederlands. (Lieten and De Preter 2011, p.41)

English translation

VRT ensures that its **journalists, presenters**, and **interviewers use standard Dutch**. Furthermore, VRT will use, where possible and appropriate, **a clear standard Dutch** in its programmes. The language adviser, in accordance with the language charter, will also pay permanent attention to **standard Dutch**. [author's emphasis and lit. translation]

In this agreement, a distinction is now made between "het Standaardnederlands" [**the** standard Dutch variety] and "een helder Standaardnederlands" [**a** clear standard Dutch].

In order to clarify this difference between "the" standard Dutch variety and "a" clear standard Dutch, the *Taalcharter* [language charter] has to be consulted. It was in *Beheersovereenkomst 2012-2016* (Lieten and De Preter 2011) that the *VRT taalcharter* [VRT language charter] (Hendrickx 17 July 1998) explicitly was referred to for the first time. This seems to grant it a more official status. The *Taalcharter* [language charter] contains a clear appeal to VRT employees to put into practice the language policy this document outlines (Hendrickx 2003a). Prior to the publication of *Beheersovereenkomst 2012-2016* (Lieten and De Preter 2011, p.40-41), the Flemish Minister of the Media, Ingrid Lieten, reaffirmed that "all VRT employees are expected to help execute the language policy, as it is outlined in the language charter" [author's translation] (Belgium 2010). In <u>3.3. The *VRT Taalcharter* [VRT's language charter]</u>, this language policy is discussed in greater detail. It was drawn up

by the current language adviser. In the next section, a brief history of VRT's language advisers and their approaches to the Dutch language is given.

3.2.2. The *taaladviseurs* [language advisers]

The substantial academic publication activity, but also the media coverage Dutch-speaking Belgium witnessed in the past twenty years unmistakably reflects an underlying concern with the Dutch language in Belgium. Thus, it comes as no surprise that language advisers are employed in Belgium's Dutch-speaking Community. Jan Schoukens, for example, is the language adviser at the commercial TV channel VTM and the main Dutch-language newspapers in Belgium also employ such language consultants.[52] Likewise, the Flemish Parliament has two full-time language advisers. What is more, in 1993, the Ministry of the Flemish Community launched its 'free language advice for all' project: *Taaltelefoon* [language phone]. Originally, this service was only intended for public servants, but from 1993, everybody could phone the *Taaltelefoon* on weekdays for language advice. This project was discontinued after one year and then, in 1999, relaunched with an additional e-mail service.[53] Similarly, the Dutch Language Union also provides free language advice on its website, Taaluniversum[54] [Language Universe], and links to websites with both the official Dutch grammar and the official orthographic dictionary. In short: over the years, extensive efforts have been made by the Flemish Government and the Language Union to make Dutch language advice and reference works freely accessible online.

VRT is the only public service broadcaster of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) with a full-time language adviser (De Jonge 2012). From its inception, Flemish public service broadcasting was mobilised to help introduce standard Dutch and encourage its acceptance. Several language programmes had been broadcast up until the 1970s. According to Wim Vandenbussche (2010, p.318), "radio and television have played an active and authoritative role in the diffusion of the standard norm in the recent history of Dutch in Flanders". This norm was at first, essentially, the Netherlandic Dutch norm. In the 1960s, the Belgian broadcaster even joined forces

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[52] e.g. Ludo Permentier at the centre-right Dutch-language quality newspaper *De Standaard* and the more popular newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad,* and Ludo Van den Eynde at the business and financial newspaper *De Tijd.* They both published *Stijlboek* [Stylistic guidelines] in 1997, which was revised by Permentier in 2003 and 2008.

[53] Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap. *De Taaltelefoon* [Online]. Available from: http://taaltelefoon.vlaanderen.be/ [Accessed 27 November 2012].

[54] Nederlandse Taalunie. *Taaluniversum* [online]. Available from: http://taalunieversum.org/sectie/taalhulp [Accessed 27 November 2012].

with its Dutch counterpart and they collaborated on productions, exchanged programmes, and Dutch anchors were employed at BRT to "demonstrate what fluent Dutch sounds like" (Hendrickx 2011a, p.133). As a result, BRT was imbued with the pro-Netherlandic Dutch spirit of the 1960s and 1970s and, in real terms, promoted Netherlandic Dutch (Hendrickx 2010; Vandenbussche 2007). The language used by its commentators had to be flawless and standard Dutch. Thus, someone had to supervise BRT's language output. Although experts in Dutch linguistics had, on a few occasions, supervised language usage at Flemish public service broadcasting in the past, it was not until the 1960s that the broadcaster employed in-house language advisers to monitor the language usage of its broadcasts on a regular basis.

3.2.2.1. The first language adviser: Karel Hemmerechts

In 1961, the then secretary of BRT's general director, Karel Hemmerechts (1925-2007), started supervising language usage on a part-time basis (Hendrickx 2011a). He also hosted the language programme *Onze arme rijke taal* [Our poor rich language] on television. Hemmerechts analysed the language of newsreaders and each time he noticed (what he believed to be) a lexical, grammatical, or phonetic deviation from the Dutch standard, he confronted the newscasters with it in a – what many referred to as – a pedantic way (e.g. Schramme 2006). He filled out pre-printed notes and those were then sent to not only the person in question, but also their superiors via internal post in blue envelopes. The wording of these notes was as follows (idem):

> In het radio-, tv-programma van ...., omstreeks ....uur, zou u geschreven, resp. gedicteerd, gezegd hebben: .... Mensen die het kunnen weten, zijn van oordeel dat dit had moeten zijn: .... (De Moor 2008)

> **English translation**
> In a radio-/TV programme broadcast on ...., around ....o'clock, you are believed to have written/dictated/ said: .... People **who know what they are talking about** are of the opinion this actually should have been: .... [author's emphasis and lit. translation]

The current language adviser, Ruud Hendrickx (2011a, p.133), described Hemmerechts's approach as "elitist" and his policy as "repressive". "Repressive control and approach" is also how Van Poecke and Van den Bulck (1991, p.95) and Vandenbussche (2010, p.316) describe linguistic surveillance under Hemmerechts. The first generation of BRT commentators and presenters, for instance, tended to have an Antwerp accent. This accent completely disappeared under Hemmerechts

(Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991). Karel Hemmerechts also complained about the poor quality of the subtitles BRT at that time used to buy from third parties. He did not only complain about the translation quality, but also the use of "bad Dutch" [author's translation] was a cause of great frustration (idem).

According to his daughter, the celebrated author Kristien Hemmerechts, Karel Hemmerechts was very proud of his mastery of Dutch (Hemmerechts 2010). The Dutch he used on radio and television was, as Kristien Hemmerechts (idem, p.48) said, entirely dialect-free. His sentences were "complex constructions that flew fluently out of his mouth, but at the same time his language made a hopelessly stilted impression" [author's translation]. Hemmerechts listened to old recordings of her father and found his language "unreal, purged of all spontaneity and emotion" [author's translation] (idem). She went on to say that he expressed himself "so clearly and correctly that it became hilarious" [author's translation] (idem). He was "lecturing, rather than talking, he gave Dutch language classes" [author's translation] she concluded (idem). In BRT's own Dutch-language television series, it has to be noted, mainly dialects were used in this period (e.g. *Jeroom en Benzamien* (1966), *Wij heren van Zichem* (1969-1972)) (Van Hoof 2010; Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991). Thus, it would be wrong to assume only standard Dutch was heard on BRT's channels.

3.2.2.2. The second language adviser: Eugène Berode

In September 1970, BRT advertised a vacancy for anybody "with a background in Dutch Studies who would like to help BRT staff to use an as elegant as possible language in front of the microphone and camera"[55] [author's translation] (VRT 2011c). This was how a former Dutch teacher, the late Eugène Berode (1931-2011), became the very first full-time language adviser at Flemish public service broadcasting on the 16th of January 1971. He explained the public service broadcasting mission entailed "BRT having to ban Gallicisms, dialectisms and purisms from its language usage" [author's translation] (Berode 1996). Berode continued to listen closely to BRT's language output and also used Hemmerechts's blue envelopes to correct the language of BRT presenters and newsreaders, but no longer sent carbon copies to their superiors (Brouckaert 2006). He also disapproved of the format and the patronising tone of BRT's language advice programmes of the preceding two decades (idem).

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[55] "een neerlandicus die er wat voor voelt om haar personeel te helpen voor microfoon en camera een zo keurig mogelijke taal te hanteren" (VRT 2011c)

Berode monitored BRT's real-time language output, but also took preventative measures. Standard Dutch language proficiency started to play a crucial role in the recruitment of BRT staff. In his time, Hemmerechts tended to proofread scripts from time to time (Van Poecke and Van den Bulck 1991). Similarly, Berode corrected scripts before they were recorded, even the scripts BRT imported from external programme makers and producers. In 1971, Berode established BRT's translation department that was to provide its own in-house translations (idem). Thus, the broadcaster no longer had to depend on the quality of imported translations. Berode also employed a subtitling editor-in-chief to proofread the subtitles particularly those that were used in prime-time broadcasts (Hendrickx 2011a).

The strong linguistic link with the North is also reflected in BRT's efforts to collaborate with the Dutch public broadcaster. In the 1960s and particularly in the 1970s, there was considerable co-operation between the Dutch and Belgian public service broadcasters. Dutch and Belgian employees were trained together (Schramme 2006) and both Dutch and Belgian radio stations started to share the same long wave frequency 173kHz for their joint radio station, *Radio Delta* (Commissie Cultureel Verdrag Vlaanderen-Nederland 2005). Like the joint television station, *Canal Grande*, in the early 1980s, the *Radio Delta* project, however, failed due to a lack of funding (idem). Nonetheless, from 1975 onwards, annual meetings between representatives of the two national broadcasters continued to take place (Schramme 2006).

In the 1970s and 1980s, a few Belgian linguists (e.g. Geerts 1983; Goossens 1970) gradually started to view the Dutch language as a pluricentric language with Netherlandic and Belgian national varieties. The acknowledgment of a Belgian variety of Dutch with its own centre of gravity in the Brussels-Antwerp region was not without controversy. It undermined the idea that Dutch was a uniform language and that the Belgians had to adhere to the Netherlandic standard. Nonetheless, in the mid-1970s, a gradual shift away from BRT's pro-Netherlandic Dutch policy became noticeable. Ruud Hendrickx (2011a) puts this down to a growing sense of self-worth. Schramme puts it this way:

> The growing self-confidence of the Flemish people is also reflected in the language of the media: increasingly, standard Dutch has been abandoned and language variation is more widely accepted (Schramme 2006, p.206)

BRT stopped co-producing programmes[56] with Dutch public service broadcasting in

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[56] An exception is *Het Beste van Vlaanderen en Nederland* [lit. The best of Flanders and the Netherlands] (BVN), a joint satellite and cable television channel broadcasting the best programmes from both public service broadcasters that was launched in 1998 and can be

the 1990s (Hendrickx 2011a; Schramme 2006), and also started sending its own foreign correspondents abroad, rather than collaborating with Dutch correspondents (van Doorslaer 1997).

In short, exposure to Netherlandic Dutch through Flemish public service broadcasting started to dwindle. Berode gradually accepted more Belgian Dutch pronunciation and approved of the use of official Belgian Dutch terminology and cultural references. Still, he remained adamant in his purist language policy, in that BRT Dutch had to be cleansed of – what he considers – *dialect*. Moreover, Gallicisms remained his absolute bête noir (Berode 1996). As explained in the previous chapter, quite a few Belgian Dutch words were once considered *dialect* or *Gallicisms*. Ludo Beheydt (1991) points out that both Karel Hemmerechts and Eugène Berode endeavoured to adhere to the Netherlandic standard of the *Nederlandse Omroep Stichting (*NOS), the Dutch public service broadcaster, with respect to lexis. It is his conviction that, as a result, in the 1980s, BRT and NOS Dutch converged lexically speaking (idem). Even so, particularly with regard to pronunciation, a separate standardisation process started to take shape in Belgium in the same period (idem). In his farewell speech of 23rd of May 1996, Berode (1996) made a forceful appeal to the public service broadcaster to continue to "hold the Dutch fort" and safeguard the Dutch language.[57]

3.2.2.3. The third language adviser: Ruud Hendrickx

Ruud Hendrickx, who previously had been VRT's subtitling editor-in-chief from 1990 until 1998, succeeded Eugène Berode in 1998 as VRT's full-time *taaladviseur* [language adviser]. In the same year, VRT also formed the *Stuurgroep Taaladvies* [Language Advice Steering Committee]. The latter is a think tank on language policy in which the language adviser collaborates with communication specialists and linguists. Hendrickx was asked to lay down VRT's language policy and drafted the *VRT Taalcharter* [language charter] in July 1998 (Hendrickx 2011a). This language charter outlines the linguistic criteria VRT's radio and television channels have to meet (Belgium 1998). Although this charter is, in the first instance, an internal document,

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watched all over the world. This channel still exists today, but most residents in the Netherlands and Belgium will probably not be familiar with it.

[57] "Daarom - en hoe komt het toch dat die gloed in mij blijft zinderen? - daarom dus zeg ik tegen ieder van u afzonderlijk en tegen de organisatie in haar geheel: Blijf letten op de Nederlandse-taalwinkel. Behoud in godsnaam de kwaliteit." [That is why – and I ask myself why I remain so passionate about this – which is why I say to each and every one of you individually and to the organisation [i.e. VRT] as a whole: continue to hold the Dutch fort. For God's sake do maintain quality.] [author's translation] (Berode 1996)

it was made available publicly on VRT's website and in *Stijlboek VRT* [lit. *VRT style book*, i.e. a book containing VRT's stylistic guidelines] (Hendrickx 2003a). These guidelines are also considered to convey the standard (e.g. De Nieuwe Gemeenschap. 2007) of the Belgian national variety of Dutch.

Stijlboek VRT (Hendrickx 2003a) contains alphabetically arranged headwords allowing people to look up, for example, the 'acceptability' of certain words according to VRT or their 'correct' pronunciation. By way of illustration, the entry 'flik' [copper] explains that:

> Flik behoort in de betekenis van 'politieagent' tot de Belgisch-Nederlandse spreektaal. Het hoort niet in een zakelijke tekst thuis. (Hendrickx 2003a, p.89)

> **English translation**
> 'Flik' in its sense of police officer is part of Belgian Dutch colloquial language. It has no place in a formal text. [author's translation]

Later editions of this book were not printed, as VRT opted for a freely accessible online language advice database instead, which allowed VRT to regularly update and complete the original entries of *Stijlboek VRT* (Hendrickx 2003a).

On the first of September 1998, the *Project Taalcontrole* [Language-Control Project], which was rechristened *Project Taalhantering* [Language-Usage Project] (1998-2008), was launched (Hendrickx 2003a). This project involved linguists from the Katholiek Universiteit Leuven carefully monitoring the linguistic output of the broadcaster's newsreaders, correspondents, commentators, and presenters on radio and television between 1998 and 2008. In this period, three VRT television channels, six VRT radio channels, and VRT's website came under scrutiny. This resulted in 598 reports of around 4,500 pages written and presented to VRT (Smessaerts 2010). Sarah Van Hoof (2010) points out that Dutch-language fiction was excluded from the material Professor Willy Smedts's team analysed.

Whenever they make what Hendrickx considered to be *a mistake*, VRT journalists are still personally confronted with it, albeit in a more discrete and friendly way. Hendrickx stopped using the notorious blue envelopes (Hendrickx 2010b). He also introduced the *taalmails* [language e-mails] in which such *errors* he happens upon are listed without mentioning its source. In these e-mails, he kindly provides his corrections. This allows the wider public to learn from these mistakes. Everybody can sign up to the *taalmail* mailing list, and all the *taalmails* since the year 2000 have been compiled in VRT's online language advice database. Furthermore, Hendrickx also gives personal language advice to anyone who contacts him through VRT's online contact form (VRT 2013). What is noteworthy here is that

VRT, under Hendrickx, started to attempt to reach a wider audience with its language advice.

On the one hand, Belgium's influential Dutch-language public service broadcaster spreads its linguistic standard indirectly by simply using it on radio and television, and thus, exposing its audience to it. On the other hand, it also makes internal language advice documents (e.g. *Taalcharter* (Hendrickx 1998), *Taalmails*) available to the outside world, both online via their VRT language website (www.vrttaal.net) and in print in *Stijlboek VRT* (Hendrickx 2003a). Unlike his predecessors, Hendrickx (2003a, p.281) acknowledges the existence of "Belgisch Nederlands" [Belgian Dutch] or "de Belgische variant van de Nederlandse standaardtaal" [the Belgian variant of standard Dutch] explicitly. This was a turning point in the Flemish public broadcaster's language policy. In the next section, VRT's language policy is discussed.

3.3. The *VRT Taalcharter* [VRT's language charter]

In 1998, Ruud Hendrickx wrote the first *VRT taalcharter* [VRT language charter], which outlined VRT's language policy. This document was republished five years later in Hendrickx's *Stijlboek VRT* [VRT style guidelines] (Hendrickx 2003a, p.281-289). The charter was also uploaded onto the VRT website, where everybody can still read it today (Hendrickx 1998). In 2007, the *Charter Taal bij de VRT* [Charter language at VRT](VRT 2007) appeared. This is a one-page, tabular overview of VRT's language policy. It was sent to VRT personnel and contains a reference to the "complete and detailed language charter" [author's translation] on the VRT website (i.e. the 1998 language charter). At the *Taaldag 2011* [Language Day 2011] (VRT 2011a), Hendrickx announced a new language charter was in the making. This caused a lot of upheaval, as this new charter was to introduce 'the *acceptability* of a *slight accent*' in VRT's language policy. No more mention was made of a new language charter, until in 2014, a new web page was created on the VRT website, *Taalcharter 2012* (VRT 2012),[58] publicising these policy changes with regard to pronunciation. The much more detailed *VRT taalcharter* [VRT language charter] (1998), however, still appears to be current expression of VRT's general language policy.

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[58] Surprisingly, the publication date mentioned on this web page is 11 September 2012; however, this page was not on the website in 2013 when this chapter was written. According to an internet archive website this page was not put online until 8 September 2014 (Wayback Machine Internet Archive 2014).

3.3.1. Controversy surrounding VRT's language charter

The *VRT taalcharter* (1998) marked a decisive break with the idea that Netherlandic Dutch was the linguistic standard in audiovisual media and was, therefore, ground-breaking (Roosens 2011). Not only did it acknowledge the very existence of Belgian Dutch, it also called for an increased acceptance of Belgian Dutch words and phrases to enrich the Dutch language (Hendrickx 2006). This was unprecedented and not without controversy. On 26 October 1998, VRT was required to explain to the Flemish Parliament as to why it wanted to introduce such "deviating language usage":

> Vraag nr. 17 van van de heer Herman Suykerbuyk: "VRT-taalcharter – Nederlandse standaardtaal en Belgische variant"
> Kan de minister meedelen wat de juiste bedoeling is van het invoeren van een taalcharter bij de VRT, gelet op het feit dat onze taal bij decreet het Nederlands is zoals het wordt gebruikt in het ganse Nederlandse taalgebied? De Intergouvernementele Taalunie heeft verdragsrechtelijk tot bescherming van die ene taal besloten. De verschillen tussen Noord en Zuid hebben altijd bestaan en een eventuele verwijzing daarnaar kan toch onmogelijk een argument zijn om een taalcharter op te stellen.
> Uit persartikels blijkt dat de taal die de VRT wenst te gebruiken grotendeels aansluit bij de algemene Nederlandse standaardtaal. Ook wordt over een Belgisch Nederlands gesproken. Wat is de wettelijke basis voor een openbare omroep om een afwijkend taalgebruik te introduceren en daarover afspraken te maken in wat men een charter noemt? (Belgium 1998, p.308)
>
> **English translation**
> Question No 17 from Mr Herman Suykerbuyk: "VRT-language charter – standard Dutch and Belgian variant"
> Could the minister explain what exactly VRT's intention is by introducing a language charter given that by decree our language is Dutch as it is used in the whole of the Dutch language area? In the Dutch Language Union Treaty, the Dutch and the Flemish Government agreed to protect this one and only, Dutch language. The differences between the North and the South [of the language area] have always existed, and any reference to it cannot possibly justify a language charter.
> The press reports that the language VRT wishes to use broadly corresponds to general standard Dutch. There is also mention of Belgian Dutch. What is the legal basis for a public service broadcaster introducing deviating language usage and formulating agreements in what it calls a charter? [author's emphasis and translation]

VRT's response was that its *Taalcharter* was an internal manual for its TV and radio presenters outlining that they must use standard Dutch. Subsequently, VRT explains what it means by standard Dutch (Belgium 1998). Interestingly, in this context VRT does not mean the standard variety of Dutch, but simply Dutch as opposed to any other language: "French, English, German, or any other standard language" [author's translation] (Belgium 1998). Thus, VRT presenters have to speak Dutch, because Dutch, and indeed no other (standard) language, is the official

language of the Flemish Region. Suykerbuyk, of course, was well aware of that. What VRT really wanted to point out here is that Suykerbuyk and VRT interpret the *Decree on the Establishment of the Official Name of the Dutch Language*[59] (Cultuurraad voor de Nederlandse cultuurgemeenschap 1973) differently.

This decree established in 1973 that 'Dutch' and not 'Flemish' was the official designation for the official language of the Flemish Region. The only reason why this decree was issued, however, was to ascertain that the word 'Flemish' would never be used again in any official documents to designate the language used in the Flemish Region. This decree, however, does not define 'Dutch'. André De Beul addressed the need for such a definition in his 1988 proposition for a new linguistic community decree (Vlaamse Raad 1988), but this decree was never passed. According to Suykerbuyk, it implies Dutch as it is used in the whole of the Dutch language area, by which he means that there is only one Dutch. He does not acknowledge the existence of either Belgian Dutch, or Netherlandic Dutch. VRT, for its part, takes the liberty of deciding what Dutch is and what it is not, since:

> De inhoud van 'het Nederlands" is evenwel niet bij de wet bepaald. In tegenstelling tot Frankrijk beschikt de Vlaamse noch de Nederlandse overheid over een instelling die vastlegt of woorden, uitdrukkingen en zegswijzen wel of niet tot het Nederlands behoren.(Belgium 1998)
> **English translation**
> What exactly 'the Dutch language' entails, however, has not been established in any law. Unlike France, neither the Flemish nor the Dutch Government can refer to an institution [i.e. official language-planning institutions like the *Académie Française* in France] that decides if a given word, phrase or proverb is, in fact, Dutch. [author's translation]

VRT points out that the Dutch Language Union's competences are limited and that it does not bear any resemblance to the *Académie Française*. The Dutch Language Union has been criticised for this reason. In 2011, the Dutch writer Benno Barnard caused a controversy because he believed it is inert and suggested it be abolished. Willemyns (2013), however, points out that the Dutch Language Union plays a unifying role with regard to Dutch spelling. Orthography reforms are introduced in the Dutch language area by the Dutch Language Union, but it has to be said that particularly the Dutch vehemently opposed to the latest reform, with some major Dutch newspapers even boycotting this orthography reform by using alternative[60] orthography rules instead.

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[59] Decreet van 10 december 1973 betreffende de officiële benaming van de taal gebruikt door de Nederlandse Cultuurgemeenschap van België [The decree of 10 December 1973 on the official designation of the language used by the Dutch Culture Community of Belgium].
[60] *Het Witte Boekje* (Genootschap Onze Taal 2006)

Applicants for a job as a VRT presenter or commentator still have to pass a language proficiency test and the legendary VRT voice test (Hendrickx 2010b). The pass rate for the latter has gone down in recent years. The results of this test suggest that according to VRT scarcely 3% (idem) of the applicants have mastered standard Belgian Dutch pronunciation. In 2010, Hendrickx hinted that this situation was untenable (idem). A year later on the occasion of VRT's yearly *Taaldag* [Language Day] (VRT 2011a), he announced a new language charter in which VRT would allow its radio and television presenters to have regional accents (VRT 2012b). The *VRT Taalcharter* (1998), however, was adamant only a supra-regional Belgian accent was acceptable. Again, Hendricks was criticised openly, this time even by some of the VRT reporters and presenters. In parliament, VRT was accused of not adhering to the *Beheersovereenkomst* [management agreement]:

> De heer Wilfried Vandaele: Voorzitter, gisteren heeft de stuurgroep Taal van de VRT ter gelegenheid van de Taaldag van de VRT verklaard dat de openbare omroep nood heeft aan een nieuw taalcharter om meer ruimte voor regionale uitspraak en voor taalvarianten te maken.
> Volgens ons is dit in tegenspraak met de nieuwe beheersovereenkomst. In een resolutie die het Vlaams Parlement op 18 mei 2011 heeft goedgekeurd, staat het volgende: "De VRT zal maximaal een helder Standaardnederlands gebruiken in haar programma's." Dit standpunt is in de beheersovereenkomst met de VRT overgenomen: "De VRT zorgt ervoor dat haar journalisten, presentatoren en interviewers het Standaardnederlands gebruiken. De VRT gebruikt voorts waar dit kan en past een helder Standaardnederlands in haar programma's. De taaladviseur zorgt, in toepassing van het taalcharter, eveneens voor permanente aandacht voor het Standaardnederlands." (Belgium 2011)
>
> **English translation**
> Mr Wilfried Vandaele: Mr President, yesterday VRT's Language Steering Committee stated at VRT's Language Day that the public service broadcaster is **in need of a new language charter to allow for more regional pronunciation and language variation.**
> **We believe this is in contradiction of the new management agreement.** A resolution approved by the Flemish Parliament on 18 May 2011 says the following: "VRT will to a maximum extent use a clear standard Dutch in its programmes" This standpoint was adopted in the management agreement with the VRT: "VRT ensures that its journalists, presenters, and interviewers use standard Dutch. Furthermore, VRT will use, where possible and appropriate, a clear standard Dutch in its programmes. The language adviser will, in accordance with the language charter, also pay unswerving attention to standard Dutch". [author's emphasis and translation]

The above illustrates that politicians are unmistakably involved with VRT's policy and do not hesitate to reprimand the public service broadcaster on linguistic issues. By the same token, it also shows how highly inflammable language matters still are in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium.

No new language charter was released containing the new pronunciation guideline with regard to the use of regional accents in 2012. Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof (2012) explain that VRT's language adviser, Ruud Hendrickx, met with a lot of criticism and this time it was VRT that blew the whistle on its language adviser. In 2014, however, a new page was published on the VRT website under the heading *Taalcharter 2012*. This page suggests that indeed a new language charter was introduced. This new language charter allows external (i.e. non-VRT) presenters and experts invited on VRT programmes to have a slight regional, or non-native Dutch accent. In Dutch-language fiction, all varieties of Dutch can be heard as long as they do not pose intelligibility difficulties. In children's fiction, however, only standard Dutch is used.

3.3.2. VRT's language policy

In the 1998 charter, VRT's language policy is summarised as follows:

> De VRT wil de norm voor de Belgische variant van de Nederlandse standaardtaal zijn en blijven. Hij hanteert daarom een aantrekkelijke, duidelijke en correcte standaardtaal die rekening houdt met en afgestemd is op de mediagebruiker. (Hendrickx 17 July 1998; VRT 2007)
>
> **English translation**
> VRT wants to be and remain the standard of the Belgian variety of standard Dutch. For this reason, it uses an attractive, clear and correct standard language that takes into account and is adjusted to the media user [author's lit. translation]

This was copied in the 2007 version, but the reference to Belgian Dutch was left out. *Charter Taal bij de VRT* [Charter language at VRT] indeed only speaks of 'Standaardnederlands' [standard Dutch] and 'standaardtaal' [standard language]:

> VRT wil de norm voor standaardtaal zijn en blijven. (VRT 2007)
>
> **English translation**
> VRT wants to be and remain the standard of Dutch. [author's lit. translation]

Hendrickx explained VRT deemed it superfluous to specify that the Belgian variety of standard Dutch was meant, as this now had become "obvious" [author's translation] (Hendrickx 2010b; Roosens 2011). In *Taalcharter 2012*, VRT put it more modestly as follows:

> De VRT wil de norm voor de standaardtaal in Vlaanderen mee bepalen. Daarom hanteren alle VRT-medewerkers in hun publieke uitingen en contacten aantrekkelijk, helder en correct Nederlands. (Hendrickx 17 July 1998; VRT 2007)
>
> **English translation**
> VRT wants to **help determine** the linguistic standard of standard Dutch in Flanders. For this reason, all of its co-workers use attractive, clear and correct Dutch [author's emphasis and lit. translation]

The *VRT Taalcharter* (1998 copied[61] in Hendrickx 2003a, p.282) started with an explanation of how linguistic variation is possible within standard languages. Hendrickx illustrates this with an example of 'Nederlands Nederlands' [Dutch Dutch] and its 'Belgisch Nederlands' [Belgian Dutch] counterpart. Subsequently, he stated:

> De VRT laat in beperkte mate ruimte voor de Belgische varianten.(Hendrickx 2003a, p.282)
>
> **English translation**
> To a limited extent, VRT leaves room for Belgian variants [author's lit. translation]

The language charter, subsequently, states, "VRT uses an attractive, clear and correct standard language" [author's translation]. In 1998, Hendrickx made an attempt to illustrate the rather subjective notions of "attractive language" (idem, p.285) and "clear language" (idem), under separate subheadings by offering stylistic guidelines. These explanations seem to apply until this day. Under the heading "correct language" (idem, p.286), he explains VRT does not adopt the Netherlandic standard, but rather its own standard (idem, p.287) which "leaves room for Belgian Dutch input when it comes to pronunciation, choice of words, idiomatic phrases and metaphors" [author's translation] (idem). In practice, this means – Hendrickx proceeds – that the language adviser will often have to decide what is *acceptable* and what is *not acceptable*. Moreover, "his advice is binding" [author's translation] (idem, p.288). Five years later, in the preface of his *Stijlboek VRT* (Hendrickx 2003a) Hendrickx explained in greater detail how VRT decided whether or not a given word or phrase is Belgian Dutch.

He prefaced his stylistic guidelines under the heading 'Verantwoording' [justification] and clarified that VRT consults the latest edition of the Van Dale dictionary (den Boon and Geerts 1999). Although, a Dutch and a Belgian editor-in-chief have been heading the Van Dale dictionary's editorial staff since 1984 (11th edition of the dictionary), it was not until the 13th edition of 1999 that the Van Dale lexicographers started labelling Belgian Dutch headwords systematically and, by doing so, acknowledged the existence of a Belgian variety of standard Dutch. Hendrickx explains in his preface that VRT excludes, on principle, all words and phrases that are labelled "Belgisch Nederlands, niet algemeen" [Belgian Dutch, not general] and "Belgisch Nederlands, spreektaal" [Belgian Dutch, colloquial] in the Van Dale dictionary (Hendrickx 2003a, p.12; 2010b, p.74) (cf. 2.5. Dutch lexicography).

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[61] Hendrickx published the 1998 language charter in print in his *Stijlboek VRT* (Hendrickx 2003a). All quotes taken from the language charter use this book, rather than the online version, as their source because it enables the use of page numbers.

Nevertheless, the language adviser admits VRT still "reserves the right to use the Van Dale dictionary critically and, if necessary, to be even stricter when it comes to deciding what is Belgian Dutch and what is not" [author's translation] (Hendrickx 2003a, p.12). He sums up a few criteria for the *acceptability* of Belgian Dutch. Firstly, only words and phrases that 'have become established terms' are accepted. Secondly, there has to be "transparency of morphology" [author's translation] (idem). Thirdly, the 'existence of established alternatives' also has an effect on the *acceptability* of a given word or phrase, as has, fourthly, the extent to which certain words and phrases are "traditionally rejected" [author's translation] (idem, p.13). All of these explanations, of course, are rather hazy to say the least. Examples of the latter criterion are loan translations from French, which, according to Hendrickx, "violate the Dutch idiom" [author's translation] (idem). Thus, at VRT, such so-called 'Gallicisms' are still seen as a stumbling block, as they were in Eugène Berode's day. Hendrickx, however, admits that such loan translations are often commonly used in Belgium, but, nonetheless, VRT does not allow for those. The reason for this, as he puts it – again rather vaguely, is that "many listeners and viewers have learnt that there is something wrong with those" [author's translation] (idem).

In its stylistic guidelines, VRT also introduced a new usage label 'bruikbaar' [usable] Belgian Dutch (idem). This label is used for those words and phrases that the Van Dale dictionary accepts as standard Belgian Dutch, but VRT is apparently only reluctantly willing to accept. An example of 'usable Belgian Dutch' is 'uitbater' [manager]:

> Uitbater is bruikbaar voor cafés, restaurants, kroegen, hotels en bordelen. In andere gevallen: exploitant, eigenaar, directeur, directie. In Belgisch-Nederlands is uitbater neutraal, in Nederland wordt het alleen gebruikt om een ironiserend of soortgelijk effect teweeg te brengen. (VRT Taalnet 2014)

According to the language advice given here, this word can be used for pubs, restaurants, hotels and brothels. In other cases, the following variants must be used: 'exploitant', 'eigenaar', 'directeur', 'directie'. Interestingly, in this entry additional information is given explaining that the term is neutral in Belgium but, in the Netherlands, it is only used ironically (Hendrickx 2003a, p.247). One could argue that the latter information is irrelevant here as the target audience is Belgian. Nonetheless, Hendrickx felt the need to inform his Belgian audience of this Netherlandic Dutch sense.

In Belgium, the debate truly becomes animated[62] when the colloquial variety of Belgian Dutch (cf. 0.6. 'Verkavelingsvlaams' and 'tussentaal') is mentioned. VRT's *Taalcharter* also dealt with this variety in 1998 and explained it can be used, but only in films, television series, and travel programmes dealing with local culture where it "serves a special purpose" [author's translation] (Hendrickx 2003a, p.284). Yet, Hendrickx makes no secret of the fact that he would like to introduce a different informal Belgian Dutch variety that is closer to standard Dutch in order to replace the current non-standard, Belgian variety of Dutch (idem). In 2007, he explained this informal VRT variety is already used in the popular series *Thuis* (BRTN/VRT 1995-...). Ruud Hendrickx reaffirmed his conviction that VRT could introduce and popularise such a new variety of Dutch and buttressed his argument by referring to VRT's exemplary role for Dutch-speaking Belgians (Vandenbussche 2007).

3.3.3. VRT's attitude towards colloquial Belgian Dutch

The *VRT Taalcharter* (1998) states that the use of the notorious variety of colloquial Belgian Dutch is not problematic, as it can be useful in certain programmes. The word 'tussentaal' [interlanguage] is used below for colloquial Belgian Dutch (cf. 0.6. 'Verkavelingsvlaams' and 'tussentaal'):

> Dat de omroep principieel voor de standaardtaal kiest, sluit dialect en tussentaal geenszins uit, maar ze horen wel alleen in bepaalde programma's thuis. [...] In soaps, feuilletons en comedyseries van eigen bodem mag dialect en tussentaal te horen zijn. Als er personages uit een bepaald milieu opgevoerd worden, mogen ze klinken zoals die mensen spreken. Het komt de geloofwaardigheid van de personages alleen maar ten goede. (Hendrickx 2003a, p.282ff)

> **English translation**
> If the broadcaster, on principle, adopts standard language, **this does not by any means imply it rules out the use of dialect or *tussentaal* altogether**, but rather that these non-standard varieties are appropriate in specific programmes only. [...] In local television serials, soap operas, and comedy series, the use of dialect and *tussentaal* does not pose any problem. If people with a certain background are impersonated, the actors are allowed to sound the way these people talk. The credibility of the characters can only benefit from this. [author's emphasis and translation]

Charter Taal bij de VRT (2007), however, is markedly less enthusiastic about such non-standard Dutch:

> De regel: De taal van de VRT is het Standaardnederlands. We maken gebruik van alle registers ervan.

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[62] An example of this is the furore caused by the publication of *De manke Usurpator. Over Verkavelingsvlaams* [The usurper with a limp. On 'Verkavelingsvlaams'] (Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012) in the summer of 2012.

> De uitzonderingen: Niet-standaardtaal kan voor typetjes en uitzonderlijk in fictie als het onontbeerlijk is. (VRT 2007)
>
> **English translation**
> The rule: The language of VRT is standard Dutch. We make use of all its different registers.
> The exceptions: Non-standard Dutch **can be used for** stereotypical characters and, **exceptionally**, in fiction **if it is indispensable.** [author's emphasis and translation]

However, in *Taalcharter 2012*, VRT explains all – that is, standard and non-standard – varieties of Dutch are used in fiction series and comedy programmes, as long as these varieties do not pose comprehension difficulties.

In the afore-mentioned[63] Flemish Parliament resolution of 18 May 2011, dissatisfaction with the use of non-standard, colloquial Belgian Dutch at VRT was expressed. This variety is again called 'tussentaal' [interlanguage] below:

> Het blijft een van de taken van de VRT een helder Standaardnederlands te gebruiken en te propageren. Dit geldt ook voor het fictieaanbod. In die context kunnen dialecten in specifieke gevallen worden gebruikt [...]. De tussentaal worden <sic> echter zo veel mogelijk geweerd. (Belgium, Vlaams Parlement, 2011, *Debates*, Plenaire vergadering nr. 37, p.87)
>
> **English translation**
> It remains one of VRT's duties to use and propagate a clear standard Dutch. The same applies for fiction broadcasts. In this context, dialects can be used in specific circumstances [...]. *Tussentaal*, **however, has to be avoided as much as possible.** [author's emphasis and lit. translation]

In a press release of 1 December 2011 entitled "VRT wants to help determine the linguistic standard in the Flemish Region" [author's translation] (VRT 2011b), VRT made it clear it did not agree with the second part of the Parliament's resolution. It believes different varieties of Dutch can be appropriate in fiction series. Interestingly, it makes a didactic distinction it had not made before between fiction for children[64] and grown-ups:

> In bepaalde fictieprojecten kan wel van de standaardtaal worden afgeweken. Maar ook hier is het VRT-taalbeleid duidelijk: fictie voor kinderen wordt met bijzondere aandacht voor de standaardtaal gemaakt. (idem)
>
> **English translation**
> In certain fiction series, we can deviate from standard Dutch. In any such case, however, VRT's language policy remains clear: fiction for children is made with special attention to standard Dutch.

Yet, no mention whatsoever has been made of language usage in children's programmes in either the *VRT Taalcharter* (1998), *VRT Stijlboek* (2003a), *Charter Taal bij de VRT* (2007), or any of the Media Decrees, nor any of the

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[63] This is the resolution Wilfried Vandaele referred to in <u>3.3.1. Controversy surrounding VRT's language charter</u> (p.83).

[64] Since 2012, children have had their own VRT channel, Ketnet. As of the 1st of September 2013 this channel has a special selection of programmes after eight o'clock targeting teenagers, OP12.

Beheersovereenkomsten. Charter Taal bij de VRT (2007), however, indicates that every channel has "its own style and language register". This could hint at VRT's separate policy for children's programmes with respect to the avoidance of colloquial Belgian Dutch. *Taalcharter 2012* reiterates, "fiction for children is made with special attention to standard Dutch" [author's translation] (VRT 2012).

In a 2007 interview, Ruud Hendrickx indeed pointed out that on its children's channel, Ketnet, VRT no longer tolerated non-standard Dutch language usage (Vandenbussche 2007a). In 2012, Hendrickx reiterated that the linguistic policy remains very strict for Ketnet and only standard Belgian Dutch can be used on that channel (De Jonge 2012). This is in all probability because VRT feels it has a role to play in children's Dutch language acquisition. By comparison, the public service broadcaster in the Netherlands has no issues whatsoever with the use of non-standard varieties in its children's series or in any other fiction series for that matter (idem). Children in the Netherlands also watch Ketnet. A VRT study revealed that more Dutch children spontaneously[65] name Ketnet and not their own Dutch channel, Zappelin, when asked to name a children's channel (Commissie Cultureel Verdrag Vlaanderen-Nederland 2005). In 2003, on average 35% of the Dutch children tuned in to Ketnet at least once a week (idem). Annick Schramme (2006) also hinted at a few successful children's co-productions between Belgium and the Netherlands. The Dutch public service broadcaster likewise buys the popular Belgian *Studio 100's* productions for children. These are produced by former VRT presenters and, as a result, Dutch children are now more exposed to the Belgian variety of standard Dutch than previously had been the case (De Jonge 2012). Dutch-language children's programmes are not subtitled. Ketnet and Studio 100, thus, appear to have started to cater for a mixed Belgian and Dutch audience. This in turn could mean that VRT's language output for children's programmes may contain less marked Belgian Dutch.

VRT's strict language policy with regard to children's programmes seems to reflect political opinion. In 2011, Pascal Smet (2011), the Flemish Minister of Education, issued a draft proposal document entitled "Samen taalgrenzen verleggen" [Pushing the linguistic limits together]. In this proposal, he stressed the importance of a child's proficiency in standard Dutch, since for many children their mother tongue is a regional variety of standard Dutch. He implies that the use of this variety may be a stumbling block in later life and that, as a result, education should stimulate the use of standard Dutch, which helps children to *embrace* the standard

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[65] Nevertheless, the best-known channels were Fox Kids and Nickelodeon.

variety at an early age. This draft proposal was criticised in *De Manke Usurpator* (Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012) for contributing to the anti-colloquial Belgian Dutch atmosphere stigmatising the majority of the Dutch speakers in Belgium. The editors explained in their introduction that children, who are constrained because forced to use a variety with which they may not feel comfortable, could not be expected to *embrace* this variety (Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012). When their book came out, it created a lot of commotion in the media because it was believed it promoted the use colloquial Dutch in primary schools. In any case, the above shows that the use of the colloquial Belgian Dutch variety is still highly controversial.

3.4. VRT subtitling policy

In the previous sections, the special attention the Flemish public service broadcaster pays to its language output was highlighted. An important part of VRT's language output consists of subtitles. Unlike commercial broadcasters, VRT has a translation department, which creates its own subtitles. In an informal meeting[66] with Sara Brouckaert, VRT's subtitling editor-in-chief, she explained that approximately forty translators work almost full time for VRT. All of them are native speakers of the target language into which they translate. The vast majority of these translators subtitle into Dutch and those subtitlers are both Belgian and Dutch nationals. About half of VRT's translators have a background in Translation Studies and the other half have a background in Linguistics. Applicants have to take small tests at VRT. These comprise a Dutch language proficiency test and a few translation tests. Nowadays, all of the subtitles are usually proofread before they are transmitted. VRT employs two subtitling editors-in-chief, who proofread the subtitles via the subtitling software's review mode. This means that they watch the subtitled product with the subtitles. Prior to 2010, when VRT did not employ full-time editors-in-chief, this was rarely feasible due to the heavy workload. Prime-time emissions tended to take priority over other programmes in those days.

There is no real co-operation between the Belgian and the Dutch public broadcaster with regard to subtitles. Occasionally, VRT sells its subtitles to the Dutch public service broadcaster, but then these subtitles are post-edited to cater for the Dutch market. VRT, however, does not use the Dutch public service broadcaster's subtitles. In general, VRT rarely imports subtitles, since it is very particular about its own linguistic standards. In the rare event that a subtitled programme is imported,

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[66] Research trip to Brussels and visit to VRT's translation department on 23-12-2011.

these subtitles are proofread and edited so that they comply with VRT's standards. Older subtitles that are reused when a programme is rebroadcast in prime time also have to be proofread again. The Dutch orthography rules have been revised twice since the 1950s and new rules became effective in 1996 and 2005. This meant that all older subtitles had to be updated. The general format of subtitles changed as well. Since July 2010, VRT has centred its subtitles (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2010). All adjustments of this kind have to be made whenever older subtitles are reused. Since 2009, VRT also has had a 'four-second rule' in place, which means that a two-line subtitle remains visible for only four seconds. This used to be six seconds (Hendrickx 2003a). The average reading speed, as a result, was increased to 14 – not 11 – characters per second (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2010). However, VRT tends not to update older 'six second rule' subtitles, unless a considerable amount of information was lost in the original subtitles.

Translations are not only produced by VRT's translation department. Translations for current affairs programmes and news items, which are often last-minute translations, have so far always been provided by journalists with no background whatsoever in translation – let alone subtitling. As this has a detrimental effect on the quality of the subtitles, VRT planned to invest in full-time in-house subtitlers for its news service in 2011. However, at present, journalists still subtitle foreign-language news features. Teletext subtitlers used to work independently from the translation department. Recently, these closed intralingual subtitlers have joined forces with the interlingual subtitlers in the translation department. Approximately, eight subtitlers are in-house subtitlers, who provide the more urgent translations. One of those subtitlers is a full time interlingual subtitler. Three of those subtitlers also proofread the open subtitles today. Television series are not subtitled by the in-house subtitlers, but tend to be subtitled by freelance subtitlers, who equally have to adhere to VRT's guidelines (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2010).

The workload of closed, intralingual subtitlers, which often includes real-time subtitling of live broadcasts, is much heavier and the intralingual subtitlers have to be on stand-by all the time. Teletext subtitlers use state-of-the-art speech recognition software to subtitle live reports. In general, VRT's language charter (Hendrickx 17 July 1998) and its stylistic guidelines (Hendrickx 2003a) apply to VRT translators as well. Additionally, there are separate sets of guidelines for subtitlers (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2010), teletext subtitlers (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2009) and translators of voice-over scripts (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2010b) that focus on the specificities of these text types. Interlingual

and intralingual subtitlers, although they work together now, continue to have their own guidelines. Intralingual subtitlers, for example, are much more source text-oriented.

At the Flemish public service broadcaster, subtitling initially implied translating foreign-language programmes into Dutch (Cuvelier 2006). Such subtitles are called interlingual subtitles. The public service broadcaster's interlingual subtitles are open subtitles, which, unlike closed subtitles, cannot be turned off. From the 1980s, subtitles were also used to render spoken Dutch varieties into written Dutch. These subtitles are called intralingual subtitles, as the linguistic transfer takes place *within* the same language. VRT today uses both open and closed intralingual subtitles. The latter have to be turned on manually via teletext page 888. Intralingual subtitles are rather common in other countries as well – that is, closed intralingual subtitles have become common practice. They cater, in the first instance, for a deaf and hard-of-hearing audience. Open intralingual subtitles, however, are rarely used in other language areas (Hendrickx 2011b). This practice has been the topic of much heated debate in Belgium, as explained below. In the following section, interlingual subtitling at VRT will be discussed, and subsequently, both types of intralingual subtitling.

3.4.1. Interlingual subtitling at VRT

A few subtitlers, Greet Michielsen and Guido Van de Velde (1998), Helene Reid (Hendrickx and Reid 1998), and Luc Ockers (1998), have written about their work as interlingual subtitlers at the Flemish public service broadcaster. Under the heading "Some basic rules" [author's translation], Michielsen and Van de Velde (1998, p.32) mention, first and foremost, "subtitles convey spoken language, therefore they have to be written in spoken, or colloquial language" [author's translation], but they are quick to add "and, of course, in correct standard Dutch" [author's translation]. In a footnote, they go on to explain that regrettably many colloquial phrases are labelled 'Belgian Dutch' in the Van Dale dictionary and, therefore, cannot be used in subtitles. Thus, standard Dutch here clearly does not imply Belgian variety of standard Dutch. Similarly, they regret that dialects and accents are hard to convey in subtitles, as "strange words or constructions would draw too much attention to the subtitle" [author's translation] (idem, p.35) and hence distract the viewer.

Likewise, Ockers (1998) deals with the difficulty of conveying speech in writing. Although he stresses the significance of differences in register in the programmes, he explains that formal registers and jargon, for example, tend to be simplified. Ockers is of the opinion that regional dialects and sociolects should also be rendered in subtitles, but he thinks it is quite challenging to find – as he puts it – an appropriate "Flemish dialect" that all Belgians understand. In the same year, Ruud Hendrickx, then editor-in-chief of the translation and subtitling department, and Helene J.B. Reid, who worked as a translator for the Dutch national broadcaster, but also did a lot of research on audiovisual translation, explained only standard Dutch can be used in subtitles (Hendrickx and Reid 1998). If a subtitler has to render informal spoken varieties in writing, they explain with regard to English-language source texts that "Dutch, and more specifically Belgian Dutch, can often not convey all English registers" [author's translation] (Hendrickx and Reid 1998). As a result, if necessary subtitlers would have to resort to Netherlandic Dutch (idem).

Since these accounts of subtitling practice at VRT date back to the year of the *VRT Taalcharter* (1998), it is likely that they only refer to older subtitling practices before the 1998 policy change. Ruud Hendrickx was the subtitling editor-in-chief and, thus, responsible for VRT's subtitles between 1990 and 1998. This was before he released the *VRT Taalcharter* (1998) – in theory, at least – granting Belgian Dutch more visibility. VRT's language output, of course, is primarily oral. The *VRT Taalcharter* (1998) states that newsreaders, correspondents, and presenters must speak standard Dutch. In VRT's Dutch-language television series, lower-register and non-standard spoken varieties of Belgian Dutch can be used. The *VRT Taalcharter* (1998) also mentions subtitling at VRT, but it only deals with open intralingual subtitles specifically and states these are to be written in standard Dutch. It is unclear if this implies that standard Belgian Dutch lexis can be used here.

Sara Brouckaert, who since 2010 has been subtitling editor-in-chief, explained in an informal meeting that interlingual subtitlers are allowed to use general Belgian Dutch words. Interlingual subtitlers consult the Van Dale dictionary and VRT's language advice database to look up words or phrases. If they are labelled "Belgisch Nederlands, algemeen" [Belgian Dutch, general], they can be used in subtitles. This corresponds to VRT's general language policy (Hendrickx 2003a). Brouckaert also explained that VRT editors-in-chief in the translation department do not always agree with the language adviser. Although the *VRT Taalcharter* (1998) states that "his advice is binding" [author's translation] (Hendrickx 2003a, p.288), ultimately, they are free to follow the language adviser's advice or not.

However, there is no mention of Belgian Dutch in the 2010 stylistic guidelines for interlingual subtitlers (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2010). These only refer to reference works for spelling. Unlike the guidelines for teletext subtitlers (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2009), the guidelines for interlingual subtitlers neither deal with such pressing questions as rendering non-standard varieties, nor with the use of marked Belgian Dutch in subtitles. To convey spoken registers in the subtitles, subtitlers are advised to use reduced forms, e.g. 'dat 't mooi is' rather than 'dat het mooi is', or [that it's beautiful], rather than [that it is beautiful] and more information is given on those reduced forms and what is *acceptable* or not (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2010). Particularly in audiovisual fiction, different spoken registers are omnipresent in the source text. The guidelines for teletext subtitlers in general are much more detailed and run to 73 pages. The interlingual subtitling guidelines, by comparison, only run to 22 pages.

3.4.2. Intralingual subtitling at VRT

3.4.2.1. Open intralingual subtitles

Around 2000, VRT also started to use open subtitles to render (spoken) Dutch varieties into (written) Dutch (Hendrickx 2003b). At first, Belgian Dutch speakers were subtitled in some cases, but some time later Netherlandic Dutch varieties were subtitled into Dutch as well (Cuvelier 2006). The Dutch also started to use open intralingual subtitles. In 2001, it struck Ruud Hendrickx (2003b) that Dutch speakers in Europe apparently no longer understood each other in both countries, since they feel the need to subtitle each other. He also noticed that the Dutch had started to subtitle Netherlandic Dutch varieties as well (idem), although the Dutch subtitle their own Netherlandic varieties to a lesser extent than the Belgians do (Hendrickx 2011b). Particularly in Belgium, these open intralingual subtitles did not remain without controversy. Aline Remael, Annick De Houwer, and Reinhild Vandekerckhove (2008) studied this phenomenon in a substantial corpus of 793 non-fiction, fiction, and entertainment programmes broadcast in 2005 by VRT and VTM. They also undertook a reception study to assess the desirability of such subtitles that, after all, are imposed upon the target audience.

One third of the Dutch-language programmes they analysed contained subtitles. However, these were often not entirely subtitled (idem). Partial intralingual subtitling was used most of the time. This means that some speakers (sometimes) are

subtitled and others are not (idem). There were striking differences between fiction and non-fiction programmes. Most Belgian Dutch fiction series did not contain subtitles. Only a few episodes in the corpus were partially subtitled, while all of the imported Netherlandic Dutch fiction in the corpus was entirely subtitled. This is in stark contrast to non-fiction programmes. Remael et al. put it this way: "In fiction, Dutch as used in the Netherlands is always subtitled, whereas it hardly ever is in non-fiction programmes" (idem, p.84). The Flemish Public Broadcaster started to subtitle the speech of Dutch speakers when it believed the subtitles would help to understand what they say. In *Stijlboek VRT* (Hendrickx 2003a), Hendrickx explains subtitles are only used if the spoken language in the soundtrack is acoustically inaudible or incomprehensible and gives a few examples of when open intralingual subtitles are inserted. Background noise and poor recording quality, for instance, can make it hard to discern what is actually said in dialogues. Similarly, a speaker's articulation or accent could interfere with clear enunciation and the use of non-standard syntax or lexis can obstruct intelligibility (idem).

VRT, thus, also subtitles speakers with regional accents. The above-mentioned research reveals that particularly speakers from outside the Brussels-Antwerp region are subtitled (Remael, De Houwer and Vandekerckhove 2008). This means VRT producers believe its target audience would have difficulties in understanding Limburg, and West and East Flemish accents. If subtitles were used in the latter cases this often led to controversy, as speakers of those regions felt stigmatised. On 14 April 2005, the West Fleming Johan Verstreken, who is also a permanent member of the Interparliamentary Committee of the Dutch Language Union, complained about this selective subtitling of dialects in the Flemish Parliament (Belgium 2005). He suggested all Belgian Dutch dialects and accents should be subtitled and those subtitles should be closed intralingual subtitles. In this way, it would be up to the viewer to decide whether to avail of subtitles or not (idem).

According to Hendrickx (2003b), VRT always uses the standard variety in intralingual subtitles. By this he seems to imply the use of Netherlandic Dutch (idem). Other varieties cannot be used. Likewise, Remael (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007, p.17) points out Belgian Dutch spoken varieties are subtitled in standard Dutch "which means that all couleur locale is lost". It is interesting to note that interlingual subtitlers, such as Ockers (1998), would even go so far as to insert short Italian phrases like 'per favore' [please] in his Dutch-language subtitles for the sake of *couleur locale* (idem). Thus, it seems foreign-language phrases can be inserted in interlingual subtitles, but intralingual subtitles cannot convey the spoken Belgian

Dutch varieties. One of Hendrickx's arguments for this standardising subtitling practice is that it is hard to convey Belgian Dutch dialect or colloquial language in writing anyway. He believes the non-standard, colloquial personal pronoun 'gij [you]' is a case in point (Hendrickx 2003b). Hendrickx claims it is hardly ever used in modern writing anymore and believes it would remind the audience too much of the archaic pronoun (see also 'thou' in English). This pronoun, however, does occur in contemporary Belgian Dutch fiction dialogues. Willemyns (2003) wrote in the same year, that the pronoun was experiencing a resurgence in the Belgian informal colloquial variety. Thus, it is doubtful that Belgian Dutch language users, in this day and age of text messaging, online chatting and e-mail correspondence in which colloquial spoken varieties tend to be used, would associate this personal pronoun with more formal writing.

The imported Dutch production *Baantjer* (1995-2006 Endemol Entertainment), a crime series set in Amsterdam, had for a long time been entirely subtitled with open intralingual subtitles at VRT. The reason for this, according to Hendrickx, was that a Belgian test audience struggled to understand the "sloppy articulation" [author's translation] of some of the characters and the Amsterdam slang that featured in it (Hendrickx 2003b, p.77). However, the main problem was the Netherlandic Dutch accent, as Hendrickx clarified (idem). That the familiarity with Netherlandic Dutch was fading in Belgium was also put forward as an explanation by Remael, De Houwer, and Vandekerckhove:

> all viewer groups indicate that they have great difficulty understanding the informal northern Dutch variant and state that subtitling is required in this particular case. Another remarkable finding is that the older generation shows intelligibility scores comparable to those of the youngest group for northern Dutch only, whereas they consistently report more comprehension problems with the southern varieties than our younger respondents do. This could mean that Flemish familiarity with northern Dutch is indeed diminishing. (Remael, De Houwer and Vandekerckhove 2008, p.98)

VRT changed its open intralingual subtitling policy in 2010 and made this public on its website (VRT 2010a) and its Facebook page. The broadcaster explained that, from then on, it would only use open partial intralingual subtitles, if producers deemed it necessary for the sake of audibility and intelligibility. Hendrickx put it succinctly like this: dialect is subtitled with partial open intralingual subtitles, regional accents with closed intralingual subtitles [author's translation] (Hendrickx 2011b, p.33). Thus, since 2010, Dutch-language programmes have no longer been entirely subtitled with open subtitles (VRT 2010a). Viewers complained about this open-subtitling practice and this was why VRT resolved on letting viewers decide if

they want to turn on the subtitles or not (idem). This means that none of the Netherlandic Dutch-language series (including *Baantjer*), that have been imported since 2010, have been subtitled with open subtitles on VRT. Intralingual subtitles, however, remain available in the form of closed subtitles that have to be turned on manually. Unlike closed subtitles, open subtitles inevitably aim at the entire television audience. They are imposed upon them, as they cannot be removed from the screen and viewers automatically read subtitles in subtitled programmes (d'Ydewalle, et al. 1991). In the next section, closed intralingual subtitles are discussed.

3.4.2.2. Closed intralingual subtitles

In 1980, the Flemish public service broadcaster tried its hand at subtitling through teletext (VRT 2010b). In those days, the intended target audience of such closed subtitles were the deaf and hard-of-hearing. Four years later, a separate teletext-subtitling department was established that could focus on providing this new type of subtitle (idem). In 1990, four teletext subtitlers worked at the Flemish public service broadcaster, who subtitled 40 programmes per month (idem). In 1991, the Dutch-speaking deaf and hard-of-hearing community in Belgium signed a petition asking the public service broadcaster to subtitle its daily news bulletins. At first, only the shorter version of the daily news was subtitled and in 1992, the broadcaster started to subtitle the repeat of the main 19:30 news additionally. Yet, it was not until January 1996 that VRT started to provide teletext subtitles for the main news on a daily basis (idem).

In 1998, VRT conducted a large-scale survey into the viewing habits of the deaf and hard-of-hearing and realised how important teletext subtitles were to this part of their audience. As a result, VRT invested more in its teletext department. The teletext department subsequently employed eight subtitlers, who subtitled 33% of VRT's programmes (idem). Ever since, the public service broadcaster has made significant progress in catering for their deaf and hard-of-hearing audience. By 2012, VRT subtitled as much as 94% of its Dutch-language programmes for them (idem), which was still 1% less than the quota of 95% stated in *Beheersovereenkomst 2007-2011* (Mary and Bourgeois 2006). Today, not 95%, but 97% of all Dutch-language content, including entertainment and current affairs programmes, at VRT is subtitled. Moreover, teletext subtitles are available for all news and current affairs programmes. This means VRT reached the targets set in *Beheersovereenkomst 2012-2016* (Lieten and De Preter 2011).

Over the years, stylistic guidelines have been developed at VRT with regard to the use of informal registers in subtitles for the deaf and hard-of-hearing (Slembrouck and Van Herreweghe 2004). At first, teletext subtitles standardised the spoken Dutch varieties just like open subtitles. Erwin Doens conducted research for VRT into the reception of teletext subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing. His findings were analysed by Stef Slembrouck and Mieke Van Herreweghe in 2004. Between 1980 and 2000, subtitles were categorically written in standard Dutch. There was no place for colloquial Belgian Dutch in these subtitles (idem). Moreover, the deaf and hard-of-hearing were not thought to be familiar with this spoken variety of Belgian Dutch. This target audience, however, is anything but a homogenous group. Some people, for instance, are born deaf; others become deaf or hard-of-hearing at a later stage in life. Likewise, there are always differences in age and education that have to be taken into consideration as well. Teletext subtitlers usually make a distinction between programmes for children under and above ten (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2009). In the first case, a slower reading speed is assumed (7.5 seconds for two full lines), whereas older children are treated like adult viewers (5.5 seconds for two full lines) (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2009, p.53).

Doens's reception study revealed that deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers firmly disapproved of VRT's standardisation practice of colloquial Belgian Dutch in intralingual subtitles (Slembrouck and Van Herreweghe 2004). In their opinion, colloquial Belgian Dutch has to be rendered in the subtitles, as it is part of the audiovisual experience. They claimed they wanted to be treated like the hearing people, so that if they hear non-standard Dutch, they want to be able to read this in the subtitles. What is more, Doens explained, "many consider this cleaned-up Dutch in subtitles patronising" [author's translation] (Erwin Doens quoted in Slembrouck and Van Herreweghe 2004, p.858). Not surprisingly, VRT was very reluctant to use colloquial Belgian Dutch in subtitles, as this contravenes the *VRT Taalcharter* (idem, p.860). Although this lower-register variety of Belgian Dutch can be used in Dutch-language fiction series, VRT does not accept this variety in its subtitles.

VRT claimed using non-standard Dutch would compromise intelligibility, but Slembrouck and Van Herreweghe believe VRT is still motivated by a belief it has to educate its viewers (Slembrouck and Van Herreweghe 2004). Eventually, a compromise was reached and some dialect and colloquial vocabulary, preferably after consultation with the language adviser, could be copied in the subtitles. The pronoun 'gij' and grammatical features of colloquial Belgian Dutch, however, are not

allowed in the subtitles (VRT Vertaling en ondertiteling 2009). Although Hendrickx admits Doens's study revealed that people who cannot hear the register differences explicitly ask for stylistic marking of these registers in subtitles, he explained this stylistic marking could only take place at the lexical level. Hence, deviating Dutch lexis can be used, but in intralingual subtitles only (Hendrickx 2003b).

3.5. Concluding remarks

From its early beginnings, Flemish public service broadcasting has played an important role with regard to Dutch in Belgium. At first, it propagated the Netherlandic standard, but in 1998, its policy changed in a general climate of more openness towards Belgian linguistic features and the acceptance of a Belgian national standard variety next to the Netherlandic, national variety. The Flemish public service broadcaster no longer adhered to the Netherlandic Dutch standard, but rather applied its own Belgian standard that it gradually developed over the years. Particularly in the early days, VRT primarily used the spoken word in their broadcasts. The Flemish public service broadcaster developed its own VRT pronunciation, which is now recognised as the standard of spoken Belgian Dutch. Today, the language output of the Flemish public service broadcaster is still to a large extent oral, although written Dutch is used in VRT's teletext content, its subtitles, and in its online content.

Next to the VRT pronunciation standard, the Flemish public service broadcaster's language output also has become "more Belgian" at the lexical level. Indeed Belgian Dutch words and phrases could be used in its broadcasts from 1998 onwards. In local television series and comedy, the controversial use of the colloquial Belgian Dutch variety was even accepted then, as its use was believed to be functional in those specific programmes. VRT's 1998 policy changed slightly in this regard in 2007 when colloquial spoken Belgian Dutch could only be used if it was – as they put it – "indispensable". In 2012, all varieties of Dutch could be used in fiction. In closed intralingual subtitles, colloquial and dialectal Belgian Dutch lexis has been used since 2000. According to accounts from subtitlers, dating back to 1998, in interlingual subtitles, marked Belgian Dutch could not be used at all. They seem to suggest interlingual subtitlers still adhered to the Netherlandic standard. This is no different from Dutch translation practice. Yet, here an important distinction must be made; unlike in the case of fiction translation, the Flemish public service

broadcaster's target audience is not the entire language area, but Dutch-speaking Belgium.

VRT has a Belgian target audience, the Flemish Community. Its audience, therefore, is perfectly familiar with the Belgian Dutch variety. As Walravens (1994, p.128) put it in the early 1990s, "to translate primarily for a [Belgian Dutch] readership – […] will entail, possibly impose – a number of specific (lexical) choices". VRT subtitlers use the Van Dale dictionary as one of their main reference works. The labels used in the dictionary inform them as to their *appropriateness* for VRT subtitles. Until 1998, Belgian Dutch words and phrases that were given the labels '(gall.)' [Gallicism], '(gew.)' [regional], '(arch.)' [archaic], '(niet alg.)' [not generally used], '(w.g.)' [rarely used], and '(in Belg.)' [in Belgium] could not be used. After 1998, Belgian Dutch words and phrases could be used, but only under certain conditions. In principle, Belgian Dutch variants that are not given an additional restrictive label in the Van Dale dictionary, such as 'niet algemeen' [not general] (indicating that the word or phrase in question is not used all over the Belgian Dutch part of the language area), or 'spreektaal' [colloquial], can be used in subtitles.

After a short analysis of the history of the pluricentric Dutch language in Chapter 2, this chapter examined VRT's language-planning role and VRT's policy particularly with regard to the Belgian Dutch variety. In Chapter 5, a diachronic corpus of VRT's subtitle output is analysed. This corpus contains subtitles that were produced and transmitted before and after the policy change. The aim is to establish, if its 1998 policy changes concerning the use of Belgian Dutch are also reflected in its interlingual subtitles used in television series. Dutch is the language used in a large part of VRT's programmes because of the quotas set in the management agreements. A considerable amount of its fiction is Dutch-language fiction. Imported foreign-language fiction, however, remains popular. This is why subtitles used in imported foreign-language television series are analysed here. Accounts from interlingual subtitlers suggest that marked Belgian Dutch could not be used in subtitles until 1998, and that subtitlers may have to resort to Netherlandic Dutch lower registers. As the spoken language used in fiction series tends to contain many informal and lower registers, the diachronic analysis seeks to establish how VRT has conveyed these in its (written) subtitles from 1995 until 2012. In the next chapter, the methodology of the study is outlined.

4. Methodology

As well as enquiring into VRT's language policy changes by scrutinising qualitative data such as VRT's *Taalcharters* [language charters], it was vital in the present research to also analyse quantitative data. Thus, this study of VRT's language policy was supplemented with a quantitative analysis of its television subtitles to establish if, and if so, to what extent this policy is reflected in VRT's actual language output in subtitles. This chapter begins, in 4.1. Theoretical framework, with a brief review of the multidisciplinary theoretical framework developed in the previous part, as the quantitative analysis described in this part of the dissertation is conducted against this theoretical backdrop. In 4.2. Corpora, the various data resources gathered for the diachronic analysis of Dutch-language subtitles are described. In the next chapter 5. Analysis, an explanation is given of how exactly these linguistic resources were deployed in the analysis using corpus linguistics techniques. It would have been inconceivable to conduct the analysis without computational assistance. Corpus tools were used to exploit the linguistic data used in this research as efficiently as possible.

At this stage, corpus linguistics is, as McEnery and Wilson write on the first page of their monograph *Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction* (2001), "perhaps best described for the moment in simple terms as the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use" (McEnery and Wilson 2001, p.1). This "'real life' language use" is often referred to as "natural language" (e.g. Baker 2010; Clark, Fox and Lappin 2010; Lüdeling and Kytö 2009; O'Keeffe and McCarthy 2010; Oakes 1998). Perhaps contrary to expectations, the term "natural language" does not necessarily imply spontaneous speech or unedited texts, but must be understood here as written or spoken language that occurs "naturally" – that is, "without the intervention of the linguist" (Stubbs 1996, p.4). In other words, corpus linguistics draws on "authentic data, as attested in texts" (Kenny 2009, p.59) and these texts can be both (unedited, not proofread) unpublished texts and (edited, proofread) published texts.

The present research, accordingly, analysed a corpus of 'naturally occurring', 'real life' subtitles that have been produced and transmitted by the Flemish public service broadcaster since 1995. The aim of the quantitative analysis is to gauge if, and if so, to what extent, the broadcaster has put its 1998 language policy with regard to the use of Belgian Dutch words and phrases into practice in its subtitles. Lexis, therefore, was the main focus of attention in the analysis conducted below. Written Belgian Dutch is especially marked lexically, less so grammatically and

syntactically.[67] Thus, the subtitle corpus was scanned for marked Belgian Dutch variants, such as 'tekeergaan als een duivel in een wijwatervat' [lit. to rant and rave like a devil in a holy water font] and 'vluchthuis' [lit. flight house]. The latter is the Belgian Dutch counterpart of the Netherlandic Dutch 'blijf-van-mijn-lijfhuis' and denotes a refuge for victims of domestic violence. In raw, plain text corpora, the use of corpus tools is quite straightforward when searching such lexical items. Unlike grammatical or syntactic features, lexical items, to a large extent, can be treated as simple strings of characters. In the case of the afore-mentioned 'vluchthuis' (plural 'vluchthuizen'), the incidence of this item in the subtitle corpus can be determined by searching the following string of characters "v-l-u-c-h-t-h-u-i" which combines both search queries for the plural and singular form of this item including possible compounds based on this noun. As explained in further detail in <u>4.2.2. Corpus compilation</u>, the corpora built for the sake of this analysis are such raw corpora.

Different types of linguistic corpora comprising "naturally occurring", "real life" Dutch-language texts were used; two subtitle corpora and two written Dutch corpora. The original intention was to analyse an interlingual subtitle corpus of Dutch-language VRT subtitles used in English-language television series only, as these subtitles are the subtitles to which VRT's audience is expected to be most exposed. The interlingual subtitle corpus is, thus, the main object of the analysis. However, another subtitle corpus was built at a later stage to compare the results of the first analysis of interlingual subtitles. This second subtitle corpus is an intralingual subtitle corpus and was merely used as a point of comparison here. It consists of Dutch-language VRT subtitles for the deaf and hard-of-hearing used in Dutch-language television series produced and broadcast by VRT. At a later stage in the analysis, two more corpora, similarly, were used as a point of comparison. The different types of corpora are described in <u>4.2.1. Types of corpora</u>.

The first subtitle corpus is a **bilingual, parallel corpus** consisting of, on the one hand, transcriptions of the original English-language dialogues of the audiovisual source text and, on the other hand, the translated target text (i.e. VRT's Dutch-language subtitles). The second subtitle corpus is a **monolingual corpus** consisting of Dutch-language intralingual subtitles without transcriptions of the Dutch-language source text. Next to these two subtitle corpora, two **monolingual written corpora** of 'real life' Dutch-language texts were used as points of reference. In <u>4.2.1. Types of</u>

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[67] Although grammatical gender sometimes differs (e.g. 'een koe' [a cow] is masculine in the Netherlands and feminine in Belgium), similarly, the order of verbs in sentence-final position can also signal geographic variation.

corpora, all types of corpora are described and their role in the present research is clarified. For the time being, it suffices to give a general definition of a corpus that applies to all corpora used here:

> In linguistics a corpus is a collection of texts (a 'body' of language) stored in an electronic database. [...] A corpus is different from an archive in that often (but not always) the texts have been selected so that they can be said to be representative of a particular language variety or genre, therefore acting as a standard reference. (Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006, p.48)

Similarly, the main corpus in this analysis, the interlingual subtitle corpus, can be said to be representative of a specific language variety (Dutch for a Belgian target audience) used in a specific text type (interlingual VRT subtitles) and genre (audiovisual crime fiction). In the present analysis, all corpora contain contemporary written (i.e. not spoken) Dutch-language texts that were produced between 1995 and 2013. Three of these corpora are genre-specific, as they only comprise crime-fiction texts, namely Dutch-language subtitles used in English-language television crime fiction, Dutch-language subtitles used in Dutch-language television crime fiction, and Dutch-language crime-fiction novels. The compilation of these corpora is discussed under the subheading 4.2.2. Corpus compilation.

4.1. Theoretical framework

This dissertation is interested in the language-planning contribution of subtitled translations and, in this context, the role (audiovisual) translators and broadcasters can play, either deliberately or by default, as language-planning agents. Language policies, in general, and the policies of public service broadcasters, in particular, are of particular importance to most minority and smaller languages because of the weaker position of these languages, on the one hand, and the significant impact of audiovisual media, on the other. The present case study looks into the use of marked Belgian Dutch lexis in subtitles to track the effect of language policy changes with regard to the use and, thus, the acceptance of this variety at VRT. In order to clarify the position of Belgian Dutch as a "non-dominant" variety of a pluricentric language (Muhr 2012), the history of Dutch, a language with "two motherlands" (Willemyns 2013, p.xi), was discussed in Chapter 2. The History of Modern Dutch. Subsequently, language planning in Belgium and the Flemish public service broadcaster's language policy was discussed in Chapter 3. VRT and Language Planning. This chapter also endeavoured to explore the role of the broadcaster as a significant language-planning agent in the Belgian part of the Dutch language area. As interlingual subtitles are often the most frequently read (translated) texts in smaller language areas, the

object of this analysis is subtitled text. Dutch-language subtitles may be produced by all sorts of private translation companies, but only VRT subtitles are analysed here. Because of the important role played by the Flemish public service broadcaster, VRT's subtitled language output is arguably of considerable significance from a language-planning point of view. This is why samples of the larger population of its audiovisual translation output were analysed in the next chapter.

As already outlined in the general introduction, this research project spans at least four disciplines. Firstly, **(Dutch) linguistics**, as the *internal* and *external* history of the Dutch language is crucial to the present-day configuration of the pluricentric language area with its different linguistic centres of gravity. Over the centuries, external factors such as "historic events, political developments, contact with other languages and cultures" [author's translation] (van der Wal and van Bree 2008, p.21), but also language policies (e.g. van der Horst and van der Horst 1999, p.12) had an impact on the Dutch language. Hence, this *external history* of the language is pertinent to the current status of Belgian Dutch in the language area. The partition of the Low Countries in the 16th century, moreover, resulted not only in the political, but also in the cultural and linguistic separation of both parts of the Dutch language area. In this way, external, political factors also had ramifications for the *internal history* of modern-day Dutch, and shaped its internal structure, e.g. its written standard, and the different national varieties that are recognised today. For this reason, the internal and the external history of Dutch were traced back briefly to the 16th century in <u>Chapter 2</u>. Similarly, the present-day structure of Dutch with its European and non-European national varieties was discussed. A discussion of the history of Dutch facilitates a smooth transition to a second discipline this research draws on, namely Sociolinguistics. **Sociolinguistics** not only studies language variation, but also language planning and policy. Language planning in Belgium and the language-planning role of the Flemish public service broadcaster was discussed in <u>Chapter 3</u>. In <u>Chapter 5</u>, the impact of VRT's language policy on its subtitle output is examined with the help of **corpus linguistics**. Finally yet importantly, aspects of **translation theory** are also addressed.

4.2. Corpora

The analysis described in the next chapter aims to investigate if, and if so, to what extent the Flemish public service broadcaster's subtitles reflect VRT's 1998 language policy changes. After 1998, VRT no longer called for rigorous adherence to the Netherlandic standard; what is more, it was in favour of the use of more Belgian Dutch words and phrases in its linguistic output. Belgian Dutch lexis is also one of the main markers of this national variety of Dutch in writing. As explained in the introduction, the use of Belgian Dutch words and phrases in original and translated fiction, to a large extent, is still not tolerated in publishing. Some Belgian writers, however, have started to oppose this publishing practice and, as a result, their work displays some Belgian Dutch lexis and less Netherlandic Dutch lexis. Published literary translations, however, generally do not contain Belgian Dutch (Robyns 2004). Thus, if VRT uses Belgian Dutch words and phrases in its subtitles, not only would this be in line with their policy changes, but what is more, their translation practice would be noteworthy for providing a counterbalance to established publishing practice in the whole Dutch language area. This makes the study of Belgian Dutch lexis in VRT subtitles particularly interesting.

Unlike Netherlandic Dutch, Belgian Dutch words and phrases have been listed and thoroughly described in a detailed lexicological reference file, *Referentiebestand Belgisch Nederlands* (henceforth *RBBN list*) (TST Centrale 2005). This reference file defines and labels a list of circa four thousand words and phrases. It was first compiled in 1998 and later updated in 2005.[68] This reference file was obtained from the *TST-Centrale voor data en software van het Nederlands* and proved very valuable in the subtitle analysis conducted here. Today, a host of corpus tools and software is available to researchers not only in linguistics, but also in other fields within humanities and social sciences. These corpus tools can be used to compile and analyse corpora. How this is done in the present analysis is explained in the next subsections. Once texts have been selected to build a corpus, they have to be captured digitally so that a computer can read them. Subsequently, subcorpora within a corpus have to be balanced out specifically in terms of size.[69] For all these

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[68] Although the TST Centrale updated the 1.0. version in 2014, this 'new' 1.0.1 version is not an update of the reference file as such, in that it still contains the 2005 RBBN list.

[69] A word of caution: the term 'balanced' in corpus linguistics ('balanced corpora') has a specific meaning. This is why "with regard to size" is specified here. A balanced corpus is defined as follows: "A corpus that contains texts from a wide range of different language genres and text domains, so that, for example, it may include both spoken and written, and public and private texts. Balanced corpora are sometimes referred to as reference, general or

processes, computational techniques and corpus tools can be used, as explained in this chapter. First, the different corpora used in this analysis are described in the next section.

4.2.1. Types of corpora

For the sake of the present research, an already available **general corpus** was used and, additionally, three **specialised corpora** were built. Graeme Kennedy (1998) defines a general corpus as a corpus "assembled simply to make available a text base for unspecified linguistic research" (Kennedy 1998, p.19) which is "typically designed to be balanced, by containing texts from different genres and domains of use including spoken and written, private and public" (Kennedy 1998, p.20). Conversely, a specialised corpus is "designed with particular research projects in mind" (Kennedy 1998, p.20). Baker, Hardie and McEnery define a **specialised corpus** as follows:

> A corpus which has been designed for a particular research project, for example, lexicography for dictionary compilation, or to study particular specialist genres of language: child language, English for Academic Purposes etc. (Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006, p.147)

The three corpora that were built for this research are specialised corpora of this type. Nonetheless, both types of corpora are used in the present research. Firstly, the subtitle corpora are described. These are specialised as they only contain genre-specific subtitled texts. Subsequently, the written linguistic corpora are discussed. One of these linguistic corpora, although it only comprises written language, can be considered a general corpus, as described by Kennedy above. The *SoNaR Reference Corpus of Contemporary Written Dutch* (Oostdijk et al. 2013) contains more than five hundred million words.

All corpora that were built for this analysis are **static** corpora consisting of a "static collection of texts selected in some principled way, intended to be typical of the whole language or an aspect of the language at a particular time" (Kennedy 1998, p.60). Thus, no data can be added to the corpus once it has been created and this facilitates replication, a basic tenet of scientific research, of frequency counts in such corpora. It has to be borne in mind, however, that the use of different software or updated versions of the same software in itself might result in different frequency counts. This is why it is specified here that AntConc 3.3.5w (Anthony 2012) and AntPConc 1.0.2 (Anthony 2013) were used in this analysis. In the case of the SoNaR

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core corpora." (Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006, p.18). Since the subtitle corpora only contain crime-fiction subtitles, these cannot be called 'balanced' per se.

reference corpus, further refinement of the web tool, OpenSoNaR, may cause next editions of the tool to result in more or less hits for the same search query. The version used in this analysis is version 0.0.3.

4.2.1.1. Subtitle corpora

4.2.1.1.1.   Parallel subtitle corpus

The main corpus used for the analysis described in the next chapter is a translation corpus. Dorothy Kenny (2013, p.3334) defines this type of corpus as "collections of source texts alongside their associated target texts in one (in the case of bilingual parallel corpora) or more (in the case of multilingual parallel corpora) languages". The corpus used here is a bilingual (EN-NL), parallel translation corpus. The prototypical parallel corpus is described as a corpus compiled "of the same documents in a number of languages, that is a set of texts and their translations" (Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006, p.126-127). The parallel corpus that was used here is, in this sense, prototypical. It contains an English-language source text and its corresponding Dutch-language target text. What makes this parallel translation corpus slightly different from other translation corpora, however, is that the texts it contains are audiovisual translations of spoken language, rendered in writing. The source text is a transcript of the English-language dialogues and the target text consists of the Dutch-language subtitles provided by VRT. This has several implications for the structure of this corpus, which are discussed in <u>5.1. Data capture and encoding</u>.

The audiovisual translated texts used in the main corpus are **open, interlingual subtitles**. As O'Connell (2007, p.126) explains, "subtitles are open if the viewer cannot remove them from the screen" and such subtitles are "characteristically used to carry interlingual translation when foreign-language films are shown in cinemas or on television with the original soundtrack" (idem). In the Dutch language area, such open, interlingual subtitles are the main audiovisual translation mode used in foreign-language fiction (films and television series) in both movie theatres[70] and on television. Needless to say, a large part of the fiction shown in Dutch-speaking Belgium is imported, subtitled fiction. Several foreign-language (English-language in particular) television series, a substantial part of which consists of crime fiction, are broadcast by VRT. The original foreign-language soundtrack, thus, is kept and VRT

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[70] Films screened in Belgian movie theatres are usually subtititled with bilingual subtitles in which the first line conveys the translation into Dutch and the second line the translation into French.

provides a translation of the dialogues by means of open subtitles. The Flemish public service broadcaster indeed finds it important to provide its own subtitles, rather than buying the subtitles from translation companies, which commercial broadcasters tend to do. Because Dutch speakers in Belgium are predominantly exposed to such subtitled texts, interlingual subtitles are expected to play an important role from a language-planning perspective. This is why a corpus of open, interlingual subtitles was compiled and analysed here.

Since the majority of foreign-language programmes broadcast by VRT are English-language programmes, the language pair English-Dutch was chosen for this parallel corpus. Fiction, rather than non-fiction was used here because non-fiction is usually translated through other modes of audiovisual translation such as voice-over, narration, and free commentary (for a detailed classification of the different audiovisual translation modes see, for instance, Bartolomé and Cabrera 2005, p.93-100). Television series, rather than films were chosen, as a single television series could then be used, ideally one that had been broadcast from the 1990s until the 2010s. In the end, crime-fiction series were chosen for a practical reason. This highly popular fiction genre is well represented in VRT's subtitle archive. Consequently, VRT's population of subtitled English-language crime fiction was perfectly capable of generating a sufficiently large sample of VRT subtitles for the analysis at hand.

4.2.1.1.2. Monolingual subtitle corpus

Notwithstanding the volume of foreign-language fiction VRT broadcasts, the number of Dutch-language television series that can be watched on VRT's channels should not be underestimated. As explained in 3.1.5. Vlaamse Radio- en Televisieomroeporganisatie (VRT), VRT is subject to quotas relating to the minimal percentage of Dutch-language material and home productions it has to broadcast. This was 50% between 2002 and 2012, and in 2012, the quota was raised to 65%. A few popular Dutch-language crime series have been broadcast since the 1990s, such as VRT's local (Belgian) production *Flikken*, which is set in Ghent in the Flemish Region. At a later stage in the analysis, it was decided to contrast the results of the above-mentioned interlingual VRT subtitles with a similar corpus of VRT subtitles, namely closed intralingual subtitles used in the same crime-fiction genre. This is why a second subtitle corpus was created: a monolingual Dutch-language intralingual subtitle corpus. This intralingual subtitle corpus has more or less the same size, which enabled direct comparison of the frequencies tallied in the interlingual and intralingual subtitle corpus. The original spoken dialogues were not transcribed and added to this corpus. The intralingual subtitles merely serve as a point of reference.

4.2.1.2. Reference corpus

The first and main part of the analysis involved counting the number of Belgian Dutch words and phrases in the interlingual subtitle corpus. Similarly, in the second part of the analysis, the possible occurrence of Netherlandic Dutch variants in the interlingual subtitle corpus had to be investigated. This proved to be rather challenging. Since this variety of Dutch, unlike its Belgian counterpart, has so far not been sufficiently analysed and described, it is difficult to identify a given word or phrase as Netherlandic Dutch objectively. Because of this, this part of the analysis was, in the first instance, based on linguistic intuition. A close analysis of the parallel subtitle corpus was conducted in which words and phrases that were believed to be uncommon or less common in Belgium were highlighted and recorded. The possibility was considered that such less common words and phrases could possibly be more common in the Netherlands.

In the second instance, this personal linguistic intuition had to be tested using empirical data that would help to identify objectively whether or not a given word or phrase was more frequently used in the Netherlands. To this end, two dictionaries were used. All recorded words and phrases were looked up in these dictionaries to establish whether they were labelled 'Netherlandic Dutch'. These dictionaries, however, were originally expected to be of limited assistance because the largest of both dictionaries, the Van Dale dictionary, only recently started to label Netherlandic Dutch words and phrases. The second dictionary, *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014), is a much smaller dictionary and it was not expected that it would contain all of the words and phrases that had to be checked. This is why corpus linguistic techniques were used to help with this part of the analysis. A corpus of Belgian Dutch texts and Netherlandic Dutch texts was used to compare the attested frequencies of the words or phrases in the Belgian Dutch texts with the attested frequencies in the Netherlandic Dutch texts. The assumption was that if the latter frequencies were significantly higher than the former, this could be an indicator that the variant in question was less common in Belgium and, thus, could be considered Netherlandic Dutch.

This approach meant that a very large corpus of Dutch was needed with at least two subcorpora, one containing only texts of Belgian origin and the second one comprising texts originating in the Netherlands. As Baker et al. explain, "[w]hen using frequency-based techniques to analyse a text or set of texts, it is necessary to

have something with which to compare them" (Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006, p.137). What Baker et al. refer to here is a reference corpus. They go on to explain that the "basis for the comparison is often a larger set of texts drawn from a wider range of genres and/or sources" (Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006, p.137). This corresponds to Kennedy's idea of a general corpus, as explained above. Reference corpora, nowadays, are typically considerably larger corpora than, for example, the specialised subtitle corpora of fewer than one hundred thousand words described above and, generally, comprise well over one million words.

A few examples of well-known English-language reference corpora are the British National Corpus comprising one hundred million words, the Corpus of Contemporary American English with 425 million words, and the Bank of English corpus boasting as many as 650 million words. Such vast reference corpora, however, have a few disadvantages arising from their sheer size. They, usually, are tagged automatically and this process is not flawless, which means that they may require thorough proofing which is not always done. Similarly, texts that were included in the corpus may contain conversion errors and extraneous text. Sometimes (parts of) texts occur more than once in the same corpus, which also distorts frequency counts. Moreover, although its size is one of its main assets, a drawback of such vast linguistic corpora is that search queries are likely to result in significantly more concordances. Concordances are:

> [a] display of every instance of a specified word or other search term in a corpus, together with a given amount of preceding and following context for each result or 'hit' (McEnery and Hardie 2012, p.241)

This is particularly problematic if each of those concordance lines has to be subjected to close analysis.

In 2012, the ambitious *Nederlab* project (van der Sijs 2012) was launched which aimed to bring together all written texts relevant to the history of the Dutch language and culture from the ninth century to the present in one online corpus tool. This corpus would have been a highly interesting reference corpus for the present analysis, but unfortunately, it was not yet available when the analysis was conducted. Fortunately, another corpus became available in 2013, the *500-Million-Word Reference Corpus of Contemporary written Dutch* (Oostdijk et al. 2013), comprising SoNar-500 and SoNar-1 (TST Centrale 2013). This reference corpus[71] contains a wide range of different text types and genres originating from Belgium and the Netherlands and covering the years between 1954 and 2012. Although the SoNar

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[71] SoNaR is the abbreviation of *Stevin Nederlandstalig Referentiecorpus*.

corpus does not include spoken language, and therefore is not a prototypical reference corpus, which includes both spoken and written language (e.g. Baker, Hardie and McEnery (2006)), it served as a suitable reference corpus for this analysis of (written) subtitles.

4.2.1.3. Specialised corpus

Using an enormous reference corpus that represents the Dutch-language as a whole, however, also has its downsides. A huge corpus could indeed be considered most suitable for the analysis of a low-frequency phenomenon such as the one studied here, namely geographically marked lexis that consists mainly of content words. Compared to function words (auxiliary and modal verbs, conjunctions, determiners, prepositions, pronouns), content words (adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and main verbs) occur less frequently in corpora. Since the main part of the Dutch lexis, an estimated 90%, is shared by Belgian and Dutch nationals, the geographically marked lexical items can be expected to occur even less frequently in the corpora. Thus, the larger the reference corpus, the higher the chances that enough instances of geographically marked Dutch can actually be retrieved.

A problem arises, however, as most words are polysemous. This means that all instances of the retrieved words and phrases have to be carefully analysed in the specific context in which they occur to determine that they actually correspond to the geographically marked lexical items that are under investigation here. For this reason, it was advisable to use a smaller corpus that allows for a meticulous analysis of every single instance of a search item. Nonetheless, this smaller corpus has to be large enough for sufficient instances of the search items to be retrieved in the Belgian and the Dutch subsets, so that the frequencies of the retrieved items could be compared to each other. Such a smaller corpus of Belgian texts and texts originating from the Netherlands was built for the purpose of the analysis.

The corpus design established for this corpus, however, was informed by translation theory and practice. In fact, this corpus design cautiously challenges the prevailing opinion in corpus linguistics in relation to the use of large reference corpora in frequency analyses, corpora that are

> not a sample of any particular language variety, domain or text type, but [...] instead attempt[s] to represent the general nature of the language through a wide-sampling corpus design (Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006, p.138)

The underlying idea was that a smaller corpus containing comparable texts could in

fact be more useful here. A common practice in translation is the study of comparable texts in the target language to familiarise oneself with a specific text type or genre. Translators who are asked to translate legal documents, for instance, are advised to acquaint themselves with the way these documents are typically drawn up in the target culture. Studying these texts allows them to use the appropriate style in their translations and to draw on the same terminology. Since the analysed subtitle corpora only contain crime fiction, the subtitles can be expected to draw on similar lexis. As a result, the geographically marked words and phrases found in the subtitles may well be common in crime fiction. This is why the corpus design was based on the following reasoning: If both crime-fiction subtitles and crime-fiction novels draw on a similar lexis, it is more sensible to build a smaller reference corpus of crime fiction, rather than to use a large, general Dutch reference corpus.

This reasoning also draws on Itamar Even-Zohar's basic assumption that underlies his polysystem theory (Even-Zohar 2000), originally developed in the late 1970s. This translation scholar is of the opinion that in a given language both original and translated literary texts are part of a bigger (poly)system in which these texts correlate with each other. Thus, Dutch-language audiovisual translations of crime-fiction television series could be said to be part of a bigger repertoire of Dutch-language crime fiction produced in the Dutch language area. This Dutch-language crime-fiction repertoire then comprises original and imported, translated crime fiction produced by Dutch speakers across the language area. (Audiovisual) Translations in this repertoire are likely to maintain correlations with and can be influenced by the linguistic norms that prevail in original Dutch-language crime fiction. This may also affect a writer or translator's choice of words.

That is why a corpus of Dutch-language crime-fiction novels, *NL CriFi 1999-2013* corpus, was specially compiled and used here. This would make it possible to determine objectively whether a given word was indeed more (or less) frequently used in the Belgian subcorpus. *NL CriFi 1999-2013* consists of both original and translated crime fiction. The authors of the original Dutch-language crime novels are Dutch and Belgian nationals and the translated novels selected for the corpus correspond to the same language pair (English-Dutch) as the interlingual subtitles. In 4.2.2.3. Specialised crime-fiction corpus, *NL CriFi 1999-2013* is described in greater detail.

4.2.2. Corpus compilation

4.2.2.1. Subtitle corpora

Even though the analysis conducted below has at its core the written language used in the target text, namely the VRT subtitles, and more specifically the vocabulary used in those subtitles, the images and the soundtrack could by no means be ignored altogether. It remains, therefore, important "to identify relationships between the non-linguistic and linguistic features of human or textual interaction, or to allow access to information that supplements the plain orthographic transcription", as Paul Thompson (2010, p.93-94) puts it. Moreover, because of the interaction between the simultaneously operating channels (the visual, the aural, and the verbal/linguistic channel), in audiovisual translations much in the source text can remain implicit, if it is already sufficiently made explicit via the other channels. Basing the analysis solely on the subtitled text, therefore, would be unsatisfactory in this lexical analysis. This is why the corresponding video material was viewed carefully during the analysis.

4.2.2.1.1.   Interlingual subtitle corpus

The analysis conducted in the next chapter endeavours to establish the linguistic norms used in VRT's language output in subtitles for the Belgian part of the Dutch language area. Thus, the target text in the parallel corpus was the main object of investigation. This means that, firstly, the target text was accurately scanned for geographically marked words and phrases using computational techniques. Only if such items were found, was the audiovisual source text consulted to verify whether the words and phrases found really corresponded to the geographically marked word or phrase, taking into account the context in which they were used and determining its exact meaning. For practical reasons, the dialogues of the audiovisual source text were transcribed and, subsequently, aligned with the subtitles provided by the Flemish public service broadcaster. In this way, both source and target text could easily be consulted and searched simultaneously. Nonetheless, the video files with the corresponding episodes were also analysed in case of doubt. In this section, the main considerations that had to be taken into account in the corpus compilation process are outlined. First, the ideal corpus for this research is described. As it is hardly ever feasible to acquire the ideal corpus for a research project, subsequently, minimum compilation criteria that then had to be met are discussed. These criteria laid the foundations for a more viable corpus design for this research.

4.2.2.1.1.1.   Corpus design

The ideal corpus for this diachronic analysis would consist of the total population of the Flemish public broadcaster's subtitled texts that were used in English-language fiction. These subtitles also would have to have been created in six different years at spaced intervals of five years, as dictionaries tend to be updated every five years: 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008, and 2013. The first two subcorpora containing the 1988 and 1993 subtitles would cover the period before VRT policy changes. The third subcorpus would cover the pivotal year 1998, the year of VRT's policy changes. The second two subcorpora containing the 2003 and 2008 subtitles would cover the period after the policy changes. Finally, the last subcorpus containing the 2013 subtitles would cover the current situation. This ideal corpus would then be representative of VRT subtitles used in English-language fiction in those years, and reflect language use in this particular text type, which would allow further investigation into linguistic changes in this text type. Subsequently, the occurrence of geographically marked lexis and its frequency could be measured in each subcorpus and compared with the others. This would then reveal if there were an increased use of marked Belgian Dutch lexis and a decreased use of marked Netherlandic Dutch lexis over the years preceding and following the policy changes.

In this way, knowledge regarding changes in regular intervals of five years with respect to the use of geographically marked lexis in Flemish public broadcaster's subtitles could be inferred from this corpus. All of these subtitles, of course, could not be requested from VRT because of the effort it takes to search the archives for subtitle files that fit the above description. Moreover, because of technical issues, VRT could not provide subtitles that were created before 1990. In short, it was simply not feasible to create this ideal corpus for this research, let alone analyse it. Therefore, samples had to be taken from the total population of subtitled texts. In order to take these samples, the main criteria that have to be considered had to be determined. In corpus design, corpus linguists stress the importance of clear-cut research aims as these invariably and inevitably determine the corpus. This is how the time-frame criterion and the text-type criterion came to be selected as the main criteria in the present corpus design.

The "content" and "structure" of a corpus are important points to be considered (Kennedy 1998, p.70ff). The present corpus was built to analyse changes with regard to choice of words in VRT subtitles since 1998. Thus, the "content" of the corpus was relatively clear from the outset: only a bilingual audiovisual translation corpus provided by VRT could be used for this analysis. This also meant

that only one specific written text type, interlingual subtitles, was to be used in this corpus. Interlingual subtitles are used in different audiovisual genres at VRT: fiction (e.g. TV series, films) and non-fiction (e.g. foreign-language news clips, interviews). Either fiction or non-fiction could be used for the sake of this research. Within fiction, there is a wide range of subgenres (e.g. comedy, horror,...). Thus, another question relating to "content" that needed answering, when further deciding on the "content" of the corpus, was which specific genre to use. Since English-language crime series have been broadcast on prime-time TV since the late 1980s, the decision was made to use this specific subgenre. These television series are well represented in the Flemish public broadcaster subtitle archives and, therefore, constituted a larger population from which large enough samples could be drawn.

With regard to the "structure" of the corpus, Kennedy explains that the relative proportion of different text types that are used within the corpus has to be borne in mind as well (Kennedy 1998, p.70ff) to facilitate the creation of a balanced corpus. The corpus used here, however, is a specialised diachronic corpus for which only one clearly defined text type was selected, namely subtitled English-language crime fiction. Graeme's "structure" is nonetheless important when it comes to balancing out the different subcorpora with regard to size. The corpus had to contain at least two subcorpora with subtitles from different periods enabling a diachronic analysis of at least two periods: before and after the pivotal year 1998. Since geographically marked words and phrases are low-frequency lexical items, the samples drawn from the population had to be large enough for this analysis. Direct comparison of attested frequencies was considered most suitable for the present research. For this reason, the different subcorpora preferably had to be the same size. As explained in <u>5.1.1.1.2.1. The 'size' of a corpus</u>, after long consideration, the number of unique words was used as a benchmark to balance out the different subcorpora with regard to size. Every subcorpus preferably had to consist of the same number of unique words so that absolute word frequencies could be compared with each other at a later stage in the analysis process. This allows for a direct comparison of the attested frequencies of geographically marked items with the numbers tallied in the other subcorpora. In the following two sections, the main corpus design criteria are discussed in greater detail.

Time-frame criterion

First and foremost, the time frame had to be taken into consideration while compiling the corpus. The analysis conducted here is a diachronic analysis in which the year 1998 is crucial. The year 1998 was the year in which the Flemish public

service broadcaster officially recognised Belgian Dutch as the Belgian national standard variety of Dutch and started to move away from the one-sided Netherlandic Dutch norm. Therefore, what happened before and after this year can be expected to yield interesting information. For this reason, at least two different periods would have to be looked at. The main Dutch dictionary, the Van Dale dictionary, has updated its editions roughly every five years since 1995. This suggests that, after every five-year period, changes to the lexicon have come about that the dictionary publishers deem significant enough to justify the effort and expense of publishing a new edition. As a result, using intervals of five years seemed suitable for the present lexical analysis.

Since building such a corpus with six subcorpora was not viable, a period of no more than one decade before and after the policy changes was chosen as the cut-off point. In the end, three subcorpora were selected each of which corresponded to a different edition of the Van Dale dictionary available at the time. It was not until 1999 that the Van Dale dictionary started to describe the Belgian Dutch vocabulary in a more systematic way. This dictionary is generally used as a key reference work in deciding whether or not a given word or phrase could be used in subtitles. If the label "general Belgian Dutch" was given to a word or phrase, in theory, the word or phrase in question could be used. These labels, however, can change from one edition of the Van Dale dictionary to the next. Moreover, some words over time became accepted as "general" (i.e. unlabelled) Dutch in the Van Dale dictionary implying that it is used in both the Netherlands and Belgium. Another factor that appeared relevant enough to be considered in the time-frame selection, next to the Van Dale dictionary editions, was the appointment of new translation editors-in-chief. They proofread the subtitles and did not necessarily always follow the language advisers' linguistic advice with regard to *acceptable* geographically marked lexis.

In sum, all of these aspects may have had an impact on the linguistic output of the Flemish public service broadcaster. This is why the different periods selected (before and after the policy change of 1998), ideally had to coincide, not just with a different language adviser, but also a different subtitling editor-in-chief, and a different edition of the Van Dale dictionary. Table 4. Periods under scrutiny shows that the first period, as a result, roughly covers the years from 1990 to 1995, the second the years from 2000 to 2005, i.e. immediately after the policy changes, and the years 2012 and 2013, finally gives a snap shot of the current linguistic output in

VRT subtitles. VRT provided some twelve thousand subtitles. Their numbers were added to the table.

	Period I 1990-1995	Period II 2000-2005	Period III 2010-2013
language policy	before the *VRT Taalcharter* (1998)	shortly after the *VRT Taalcharter* (1998)	more than ten years after the *VRT Taalcharter* (1998)
language adviser	Eugène Berode (1971-1996)	Ruud Hendrickx (1996-…)	
subtitling editor-in-chief	Ruud Hendrickx (1990-1998)	Willem Muylaert (1998-2010)	Sara Brouckaert (2010-…)
Van Dale edition	11th edition (1984) 12th edition (1992)	13th edition (1999)	14th edition (2005) online version (2010)
obtained subtitles	3,437 subtitles 27,006 words	4,379 subtitles 33,480 words	4,866 subtitles 36,955 words

Table 4: Periods under scrutiny

Text-type criterion

As explained above, there are several subgenres in fiction. In the foreign-language fiction broadcast by VRT, English-language fiction is best represented. However, a substantial part of it consists of period dramas (e.g. *Bleak House* (Smallweed Productions and BBC), *Downton Abbey* (Carnival Film & Television and Masterpiece)) which were not selected because of the more formal or antiquated language use. Ideally, the audiovisual source text would consist of contemporary spoken English varieties. This would allow an investigation into how VRT renders different regional and social varieties of English in Dutch. Because of the popularity of the genre, crime fiction was used for the specialised interlingual subtitle corpus. The original idea was also to use only *Taggart* (SMG Productions) episodes, as this series had been broadcast from the 1980s until the 2010s. Unfortunately, there were no older, computer-readable *Taggart* subtitles available to cover the first period. For this reason, the series *Inspector Morse* (ITV and Central Independent Television) was used as well and its spin-off *Inspector Lewis* (ITV/Masterpiece) to further complement the corpus. Thus, three different television series had to be combined, but with the fiction genre and source language remaining the same.

Crime fiction is an umbrella term for a range of subgenres. All of the episodes in the interlingual subtitle corpus are *police procedurals*. John Scaggs describes police procedurals as "a sub-genre of detective fiction that examines how a team of

professional policemen (and women) work together" (Scaggs 2005, p.18). The dynamics between people working in the same team, therefore, often play an important role in this subgenre. The rapport different characters have with each other in audiovisual police procedurals is mainly conveyed in their language use. According to Stephen Knight, the development of this crime-fiction subgenre was triggered by a "pressure for greater verisimilitude" (Stephen Knight (1980) quoted in Scaggs 2005, p.54). Police procedurals, therefore, were believed to "be supplanting the private-eye novel as 'realistic' crime fiction" (Peter Messent (1997) quoted in Scaggs 2005, p.19). This commitment to realism is also reflected in the language used in crime fiction and all the more in audiovisual crime fiction. It is, therefore, crucial as Karen Seago aptly put it, that

> the crime translator create[s] a believable and nuanced cultural and professional setting, handle[s] a range of voices, register, dialect, slang and swearing to evoke distinct characters within their social context, location and interaction with each other, convey[s] a sense of social norms and any deviation from conventions or what would be expected, and achieve[s] verisimilitude with credible experts, professionals, suspects, witnesses, criminals and incidental characters (Seago 2014, p.5)

The language used in crime fiction contains rather formal, specialised language, on one side of the continuum and, on the other end of the continuum, lower language registers (e.g. street slang, tough talk, and taboo language). Language and register, therefore, play a crucial role in the police procedural's search for realism.

Like most films and television series, the crime series analysed here are based on a screenplay, which was *written to be performed*, or in Gregory and Carroll's terms: "written to be read as if not written" (Gregory and Carroll 1978, p.42-43). For the sake of realism actors, while they are acting (i.e. not speaking naturally), attempt to sound natural, so different accents and colloquial registers are often used. Rocío Baños-Piñero and Frederic Chaume call this "prefabricated orality", and explain that

> [s]criptwriters have numerous linguistic resources at their disposal with which to elaborate believable dialogues that, despite having been carefully planned in advance, can be identified by viewers as true-to-life conversation. Depicting realism through dialogues seems to be one of the keys to creating a successful audiovisual programme (Baños Piñero and Chaume 2009)

Although subtitles have a close relationship to speech, lower source-text registers tend to be normalised in this written text type. Gottlieb refers to interlingual subtitling from one language into another as "diagonal subtitling" (1994, p.104) and explains that a subtitler "'jaywalks' (crosses over) from source-language speech to target-language writing". This makes subtitles a hybrid text type, as they convey spoken language in writing. Since subtitles are still a written text type, non-standard

features tend to be standardised.

VRT subtitlers' accounts published in 1998, the year of the *Taalcharter*, reveal that marked Belgian Dutch could not be used in subtitles at that time (cf. <u>3.4.1. Interlingual subtitling at VRT</u>). As for different dialects and accents in television series, they argued that it is difficult to convey those in Dutch-language subtitles. In the next chapter, actual language output was analysed to establish if, and if so, to what extent, geographically marked lexis was used (or not used as the above suggests) before and after the implementation of the *Taalcharter*. How did the Flemish public service broadcaster render spoken utterances of different characters and how did convey different dialects and sociolects in its subtitles for a Belgian audience over the years?

4.2.2.1.1.2.   Composition

From the outset, it was decided to use only full texts in all corpora, and consequently, no text fragments were used. The main reason for this was so that the texts could be used in their integrity. Often corpus linguists have to use text fragments because of copyright restrictions. No such restrictions were imposed on any of the texts used in this analysis. Using entire texts was also more satisfactory here. For one thing, the analysis could be skewed if some (parts of) texts were selected and others not. For another, the characteristic narrative structure of crime fiction (put simply 1. a crime happens, 2. the investigation starts, 3. the crime is solved) may also influence the specific crime-fiction lexis used in those different stages. Nevertheless, geographically marked variants, theoretically, could occur in any section of a text. Only using some subtitles from a subtitled episode could mean that interesting parts (i.e. parts containing geographically marked variants) of the subtitled texts are eliminated. Thus, all the subtitles used in a given episode were included in the corpus. The only decision that had to be made was which episodes to select. The subtitle corpus had to consist of three subcorpora, each corresponding to all three different periods under investigation. These subcorpora preferably had to have the same 'size'. The calculation of absolute, rather than relative, frequencies in the subcorpora was thought to be the most straightforward way to measure the frequency of occurrence of the lexical items. This implies that the subcorpora had to have the same 'size' enabling direct comparison between the different subcorpora.

For the present corpus, the Flemish public broadcaster provided some 12,000 subtitles used in three English-language crime series. The next step was to acquire DVDs with the original episodes. A few episodes were not available on DVD (e.g.

Taggart *Dead man walking* (SMG productions 2005)), so they had to be excluded from the corpus. Then a word count was run. A first rough cut-off point that was used for the size of the subcorpora was the number of subtitles, but upon closer inspection, it transpired that the number of subtitles was not proportional to the number of words in those subcorpora. Some of the episodes are considerably longer and, therefore, contain more subtitles and hence more words. Moreover, in the 1980s and 1990s, the first generation of subtitlers tended to use fewer subtitles (Nornes 2007). Thus, the older episodes, unsurprisingly, contain fewer subtitles. This is why the number of subtitles could not be used as an indicator for the size of the subcorpora.

The total number of running words appeared to be a better indicator of the size, but in the end the total number of unique words seemed to be an even better indicator (as explained in 5.1.1.1.2.1. The 'size' of a corpus). In corpus linguistics, running words are called "word tokens" described as "[a]ny single, particular instance of an individual word in a text or corpus" (McEnery and Hardie 2012, p.252), and unique words are called "word types", and are explained as follows:

> A single particular wordform <sic>. Any difference of form (for example, spelling) makes a word into a different type. One type may occur many times in a text or corpus; all tokens that consist of exactly the same characters are considered to be examples of the same type. (McEnery and Hardie 2012, p.252-253)

In the VRT subtitles, for example, two different spellings of a particle were found: 'allez' and 'allee'. The corpus tools count 'allez' and 'allee' as two different word types, although it is one and the same particle. In the end, a word count was run and subcorpora of around 3,400 Dutch word types were selected. This meant that a number of episodes could not be included. As it was uncertain if the original scripts of some of the Taggart episodes could be acquired, which would mean that all these episodes would have to be painstakingly transcribed, these Taggart episodes were the first episodes to be removed from the corpus in order to arrive at three subcorpora of each around 3,400 word types. The exact number of word types in the subtitle files was counted using a monolingual concordancer and an effort was made to balance out the subcorpora with regard to the number of words each corpus contains. Finally, a corpus of 9,896 subtitles was selected out of the available subtitles provided by the Flemish public service broadcaster. In total, four *Inspector Morse,* five *Taggart,* and three *Inspector Lewis* episodes were used. Thus, the subtitles were used in 12 episodes of three different television series broadcast in three different periods. A total of 76,712 word tokens were counted in the subtitle corpus. This relatively small corpus also allowed for a thorough analysis of all instances of 'potential' marked geographic items in every single concordance line. In

, the selected subtitled episodes are listed. The composition of the subcorpora is described in <u>Table 5. Subcorpora in the interlingual subtitle corpus</u>.

Subcorpus Period I (1995-1996)	
subtitles	3,437
word tokens	27,006
word types	3,449

Subcorpus Period III (2011-2012)	
subtitles	2,833
word tokens	21,876
word types	3,490

| Subcorpus Period II (2004-2006)	
subtitles	3,626
word tokens	27,842
word types	3,394

Table 5: Subcorpora in the interlingual subtitle corpus

4.2.2.1.2.   Intralingual subtitle corpus

The intralingual subtitle corpus was built using the same corpus design as the interlingual subtitle corpus, with the one exception that three different periods were used for this corpus. VRT's intralingual subtitle policy changed radically after 2000 when marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases used in the Belgian Dutch-language source text no longer had to be replaced in the subtitles, even if these items were considered substandard or dialectal. The intralingual subtitles were taken from crime fiction produced by VRT and set in Belgium. A highly popular police procedural, *Flikken*, was used for the first two periods (2004 and 2009). DVD boxes with all episodes of series 4 (broadcast in 2004) and series 10 (broadcast in 2009) were purchased and all the intralingual subtitles were extracted ('ripped') from the DVDs. VRT confirmed that those DVDs contained its original VRT subtitles. Unfortunately, this police series was discontinued in 2009, which meant that another television series had to be chosen to cover the third period. A political crime series, *Salamander*, broadcast in 2013 was used to that end. For the intralingual subtitle corpus, an attempt was also made to make a selection of episodes that allowed for three subcorpora of each around 3,400 word types. The number of word types in the subtitle files was counted and an effort was made to balance out the subcorpora with regard to the number of unique words. For the first two periods, 13 *Flikken* episodes were used and only 11 of all available 12 *Salamander* episodes were used in the third

period subcorpus. The first episode of *Salamander* was omitted as it was broadcast in 2012. All the other episodes were broadcast in 2013. <u>Table 6. Subcorpora in the intralingual subtitle corpus</u> shows the composition of the subcorpora. All 24 episodes are listed in <u>9.2. Appendix B: Intralingual subtitle corpus</u>.

Subcorpus Period I (2004)	
subtitles	3,487
word tokens	22,804
word types	3,486

Subcorpus Period III (2013)	
subtitles	4,832
word tokens	27,480
word types	3,443

Subcorpus Period II (2009)	
subtitles	3,785
word tokens	27,388
word types	3,449

Table 6: Subcorpora in the intralingual subtitle corpus

4.2.2.2. Dutch reference corpus: SoNaR

In its latest 2013-2017 policy plan, the Dutch Language Union expressed its intention to develop further its Language and Speech technology unit, *TST-Centrale*, and encourage the creation of further linguistic corpora that would put the Dutch language area on the map (Nederlandse Taalunie 2012). Quite a few corpora have already been built and most of these corpora can be obtained freely from the Dutch Language Union for research purposes. Nonetheless, no proper reference corpus of Dutch was available in 2011. In 2012, this was about to change when the Meertens Instituut in Amsterdam launched its ambitious *Nederlab - Laboratory for research on the patterns of change in the Dutch language and culture* project. Because of its huge scope, the Nederlab corpus aimed to surpass all other available reference corpora in other language areas:

> [t]he aim of this project is to bring together all digitized texts relevant to our national heritage, the history of Dutch language and culture (c. 800-present) in one user-friendly and tool-enriched open access web interface, allowing scholars to simultaneously search and analyse data from texts spanning the full recorded history of the Netherlands [and Dutch-speaking Belgium], its language and culture (Nederlab 2012)

Unfortunately, the corpus is not expected to become available until early of 2015. However, there was another noteworthy project, the STEVIN SoNaR project funded

by the Dutch and Flemish Government involving Dutch and Belgian universities. The aim of the STEVIN SoNaR project was to build the very first Dutch reference corpus. This corpus became available in 2013 and was obtained from the Dutch Language Union's TST Centrale. The SoNaR corpus is described in the next sections.

4.2.2.2.1.   Corpus design

The STEVIN SoNaR project resulted in the *500-million-word reference corpus of contemporary written Dutch* "intended to serve as a general reference for studies involving language and language use" (Oostdijk et al. 2013, p.7), this implied that it:

> should provide a balanced account of the standard language and the variation that occurs within it. In doing so, it allows researchers investigating language use in a particular domain (e.g. medicine) or register (e.g. academic writing), or by a specific groups (e.g. professional translators) to relate their data and findings to the general reference corpus (idem)

It does not include, however, spoken[72] language and, therefore, some could argue it is not a *proper* reference corpus. From the start, the project aimed at no fewer than 500 million words, like the bigger English-language reference corpora (e.g. COCA). Texts from the Netherlands and Belgium, as well as translations were to be included. The corpus consists of full texts taken from a wide range of text types (e.g. novels, press articles, manuals, academic papers, subtitles, websites, tweets, chat logs, text messages, etc.) and was fully annotated (tokenised, POS tagged, and lemmatised) which allows for more efficient search queries (e.g. lemma searches for all verb forms of a given verb). The oldest texts date back to 1954. This year was selected as a cut-off point because this was when the single, unified spelling was applied in both the Netherlands and Belgium. The original intention was that the percentage of Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch texts would correspond to their respective proportions in the Dutch language area with 2/3 originating from the Netherlands and 1/3 from Belgium.

4.2.2.2.2.   Composition

In total, two corpora were obtained from the TST-Centrale, the *SoNaR corpus 1.0* (TST Centrale 2013a) comprising SoNaR-500 and SoNar-1, and the *SoNaR Nieuwe Media corpus 1.0* (TST Centrale 2013b) comprising new media texts. The first corpus spans the period from 1954 to 2002 and consists of 505 million running words (TST-

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[72] A spoken Dutch corpus, *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* was created in 2004. It consists of almost nine million words gathered between 1998 and 2004, of which well over 5.6 million words were collected in the Netherlands and approximately 3.3 million words in Belgium. This corpus was not used here.

Centrale documentation 2013). The second corpus spans the period from 2004 to 2012, and contains new media texts (e.g. websites, tweets, chat logs). This corpus consists of 35,800,000 words. This means that the year 2003, for some reason, is not covered in these corpora. Both corpora, henceforth, are referred to as the SoNaR corpus, which in total consists of 540,800,000 running words. Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen granted access to its beta version of OpenSoNaR (version 0.0.3), an online search tool for the 540,800,000-word SoNaR corpus (i.e. *SoNaR-1*, *SoNaR-500*, and *SoNar Nieuwe Media*). This significantly facilitated the corpus search queries. It allows for lemma searches and by using metafilters the searches, for example, can be restricted to Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch sources only. To count hits occurring in either Belgian or Dutch texts separately in order to compare frequencies, users can also use the "group by country" feature (cf. Figure 5).

By way of example, the colloquial Belgian Dutch word 'goesting' [liking, fancy, appetite] was looked up. This search query returned 4,543 hits in the entire corpus, of which 4,505 concordances were found in Belgian sources and 32 in Dutch sources. Six concordances were found in NL/B sources (cf. Figure 5).
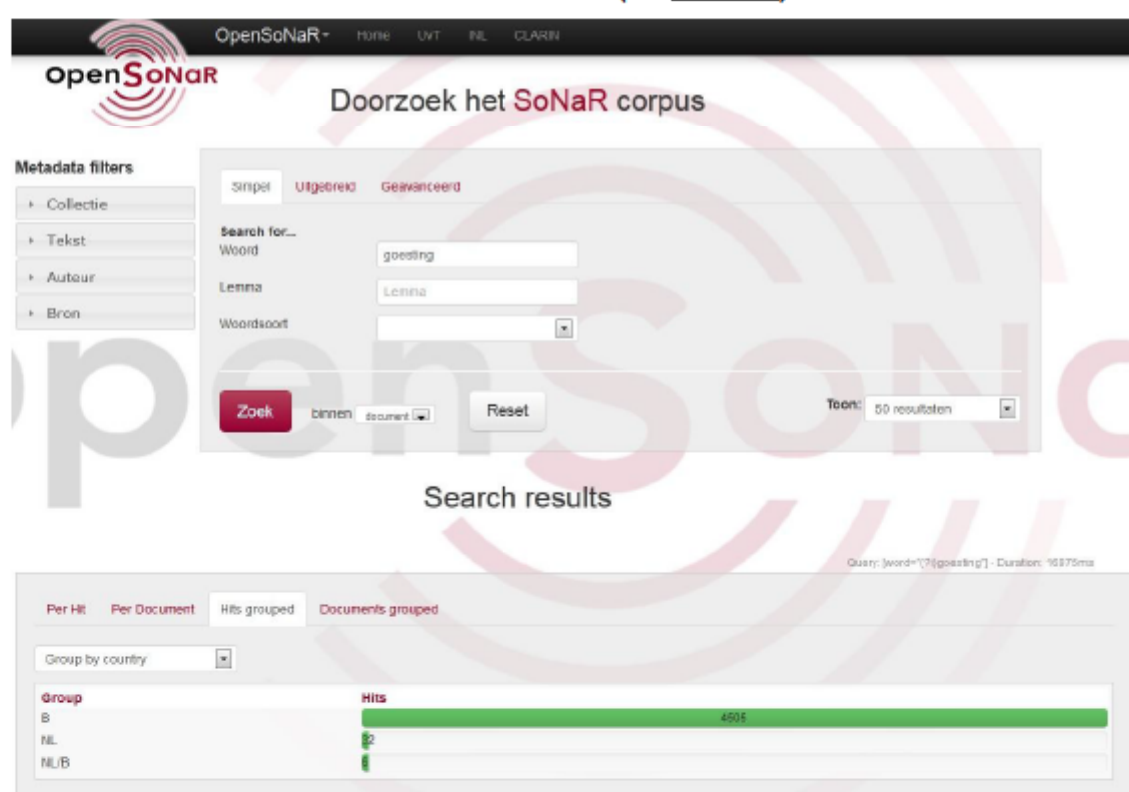

Figure 5: OpenSoNaR's group by country feature

In the case of some of the source texts, the exact source country is unknown and the concordances taken from these texts are grouped under "NL/B" (cf. Figure 5). The word 'goesting', for instance, occurs six times in NL/B texts (cf. Figure 5). Only cases

where the exact country of origin was known were included in the frequency counts. Therefore, concordances taken from NL/B texts were not taken into consideration in the present research. The overall proportion of Belgian texts does not correspond to the proportion of Dutch texts. This means that absolute frequencies could not be compared here. Regrettably, no exact figures of the proportion of Belgian and Dutch texts could be obtained from the corpus builders. Approximately 1/3 (or 180,266,667 words) of all the running words in the SoNaR corpus originate from Belgian sources and approximately 2/3 (or 360,533,333 words) originate from Dutch texts. These rough estimates, therefore, were used to calculate the normalised or relative frequencies of search items in the Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch subcorpora.

In the entire SoNaR corpus (540,800,000 words), the relative frequency of the word 'goesting' is 0.00084% (=4,543/540,800,000x100). In the Belgian Dutch part of SoNaR, the relative frequency is 0.0025% (=4,505/180,266,667x100) and 0.0000089% (=32/360,533,333x100) in the Netherlandic Dutch part of SoNaR. These figures show that it not advisable to express the relative frequency of these lexical items as a percentage. This is why normalised frequencies tend to be used based on occurrences per million words (e.g. Baker 2010, p.20; McEnery and Hardie 2012, p.50), rather than per one hundred words – as is the case in a percentage. In a percentage, the base of normalisation is a hundred. To calculate the normalised frequency in this analysis, the base of normalisation was set to one million, rather than a hundred. This allows frequencies per million words to be calculated. Thus, to find out how often a given word Y – in this case 'goesting' – is expected to occur in every one million words of the Belgian Dutch part of SoNaR (circa 180,266,667 words) the following formula was used:

$$nf= Y \times (1,000,000/180,266,667)$$
$$nf= 4,505 \times (1,000,000/180,266,667)$$
$$nf= 24.99$$

The normalised frequency (nf) amounts to 24.99 in the Belgian Dutch part of SoNaR. Subsequently, the normalised frequency was also calculated for the Netherlandic Dutch part (circa 360,533,333 words) of SoNaR:

$$nf= Y \times (1,000,000/360,533,333)$$
$$nf= 32 \times (1,000,000/360,533,333)$$
$$nf= 0.09$$

This results in a normalised frequency of 0.09. To compare the occurrences in the Belgian Dutch part of SoNaR with the occurrences in the Netherlandic Dutch part of SoNaR – which is approximately twice as big – such normalised frequencies had to be generated. Subsequently, to indicate how many times more often the word or phrase occurs in either the Belgian Dutch or the Netherlandic Dutch part of the SoNaR

corpus, a ratio was determined by dividing the larger number by the smaller (24.99/0.09)). Thus, the word 'goesting' occurs 277.67 times more often in the Belgian part of SoNaR than it does in the Netherlandic part of SoNaR.

Finally, in order to establish that the differences between the attested frequencies in the Belgian Dutch subset and the attested frequencies in the Netherlandic Dutch subset were statistically significant, the log-likelihood test was used. This statistical test is suitable for linguistic data, as it does not assume normal distribution of the data. Linguistic data, as McEnery and Hardie explain, "typically produce a markedly positively skewed distribution, with a pronounced 'hump' of a few very high-frequency words, followed by a very long tail of lots and lots of low-frequency words" (2011, p.51). Lancaster University's online log-likelihood calculator (Rayson 2014), and the spread sheet provided by Paul Rayson was used to calculate the log-likelihood scores in the present research. The higher the log-likelihood scores, the more statistically significant the difference between the frequencies. As suggested by McEnery and Hardie (2011b), a log-likelihood score of 3.84 was used as the cut-off point. This means that there is a 95% chance of the difference not being a coincidence. Thus, in such cases the difference is statistically significant. A log-likelihood score of more than 6.63 implies that the there is even a 99% chance that the difference between the two frequencies is not due to chance. The log-likelihood score for the frequencies of the word 'goesting' in both subsets of SoNaR is as high as 9543.60. Therefore, the difference between both frequencies is statistically significant.

4.2.2.3. Specialised crime-fiction corpus: *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

As explained above, a much smaller corpus than the above 500 million-word corpus was also used in the analysis below. This new corpus was bound to remain relatively small, as it had to be built from scratch and in a limited period of time. Texts had to be obtained from third parties, hence the size of the subcorpora depended on the availability of texts and, of course, on the goodwill of the third parties that had to provide those texts. Using a smaller corpus, rather than a large reference corpus was more practicable, as larger corpora could potentially generate an inordinate number of concordance lines that in most cases have to be analysed manually. Nonetheless, a corpus had to be built that was large enough to serve as a point of reference. As explained above, the linguistic phenomenon dealt with here is a low-frequency phenomenon. One way to compensate for the limitation of having a smaller corpus

could be to opt for a corpus consisting of texts in the same genre or with similar content (i.e. comparable texts), as those were expected to draw on similar lexis. To give an extreme example, it would not make much sense to add transcripts of children's speech, or scientific articles to the corpus as these texts draw on different lexis. Since the subtitles are taken from one specific genre, crime fiction, the assumption was that a specialised crime-fiction corpus could serve as a suitable point of reference in this analysis.

4.2.2.3.1.   Corpus design

Text origin criterion

Ideally, a crime-fiction corpus consisting of two subsets, a Belgian Dutch and a Netherlandic Dutch subset, containing all crime fiction written in those countries had to be built. Each of those subcorpora would then contain all available original Dutch-language fiction written by Dutch and Belgian nationals. Since the Belgian part of the Dutch language area is much smaller than the Dutch part of the language area, it was to be expected that the population of Belgian crime fiction was smaller and fewer samples could be taken from this population. Fortunately, crime fiction is a very popular genre and since the late 1990s, two prolific Belgian crime authors have emerged, Pieter Aspe and Luc Deflo. Almost all novels by Aspe and Deflo published since the late 1990s were obtained in digital form from the Belgian publishing house Manteau. In the Netherlands, there is a greater number of popular crime-fiction writers. Dutch publishing houses, likewise, were contacted and they provided most of the books, while the remaining books had to be purchased in eBook format. In addition to original crime fiction, translated crime fiction from English into Dutch was also included in this corpus.

Time-frame criterion

Subsequently, the crime-fiction corpus had to be subdivided into three different periods in order to correspond to the afore-described time frame used for the interlingual subtitle corpus. This meant that Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch crime fiction had to be found that was published between 1995 and 1996 (Period I), 2004 and 2006 (Period II), and 2011 and 2012 (Period III). Every subcorpus, ideally, also had to contain the same number of unique words, which allows for the direct comparison of raw frequencies in all three different subcorpora: Belgian Dutch texts, Netherlandic Dutch texts, and translated texts.

Text-type criterion

Only crime novels were included in the corpus. However, none of the books obtained for this corpus were actually read beforehand. The decision to include a given book or not was based on whether or not the author in question was a well-known crime-fiction writer and in case of doubt online book reviews were consulted. In the end, 81 books were selected that were first published between 1999 and 2013. This corpus was named *NL CriFi 1999-2013* and contains 6,512,824 word tokens. AntConc 3.3.5w (Anthony 2012) was used to carry out the word-types and word-tokens counts. Unfortunately, no permission was obtained to make the corpus available to third parties. Just like the subtitle corpora, the number of word types was used as a benchmark to balance out the subcorpora. All nine subcorpora, consequently, have an average number of 32,700 word types. This is almost ten times more than the number of word types in the subtitle subcorpora. In addition to a subcorpus of 30 Belgian and 33 Netherlandic Dutch crime-fiction novels, a third subcorpus containing 18 translated English crime novels was added to the corpus (cf. 9.3. Appendix C: Crime-fiction corpus for a detailed list of all 81 books). The structure of *NL CriFi 1999-2013* is displayed in Table 7.

1.	**Belgian Dutch subset**
1.1.	Period I (1998-2005)
-	9 books
-	32,830 types
-	632,916 tokens
1.2.	Period II (2006-2009)
-	10 books
-	32,730 types
-	749,013 tokens
1.3.	Period III (2010-2013)
-	11 books
-	32,835 types
-	817,643 tokens
2.	**Netherlandic Dutch subset**
2.1.	Period I (1998-2005)
-	12 books
-	32,557 types
-	703,574 tokens
2.2.	Period II (2006-2009)
-	11 books

-	32,817 types
-	804,074 tokens
2.3.	Period III (2010-2013)
-	10 books
-	32,807 types
-	740,185 tokens
3.	**Translated fiction subset**
3.1.	Period I (1998-2005)
-	5 books
-	32,704 types
-	667,484 tokens
3.2.	Period II (2006-2009)
-	7 books
-	32,693 types
-	726,235 tokens
3.3.	Period III (2010-2012)
-	6 books
-	32,768 types
-	671,700 tokens

Table 7: Subsets of *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

4.2.2.3.2. Composition

The Belgian Dutch subset contains 30 books that were written by just three different authors: 14 by Pieter Aspe (°1953), 15 by Luc Deflo (°1958), and one novel by a relatively new writer, Piet Baete (°1978). The fact that only three different authors were used here could be a shortcoming of this subset. The main contributing authors have more or less the same age, and all three authors are male. This means that their language usage could differ from younger author's writing, or female writers. In Belgium, certain authors, such as Tom Lanoye, Dimitri Verhulst, Kristien Hemmerechts, and Erik Vlaminck, are known for their opposition to the publishing practice of removing Belgian Dutch lexis. Their novels, therefore, can be expected to contain marked Belgian Dutch. None of the Belgian crime-fiction writers was previously known to the author to be an adamant user of Belgian Dutch in his writings. Even if Belgian Dutch lexis has continued to be removed from recent Belgian Dutch fiction, in general, at least it was assumed that present-day Belgian Dutch fiction does not contain much marked Netherlandic Dutch. It is very likely that, even today, many Belgian authors do not object to editors removing Belgian Dutch features from their manuscripts, but still this does not mean that they actually allow their editors to replace Belgian Dutch words and phrases by their marked Netherlandic Dutch counterparts. This means in Absillis's (2009a, p.275) terms that modern-day Belgian Dutch fiction may well have been "de-Flemished", but this does not necessarily mean they have been "Dutchified". The normal compromise tends to be that editors and authors look for a general, unmarked Dutch counterpart (e.g. Vlaminck 2013).

Therefore, it is highly likely that recent Belgian Dutch fiction does not contain much marked Netherlandic Dutch. Since the novels that were used in this Dutch-language crime-fiction corpus were published between 1999 and 2013, the three Belgian authors were at least not expected to adhere, strictly, to the Netherlandic standard. Otherwise, it would not have been useful to build and use the crime-fiction corpus for the analysis at hand. Nonetheless, an attempt was made not to over-represent one of the two main contributing authors in the Belgian subset, as one of them could possibly use more geographically marked Dutch than the other. This is why approximately 15 Aspe and 15 Deflo books were selected. The Aspe subset corresponds to exactly 1,048,774 word tokens/33.463 word types and the Deflo subset to 1,082,854 word tokens/41,291 word types. AntConc 3.3.5w (Anthony 2012) was used for the word counts.

In the Netherlands, a wide range (male-female, younger-older,...) of crime-fiction authors was available whose books could be used for the Netherlandic Dutch subcorpora. None of these authors was expected to use Belgian Dutch in their writing. In total, 33 books were selected, written by ten different authors: ten books by René Appel (°1945), four by Tomas Ross (°1944), four by Loes den Hollander (°1949), four by Marelle Boersma (°1957), four by Corine Hartman (°1964), three by Marion Pauw (°1973), one by Rinus Ferdinandusse (°1931), one by Tim Krabbé (°1943), one by John Brosens (°1946), and, finally, one novel by Carla de Jong (°1973).

As only a small percentage of foreign fiction is translated by Belgian nationals and a 2005 survey, moreover revealed that Dutch nationals translate more English-language fiction than their Belgian colleagues (57.8% as opposed to 33.3% (Nederlandse Taalunie 2008, p.12)), 17 of the 18 translated novels in this corpus are assumed to be translated by Dutch nationals. Some of these translators translated more than one book in this corpus. One novel, however, is translated by a Belgian national, Jacqueline Caenberghs. She is a retired VRT journalist, and translated several crime novels between 1999 and 2007. In any case, translations by Belgian nationals are not expected to contain marked Belgian Dutch. Therefore, there is no reason to assume Caenberghs's translation would contain Belgian Dutch lexical items. Moreover, born in 1942, she belongs to an older generation of translators, who can be expected not to use Belgian Dutch in writing. What is more, all of the translations were published by Dutch publishing houses. A detailed list of all the books that were used in *NL CriFi 1999-2013* is given in 9.3. Appendix C: Crime-fiction corpus. It also contains the names of the copyright holders and, in the case of translations, the original titles and the names of the translators.

5. Analysis

In this chapter, the data capture process of the different corpora that were used in the analysis is described and the procedure of the analysis is explained. The results of the analysis are presented and discussed in the next chapter.

5.1. Data capture and encoding

Today, most texts, like the ones used in the present research (subtitles and novels), are available in computer-readable form and, therefore – technically speaking – such text types can easily be used to build digital linguistic corpora. Subtitles, nowadays, can be created on almost any type of computer and the resulting subtitle files can be exported easily in several digital formats. These files may be obtained directly from subtitlers or translation companies, but they can also be ripped from DVDs, or downloaded from the internet (e.g. fansubs). Similarly, contemporary fiction can be obtained directly from publishing houses in .pdf format and, as a result, the books no longer have to be scanned page by page. Ideally, publishing houses provide the *born-digital* pdf files. As novels were originally produced in machine-readable form, they are already available in this born-digital format. Such files, unlike scanned versions, do not require running the texts through optical character recognition (OCR) software and subsequent post-OCR text proofing and correction. This significantly facilitates building linguistic corpora and, therefore, should be a motivation to use linguistic corpora in research.

Moreover, more and more books nowadays are available as eBooks and such eBook files (e.g. .epub, .mobi,...) can easily be converted to plain text files. Obtaining copyright clearance for copyrighted texts is usually necessary, although copying only short text fragments, as was done in the present research, usually falls under the exceptions to copyright infringement. This, at least, is the case under Belgian and Dutch copyright law. Nevertheless, all the publishing houses involved in this research were asked in advance for permission to use the crime-fiction novels for *NL CriFi 1999-2013*. A detailed list of all 81 novels is given in 9.3. Appendix C: Crime-fiction corpus. All the resources used in the present research were available in digital format, which significantly facilitated the data capture process. These files, however, still had to be converted to a compatible format and edited before they could be added to the corpora.

The machine-readable format used for all the texts that were added to the corpora built for this analysis is plain text (.txt) in unicode UTF-8 encoding. This format correctly displays non-ascii characters, e.g. diacritics (é, è, ë, ï, ü, à, ç, ù, ú, û), and special characters (e.g. &, %, £, €, @,…). These plain text files are also perfectly compatible with most corpus analysis software. Moreover, plain text files are small in size, which enables quick processing and simultaneous searching of large numbers of files. Over the decades, tools and software have been developed and enhanced to execute and automate complex commands that help in corpus analysis. McEnery and Hardie (2012, p.37-48) give a historical overview of such corpus analysis software. Some of the software is released as freeware and sometimes the software developers even make the source code available allowing its users to create additional features or redesign the software to accommodate their specific needs.

In their most basic form, corpus tools are not restricted to a particular language and merely look at words as a string of letters separated by an empty space or punctuation mark. Many words, however, have homographs. Such words that are spelled in exactly the same way can belong to a different word class. Therefore, if a user, for instance, has to look up all instances of the noun 'book' in its singular and plural form in a given corpus and if this person is not interested in the verb forms of 'to book' (book, books, booked, booking), refining the search query would be very convenient. They could then carry out a part-of-speech (POS) search to look for nouns only. In this case, the software is asked to ignore all verb forms of 'to book' and only generate a list of concordance lines in which the noun 'book' and its plural form 'books' appear. Likewise, a user may want to look up all instances of every single verb form of a given verb, for example, 'to bring'. Rather than individually looking up all the verb forms (bring, brings, bringing, brought), a single lemma search allows them to search all these verb forms by simply entering the lemma 'bring'.

To be able to conduct more complex search queries, like the POS search, however, the corpus ideally would have to be parsed, which is defined as "the analysis (normally) of sentences in a corpus into formal or functional constituents (noun phrase, verb phrase, or subject, verb, object, etc.)" (Kenny 2001, p.29) and tagged, which involves "the assignment of a part-of-speech label (verb, noun etc.) to each running word in a text or corpus on the basis of known transition probabilities between competing labels" (Kenny 2001, p.28). Large reference corpora, such as the Dutch SoNaR corpus, are generally parsed and tagged. This is usually a fully automated process that is, in the case of such gigantic corpora, rarely manually corrected and hence never watertight. Thus, POS and lemma searches are never

100% accurate. The corpora that were built for this research, however, are all raw, plain text corpora. Fully parsed, tagged, and lemmatised corpora facilitate certain search queries considerably, but no additional time and effort was invested encoding the corpora in this research.

Some software, such as Adam Kilgarriff's Sketch Engine, allows users to upload their raw corpora and carry out complex search queries through their web-based platform. This online search tool has built-in features for different languages including Dutch. The subtitle corpora were loaded into Sketch Engine and subsequently searched using its recommended tree tagger Dutch NLWAC-TreeTagger 4.1. Regrettably, Sketch Engine quickly proved not to be suitable for the present investigation into the low-frequency phenomenon of geographic marked lexis. This investigation requires a meticulous analysis. Some of the verbs (e.g. 'afdreigen' [to threaten], 'afkomen' [to pay a visit, to come over]) that occur in the subtitle corpora, for some reason could not be retrieved via Sketch Engine's lemma search. Likewise, the POS searches were not very accurate. The noun 'flik' [a copper], for example, occurs 34 times (in both singular and plural) in the subtitle corpora. Sketch Engine only managed to retrieve 23 instances. By the same token, a POS search query for the noun 'pak' [a suit] included verb forms of the verb 'pakken' [to grab; to touch emotionally].

Such POS searches and lemma searches, however, are particularly useful for retrieving high-frequency function words or words that have high-frequency homographs. The adjective 'zat' [drunk], for instance, has a more common homograph 'zat', which is a verb form of 'zitten' [to sit]. The search query for this string of characters ('zat'), therefore, is ambiguous. A watertight lemma search for the adjective 'zat' – which discards instances of the verb form 'zat' – would solve the problem. In this raw plain text corpus, several unambiguous search queries had to be used to ensure that no verb forms – in the case of 'zat' – would be included in the concordance lines (e.g. the inflected form 'zatte' which is not a verb form, and compounds used to denote a high degree of drunkenness 'ladderzat*', 'strontzat*', 'poepeloerezat*'). The Dutch word 'maar', which accounts for as many as 1,186 hits in both subtitle corpora, can be a verb form, a noun, an adverb, or a conjunction. In one of the ten different senses of the headword 'maar' provided in the latest edition of the Van Dale dictionary, only the adverb 'maar' [only, just] is geographically labelled. This means that all concordance lines have to be carefully read to establish the exact meaning and function of the word in that sentence. Therefore, it would be very helpful to narrow down the list of concordance lines to lines with the adverb

'maar' only – that is, dismissing all other instances of 'maar', for example, the highly frequent conjunction 'maar' [but]. Sketch Engine found 755 conjunctions, 417 adverbs, and eight nouns, even though, not a single noun 'maar' occurs in the corpora and some of the adverbs it retrieved were, in fact, conjunctions or vice versa. in short, because of the low-frequency linguistic phenomenon to be analysed here, it was of the utmost importance that every single instance of all of the search items in the corpora be found. Sketch Engine could, therefore, not be used here.

Not being able to carry out lemma and POS searches was not problematic, as most of the words that had to be looked up were low-frequency words. Moreover, both corpora were small enough to perform basic search queries, as the resulting concordance lines that had to be examined rarely exceeded a total number of 50 lines. With its 154,396 running words, the two subtitle corpora are relatively small. For this reason, the rather basic, language-independent features of corpus analysis software sufficed for the purpose of this research. The main corpus analysis tool used in the present research is Laurence Anthony's AntConc 3.3.5w (Anthony 2012). This tool is a stand-alone monolingual concordancer that is freely available online. All usages of a given word type within the corpus or subcorpus can be looked up in concordance lines. Words can be looked up in isolation by ticking the 'Words' box next to 'Search Term', or as parts of compounds and derivatives by un-ticking the 'Words' box next to 'Search Term' (cf. Figure 6. Search query for root 'sodemieter'). The latter proved very useful, as explained below.

As already indicated, no lemma or POS searches could be carried out on this plain text corpus with AntConc 3.3.5w (Anthony 2012), but its 'Words' feature made it possible to circumvent this shortcoming to a certain extent. In Dutch, plurals and derivatives are mainly formed by simply adding a suffix to the singular form of a noun or adjective. Un-ticking the 'Words' box, as a result, allows for a search query for a Dutch noun in its singular form and this search would generate a list of concordances with both singular and plural forms of those nouns including possible derivatives and compounds. Likewise, regular verbs can easily be looked up via a single search query, by using the root of the verb. In the case of the informal Netherlandic Dutch word 'sodemieteren', which can be used in a wide range of forms and meanings, the verb root 'sodemieter' can be inserted in the search box with the 'Words' box next to 'Search Term' un-ticked (cf. Figure 6. Search query for root 'sodemieter').

By way of illustration, *NL CriFi 1999-2013* was searched for this search item. This resulted in concordance lines with all occurrences of the verb and its derivatives

(e.g. 'be-sodemieter-d' [mad; stunned], 'op-sodemieter-en' [to get lost], 'ge-sodemieter' [nagging], 'sodemieter-en' [to chuck] etc.) in the corpus. Figure 6. Search query for root 'sodemieter' shows that there are 107 hits in total, and only one concordance line (line 1) was taken from a novel by a Belgian Dutch writer *Pitbull* (Luc Deflo 2008).


Figure 6: Search query for root 'sodemieter'

The following sections explain in greater detail how the different language resources used for this research were created and exploited in the analysis. Firstly, the subtitle corpora are discussed in 5.1.1. Subtitle corpora. Secondly, the crime-fiction corpus is discussed, in 5.1.2. The crime-fiction corpus. Each of those sections has the same structure. First, the data capture procedure is explained and subsequently, the text encoding procedure is described.

5.1.1. Subtitle corpora

5.1.1.1. Data capture

5.1.1.1.1. Preparing the texts

The main corpus tools used in this analysis are a monolingual and a bilingual, parallel concordancer, namely: Laurence Anthony's AntConc 3.3.5w (Anthony 2012) and AntPConc 1.0.2 (Anthony 2013). As these java tools function differently, the corpus files had to be manipulated somewhat to make most efficient use of both tools. This meant, for instance, that two versions of the interlingual subtitle files had to be saved into separate folders. For each tool, a separate folder had to be created. The structure of the subtitle corpora and all its subfolders is displayed in <u>Table 8</u>:

(1.1) Parallel Subtitle Corpus	(1.2) Monolingual Subtitle Corpora
(1.1.1) Source-Text File	(1.2.1) INTERlingual subtitles
(1.1.2) Target-Text File	(1.2.1.1) Period I
	(1.2.1.2) Period II
	(1.2.1.3) Period III
	(1.2.2) INTRAlingual subtitles
	(1.2.2.1) Period I
	(1.2.2.2) Period II
	(1.2.2.3) Period III

Table 8: Structure of the subtitle corpora

The folder used for the bilingual concordancer (1.1) holds the parallel translation corpus of all 12 episodes. This folder only contains two text files: one with the English-language source text of all the episodes (1.1.1) and the second file with the corresponding Dutch-language target text (1.1.2). The source-text transcriptions of all the episodes, thus, were copied into one single .txt file and, similarly, a separate .txt file was created with the Dutch subtitles.

The monolingual concordancer, AntConc 3.3.5w, was used to analyse the Dutch-language subtitles only. For this concordancer, a separate folder (1.2.1) had to be created consisting of three subfolders containing the interlingual subtitle corpus. For each period under investigation, a separate subfolder was created. Those subfolders hold 12 .txt files with the subtitles used in the episodes under investigation. Thus, the <u>(1.1.2) Target-Text File</u>, in fact, contains the same subtitled text as subfolder <u>(1.2.1) INTERlingual subtitles</u> on the right-hand side (cf. shaded boxes in Table 8). Subsequently, another folder was created for the intralingual subtitle files see <u>(1.2.2) INTRAlingual subtitles</u> in Table 8. Below, first the files for

the bilingual concordancer (in the left-hand (1.1) column in <u>Table 8</u>) are discussed, in section <u>5.1.1.1.1.1</u>, and subsequently, the files for the monolingual concordancer (in the right-hand (1.2.) column in <u>Table 8</u>) in section <u>5.1.1.1.1.2</u>.

5.1.1.1.1.1.   Text files for the bilingual concordancer

The parallel corpus consists of a selection of 12 English-language episodes of subtitled crime fiction corresponding to almost 17 hours (16:42:15) of audiovisual material. The English-language source text consists of 108,815 running words. The target text comprises 9,898 subtitles of 76,724 Dutch running words. The English-language source text in these episodes had to be transcribed. To facilitate this process, the (English-language) intralingual subtitles that were available for these episodes were used as a starting point in the transcription process. The advantage of intralingual subtitles is that they give an almost verbatim rendition of the spoken text and, as a result, they are much closer to the source text than interlingual subtitles usually are. This meant that the intralingual subtitles were, basically, post-edited and not many changes had to be made during this process.

VRT's subtitles for the interlingual subtitle corpus were directly obtained in digital form from VRT's translation department. Some files were already in plain text format, others had to be exported in .txt files using the subtitling software originally used by the subtitlers, Softel Swift. For all 12 episodes separate .txt files were created, each of which contained all the subtitles created, for the episode in question. The last subtitle in every episode contains the name of the subtitler. This subtitle was deleted, as it could not be part of the subtitle corpus. In <u>9.1. Appendix A: Interlingual subtitle corpus</u>, however, all the names of the subtitlers are mentioned per episode. Two copies of each text file had to be made. The first copy contained the original subtitles with their corresponding time codes. Time codes are sequences of numeric codes conveying the exact moment when the subtitles were inserted. In the second copy, all time codes were removed and hyphenation was undone. These edited files – without time codes and hyphens – were used in the corpus. The first copy, nonetheless, was kept in case the video files had to be consulted again to get the full meaning of a subtitle. The time codes were, in those cases, useful for locating the exact moment in the video files when the subtitle was inserted.

In earlier VRT subtitles, some words occurring at the end of a subtitle line were hyphenated. These words had to be 'reconstructed' by removing the hyphens and the line breaks. The reason for this was that, on the one hand, the word count carried

out by the concordancer would count hyphenated words (e.g. 'vinger-afdrukken' [finger prints]) as two separate words. Both parts of the word to either side of the hyphen are then considered a separate word in the word count (e.g. 'vinger' and 'afdrukken' would be counted as two separate words, rather than one 'vingerafdrukken'). On the other hand, the instance of the hyphenated word in question would not be able to be retrieved in the search query because of the presence of this hyphen (e.g. search query for 'vingerafdrukken' will not include 'vinger-afdrukken' in the results list). The time codes were removed because they would unnecessarily muddle the concordance lines generated by the concordancer. The concordances had to be subjected to close qualitative analysis and these sequences of numbers would needlessly hamper this painstaking analysis, therefore, only the text was kept. In order to keep all subtitles in the plain text file visually detached from each other, though, every subtitle (of each one or two lines) was separated from the next by means of an empty line.

Automatically aligning source and target text was not advisable in this parallel audiovisual translation corpus and was instead done manually while transcribing the source text. The text of the obtained English-language intralingual subtitles was post-edited while watching the episodes to ensure a literal rendition of the original spoken dialogues. The corresponding source-text unit was then manually aligned with each individual VRT subtitle line. First of all the VRT subtitles were copied into a table in a word processor, in which each subtitle line corresponds to a row in the table. Then a column was added to the left in which the English-language source text corresponding to each subtitle line was inserted. Using the English-language intralingual subtitles substantially speeded up the transcription, as the source text did not have to be entirely input from scratch. For the Taggart episodes, however, no intralingual subtitles could be acquired. Fortunately, the production company, Scottish Television (STV), provided the original scripts for those episodes. These scripts contain more information than just the dialogues. Only the dialogues were copied and post-edited while watching the episodes. Just like the other episodes, the transcribed source text was then manually aligned with the target text.

In this alignment process, all source-text lines were also numbered consecutively throughout the entire subtitle corpus. The corresponding subtitle lines in the target text were given the same number (cf. Figure 7. Extract of the aligned parallel subtitle corpus). The rationale for this is provided below.

EN source text	NL target text
[012754] Thank you, Susan. I'll er take it out to her.	[012754] Dank je, Susan. Ik breng het haar wel.
[012755] Hi, everyone.	[012755] Hallo, Iedereen.
[012756] Thanks for coming here to Roak Woods.	[012756] Bedankt voor het komen.
[012757] - Hi, Liv.	[012757]

Figure 7: Extract of the aligned parallel subtitle corpus

The parallel subtitle corpus consists of 17,595 lines in total. Source and target text, thus, were saved in the word processor format. This file was printed off and used for the close, manual analysis of the parallel corpus. These sizeable files, however, could not be used in the bilingual concordancer, as this tool only supports .txt files. Consequently, for each episode the EN source-text column with the numbers between square brackets was copied and pasted into a plain text file (UTF-8 encoding) and named "ST.txt". This file, thus, contains the entire source text of all 12 episodes. The same was done with the NL target-text columns. The resulting .txt file was named "TT.txt" and contains all subtitles used in the 12 episodes (cf. Figure 8).
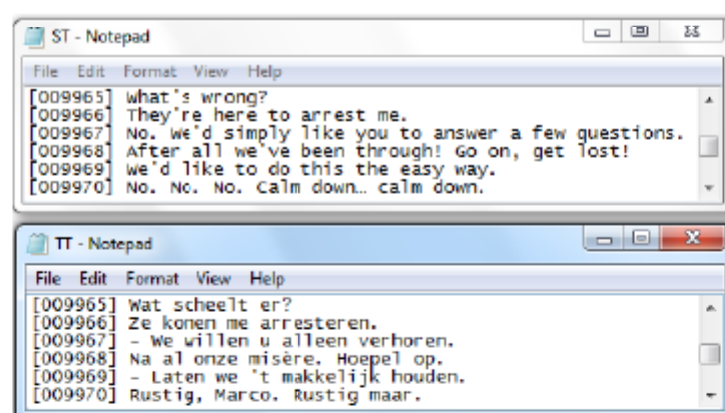

Figure 8: Parallel files

The line number between square brackets allowed AntPconc to align the source text with the target text automatically.

5.1.1.1.1.2. Text files for the monolingual concordancer

Loading the above-mentioned TT.txt file, which was created for the parallel concordancer, into the monolingual concordancer was not recommended, as discussed in 5.2.1.2. Encoding the corpus. This is why a separate file was prepared for every episode containing the subtitles used in each corresponding episode. A more complex structure of folders and subfolders had to be created as visualised in Table 8. Structure of the Subtitle Corpora. Firstly, separate folders were created for

the INTERlingual subtitle corpus and the INTRAlingual subtitle corpus. Their subfolders contained the different subcorpora each corresponding to one of the three periods under investigation. This allowed the monolingual concordancer to load an entire folder including its subfolders with two mouse clicks, thus, not every single file had to be selected one by one. As explained in 5.2.1.2. Pinpointing RBBN items, all subtitles used in every single period, in both the interlingual and intralingual subtitle corpus, had to be loaded in the concordancer separately to generate separate alphabetical word lists. This enabled the creation of six separate word lists for each period in both subcorpora. The line numbers were removed from all .txt files that had to be loaded into the monolingual concordancer, as these files did not have to be aligned with the source text. Only the Dutch-language, target-text subtitles were analysed in the monolingual concordancer.

The Dutch-language crime series used for the second subtitle corpus, containing intralingual subtitles, were produced and broadcast by VRT and were released on DVD. VRT confirmed the intralingual subtitles included in the DVDs were the original VRT subtitles. Requesting another subtitle corpus from VRT's translation department would have been time-consuming. This is why the subtitles were ripped from the DVDs and saved in plain text .txt files. A second copy of each file was made in which all hyphens and time codes were removed, as was done in the interlingual corpus files. For this second subtitle corpus, the Dutch-language source text was not transcribed and added to the corpus. Only the target text, the intralingual subtitles, was used. The episodes were selected from two VRT crime series, *Flikken* (VRT 1999-2009) and *Salamander* (VRT 2013). The DVDs with all the episodes were purchased and SubRip 1.50b4 was used to rip the intralingual subtitles from the DVDs. SubRip uses optical character recognition and captures not only the text found in the subtitles, but also the time codes in the .srt subtitle format. The software then allows users to export the subtitle files in .txt (UTF-8) files. This is automated process is, unfortunately, not flawless and all output files had to be thoroughly proofed to avoid errors in the corpus files.

5.1.1.1.2.   Balancing out the different subcorpora

Once a large enough number of subtitle files was obtained and ready to be added to the corpus, an unbiased decision had to be made about which files to select. This was explained in the previous chapter. At this stage, this decision was based on a single criterion, the time frame, as all available files already conformed to the text-type criterion. The subtitle corpus to be used here was a specialised corpus in which only one specific text type (subtitles), authored by one specific institution (VRT's

translation department), belonging to one specific genre (crime fiction) was to be used. The assembled subtitle files all met the above requirements. The next step was to select a number of files out of all the available subtitle files so that three subcorpora could be built of more or less the same size. This would allow absolute frequency counts of all attested instances of a given word or phrase to be compared directly to each other.

The conundrum now was how to go about measuring the 'size' of the subcorpora. In this subtitle analysis, the aim was to establish if Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch words and phrases occur in the corpora. If such a geographically marked item was found in a subcorpus this (unique) word or phrase was counted once. This means that the number of all the instances of this word or phrase retrieved in each subcorpus was only of secondary importance. By way of example, the Belgian Dutch particle 'allez'/'allee' [come on], only occurs in the intralingual subtitle corpus. Here it occurs in every single subcorpus. This specific item was counted once for each period, although the exact number of occurrences amounts to 57 (11 in subcorpus 1, 22 in subcorpus 2, and 24 in subcorpus 3). How often the same Belgian or Netherlandic Dutch word or phrase reoccurs in the subcorpora was, thus, not of primary importance. For this reason, it was decided to use the number of unique words to balance out the subcorpora with regard to size. In the next section, the underlying reasoning is explained.

5.1.1.1.2.1.   The 'size' of a corpus

Counting word tokens?

Usually, the size of a corpus is expressed in the number of word tokens it contains. However, simply counting the number of running words could give a distorted impression of 'size', in the present research, since the same word could be repeated several times and each instance of that word would be counted separately. In the older Inspector Morse episodes, for example, the names of the two main characters occur almost three times more often in the subtitles than the names of the two main characters in the Lewis episodes. The repeated occurrence of such proper names and other words that are irrelevant to the analysis increase the overall number of running words in those subcorpora.

Counting lemmas?

Words also reoccur in different inflected forms. When measuring the size of the subcorpora, one could therefore say, each subcorpus had to have exactly the same

number of unique lemmas. This number would then disregard other instances of the same word in its inflected forms. These forms would all be subsumed under the same lemma, which, in turn, is only counted once. For instance, in the case of the verb 'arresteren' [to arrest] all its verb forms 'arresteer', 'arresteerde', 'arresteert',… would be subsumed under the lemma 'arresteren' and then only be counted once. Thus, a lemma count would appear to give a good idea of the 'size' of each subcorpus for this lexical analysis.

Lexical density?

However, only counting the lemmas and removing all proper names was not practically viable. The analysis conducted here endeavours to determine if and, if so, how many, different Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch words and phrases occur in the subtitle corpus. As lexical items had to be counted in the subcorpora, determining the lexical density of each subtitled episode and using those percentages to balance out the subcorpora with regard to size was briefly considered as another option. To gauge lexical density, however, first a list of lexical words had to be generated, i.e. content words (adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and main verbs), not including function words (auxiliary and modal verbs, conjunctions, determiners, prepositions, pronouns). Since this process could not be automated in this plain text corpus, this option was quickly abandoned. What is more, although this analysis mainly looks at content words, function words could not be excluded from this analysis altogether. As it happens, an albeit limited number of Belgian Dutch words and phrases are, or contain function words. For instance, the modal auxiliary 'moeten' [must] ('niet moeten' [must not] has an additional meaning in Belgian Dutch, namely 'should not'), prepositions (e.g. in the Belgian Dutch phrasal verb 'lachen met' vs. 'lachen om' [to joke about]) and conjunctions (e.g. Belgian Dutch 'vermits' vs. 'aangezien' [since]).

Type/token ratio?

Finally, using the type/token ratio to balance out the subcorpora with regard to size was not considered an option either as this percentage takes into account all words (content and function words, proper names, inflected forms,…). Type/token ratio is defined as follows:

> The number of types (unique words) in a text divided by the number of tokens (total number of words) and expressed as a percentage. A high type/token ratio suggests that a text is lexically diverse, whereas a low type/token ratio suggests that there is a lot of repetition of lexical items in a file. (Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006, p.162)

Moreover, lexical density and type/token ratios can only be calculated after texts

have been selected and added to a corpus. In other words, it is not possible to know, in advance, what the lexical density or type/token ration of a given selection of texts will be. For this reason, it can only be used as a descriptive attribute and not as a corpus design criterion.

5.1.1.1.2.2.   Counting unique words

After long consideration, the decision was made to use the number of unique words counted in each subcorpus as a quick indicator of the 'size' of the subcorpora. Admittedly, the same number of unique words by no means provides watertight guarantees that the 'size' of the subcorpora is the same and, hence, merely serves as an indicator. Corpus software, in its simplest form, looks at words as strings of characters separated by two spaces (e.g. '⌴phone⌴', or separated by a space and a punctuation mark (e.g. '⌴Secondly,'). Inflected forms of the same word are considered different (unique) words. Different spellings of the same words (e.g. 'globalisation' vs. 'globalization') or misprints, likewise, result in different numbers of unique words. Similarly, homographs are considered to be one and the same unique word, although their meaning or word class may differ. Capitalisation can, however, be ignored, in that capitalised words are not listed separately if the word appears both with and without a capital in the corpus.

The word-listing feature available in most monolingual concordancers was very helpful in balancing out the subcorpora with regard to size. Not only the total number of running words in a text are counted, but also the number of unique words. All unique words can be listed in their order of frequency and the number of times each of those words occurred in a text is displayed. If desirable, the word list can also be ordered alphabetically. Laurence Anthony's AntConc 3.3.5w (Anthony 2012) stand-alone monolingual concordance software was used to calculate the number of word tokens and word types in all of the corpora. This calculation made it possible to gauge the relative size of each subcorpus. Within seconds, AntConc generates a word list containing all of the word types that occur in the subtitle corpus (cf. Figure 9. AntConc word list of interlingual subtitles). The number of times these words occur within the corpus or subcorpus is indicated under 'freq'. In the first instance, this word listing tool in the concordancer was used in an attempt to make a selection of the subtitled texts for the analysis, taking into consideration the number of word types. The available subtitles for the first period contained the least number of unique words. More subtitles could be obtained covering the two other periods.
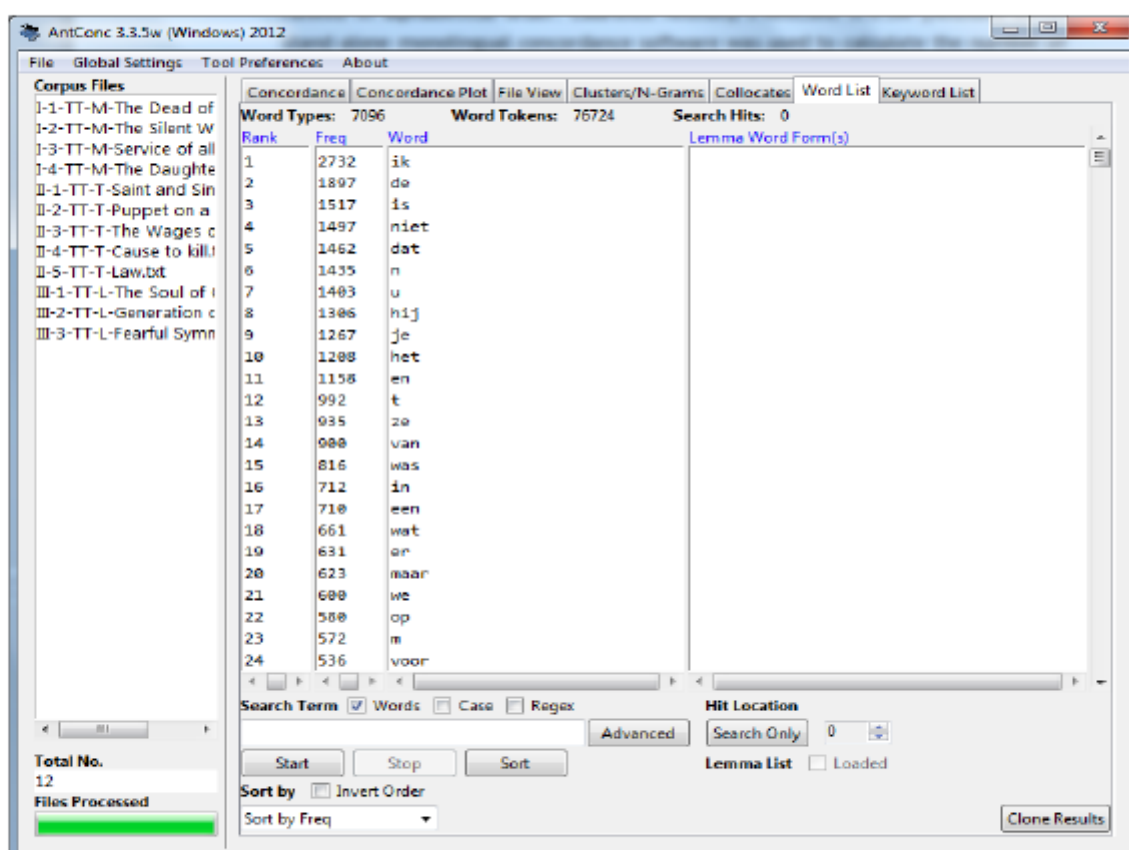
Figure 9: AntConc word list of interlingual subtitles

To ascertain that the selection of texts for this subtitle corpus would result in a large enough corpus, it was decided to use as many of the available subtitles for the Period I subcorpus as possible. The number of word types in this smallest subcorpus was used as a benchmark to balance out the other two corpora with regard to size. This meant that a selection of subtitles had to be made that corresponded to a subcorpus of approximately 3,400 word types. Such a selection was made using AntConc 3.3.5w (Anthony 2012): subcorpus 1 contains 3,449 word types, subcorpus 2 contains 3,394 word types and subcorpus 3 contains 3,490 word types. At a later stage, the same monolingual concordancer, AntConc (Anthony 2012), was used to look up the Belgian Dutch words and phrases in the analysis (cf. 5.2. Procedure for the analysis).

5.1.1.2. Encoding the corpus

5.1.1.2.1. Codes for each different episode

Relevant information about the texts, i.e. the metatext (source, contents, authors, etc.) used in the subtitle corpora were not encoded within the .txt files, but simply in the file names. This is why for every episode a separate plain text file was created. The file names contain all information relevant to this analysis. Firstly, capital roman numerals indicate the subcorpus to which the text file belongs: I

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(Period I: 1995-1996), II (Period II: 2004-2006), III (Period III: 2011-2012). Secondly, the episodes within a subcorpus are chronologically numbered with the episodes that were broadcast first (the oldest episodes) coming first. Thirdly, TT is used to indicate if the text file contains the target text (TT). Finally, the name of the series 'M' (Inspector Morse), 'T' (Taggart), 'L' (Lewis) and the title of the episodes are included in the last part of the file name.

> e.g. "I-1-TT-M-The Dead of Jericho.txt" is a text file taken from subcorpus 1 (covering Period I: 1995-1996), containing the subtitles or the target text of the first episode in that corpus, namely *The Dead of Jericho* from the Inspector Morse TV series.

This information is important and putting it in the file names facilitates tracing back the concordance lines to the exact episode from which they were taken in AntConc. The file names are displayed in the right hand column under "File" (cf. <u>Figure 10</u>) in AntConc. By way of example, in <u>Figure 10</u>, AntConc retrieved the search item 'rechter' [judge; right-hand] and lists all ten times this word occurred in the target text. The 12 plain text files loaded in AntConc correspond to all 12 episodes used (see left-hand column under 'Corpus files' and 'Total No.'):
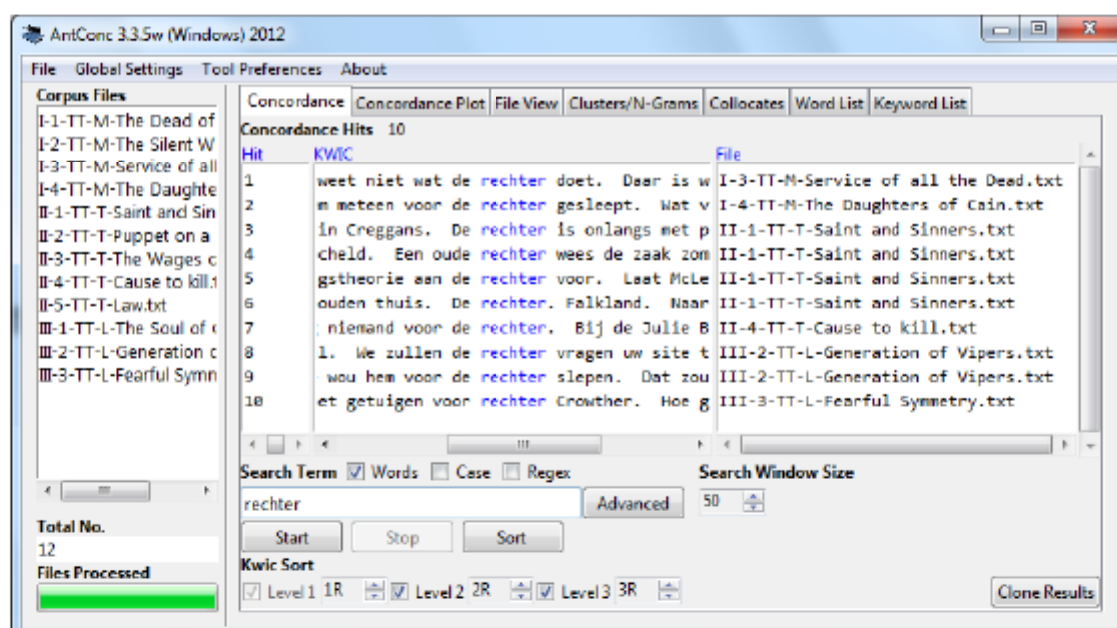

Figure 10: AntConc search 'rechter'

In the middle, all concordance lines in which the search item occurred are listed and in the right-hand column, the file names indicate from which subcorpus and episode the corresponding concordance lines were taken. Those reveal that only two concordance lines were taken from Period I, five from Period II, and three from Period III.

5.1.1.2.2.   Encoding non-standard pronunciation

Typically, spoken corpora containing transcriptions of spoken language also include detailed extra-textual and prosodic information about intonation, pauses, hesitation, background noises, laughter, etc. Although part of the main subtitle corpus consists of transcriptions of spoken dialogues in the source text, this source text was not treated as a typical spoken corpus, which would have to contain the above detailed information. The interlingual subtitle corpus is a parallel audiovisual translation corpus, in which not only the aural source text, but also the accompanying images constitute the source text. The main focus of attention in this research is the vocabulary used in the subtitled target text, nonetheless, the source text and images also had to be consulted in the analysis.

Detailed information about the aural source text was not encoded in the transcripts. This does not mean, however, that some of this information is not conveyed in the corpus files. Non-standard pronunciation, for example, is simply rendered in the spelling. By way of example, contractions heard in the English-language episodes like 'gonna', 'wanna', 'dunno' are, for this reason, spelled in this unconventional way in the transcripts. Likewise, when 'my' is pronounced as 'me', this was spelled in this way: e.g. [001148] "Well, I've been asking meself" in Inspector Morse *The Dead of Jericho* (ITV 1987)). In the Taggart episodes, features of Scots appear in the English-language source text and these are also rendered in the transcription (e.g. "[012210] Oh it doesnae matter. Eh, that's how it's gonna be, I've decided." in *Law* (SMG 2006)). Similarly, all interjections (e.g. 'er', 'uhm', 'eh', 'oi') and laughter ('ha-ha') were conveyed in the source-text transcripts. Such features of spoken language can be indicators of a shift in register or the use of a different dialect or sociolect in the source text that, in turn, could inform translation decisions with regard to lexical choice.

5.1.1.2.3.   Codes for the alignment of parallel corpus

No codes or annotations whatsoever were used in any of the corpora built for the sake of this analysis, except in the parallel interlingual subtitle corpus. Here very basic codes were added during the transcription process that facilitated the alignment of the source text with the target text in Laurence Anthony's AntPConc 1.0.2 (Anthony 2013). This was a technique to enable the software to align source-text units with the corresponding target-text units automatically. Numbers were added between square brackets. These numbers run from line [000001] in the first episode in the Period I to the last line in the last episode of Period III, line number

[17595]. Parts of the source text that were not subtitled were numbered as well (cf. Figure 11. Source and target text in Microsoft Notepad). The first episode, Inspector Morse *The Dead of Jericho* (ITV 1987), for instance, opens with a choir singing C.H.H. Parry's "My Soul, there is a Country", but the singing was not subtitled.
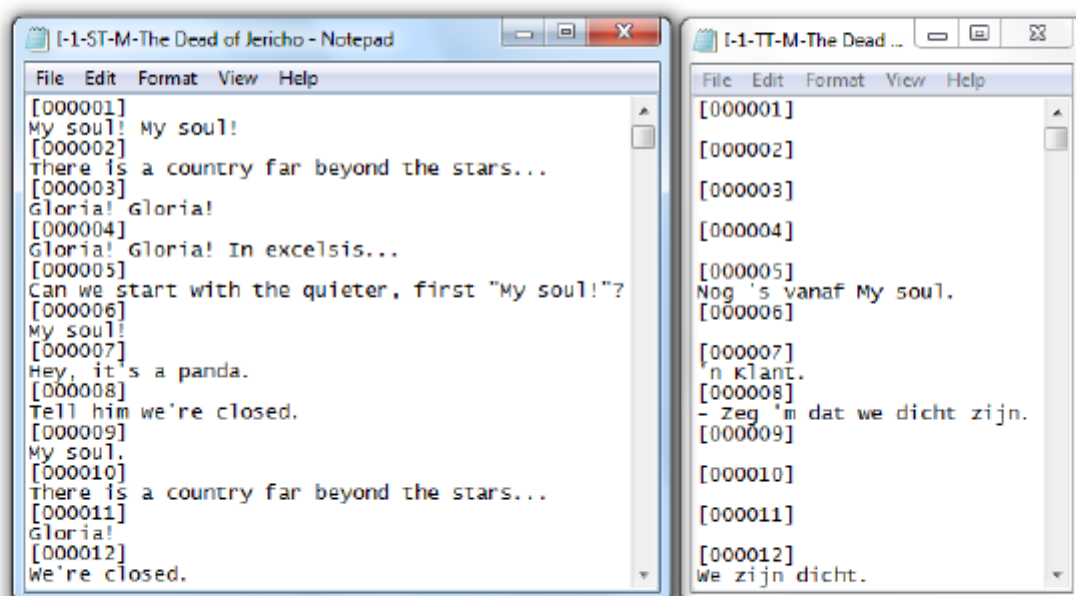

Figure 11: Source and target text in Microsoft Notepad

As Figure 11 shows, the song lyrics ("My soul!" etc.) in the text file on the left-hand side (I-1-ST-M-The Dead of Jericho) were not subtitled and, thus, remain blank in the text file to the right (I-1-TT-M- The Dead of Jericho).

Kenny (2013, p.3334) suggests that translation corpora should – if at all possible – be aligned at sentence level as this enables bilingual concordance searches (cf. 5.2. Procedure for the analysis). This parallel corpus is, however, quite different from general translation corpora that only deal with written language. In the case of parallel audiovisual corpora, the source text is multimodal in that it consists of spoken dialogues, soundtrack, and accompanying moving images, whereas the target text is unimodal – written – language. The simultaneously operating visual, aural, and the verbal/linguistic channels allow information that is already made sufficiently explicit through these channels to remain implicit in audiovisual translations. Even though the spoken text is transcribed and only these text files with the written transcription – that is, without specific additional information about the soundtrack and the images – were loaded into the corpus software, this shift from the spoken mode to the written mode still affects the alignment of this parallel translation corpus. The transcripts of the spoken texts contain around 1.5 times more words than the corresponding subtitled target text. The source-text transcriptions of all four Inspector Morse episodes in Period I, for example, consist of 41,970 running

words, while the target-text subtitles only contain 27,006 words. The reason for this is that translators cannot accommodate all that is actually said in the two lines available to them in a subtitle. As a result, aligning the target text with the source text was not at all straightforward.

Because of the constraints typically associated with subtitling (e.g. Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007; O'Connell 1998), it is often the case that not all source-text information is rendered in the subtitle. The subtitler frequently summarises parts of the dialogues only capturing the main gist of what is said, e.g. in the following extract (cf. <u>Figure 12</u>) lines [000590] and [000592] are translated quite literally, but the very long source-text line in [000591] is condensed in "de zwangerschap roept vragen op" [the pregnancy raises questions]:

[000590] Not at present, sir, but	[000590] Op dit ogenblik niet. Maar
[000591] the pathologist's information about Miss Staveley's pregnancy, which was only with us yesterday, does raise certain questions	[000591] de zwangerschap roept vragen op
[000592] which I can't at the moment provide answers to.	[000592] die ik nu nog niet kan beantwoorden.

Figure 12: Condensation in Inspector Morse *The Dead of Jericho* (ITV 1987)

Short phrases like greetings ('Hi', 'Good morning',...) expressions of agreement ('okay', 'right', 'yes',...) or disagreement and unbelief ('no', 'get out of here',...) in the source text are often left out in subtitles. In the next example (cf. <u>Figure 13</u>) taken from the same episode, a dialogue between Inspector Morse and Sergeant Lewis, for instance, is, strictly speaking, rendered as a monologue in the subtitles as none of Lewis's utterances (line [000985], [000988], and [000991] in the shaded boxes) are subtitled. Moreover, one of the subtitles here straddles several source-text units, which complicates the alignment of source and target text. "Die bon." [That parking ticket.] at the end of the subtitle line [000987] is a translation of "The parking ticket" at the beginning of source-text line [000989] (see arrow in <u>Figure 13. Extract parallel corpus taken from Inspector Morse *The Dead of Jericho* (ITV 1987)</u>). The above shows that there is rarely a sentence-to-sentence correspondence between source and target text in this parallel audiovisual corpus.

[000983]	[000983]
And I want the fingerprint	En ik wil 't rapport over de vinger-
[000984]	[000984]
reports from Jackson's house. I like full reports, Lewis. I like everything written down.	afdrukken bij Jackson. Op papier.
[000985]	[000985]
- Right.	
[000986]	[000986]
Right. What about the business of the parking ticket?	En hoe zit 't met die parkeerbon ?
[000987]	[000987]
Have you followed that up?	Heb je dat al uitgezocht ? Die bon.
[000988]	[000988]
- How do you mean?	
[000989]	[000989]
The parking ticket. Richards' car was parked in Jericho	Richards' auto stond in Jericho
[000990]	[000990]
on the day Anne Staveley died.	toen Anne Staveley stierf.
[000991]	[000991]
- You didn't tell me.	

Figure 13: Extract parallel corpus taken from Inspector Morse *The Dead of Jericho* (ITV 1987)

Another problem is that if the alignment were done at the sentence level the original structure of the subtitles would have to be ignored.

[000982]	[000982]
And I want the fingerprint reports from Jackson's house.	En ik wil 't rapport over de vinger-afdrukken bij Jackson.
[000983]	[000983]
I like full reports, Lewis.	
[000984]	[000984]
I like everything written down.	Op papier.
[000985]	[000985]
- Right.	
[000986]	[000986]
Right.	
[000987]	[000987]
What about the business of the parking ticket?	En hoe zit 't met die parkeerbon ?
[000988]	[000988]
Have you followed that up?	Heb je dat al uitgezocht ?
[000989]	[000989]
- How do you mean?	
[000989]	[000989]
The parking ticket.	Die bon.
[000990]	[000990]
Richards' car was parked in Jericho on the day Anne Staveley died.	Richards' auto stond in Jericho toen Anne Staveley stierf.

Figure 14: Alignment at sentence level Inspector Morse The Dead of Jericho (ITV 1987)

To illustrate this, the above fragment was aligned at sentence level in Figure 14. Respecting the integrity of the original subtitle lines is important in this corpus, as

translation choices in audiovisual translation can be motivated by the spatial and temporal constraints this particular text type has to overcome. This may imply, for example, that sometimes a shorter word or phrase will have to be used. This is why the alignment was done at subtitle line level.

The entire source text containing the transcripts of all the episodes was copied into a single plain text file (UTF-8) and so was the entire target text with all the subtitles. The two files were loaded into AntPconc 1.0.2. Unlike Anthony's monolingual concordancer AntConc (Anthony 2012), his bilingual concordancer, regrettably, does not display the source file names next to the concordance lines. For this reason, no individual .txt files containing all the information about each episode in the file names were created. As the episodes a given concordance line was taken from were not displayed in AntPConc 1.0.2 (Anthony 2013), the numbers between square brackets were also used to retrace the source of the concordances.

- Line numbers [000001] to [006340] correspond to episodes from Period I:

     1. [000001]-[001567] Inspector Morse - The Dead of Jericho
     2. [001568]-[003007] Inspector Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn
     3. [003008]-[004454] Inspector Morse - Service of all the Dead
     4. [004455]-[006340] Inspector Morse - Daughters of Cain

- Line numbers [006341] to [012753] correspond to episodes from Period II:

     5. [006341]-[007672] Taggart - Saints and Sinners
     6. [007673]-[009062] Taggart - Puppet on a String
     7. [009063]-[010396] Taggart - The Wages of Sin
     8. [010397]-[011518] Taggart - Cause to Kill
     9. [011519]-[012753] Taggart - Law

- Line numbers [012754] to [017595] correspond to episodes from Period III:

     10. [012754]-[014289] Inspector Lewis - The Soul of Genius
     11. [014290]-[016147] Inspector Lewis - Generation of Vipers
     12. [016148]-[017595] Inspector Lewis - Fearful Symmetry

By way of illustration, the same search item 'rechter' [judge; right-hand] that was used in the monolingual concordancer, AntConc (Anthony 2012), (cf. Figure 10. AntConc search 'rechter') and resulted in ten hits, was looked up in the target text using the parallel concordancer, AntPConc. Just like the monolingual concordancer, the parallel concordancer generates a list of concordances containing the search item under 'KWIC' (cf. Figure 15). Additionally, it automatically displays the corresponding source-text lines with the line number between square brackets under 'Reference' (cf. Figure 15). The number between square brackets then has to be used to check which episode a given line was taken from by using the above list. Accordingly, in the case of the first concordance [010491], this concordance was

taken from Taggart *Cause to Kill* (SMG 2006), which covers line numbers [010397]-[011518].
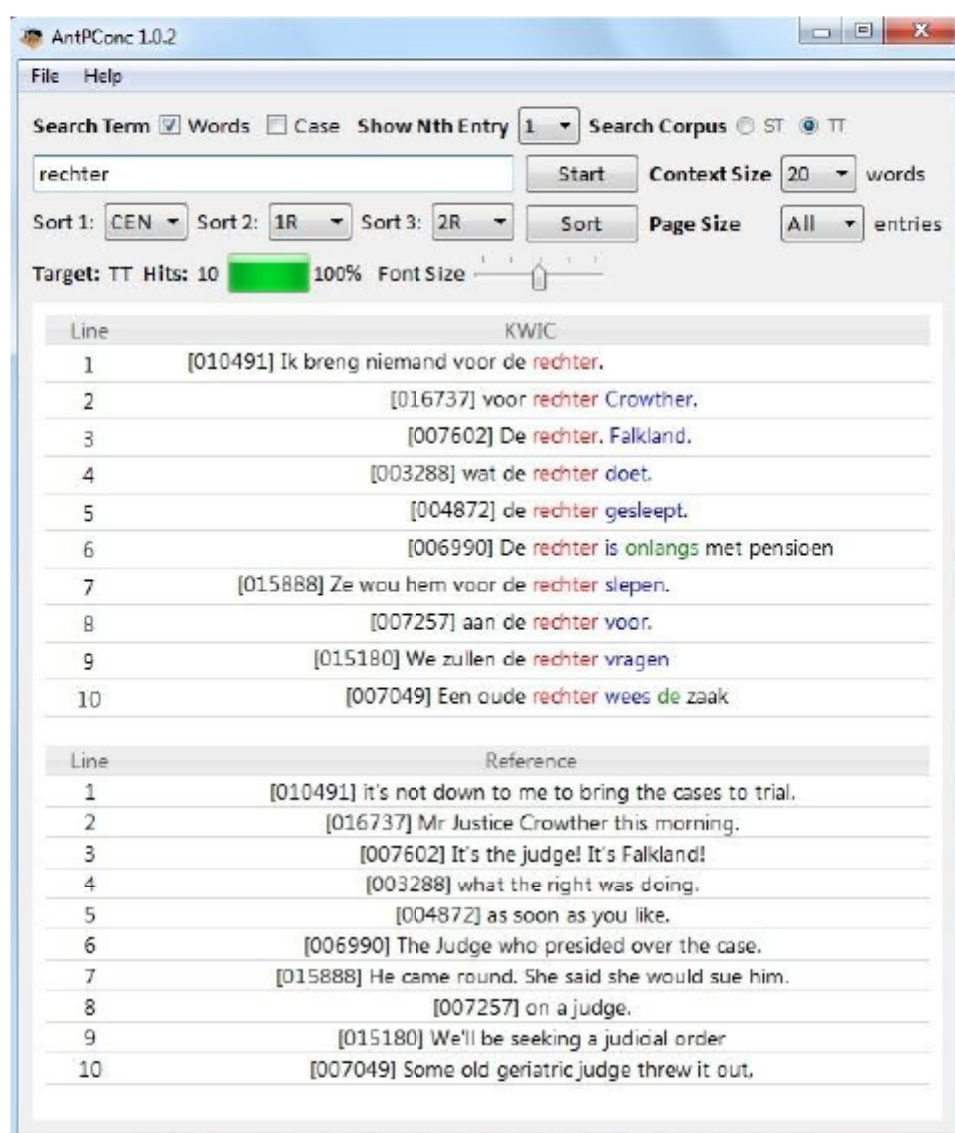

Figure 15: AntPConc search 'rechter'

5.1.2. The crime-fiction corpus

It was not until ten years after the recognition of Dutch as a pluricentric language that dictionaries started to describe the Dutch language in a neutral fashion. In 2009, the first dictionary was published in which the bicentric approach was adopted: *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin and Smedts 2009). In this dictionary, both Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch words and phrases are labelled. Previously, only Belgian Dutch lexis was labelled as such implying that Netherlandic Dutch, in reality, was still considered the standard and Belgian Dutch, therefore, a deviation from this standard, rather than a national variety with equal status. As explained in 2.5. Dutch lexicography, the most recent printed version of the authoritative Van Dale

dictionary, which was published in 2005, does not contain labels for Netherlandic Dutch variants. The Van Dale dictionary lexicographers promised to change this in the next printed edition due in 2015 and already have started labelling some variants in its online dictionary edition, which is updated twice a year (cf. 2.5. Dutch lexicography).

In any case, only marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases could be identified in the most recent printed edition of this reference work. In order not to depend solely on a researcher's (subjective) linguistic intuition about Netherlandic Dutch, it was decided to resort to large Dutch-language corpora as an objective frame of reference. In this way, hypotheses about whether or not a given word or phrase is more common in the Netherlands could be verified or rejected based on the "evidence provided by the corpus" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001, p.84). The corpora give some indication of the vocabulary used in writings from Belgium and the Netherlands, which words and phrases are used on both sides of the state borders, and which words and phrases are significantly more often used on one side of the border.

Put simply, if a given word or phrase occurs frequently in Netherlandic Dutch texts, but never or hardly ever in the Belgian Dutch texts, this could be a reason to consider the word or phrase in question Netherlandic Dutch. Consequently, it was decided that the frequency of occurrence of lexical variants found in the subtitles had to be tested in actual language output originating from both countries. The use of a large corpus of contemporary Dutch with a Belgian and a Netherlandic Dutch subset would enable this. To that end, the *500-Million-Word Reference Corpus of Contemporary written Dutch* (Oostdijk et al. 2013), SoNaR, and *NL CriFi 1999-2013* were used. The latter corpus had to be compiled from scratch. This process is described in the next section.

5.1.2.1. Data capture

As indicated above, the novels that were used to build a reference corpus of Dutch-language written crime fiction, *NL CriFi 1999-2013*, were obtained in digital format (.pdf). Some of them had to be purchased as eBooks. In any case, all these files had to be converted to compatible plain text files. The .pdf files were the *born-digital* pdf files used by the printer (cf. Figure 16).

stoten. Daarom heeft hij bij een aantal collega's lang kre-
diet gekregen. Omdat ze medelijden met hem hadden.'
'Heeft hij zich daarvoor laten behandelen?'
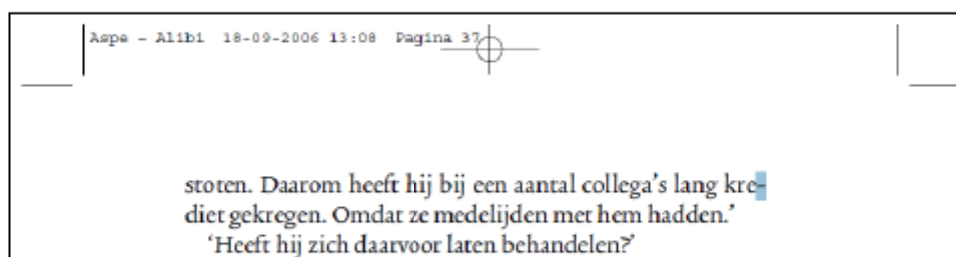
Figure 16: Born-digital pdf file with highlighted hyphen

This meant that none of the books had to be scanned and none of the optical character recognition (OCR) problems encountered at the data capture stage of the intralingual subtitle corpus had to be overcome here. Kovid Goyal's Calibre (1.13) eBook management software was used to convert these files to UTF-8 encoded plain text files. The conversion process was, therefore, unproblematic; all the same, the output files had to be proofed for errors before they could be added to the corpus. For one thing, all superfluous text that was not part of the main body of text of the books had to be omitted. For another, hyphenation had to be removed in words that were split at syllable boundaries at the end of a line (e.g. see 'kre-' in <u>Figure 16. Born-digital pdf file with highlighted hyphen</u> above), so that the original form of these words was restored. The reasons for this were explained above when the data capture process of the subtitled texts was described.

NL CriFi 1999-2013 consists of nine subcorpora all of which had to be balanced out in terms of size just like the parallel subtitle corpus. All subcorpora preferably had to have the same 'size' and here too the number of unique words (word types) in each subcorpus was used as a benchmark for the size of the subcorpora. This implies that all extraneous material in the books that would unnecessarily increase the number of word types had to be excluded. Therefore, the blurb, the publisher's imprint, table of contents, the author's biography, summaries of other books by the same author, etc. were omitted from all text files. Only the main body of text in the novels was kept. All paratext was removed. Likewise, even isolated quotations at the start of a book were omitted, as those are not written by the authors and often are in a language other than Dutch. For the same reason, dedications and acknowledgements were deleted, as those often result in lists of proper names unnecessarily increasing the number of unique words. The author's note, if applicable, was not removed. The *born-digital* pdf files obtained from the publishing houses also contained headers and footers with the title of the book a date and page number that was displayed on every single page of the file (e.g. "Aspe - Alibi 18-09-2006 13:08 Pagina 37" at the top of the page in <u>Figure 16. Born-digital pdf file with highlighted hyphen</u>). All of these were removed by using the *find-and-replace* feature

in the word processor, which also enables searches for "any digit" and other more complex wildcard searches.

5.1.2.2. Encoding the corpus

Like the subtitle corpora, the Dutch crime-fiction corpus is a raw corpus that was not encoded. *NL CriFi 1999-2013* was used only as a reference corpus of crime fiction in which a limited number of words and phrases that occurred in the subtitle corpora had to be looked up. For this reason, it remained a raw plain text corpus and did not undergo systematic mark-up or annotation. Information about each individual book, however, was saved in the file name and all 81 books were saved in separate .txt files, as was done in the subtitle corpora. The first part of the file name indicates the period in which the book was published: "P1" being 1999 to 2005, "P2" 2006 to 2009, and "P3" 2010 to 2013. Then the two following letters indicate if the book was written by Belgian authors (BN), Dutch authors (NN) or translated from English (E-N). The last part of the file name contains the surname of the writer, the title of the book and the year in which it was first published. The file names used for translated books additionally contain the name of the translator, e.g.:

> "P1 - E-N - McDermid - De Terechtstelling - 2000 - Sophie Brinkman" contains the main body of text of book *De Terechtstelling* by Val McDermid translated by Sophie Brinkman and first published in 2000. This book is part of the "Period I" subcorpus of translated books.

Figure 17 shows how these file names help to identify the book in which a given word or phrase was found. By way of example, the colloquial Belgian Dutch search item 'goesting' [liking, appetite, desire] was looked up. The word occurred eight times in the entire crime-fiction corpus. The screenshot in Figure 17. Search item 'goesting' shows the eight concordance lines in which the word 'goesting' occurred. The column to the right of the concordance lines discloses the file names mentioning the fiction titles from which those concordance lines were taken. Thus, the screenshot reveals that the word 'goesting' was used only in Period II and Period III of the Belgian subcorpus and by one and the same Belgian author Luc Deflo in four different books (*Pitbull* (2008), *Spoorloos* (2007), *Enigma* (2012), and *Losers* (2012)).
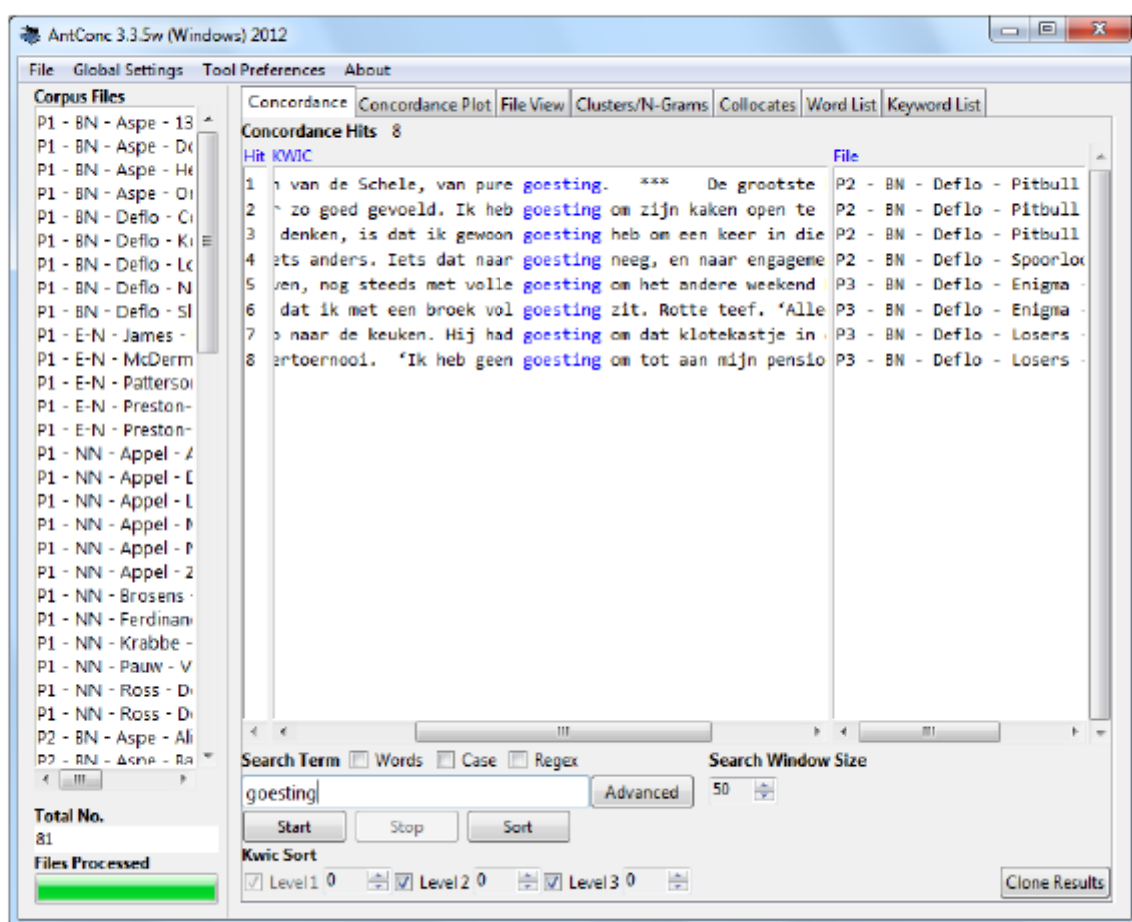
Figure 17: Search item 'goesting'

5.1.2.3. The non-Belgian Dutch subcorpora

Since a lot of published fiction in the Dutch language area is translated fiction and most of it from English,[73] a third subset was added to the Dutch-language crime-fiction corpus. This subset comprises translated crime fiction from English into Dutch. This additional subcorpus helped to increase the overall size of the corpus, but also allowed the corpus to be more representative of Dutch-language crime fiction. Admittedly, including translations from other languages – Scandinavian languages in particular – would make the crime-fiction corpus more fully representative of the Dutch-language crime-fiction output. Only the language pair English-Dutch was used as this is the language pair used in the interlingual subtitle corpus.

The assumption was that, with regard to the use of Belgian Dutch (crime-fiction) vocabulary, both the Netherlandic, and the translated crime-fiction subsets would be similar in that they would not contain as many marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases, if any, as the Belgian Dutch subset. In order to compare both

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[73] In 2005, 76% of the published translations were translated from English (de Haan and Hofstede 2008, p.45)

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subcorpora quickly at the lexical level, a simple statistical test was run. An automated keywords analysis was conducted in Wordsmith 5.0.0.213 (Scott 2012) using its default settings.[74] A keyword analysis aims to unveil linguistic features in a corpus that clearly distinguish a given subset from another subset, in this case, the Belgian subset from the two other subsets. Paul Baker points out that keyword lists are a "useful way of highlighting lexical *saliency*" (Baker 2010, p.26). A keyword is defined as:

> A word which appears in a text or corpus statistically significantly more frequently than would be expected by chance when compared to a corpus which is larger or of equal size. (Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006, p.97)

Therefore, 500-word keyword lists were generated in WordSmith Tools 5.0.0.213, in order to determine which words occur significantly more often in the Belgian subset compared to the two other subsets. Words occurring statistically more often in a subset are then identified as 'key' and ordered according to their keyness score. The word list of the Belgian Dutch crime-fiction subset was, in the first instance, compared with the word list of Netherlandic Dutch crime-fiction subset, and, in the second instance, with the word list of the translated crime fiction. If the latter two subsets indeed contain hardly any Belgian Dutch vocabulary, it was very likely that the generated keywords lists would contain Belgian Dutch words.

All subcorpora in *NL CriFi 1999-2013* are genre-specific and, therefore, are expected to draw on similar crime-fiction lexis. The main difference between the subsets is the country of origin. This could be reflected in the generated keyword lists if natiolectisms occur in those lists. Since many of the keywords extracted from fiction corpora are often proper names, it comes as no surprise that more than half of the keywords in each list are (Belgian) place names and names of characters. Nonetheless, in the rest of the keyword lists, 50 keywords were found that could be said to be common in crime-fiction vocabulary. These are listed in 9.5. Appendix E: Keyword lists. Both keyword lists share 28 of those 50 words and almost half of those are marked Belgian Dutch. These items, thus, occurred significantly more often in the Belgian subset. Interestingly, in 13 cases the ranking of these keywords was similar in both lists (see shaded boxes in 9.5. Appendix E: Keyword lists). This means that they have the same degree of keyness in both keyword lists since keywords are ranked according to their keyness score. The Belgian Dutch word 'onderzoeksrechter' [± examining magistrate], for instance, appears in the 29th position and has a keyness score of 674.57 on the list generated for the Netherlandic Dutch subcorpus and in the 30th position (with a keyness score of 611.74) on the list generated for the translated

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[74] log-likelihood test, max wanted=500, min frequency=3, max p value=0.000001

crime-fiction corpus. This Belgian Dutch word, therefore, occurs with an unusually high frequency in the Belgian Dutch subcorpus compared to both other subcorpora.

The above gives at least some indication of the lexis used in the Netherlandic and the translated crime-fiction subset. It seems to confirm the original assumption that both subcorpora contain hardly any – if any – Belgian Dutch. The question now was: Does the translated subcorpus contain Netherlandic Dutch? A quick way to find out was to carry out a few search queries for words and phrases that can be considered well-known shibboleths of Netherlandic Dutch, such as the above-mentioned 'sodemieter' and 'tering', an obsolete medical term for a type of tuberculosis. In the Netherlands, 'tering' is often used in curses and swearwords that are not normally used in Belgium. The curse 'krijg de tering' [lit. I hope you contract consumption] and swearwords derived from the noun 'tering' were looked up in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*. The result was that the word 'tering' does not occur even once in the Belgian subset, but appears 62 times in the translated subset and ten times in the Netherlandic Dutch subset.
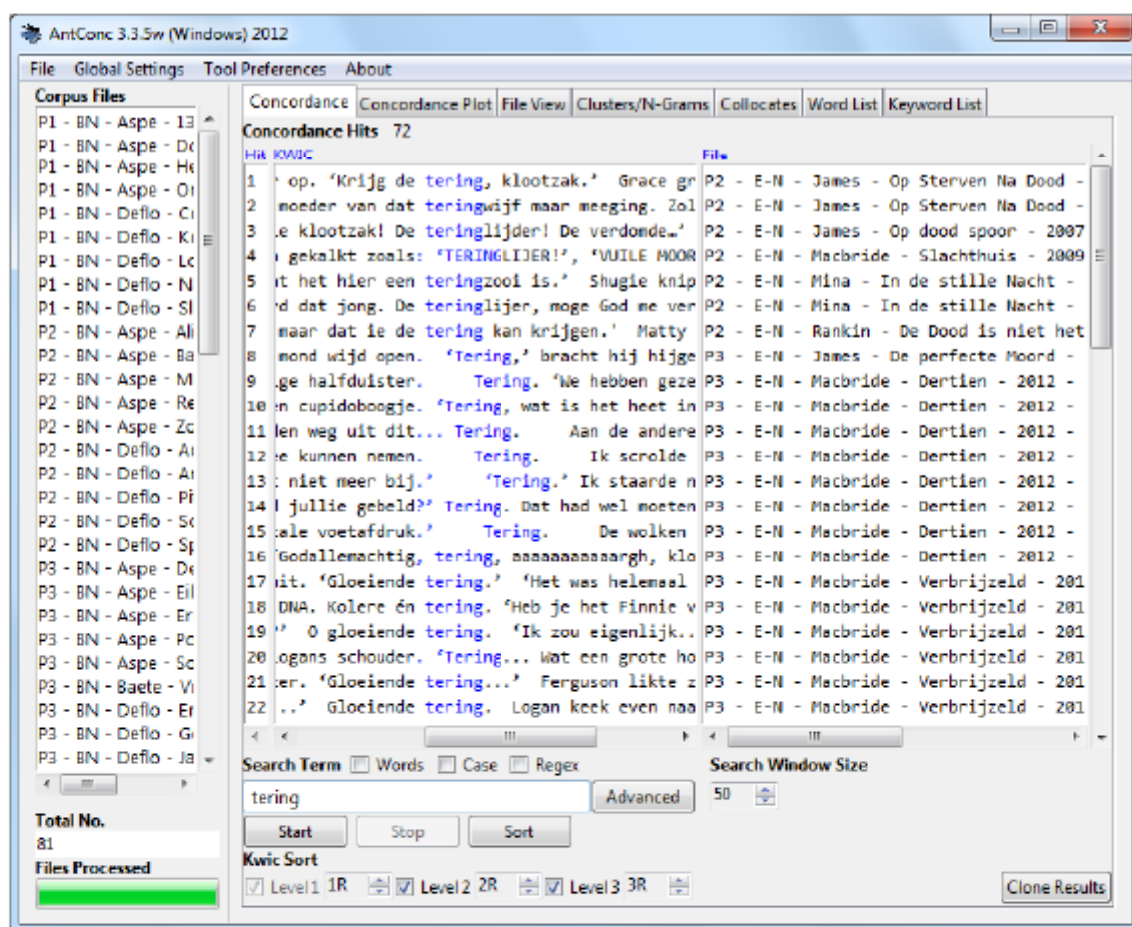
Figure 18: Search item '＿tering'

Figure 18. Search item '＿tering' shows that there were 72 concordance hits in total. Scrolling down the concordance lines reveals that 'tering' and its compounds

occurred in all three periods. It was used only in novels by Dutch authors and in the translated novels. Taking a closer look at the file names in the right-hand column, it becomes clear that, in 53 of those 72 concordance lines, 'tering' was taken from two translations of Stuart MacBride novels. The translators, thus, used 'tering' to translate English curses (e.g. 'fuck', 'fucking') that occur in these novels. Interestingly, the swearword 'fuck' (also spelled 'fok') and all its derivatives are also commonly used in original Dutch texts. More than 300 concordances were returned in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*, but it was used only six times in the translations none of which was a MacBride translation.

Both tests seem to confirm the original assumption that the Netherlandic Dutch standard is upheld in translated crime fiction. This is why it was decided to combine the frequencies tallied in the Netherlandic Dutch and the translated crime-fiction subsets (both subsets comprise 4,313,252 word tokens and the average is 2,156,626). Subsequently, the average of the overall frequency was compared to the frequency measured in the Belgian Dutch subset (comprising 2,199,572 word tokens). This results in the case of 'tering' in:

$$BD=0 \text{ hits, } ND=10 \text{ hits, } E\text{-}D=62 \text{ hits}$$
$$(ND+E\text{-}D)/2$$
$$(72/2)=36$$

Curses and swearwords based on the word 'tering' are, as a result, used significantly more often in the translated and Netherlandic Dutch subset, namely 36 times compared to 0 times in the Belgian subset. The log-likelihood score is 59,34 or more than 6.63 which means that the there is only 1% chance that the difference between both frequencies is due to coincidence. Thus, the crime-fiction corpus confirms that this word is more common in the Netherlandic Dutch texts and, as a result, could be considered Netherlandic Dutch. The word 'tering' is also labelled 'Netherlandic Dutch' in *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014).

5.2. Procedure for the analysis

5.2.1. Subtitle analysis

The aim of the interlingual subtitle analysis is, first of all, to identify the presence of marked Belgian lexis, then to count all retrieved items throughout the entire corpus, and to study the distribution of these items across all three subcorpora. Secondly, an attempt had to be made to identify instances of Netherlandic Dutch as well. If subtitlers were deliberately to avoid using Belgian Dutch, they might have to resort to a word or phrase that is not common in Belgium and more common in the Netherlands. The interlingual subtitles, as a result, also had to be searched for such words and phrases. Regional and geographical markedness can occur at several levels, pronunciation, spelling, lexicon, morphology and syntax. The Belgian variety of Dutch differs from the Netherlandic variety particularly in pronunciation and word choice. In writing, the lexical differences can identify a given text as having a Belgian or Dutch origin. Vocabulary is, therefore, the most straightforward way to identify geographic markedness in written texts.

Most of the words and phrases investigated are not function (or grammatical) words, but content words. Function words have little lexical meaning and occur much more frequently than content words. The word frequency list generated from *NL CriFi 1999-2013*, for example, reveals that the first 60 most frequently occurring items are mainly function words. By way of comparison, the first content word, 'zei' [said], to occur in the word frequency list ranks 33th and occurs 24,605 times in the entire corpus. The first noun, 'man' [man], ranks 66th position in 10,182 times, whereas the function word, 'de' [the], ranks first and occurs 270,426 times in the entire corpus. The lexical differences between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch mostly relate to these less frequently used content words. This means that, what corpus linguists refer to as a low-frequency phenomenon is analysed in the present research. The best way to go about processing the results of such an investigation into a low-frequency phenomenon appeared to be to count absolute frequencies of only the attested items in each subcorpus and to directly compare those frequencies to one another. This was possible in *NL CriFi 1999-2013* as every subcorpus had more or less the same size. In SoNaR, this was not possible, as explained in the previous chapter. In the following subsections, the procedure for the analysis is explained.

5.2.1.1. RBBN reference file

During the transcription process of the English-language source text, which co-occurred with the alignment of source and target text, the subtitles were analysed with the audiovisual source text. Afterwards, the aligned corpus was scrutinised without the images. In this way, the subtitles could be scanned 'manually' for Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch lexical items. Computer techniques, however, were also deployed to scan the corpus more rapidly and more reliably. In the first part of the analysis, marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases had to be identified in the subtitles. To this end, an official list of Belgian Dutch words and phrases was used. The entire subtitle corpus was scanned for all approximately 4,000 items on this list. In the late 1990s, the *Commissie voor Lexicografische Vertaalvoorzieningen* [Commission for Lexicographic Translation Services] (CLVV) and the *Nederlandse Taalunie* [Dutch Language Union] commissioned the creation of a database of the Dutch language, *ReferentieBestand Nederlands* (RBN). This was to help lexicographers with the compilation of bilingual dictionaries. The lexicologist Willy Martin, who was at the time involved in this project immediately put forward the case for an additional Belgian Dutch database without which he believed the whole of the Dutch language could not to be described adequately. This was how the database, *ReferentieBestand Belgisch-Nederlands 1.0* [lit. reference file of Belgian Dutch] (TST Centrale 2005) (henceforth RBBN list), a list of *Belgicisms*, or Belgian Dutch *natiolectisms* (Martin 2001) came into being. It contains 3,987 words and phrases and was first published in 1999 and later updated between 2004 and 2005.

The RBBN list was obtained from the Dutch Language Union's *TST-Centrale* for the purpose of this analysis. It enabled a systematic search of the same set of Belgian Dutch natiolectisms in the different subcorpora. If RBBN items were found in subtitles that were created after 2005, the *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014) was used to verify if those RBBN items could still be considered Belgian Dutch. This dictionary was hence used as an update of the RBBN list, which was last updated in 2005. The lexicologists who helped create the RBBN list were also involved with the creation of *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin and Smedts 2009) and its latest 2014 edition (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014). The RBBN file is more than just a word list. The detailed database management system file that was obtained also contains extra columns with additional information such as the headword under which the natiolectism is subsumed (see "sorteerlemma" [lit. sorting lemmas] column in <u>Figure 19. RBBN list in Microsoft Access</u>), its word class, definition and the "M variant". The words and

phrases provided in this "M-variant" column are not always the marked Netherlandic Dutch counterpart, but general, unmarked words and phrases used in both the Netherlands and Belgium. This meant that these "M-variants", unfortunately, could not be used as a resource of Netherlandic Dutch. Only the Belgian Dutch words and phrases in the 'sorteerlemma' column were used to analyse the subtitle corpus.


Figure 19: RBBN list in Microsoft Access

Approximately 4,000 words and phrases had to be looked up in the corpus. Manually inserting at least 4,000 search items in AntConc to verify if they occur in the subtitle corpus was, of course, not feasible. The main worry was that a lot of time would be spent searching items that did not occur in the corpus in the first place. The RBBN list, therefore, had to be reduced to only those items that did occur in the corpus. Then concordances had to be generated for all the retrieved items. It was clear from the start that all those concordance lines would have to be manually scanned as AntConc would treat the search query as a string of characters and include homographs in the results as well. AntConc 3.3.5w (Anthony 2012) allows for advanced search queries enabling users to upload a .txt file with a long list of search items. It then searches the entire corpus simultaneously for all the words in that uploaded list. Concordance lines, subsequently, are generated for all the items that could be retrieved in the corpus. The result is a rather chaotic and very long list of concordances. These concordances, first, would have to be sorted and then sifted. This is why another technique was developed to facilitate this procedure. In the next

section, this technique of pinpointing geographically marked RBBN items in the subtitle corpus is described.

5.2.1.2. Pinpointing RBBN items

The subtitle corpus had to be searched for all 3,987 natiolectisms in the RBBN list. Allowing the computer to search systematically for all instances of the RBBN items that could be retrieved in the subtitle corpus, seemed to be the only way to make sure none of the items were overlooked. The following five steps were used to that end. Nonetheless, at a later stage normal hand-and-eye techniques were used as well.

STEP 1: creating a list of useful search items

The 'sorteerlemma' [lit. sorting lemmas] column in the RBBN file containing the lemmas under which each Belgian Dutch word or phrase is subsumed was used as a starting point. Halliday and Teubert (2004, p.6) describes a lemma as "the base form under which the word is entered and assigned its place: typically, the 'stem' or simplest form (singular noun, present/infinitive verb, etc.)". Such a lemma is, however, in some cases not the most efficient search item. Some of the words or phrases in the RBBN file, for instance, were subsumed under a lemma that would generate too many concordance lines, if the lemma were used as a search item. This in turn meant that all these concordance lines would have to be analysed afterwards. The list of generated concordance lines, therefore, had to be kept as short as possible containing preferably only relevant concordances. This is why the lemmas in the "sorteerlemma" column had to be edited and a new list of more efficient search items had to be created based on the "sorteerlemma" items.

By way of example, the Belgian Dutch phrase "trop is te veel" [≈enough is enough] is in the RBBN file subsumed under the lemma 'veel' [much, many]. If 'veel' is entered in AntConc it returns 280 concordance lines in both subtitle corpora in which 'veel' is used. Contrariwise, if 'trop' is entered, not a single concordance line is returned, as the word does not occur in any of the subtitles. Thus, since 'trop' could not be retrieved, of course, the phrase 'trop is te veel' does not occur in the corpora. In this case, it makes more sense to use the least common word in the phrase (i.e. 'trop'), rather than the much more common word 'veel', as a search item. By the same token, nouns that only occur in plural in a given natiolectism were put in the plural, as concordance lines with the noun in singular were not relevant to this search query (e.g. the lemma 'aangelegenheid' became 'aangelegenheden' as

the Belgian Dutch 'binnenlandse aangelegenheden' [internal affairs] never occurs in singular). Alternative spellings also had to be added to the list. Some RBBN items can be spelled differently, such as the verb 'sjotten' [to kick, play football], which is spelled 'shotten' in the RBBN file. The particle 'allez' [come on, please] can also be spelled 'allee'. The first spelling, 'allez', was only found in the 2004 subcorpus of intralingual subtitles and the second, 'allee', in the 2009 and 2013 subcorpora of intralingual subtitles. Finally, based on the original RBBN lemma list, a new single word list was compiled with more efficient search items. This list, henceforth, is called the "BN list".

STEP 2: separating verbs

Since it was not possible to carry out lemma searches in this analysis, verbs were challenging search items, as searching the infinitive form would not allow for all other inflected forms of the verbs to be retrieved. Therefore, they had to be looked up separately. To that end, all words in the BN list that were not verbs (i.e. nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc.) were cut and pasted into a separate text file. This meant that the BN list was subdivided into a "BN non-verb" and a "BN verb" list. The "BN non-verb" list contained the vast majority of items (some 3,000 of the approximately 4,000 items) in the entire RBBN list. All the items in the "BN non-verb" list were copied into the spreadsheet application Microsoft Excel (Office 2007), which allows for vast amounts of data to be processed. This list of non-verb items was then put into alphabetical order and highlighted in yellow.

STEP 3: putting all word lists together

All three subcorpora of the interlingual subtitle corpus (Period I, Period II, and Period III) were then one after the other loaded in AntConc and for each subcorpus a separate alphabetical word list of all unique words occurring in that subcorpus was generated. This resulted in three separate word lists. Each word list was given a different colour: the Period I words were put in red, the Period II words in green, and the Period III words in blue. These three word lists were copied into the spreadsheet already containing the "BN non-verb" list items highlighted in yellow. Then, the entire column (containing the "BN non-verb" list highlighted in yellow, and the three word lists in three different colours) was ranked in alphabetical order. The result was an alphabetical word list of some 15,000 words in four different colours (cf. Figure 20. Word list). The words preceding and following a line that is highlighted in yellow (containing a "BN non-verb list" RBBN item) were then checked to see if they contained a word or word form that corresponded to this yellow RBBN item. If this

	A
548	anderen
549	anderendaags
550	anderendaags
551	anderendaags
552	anderhalf
553	andermans
554	andermans
555	anders
556	anders
557	anders
558	andersom
559	angie
560	anglia
561	angst
562	angst
563	animatie
564	ankerman
565	anna
566	anne
567	annes
568	anoniem
569	anonieme
570	anonieme
571	anonieme
572	anorak
573	anorak

Figure 20: Word list

was the case, these lines were kept (e.g. line #549 and #550 in Figure 20. Word list correspond to the highlighted RBBN item 'anderendaags' in line #551). This meant that 'anderendaags' was found in two of the subcorpora (the font colour reveals they were found in Period II and III, more specifically). If however, the lines preceding and following the highlighted RBBN item did not contain the RBBN item, this meant that the RBBN item in question did not occur in any of the subcorpora. Then all the lines were deleted in the spreadsheet file until the next line was reached with a RBBN item that was found in the subtitle corpus. In Figure 20. Word list, for example, the RBBN items 'animatie' and 'ankerman' did not appear in the list and, therefore, not in the interlingual subtitle corpus. Consequently, all the words between the yellow highlighted line 'anderendaags' (#551) and line #572 'anorak' were deleted. These lines contained words that were not in the RBBN list and, hence, not relevant to the analysis. This procedure was repeated until the end of the excel file was reached. By doing so, the original colourful list of approximately 15,000 words could be reduced relatively quickly to approximately 2,000 words.

STEP 4: making a list of RBBN items that occur in the corpus

In this much shorter word list of approximately 2,000 words, the lines highlighted in yellow (containing the RBBN items), approximately 500 in total, were singled out via the "custom sort" command in Microsoft Excel. This list then contained all items from the BN non-verb list that were found in all three subcorpora – that is, the same strings of characters were found. Whether these words actually corresponded to the RBBN item in question still had to be established, as they could also be homographs. Anyhow, the list of 3,000 RBBN items was now reduced to roughly 500 words that definitely occurred in the corpus. This meant that approximately 2,500 RBBN items did not occur in any of the three subcorpora and, hence, no time had to be wasted looking up those items one by one in the monolingual concordancer.

The entire subtitle corpus was then searched for all those "BN non-verb" search items in AntConc. The subtitle corpus was loaded in AntConc and search queries were conducted. Afterwards, approximately 1,000 verbs of the "BN verb" list were looked up in AntConc. The verb root was used as a search item to retrieve all verb forms of the verb in question (as explained above, see <u>Figure 6. Search query for root 'sodemieter')</u> and in the case of irregular verbs several search queries were needed.

Subsequently, the immediate context of the search items was checked in the concordance lines generated for all retrieved search items. The concordance lines were analysed to derive the meaning of the word from the context. In this way, it could be verified if a given item really corresponded to the Belgian Dutch word and phrase taken from the RBBN list. Whenever a Belgian Dutch item was found after analysing the context, the sentence in which it occurred was copied and information about the episode in which the subtitled Belgian Dutch word or phrase occurred was recorded. The full list of all retrieved RBBN items is given in <u>9.4. Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora</u>. All these steps were taken to pinpoint marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases in the interlingual subtitle corpus. Subsequently, the same procedure was repeated for the intralingual subtitles. Additionally a close manual analysis was conducted to ascertain that RBBN items that were used in the second part of compounds were not overlooked.

5.2.1.3. Watching the episodes

Not only computational techniques were used to search thoroughly both interlingual and intralingual subtitle corpora for RBBN items. The subtitled text was also analysed using traditional hand-and-eye techniques. These revealed that in the intralingual subtitle corpus a few Belgian Dutch words were found that were not included in the RBBN file (e.g. 'combi' [police van], 'pee' [bloke]). However, these were not included in the frequency count as only RBBN items were used here. The hand-and-eye technique supplemented the above-described computational techniques. A drawback of using an alphabetically ordered word list to identify RBBN items in all subcorpora relates to compound nouns written as one word (e.g. 'politieman' [policeman]). RBBN items occurring in the second part of such a compound, of course, could not be retrieved in the alphabetical list at the glance of an eye. In the case of the RBBN item 'labo' [lab] which occurs 35 times in all three intralingual subtitle subcorpora, but in almost half of the cases in noun compounds, only the compounds that have this RBBN item in the first part of the compound (e.g.

'labomateriaal', 'labopak') could be spotted immediately in the alphabetical list under 'labo'. The compound 'drugslabo' [drug lab], however, could not be found under 'L' in this alphabetical list.

Therefore, thanks to the manual search a few additional marked Belgian Dutch natiolectisms – or more instances thereof – could be retrieved. A play on words could also be based on a Belgian Dutch word and would have to be included in the frequency count. In Lewis *Generation of Vipers* (ITV/Masterpiece 2012), for instance, 'bacon' is used to refer to the police. It is a play on words on 'pig', a derogatory term for a police officer. This term 'bacon' is translated with 'flikkers', which is actually a derogatory term for male homosexuals mainly used in the Netherlands. It is unlikely that it was used in this sense in this particular context and, probably, has to be understood as a play on the Belgian Dutch word 'flik' [copper]:

> ST #[014713]: Don't often get the bacon knocking on my door.
> ST #[014714]: "Bacon." That's funny. And original.
>
> TT #[014713]: De flikkers komen hier niet vaak.
> TT #[014714]: - Flikkers? Leuk, origineel.

Likewise, an additional instance of 'flik' was found in the intralingual corpus in the episode Flikken *Een vrouwelijke kant I* (2009), that could not be retrieved by AntConc as the character, who uttered the word, did not finish it and only the first three letters of the word were rendered in the subtitle 'fli...' :

> Toen ik dat glas zag, heb ik direct de fli... politie gebeld.
> [As soon as I saw the glass, I called the co... the police.]

The character in question was talking to a police officer and quickly corrects himself, as it is not appropriate to refer to the police with this colloquial term in their presence.

Moreover, all episodes used for the interlingual and intralingual subtitle corpora were carefully watched so that potentially relevant, additional audiovisual data could be taken into account. Background information on who uttered a given word or phrase in what situation may be important. Unlike Sergeant Lewis, Inspector Morse, for example, is portrayed as a man of culture and education in the Inspector Morse series. As a result, there is a clear difference between the speech registers and vocabulary used by both characters. Morse also has the tendency to approach Lewis in a patronising way. The following example taken from *Service of all the dead* (Central Independent Television 1987) illustrates this:

> LEWIS: He puts that in the cup...
> MORSE: Chalice. The word is "chalice", Lewis.
> MORSE [mumbling to himself]: A poisoned chalice, indeed.
> LEWIS: What?

MORSE: Never mind.

While analysing the subtitles, questions such as the following had to be addressed: Are the speakers male or female? What is their regional and social background? Who are their interlocutors? In what sort of setting does the conversation take place? The answers to these questions may help disambiguate polysemous words and phrases used in the subtitles, as the example given in following paragraph demonstrates. Similarly, the answers to those questions may also have informed the register used in the subtitles. Dialect speakers may be subtitled differently from standard language speakers.

Occasionally, the concordance lines in which an RBBN item occurs do not in themselves suffice to reveal the exact meaning of the word in that context. In an episode of Flikken, *Uitweg II* (2009), the phrasal verb 'lachen met', is used in a subtitle: "Ik denk niet dat ze daarmee lachen". Literally, this means, "I don't think that's what they're laughing at", but in its figurative sense it could mean, "it's no laughing matter" or "I think this is serious". According to the Van Dale dictionary the literal meaning of this phrasal verb is unmarked, general Dutch. In order to find out if it is used in this sense, the exact meaning of the phrasal verb in that context had to be established. However, the context given in the target text by the previous and following subtitles do not give enough information. The subtitles do not give information about who uttered the subtitled sentences and do not convey the aural information (people laughing) needed here. Likewise, the crucial visual information is lacking. This, of course, can remain implicit in the subtitles, as the viewer receives this information by watching the images and listening to the soundtrack.

It was only when watching the corresponding clip, in which laughter is heard and the character uttering the sentence "Ik denk niet dat ze daarmee lachen" is seen showing his phone revealing what caused the amusement that it became clear the phrasal verb was used in its literal sense:

Subtitle 1:
Je weet het van mijn banden? Is dat
grappig? Dat is geen accidentje, hè.

[Did you hear about my tyres? Is this supposed to be funny? That was not just an accident, you know.]

Subtitle 2:
Ze zijn kapot gestoken.
Weet je daar iets van?

[They have been stabbed. Do you know what happened?]

<u>Subtitle 3:</u>
Ik denk niet dat ze daarmee lachen.
- Venten…

[I don't think that's what they're laughing at]
or
[I think this is serious]
[- Blokes…]

English back translation of the spoken words with audiovisual information:

[SOUND and IMAGES: Two men receive a text message more or less at the same time. They look at their phones and burst out in laughter]

[Their female colleague – clearly upset - runs into the room. She addresses the men, who are still laughing]
[SPOKEN WORDS rendered in <u>subtitle 1</u>:]
Did you hear about my tyres? Is this supposed to be funny? This is serious, you know.

[SPOKEN WORDS rendered in <u>subtitle 2</u>, the same woman:]
Someone stabbed my tyres. Any idea who did this?

[SPOKEN WORDS rendered in the first line of <u>subtitle 3</u>, a third man addresses the woman:]
I don't think that's what they're laughing at.

[IMAGES: Third man shows the woman a picture on his phone, the camera zooms in on the screen of his phone and reveals the picture of a woman's backside]

[SPOKEN WORDS rendered in the second line of subtitle 3, the woman's response:]
Ah men…

In this case, the previous and following subtitle did not clarify the exact context in which this phrase was used and, therefore, the exact meaning of the phrasal verb remained unclear. Watching the corresponding clip, subsequently, provided the extra information needed here. This illustrates that merely looking at the subtitled text in isolation would be insufficient. Similarly, in the case of the parallel subtitle corpus, a transcription of the English-language source text, but also the audiovisual source text had to be consulted in the analysis, because the target text is still inextricably bound up with the audiovisual source text. Thus, the fact that the Dutch-language target text in this parallel corpus is the main focus of attention does not mean that the audiovisual English-language source text was entirely ignored. In the case of the intralingual subtitles, the audiovisual source text was consulted in case of doubt as illustrated in the case of "Ik denk niet dat ze daarmee lachen".

5.2.2. Reference works

5.2.2.1. Dictionaries

In total 253 RBBN items were found in the subtitle corpora. They are listed in 9.4. Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora together with the corresponding concordance lines. These items were looked up in the online edition of *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014) [henceforth *Prisma 2014*] and in the Van Dale dictionary editions that were used at the time those subtitles were created. These dictionaries were consulted to establish which usage label was applied to the items at the time they were used in the subtitles. In 9.6. Appendix F: Corresponding dictionary editions, a table is given with all episodes and the dictionary edition that was the most recent at the time these episodes were subtitled. All these labels and the exact definition given in the RBBN list, *Prisma 2014* and the corresponding Van Dale dictionaries were recorded and added to 9.4. Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora.

5.2.2.1.1. Usage labels

The Van Dale dictionary uses usage labels for Belgian Dutch and only recently started to use a new label for some Netherlandic Dutch words and phrases. If the RBBN items that were found in the subtitle corpora are looked up in the corresponding editions of the Van Dale dictionary, a surprisingly high number (almost 30%) of those are not labelled with the geographic variation label, 'Belgisch Nederlands' [Belgian Dutch]. In some cases, these labels were used in other editions of the dictionary. If no such usage label is used this implies that the items in question are considered to be part of the general Dutch lexis, according to *the Van Dale* dictionary. Whenever the Belgian Dutch label is used, the dictionary tends to combine this label with other usage labels. To illustrate which labels the Van Dale dictionary mainly uses for the RBBN items, below, a few examples of RBBN items are listed alongside Landau's categories of usage labels (cf. 2.5. Dutch lexicography), to which they correspond:

- Landau's usage label 1 'currency or temporality': the label 'arch' or 'verouderd' [archaic] in the entry for the word 'caoutchouc' [rubber] in its 14th edition.
- Landau's usage label 2 'frequency of use': the label 'w.g.' or 'weinig gebruikt' [rarely used] in 'aframmelen' [to rattle off] in its online edition.
- Landau's usage label 3 'regional or geographic variation': the label 'Belg.N.' [Belgian Dutch], 'alg.Belg.N.' [general Belgian Dutch], and 'gewestelijk' [regional]. The latter, for instance, indicates that a word of phrase is not used all over the Dutch language area. In its 13th edition 'nachtuil' [night owl] is labelled 'gew.'. In the 14th edition of the Van Dale dictionary 'intensieve zorgen' [intensive care] is labelled 'alg.Belg.N.' [general Belgian Dutch].

- Landau's usage label 4 'technical or specialised terminology': the label 'juridisch' [legal] is used in the entry for 'afdreigen' [to threaten] in its online edition.
- Landau's usage label 8 'style, functional variety, or register': the label 'spreektaal' [colloquial language] is often used alongside the 'Belg.N.' label, for example, in 'unief' [uni, i.e. abbreviation for university], which is labelled 'Belg.N., spreekt.' [colloquial Belgian Dutch].
- Landau's usage label 9 'status or cultural level': e.g. the label 'niet algemeen' [not general] indicates that a word of phrase is not used all over the Dutch language area, or all over the Belgian Dutch part of it. 'op vraag van' [at the request of]is labelled 'Belg.N., niet alg.' in the 13th edition of the Van Dale dictionary.

New words may enter the lexis of a given language, but may also disappear soon afterwards. Old words may fall into disuse and, after a while, have to be removed from dictionaries. The evaluation or acceptance of certain words and phrases may also evolve over the years. Regular updates of dictionaries, therefore, are necessary to inform language users about new vocabulary and possible restrictions to its usage. Some of the RBBN items that were found in the subtitle corpora, meanwhile, may have entered the general Dutch language and, as a result, can no longer be considered marked Belgian Dutch. In this analysis, the latest edition of the Prisma dictionary was used to verify if all the RBBN items were still considered Belgian Dutch approximately five or ten years after the RBBN file was last updated. VRT subtitlers, however, use the *Van Dale* dictionary to inform them about the *appropriateness* of the use of certain words and phrases. This is the only reason why the Van Dale dictionary labels are also mentioned in this analysis.

5.2.2.1.2.   RBBN items almost ten years later

In the present research, only the RBBN file and the usage labels in the latest Prisma dictionary edition (2014) were used when making claims about the geographic markedness of the Belgian Dutch items. It did not suffice simply to use the RBBN file as a reference, because this file was last updated in 2005, and, therefore, can only be used for subtitles created roughly between 1998 and 2006. Another more recent reference work, as a result, had to be used to verify if RBBN items that were used in subtitles created between 2009 and 2013 were still considered Belgian Dutch (cf. 9.6. Appendix F: Corresponding dictionary editions). Originally, the Van Dale dictionary was to be used to that end, as it is the authoritative dictionary in the Dutch language area. However, there are striking differences between the Prisma and the Van Dale dictionary, as explained in 2.5. Dutch lexicography. The Van Dale dictionary uses considerably fewer geographic variation labels than *Prisma 2014*, and only recently started to adopt the bicentric approach.

In the analysis conducted here, the corresponding Van Dale dictionaries provide no geographic variation label for 73 or almost 30% of the 253 RBBN items found in the subtitle corpora, whereas this percentage in *Prisma 2014* is less than 7%. Moreover, a number of words and phrases could not be retrieved in the corresponding Van Dale dictionary editions. One could say that if a given headword or sense could not be found in *Prisma 2014*, this may be due to the limited scope of this much smaller dictionary. In the case of the Van Dale dictionary, which is four times larger and the largest Dutch dictionary, it may well be that certain words and phrases were deliberately not added, as they were not considered part of the standard Dutch lexis. A number of RBBN items (e.g. 'doorwegen' [to have a bearing on], 'een pak' [loads of]) were, for example, only added in later editions of the Van Dale dictionary, when the Van Dale dictionary started to take up more Belgian Dutch lexis and made an effort to describe this lexis more systematically.

Of the 253 RBBN items, 29 (11%) could not be found in the corresponding Van Dale dictionary edition, ten of which[75] were, however, found in the much smaller *Prisma 2014* where they were labelled 'Belgian Dutch'. The majority of these items, seven, were labelled <BN, spreektaal> [colloquial Belgian Dutch] and the remaining three <BN> [general Belgian Dutch]. These RBBN items were used in subtitles created after 2009 and, therefore, corresponded to the last edition of the Van Dale dictionary; nonetheless, these items could still not be found in the Van Dale online edition in August 2014, while they were found in the online Prisma edition in August 2014 (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014). In the four times smaller *Prisma 2014*, 34 (13%) of the 253 RBBN items could not be found in total. Two of the lexicologists who were involved in the creation of the RBBN file were also the editors of *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014). This was another motivation to consult this dictionary, rather than the Van Dale dictionary, to verify if all the RBBN items found in the subtitle corpora could still be considered Belgian Dutch between 2009 and 2013. In total, 13 of the 253 RBBN items[76] that were only used in subtitles created after 2009 were no longer considered Belgian Dutch in this dictionary edition and, hence, had to be removed from the list. This means that a total of 240 marked Belgian Dutch items were found in both subtitle corpora.

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[75] The 10 RBBN items in question are: 'van dienst zijn', 'zich (niet) laten doen', 'gedaan zijn', 'voor je eigen goed', 'de nagel op de kop slaan', 'het raden hebben naar', 'spoedgevallen', 'verontschuldigd zijn', 'dat zie je van hier', 'van zodra'. See Appendix 9.4 for the details.
[76] The words and phrases that can no longer be considered RBBN items are: 'compassie', 'familiair', 'ginder', 'mislukken', 'shift', 'geen steek houden', 'stilaan', 'uitbater', 'zat', and 'zelfverklaard'. See Appendix 9.4 for the details.

Nonetheless, it was also important to know if these items were also considered Belgian Dutch in the corresponding Van Dale dictionary editions, as this dictionary is one of the main reference works for VRT subtitlers. Thus, the labels in the corresponding Van Dale dictionary editions were also recorded in 9.4. Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora. The number of Belgian Dutch items that were also considered Belgian Dutch after consulting the corresponding Van Dale dictionary editions was counted separately. It was decided to consider the RBBN items Belgian Dutch, if they were labelled with the geographical variation label 'Belg.N' in the corresponding Van Dale edition. Likewise, if usage labels other than 'Belg.N.', namely 'arch' [archaic], 'gew.' [regional] and 'w.g.' [rare], were used for RBBN items, in the corresponding Van Dale dictionary edition, they were considered Belgian Dutch as well. By the same token, if an RBBN item – or its exact sense – did not occur in the dictionary, only the RBBN list could be used to decide that the item in question was Belgian Dutch. Hence, such items were also considered Belgian Dutch after consulting the corresponding Van Dale dictionary editions. Their numbers were calculated and added in Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora.

5.2.2.2. Written Dutch corpora

Subsequently, a printed version of the entire parallel subtitle corpus was analysed manually to verify if words and phrases were used that are 'uncommon' in Belgium. A number of words and phrases were found and a list of approximately 80 items was recorded. All of these words and phrases were then looked up in the Van Dale online dictionary [henceforth *Van Dale 2014*] and in the online version of the most recent *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014). This was done in early August 2014. In those editions, some of the words and phrases were labelled 'Netherlandic Dutch'. The words and phrases that could not be found in the above-mentioned dictionaries, or were not labelled, were subsequently looked up in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*. If enough instances of the search items in question could be retrieved in all three subsets and if the differences between the attested frequencies were statistically significant, it was decided that *NL CriFi 1999-2013* sufficed to decide if a given word or phrase could be considered less common in Belgium and more common in the Netherlands. If, however, this was not the case, the much larger SoNaR corpus was used as a last resort. The results and findings of this analysis are discussed in the next chapter

6. Results and findings

In this chapter, the results of the subtitle analyses are presented. First of all, the subtitles were scanned for marked Belgian Dutch lexis. The results of this analysis are discussed under the subheading 6.1. Belgian Dutch lexis. Subsequently, the subtitles were scanned for Netherlandic Dutch lexis, and words and phrases that are less common in Belgium. The results of this last analysis are discussed under the subheading 6.2. 'Non-Belgian Dutch' lexis.

6.1. Belgian Dutch lexis

Originally, 253 of all 3,987 Belgian Dutch words and phrases listed in the RBBN reference file (1998, 2005) could be retrieved in the 22,000 interlingual and intralingual subtitles analysed here. Sometimes there is an overlap between the interlingual and intralingual subtitle corpus, or between different subcorpora, if an RBBN item occurred in more than one subtitle corpus or subcorpus. All 253 RBBN items and the concordance lines in which they occurred are listed in 9.4. Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora. The numbers of items that could be found in each subtitle corpus are inserted in Table 9.

RBBN items based on RBBN file (1998, 2005) only	INTERlingual	INTRAlingual
RBBN items	45	220
overall number of instances	69	642
RBBN items in entire corpus	253 RBBN items (711 instances)	

Table 9: RBBN items in subtitle corpora

RBBN items that were used in subtitles created after 2005 – that is, in the 2009, 2011-2012, and 2013 subcorpus, were looked up in *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014) to verify if they were still considered Belgian Dutch (cf. 9.6. Appendix F: Corresponding dictionary editions). As explained in the previous chapter, this dictionary edition was used because there is no recent update of the RBBN file (1998, 2005). In total, 13 RBBN items that were only used in such more recent subtitles are no longer considered Belgian Dutch in this dictionary. As a result, the total number of different Belgian Dutch items that were found in the two corpora was reduced to 240 words and phrases after consulting *Prisma 2014.*

An example of a word that used to be labelled 'Belgian Dutch', but has now become part of the general, unmarked Dutch lexis is the word 'bureau' (cf. RBBN item #039 in 9.4. Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora). In one of its senses it used to be a Belgian Dutch natiolectism according to the RBBN file (1998, 2005), but the geographic label was removed in *Prisma 2014*. 'Bureau' used to be considered general, unmarked Dutch, when used to denote 'a desk' – i.e. the piece of furniture, but 'bureau' also has additional senses. According to the RBBN file (1998, 2005), 'bureau' was marked Belgian Dutch, if it meant 'werkkamer' [a (private) study or an office room] or 'kantoor' ['an office' or 'a department']. The word occurs 13 times in both subtitle corpora to denote a room and not a desk. As the label "Belgian Dutch" was removed in *Prisma 2009* and *2014*, this implies that 'bureau' in all its senses has become part of the unmarked, general Dutch lexis since 2009. As a result, 'bureau' was only counted as a marked Belgian Dutch item if this word was used for 'a room' and 'an office' in subtitles created before 2009. Thus, in the interlingual subtitles of Period 1 and 2 this item was counted 7 times (cf. RBBN item #039 in 9.4. Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora). In the intralingual subtitles of Period 3, 'bureau' occurred 6 times in the same sense, but these subtitles were created in 2013 when the word was no longer considered marked Belgian Dutch in those senses (cf. RBBN item #039 in 9.4. Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora).

Table 10 contains the numbers of Belgian Dutch items based on the RBBN list (1998, 2005) and the most recent edition of the Prisma dictionary. These sources and not the authoritative Van Dale dictionary are used for the sake of this analysis. Thus, a total number of 240 Belgian Dutch natiolectisms were found in the subtitle corpora: 40 in the interlingual subtitles and 208 in the intralingual subtitles. The exact figures for each subtitle corpus are displayed in Table 10. Here again, there is overlap between the interlingual and intralingual subtitle corpus, as eight items[77] occurred in both subtitle corpora.

Belgian Dutch items based on RBBN file (1998, 2005) and *Prisma 2014*	INTERlingual	INTRAlingual
Belgian Dutch items	40	208
overall number of instances	61	595
Belgian Dutch items in entire corpus	240 items (656 instances)	

Table 10: Belgian Dutch items based on RBBN file and Prisma 2014

In total, 656 instances of these 240 Belgian Dutch items were counted.

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[77] To wit: 'binnen mogen' (#033), 'flik' (#068), 'niet moeten' (#136), 'net' (#146), 'een pak' (#162), 'een piste' (#169), 'serieus' (#185), 'unief' (#213) (cf. 9.4. Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora)

Table 10, however, reveals striking differences between the intralingual subtitle corpus and the interlingual subtitle corpus. In sections 6.1.1. and 6.1.2., the results generated for each subtitle corpus are discussed in greater detail. Subsection 6.1.3. focuses specifically on lower-register items, as lower registers feature prominently in the source text of this audiovisual genre.

6.1.1. Interlingual subtitle corpus

In the main, interlingual subtitle corpus, containing almost 10,000 subtitles of 76,724 running words, not more than 40 Belgian Dutch words and phrases were found. These occurred 61 times, in total. Contrary to expectations, the Period I (1995-1996) subcorpus comprising subtitles that were created before the 1998 policy changes already contained 16 Belgian Dutch words and phrases. In the subcorpus with subtitles that were created ten years later, between 2004 and 2006, only a few more Belgian Dutch words and phrases could be discovered, namely 20 in total. The more recent subtitles that were produced in 2011 and 2012 contained 15 RBBN items, based on the 2005 RBBN file, but only eight of those are still considered marked Belgian Dutch today in *Prisma 2014*. This explains why this figure is much lower than the figures tallied in the other subcorpora.

INTERlingual	Period I (1995-1996)	Period II (2004-2006)	Period III (2011-2012)	total
subtitles	3,437	3,626	2,833	9,896
word tokens	27,006	27,842	21,876	76,724
word types	3,449	3,394	3,490	7,096
Belgian Dutch (RBBN & Prisma 2014)	16 items	20 items	8 items	40 items
	26 instances	23 instances	12 instances	61 instances
Belgian Dutch (Van Dale editions)	9 items	9 items	5 items	23 items
	15 instances	11 instances	8 instances	34 instances

Table 11: Belgian Dutch items in interlingual subtitle corpus

Table 11 shows that little more than half of these 40 items – namely 23 – were labelled 'Belgian Dutch' in the corresponding Van Dale dictionary editions as well. These figures are only provided here because the Van Dale dictionary's usage labels are often the main guideline for translators and subtitlers, including VRT subtitlers. Thus, it is fair to say that even less marked Belgian Dutch could be found in the interlingual subtitles, if the Van Dale dictionary were to be used as a reference work for geographic markedness, in that only 23 of the 40 Belgian Dutch items are considered Belgian Dutch in this authoritative dictionary.

6.1.2. Intralingual subtitle corpus

After this analysis of interlingual subtitles from English-language crime series translated into Dutch, a second analysis was conducted of a closed intralingual subtitle corpus of approximately the same size. This corpus consists of 12,104 Dutch-language subtitles comprising 77,672 running words used in Dutch-language crime series produced, subtitled and broadcast by VRT in the following three periods: 2004, 2006 and 2013. These subtitles, hence, were created after the intralingual subtitle guidelines changed in the year 2000. From this year onwards, marked Belgian Dutch lexis that was used in the spoken dialogues was also copied in the subtitles, rather than replaced by an unmarked variant. It is not surprising, therefore, that the intralingual subtitle corpus under investigation contains a high number of marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases. In total, 208 RBBN items were found, which corresponds to five times more items than the number of items counted in the interlingual subtitle corpus. The number of items per period is stable in this subtitle corpus (see highlighted boxes in Table 12). All of these items occurred 595 times in total in the subcorpora.

INTRAlingual	Period I (2004)	Period II (2009)	Period III (2013)	total
subtitles	3,487	3,785	4,832	12,104
word tokens	22,804	27,388	27,480	77,672
word types	3,486	3,449	3,443	7,137
Belgian Dutch (RBBN & Prisma 2014)	90 items	89 items	91 items	208 items
	178 instances	219 instances	198 instances	595 instances
Belgian Dutch (Van Dale editions)	65 items	70 items	76 items	165 items
	130 instances	173 instances	146 instances	449 instances

Table 12: Belgian Dutch items in intralingual subtitle corpus

Table 12 shows that, here again, a number of items were not or no longer considered Belgian Dutch in the corresponding Van Dale editions. Of the 208, only 165 items were considered Belgian Dutch in the corresponding Van Dale editions. This means that, if the Van Dale dictionary were to be used as a reference work for geographic markedness, still at least seven times more Belgian Dutch items were found in the intralingual subtitle corpus (namely 165) compared to the interlingual subtitle corpus (namely 23). The Dutch-language crime series were set in Belgium, therefore it was to be expected that the subtitles would contain culture-specific references (e.g. 'federale politie' [federal police in Belgium]). Such references relating to Belgian culture, of course, did not occur in the interlingual subtitle corpus, as those episodes were set in the United Kingdom. In Table 13, the numbers of culture-specific Belgian Dutch items are listed per period. Altogether only 16

items[78] of the 220 RBBN items were labelled 'cultuurgebonden' [culture-specific] in the RBBN file.

	Period I (2004)	Period II (2009)	Period III (2013)	total
culture-specific	9	9	8	16

Table 13: Culture-specific items in interlingual subtitle corpus

Even if these 16 culture-specific RBBN items were taken out of the equation, the intralingual subtitle corpus still contains almost five times more Belgian Dutch items. More significant than this number of culture-specific items, however, is the high number of Belgian Dutch items found in the intralingual subtitle corpus that belong to lower spoken registers. These items are discussed in the next subsection.

6.1.3. Lower-register lexical items

As explained in the previous chapter, in police procedurals, colloquial language and street slang is frequently used and this poses an additional challenge to translators. In the Dutch language, an estimated 90% of the lexis is shared by both Dutch and Belgian nationals. A large part of neutral-register, standard Dutch and, to a certain extent, informal Dutch lexis is not geographically marked. However, the lower the register the more challenging it becomes to find a Dutch word or phrase that adequately conveys the source-text item and is not marked for geographic region. Subtitlers, therefore, may have to resort to geographically marked lexis in those cases. One would assume that in subtitles for a Belgian target audience, subtitlers opt for marked Belgian, rather than marked Netherlandic Dutch. However, in the interlingual subtitle corpus, only ten Belgian Dutch items[79] – or 25% of the Belgian Dutch items – were found that are labelled 'omgangstaal' [colloquial] and 'substandaard' [substandard] in the RBBN file or 'BN, spreektaal' [Belgian Dutch, spoken] in *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014).

This is in stark contrast to the high number of such lower-register Belgian Dutch items that could be found in the intralingual subtitle corpus. As many as 92 lower-register items – or 44% of all Belgian Dutch words and phrases found in the

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[78] 'auditoraat', 'bediende', 'Belgacom', 'cel', 'Civiele Bescherming', 'federaal', 'gouverneur', 'identiteitskaart', 'kabinetschef', 'OCMW', 'onderzoeksrechter', 'parket', 'procureur des Konings', 'rijkswacht', 'rijkswachter', 'Wetstraat'. Cf. Appendix 9.4 for further details.
[79] 'binnen mogen', 'dat is geen klein bier', 'flik', 'foefelen', 'drink', 'gerant', 'nachtuil', 'overste', 'een pak', 'unief'. Cf. Appendix 9.4 for further details.

intralingual subtitle corpus – were counted in this subtitle corpus. This means that almost ten times more lower-register Belgian Dutch items could be retrieved in the intralingual subtitle corpus. Table 14 contains the exact numbers of those lower-register items per subcorpus.

lower-register Belgian Dutch items	INTERlingual			INTRAlingual		
	P1	P2	P3	P1	P2	P3
Belgian Dutch items	**10** (16 inst.)			**92** (334 inst.)		
	0	6	4	30	47	45
Belgian Dutch items after consulting Van Dale dictionary editions	**8** (14 inst.)			**81** (262 inst.)		
	0	4	4	25	42	40

Table 14: Lower-register Belgian Dutch items

This table shows that before VRT's policy changes in the first period (1995 to 1996) none of the interlingual subtitles contained lower-register Belgian Dutch items. Lower-register Belgian Dutch items only occurred in the subtitles of the second and third period in this corpus.

6.1.1. Results of the first analysis

The reference works that were used in this analysis to decide if a given word or phrase was marked Belgian Dutch were the RBBN list and the latest edition of *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014). Thus, 40 Belgian Dutch words and phrases were found in the interlingual subtitle corpus. Firstly, this analysis suggests that the 1998 VRT policy changes did not result in a significant increase in marked Belgian Dutch lexis in VRT interlingual subtitles. Surprisingly, some Belgian Dutch lexis was already used before the policy changes. Those might be words and phrases that slipped through the net, as the subtitles in those days were not systematically proofread (cf. 3.4. VRT subtitling policy). Secondly, it is fair to say that overall, only a small number of Belgian Dutch natiolectisms were found in the interlingual subtitles. The results of this analysis seem to suggest that VRT subtitlers were and are still reluctant to use VRT's own national variety in interlingual subtitles, particularly lower-register Belgian Dutch.

As explained in 2.5. Dutch lexicography, only an estimated 10% of the Dutch lexis can be said to be marked for geographic region. It was hard to establish, however, 'how much' Belgian Dutch potentially could be used in VRT subtitles. This is why a similar-sized corpus of intralingual subtitles used in Belgian Dutch crime fiction was analysed for marked Belgian Dutch. The amount of Belgian Dutch lexis

used in this comparable corpus of intralingual crime-fiction subtitles gives at least some indication of the amount of Belgian Dutch that, potentially, could be used in an interlingual subtitle corpus of more or less the same size. The two corpora aim at a Belgian Dutch-speaking target audience. The only difference is that intralingual subtitles aim at a deaf and hard-of-hearing Belgian audience.

A direct comparison of the attested numbers of different individual Belgian Dutch items shows that almost five times more Belgian Dutch words and phrases were used in the intralingual subtitle corpus not including culture-specific items. Moreover, almost ten times more instances of these items were found in the intralingual subtitle corpus, to wit 595 as opposed to only 61 in the interlingual subtitle corpus. A significant part of the Belgian Dutch items in the intralingual subtitle corpus consists of lower-register items. This begs the question when significantly fewer Belgian Dutch lexis is used in the interlingual subtitles does this mean subtitlers resort to general, unmarked Dutch lexis to render spoken varieties in the subtitles and by doing so, do they normalise the spoken source text in the subtitles, or do they recur to marked Netherlandic Dutch lexis? To answer this question a second analysis was conducted. The results of this analysis are presented in the next section.

6.2. 'Non-Belgian Dutch' lexis

After the first analysis, the entire parallel corpus was subjected to a close analysis using hand-and-eye techniques. The aim was to establish if lexis was used in the interlingual subtitles that is less common in Belgium. Based on the author's linguistic intuition a number of such 'uncommon' words and phrases was found that were believed to be Netherlandic Dutch. A list of 82 words and phrases was drawn up (cf. 9.7. Appendix G: 'Uncommon' words and phrases). These words and phrases were used in all three different periods under scrutiny in the interlingual subtitle corpus and can be distinguished into five crime-fiction vocabulary categories. This tentative typology of crime-fiction vocabulary was also used to classify the natiolectisms found in the intralingual subtitle corpus. Thus, the broad categories were used to classify Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch natiolectisms alike. It allowed comparing the numbers of natiolectisms per category in both the interlingual and the intralingual subtitle corpus. The typology is described below, and, by way of illustration, examples from both subtitle corpora are given.

6.2.1. Crime-fiction vocabulary

Crime-fiction vocabulary differs to a certain extent from general fiction vocabulary. Culture-specific legal terminology and other specialised lexis from the fields of pathology and forensics tend to occur in this type of fiction. Nonetheless, it is fair to say that the language used in crime-fiction subtitles draws predominantly on 'general (fiction) language'. Fiction dialogues attempt to give a convincing rendition of authentic spoken language and this often implies using lower registers. In television series, narrators rarely are used to give descriptions of the different characters and their psychological and emotional state, as it is often done in novels. In audiovisual fiction, the images and dialogues are often used to that end. As a result, complex psychological characterisation in audiovisual (crime) fiction often occurs through spoken language dialogues. Karen Seago stressed the importance of language in crime fiction in general:

> Terminology, and the need to create believable experts, also plays an important role in the various thrillers (pathology, forensic), as does the emotive, suspenseful use of language, which needs to have an impact on the reader and generate a range of emotional responses from thrill and excitement, to suspense and fear. (Seago 2014, p.5)

Crime-fiction subtitles, however, may contain a smaller amount of specialised terminology, as unfamiliar words in subtitles may disrupt the reading flow and distract viewers (e.g. Ockers 1998). The viewer, after all, has to digest the information they receive from the images and the soundtrack while reading the subtitles.

The following example taken from the Inspector Morse episode *The silent World of Nicholas Quinn* (ITV 1987) illustrates that not all specialised terminology used in the source text is translated as such in the subtitles.

Source text	Target text
[002555] The smallest dose of cyanide	[002555] De kleinste dosis cyaankali
[002556] to prove fatal is a half drachm of pharmacopoeial acid,	[002556] die dodelijk gebleken is,
[002557] or 0.6 grams of anhydrous hydrocyanic acid.	[002557] is 0,6 gram watervrij blauwzuur.
[002558] In this case, the cyanide was administered	[002558] De cyaankali werd toegediend in
[002559] in the form of anhydrous hydrocyanic acid, mixed with sherry.	[002559] de vorm van blauwzuur in de sherry.
[002560] The post-mortem appearances were such as to lead me to believe that death	[002560] De dood moet haast onmiddellijk
[002561] must have occurred almost immediately.	[002561] ingetreden zijn.

In this extract, "half drachm of pharmacopoeial acid" in line #2556 is entirely omitted in subtitles. The chemical 'hydrocyanic acid' is not translated with its direct Dutch counterpart 'waterstofcyanide', but with the less technical term 'blauwzuur' [lit. blue acid] and the second time the word 'anhydrous' is used, this is omitted in the target text (see line #2559).

It is fair to say that the police procedurals analysed here, like general fiction, draw mainly on everyday language. Crime fiction, however, does differ from general fiction because of recurring communicative events. As Blanca Arias Badia and Jenny Brumme point out:

> recurrent communicative events in TV police procedurals, as dictated by genre conventions, lead to the use of recurrent, stereotypical language in these audiovisual products (Badia and Brumme 2014, p.110)

These recurrent communicative events often involve the recurrence of certain semantic units. For instance, crime-fiction episodes tend to start with the discovery of a crime and the notification of the police. This means every-day words such as 'notifying', 'trying to reach', 'a phone call', 'a mobile phone', 'to hang up' are likely to occur in audiovisual crime fiction. Similarly, in interrogation sequences, some of the witnesses or suspects have something to hide, waste police officers' time, cause a lot of frustration and anger etc. The analysis of both subtitle corpora revealed that there is a considerable amount of repetition with regard to such semantic units. This is what makes crime-fiction subtitles particularly interesting to analyse, as subtitlers may or may not consistently use the same (geographically marked) Dutch translation for these recurring semantic units. In the next sections, a rough classification of crime-fiction vocabulary is presented.

6.2.1.1. Crime-fiction categories

In 6.1. Belgian Dutch lexis, the Belgian Dutch natiolectisms found in the subtitles were discussed and in the next subsections words and phrases that – based on linguistic intuition – were felt to be less common or uncommon in Belgium are analysed. For the sake of this analysis, five different categories were drawn up that helped categorise all of these items: 1. (Cultural-specific) references to policing, judicial systems, social services, and health care; 2. Neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary; 3. Informal and colloquial crime-fiction vocabulary; 4. General, features of spoken language; 5. General, neutral-register vocabulary. These are discussed below and examples of both Belgian and 'non-Belgian Dutch' natiolectisms that were found in both subtitle corpora are given.

6.2.1.1.1. (Culture-specific) references

The first category covers culture-specific references referring to the Belgian judicial system (e.g. a public prosecutor is called 'Procureur des Konings' in Belgium), references to policing (e.g. 'rijkswacht' [former Belgian state police]), and references to social services (e.g. 'OCMW' is the name of the Belgian social service). However, this category also contains references that are more generic and not culture-specific:

- references to policing (e.g. 'wetsdokter' [police surgeon], 'TR' (i.e. 'technische recherche') [SOCO, i.e. Scenes of Crime Officer], 'Cel (Verdwijningen)' [(Missing Persons) Unit])
- references to the judicial system (e.g. 'jeugdrechter' [judge in a juvenile court], 'gerechtshof' [court])
- references to social services (e.g. 'sociaal assistent' [social worker], 'leefloon' [minimal wage])
- references to health care (e.g. 'spoed(gevallendienst)' [accident and emergency department (A&E)], 'intensieve zorgen' [intensive care (unit)])

6.2.1.1.2. Neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary

The second category is used for crime-fiction words and phrases that are neutral in register (e.g. not formal, not informal, not jargon, not children's language, etc.), such as 'bon' [a fine, a ticket], 'vluchthuis' [a domestic violence shelter], 'wedersamenstelling' [reconstruction of a crime], 'plaats delict' [scene of crime], 'klacht neerleggen' [to press charges against]), 'piste' [a line of enquiry], and 'schurk' [a villain]. Slightly more general lexis is also covered in this category such as 'onrustwekkend' [alarming], 'panikeren' [to panic], 'geen steek houden' [to not make any sense], and 'van geen tel zijn' [to be irrelevant]. Similarly, this category includes the above-mentioned general lexis relating to phone calls (e.g. 'waarschuwen' [to notify], 'contacteren' [to contact], 'telefoon' [a phone call], 'inhaken' [to hang up]), but also general lexis relating to (blood) stains and removing traces etc. (e.g. 'vies' [stained], 'troep' [a mess], 'proper' [clean], 'opkuisen' [clean up], 'werkster' [cleaning lady]). Likewise, general lexis that tends to reoccur in interview sequences when witnesses, for example, are asked to describe suspects e.g. 'aardig' [nice], 'slechtgezind' [bad-tempered], 'triest' [sad], 'plezierig' [enjoyable], 'merkwaardig' [strange]. During interrogations, temporal indications, such as 'gans de dag' [the whole day], 'in de voormiddag [in the morning], 'ten vroegste' [at the earliest] are also frequently used and these every-day phrases were, therefore, also subsumed under this category.

6.2.1.1.3.   Informal and colloquial crime-fiction vocabulary

Next to neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary, there is also lower-register crime-fiction vocabulary ranging from informal registers to colloquial language, slang, and taboo language. This category includes lexis relating to alcohol (ab)use (e.g. 'biertje' [a beer], 'bezopen' [pissed]), but also colloquial words and phrases like 'flik' [copper], 'crapuul' [scum(bag)], 'bajes' [jail], 'hem smeren' [to do a runner], 'met iemands voeten spelen' [to mess around (with someone)], 'zeveren' [to talk nonsense], 'lulkoek' [nonsense, rubbish], 'sufferd' [idiot], 'rotwijf' [bitch], 'mollen' [to bump off], and different words for 'to be up to (mischief)': 'uitvreten', 'misdoen', 'mispeuteren' and 'uitsteken', etc.

6.2.1.1.4.   General, features of spoken language

The fourth category deals with general features of spoken language that typically occur in fiction dialogues. These include discourse markers, particles, and exclamations. Some examples are 'allez' [come on], 'nou' [well], 'nondedju' [dammit], 'jeetje' [jeez!].

6.2.1.1.5.   General, neutral-register vocabulary

The last category comprises a small amount of general neutral-register vocabulary, e.g. 'plastic tas' [plastic bag], 'uitdragerij' [second-hand shop], 'schuif' [drawer].

In the next sections, the results of the close analysis are presented. As explained above, during the close analysis of the parallel subtitle corpus, a number of words and phrases were spotted in the subtitles that were considered 'uncommon' in Belgium based on linguistic intuition. This could mean that the words and phrases in question were uncommon in the Belgian part of the Dutch language area and thus 'non-Belgian' lexis, or uncommon in Dutch in general (e.g. words that have fallen out of use in both Belgium and the Netherlands, technical terms,...). All of these 'uncommon' words and phrases, 82 in total, together with their concordances were recorded in <u>9.7. Appendix G: 'Uncommon' words and phrases</u>. In most of the cases, the assumption was that these items were more common in the Netherlands and thus Netherlandic Dutch natiolectisms.

6.2.2. Objectively testing linguistic intuition

To establish how common these 82 words and phrases are in the wider Dutch language, all items were looked up in the general reference corpus of written Dutch published between 1954 and 2012, SoNaR. Afterwards, an attempt was made to test the original linguistic intuition about the geographic markedness of the 82 items found in the interlingual subtitles as objectively as possible. To that end, the three following steps were taken. First, the items were looked up in *Prisma 2014* and *Van Dale 2014* to check if they were given a usage label that corresponds to the label "Netherlandic Dutch" (i.e. the label "<NN>" and the label "Nederlands" respectively). The items that were labelled as such in the dictionaries, were simply considered marked Netherlandic Dutch. Items that were not found or that were not labelled in these dictionaries, subsequently, were looked up in linguistic corpora. In the first instance, the crime-fiction corpus was used to check if the items were significantly more often used in the 'non-Belgian' subset and, in the second instance, the reference corpus of written Dutch was used to compare the frequencies counted for the remaining items. Items that were significantly more often used in the 'non-Belgian' subsets of these corpora were then considered 'non-Belgian' Dutch. Hence, the term 'Netherlandic Dutch' was only applied to the items that were actually labelled as such in the dictionaries. In the next section, the words and phrases that appear to be uncommon in both parts of the language area are discussed first.

6.2.2.1. Uncommon words and phrases

All 82 words and phrases were looked up in the general reference corpus of written Dutch SoNaR to establish how common they are in the Dutch language area. Arguably, Dutch words that occur fewer than 50 times in the entire SoNaR corpus comprising over 500 million words, could be considered rather uncommon. This is why this number of 50 hits was used as a cut-off point. In the list of 82 items, 11 items (cf. Table 15) occurred fewer than 50 times in the SoNaR corpus. What is more, a search query for one of the items, namely the phrase 'trap 'm op z'n staart' [put your foot down] (#6) did not return a single hit in the general reference corpus of written Dutch. The shaded boxes in Table 15 reveal that a total of four of the eleven items occurred significantly more often in either the Belgian or the non-Belgian subset: 'uitdragerij' (#1) and 'sufferdje' (#5) occurred significantly more often in the non-Belgian subset, whereas 'een poets bakken' (#3) and 'kus m'n reet' (#10) occurred significantly more often in the Belgian subset.

less than 50 hits in SoNaR	BD	ND	Log-Likelihood score	
			not statistically significant	statistically significant
1. **uitdragerij** [a second-hand shop]	4	33		10.20
2. **naarling** [a creep]	3	13	1.69	
3. **een poets bakken** [to play a trick on]	22	10		16.7
4. **inslecht** [bad to the bone]	1	5	0.85	
5. **sufferdje** [a local rag, i.e. newspaper]	2	29		13.08
6. **trap 'm op z'n staart** [put your foot down]	0	0	/	
7. **TR** [i.e. SOCO, Scenes of Crime Officer]	0	2	1.62	
8. **m'n grootje** [blimey]	17	18	3.46	
9. **krijg de tering** [go to hell]	3	13	1.69	
10. **kus m'n reet** [kiss my ass]	2	0		4.39
11. **rotwijf** [bitch]	14	23	0.33	

Table 15: Less than fifty hits in SoNaR

The last four items (#8-#11) are classified under lower-register vocabulary and features of spoken language. The fact that they returned fewer than 50 hits may imply that SoNaR contains fewer texts in which such lower registers are used.

All these 11 items were then looked up in the genre-specific corpus, *NL CriFi 1999-2013*. Table 16 reveals that only the abbreviation 'TR' (#7) occurred considerably more often in the non-Belgian Dutch subsets of *NL CriFi 1999-2013*, namely 24 times. By contrast, this abbreviation only occurred two times in the much larger SoNaR reference corpus. Of the 11 items, the search queries for four items 'uitdragerij', 'naarling', 'inslecht', 'm'n grootje' did not return any concordance in the crime-fiction corpus. In the case of the remaining six items, the differences between their use in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch texts were not statistically significant. Table 16 shows that, with a log-likelihood score of 19.78, only the results tallied for 'TR' were statistically significant.

less than 50 hits in NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND + E-D	Log-Likelihood	
			not statistically significant	statistically significant
1. **uitdragerij** [second-hand shop]	**0**	**0**		
2. **naarling** [creep]	**0**	**0**		
3. **een poets bakken** [to play a trick on someone]	**2**	**3**	**0.08**	
4. **inslecht** [bad to the bone]	**0**	**0**		
5. **sufferdje** [a local rag, i.e. a newspaper]	**0**	**2**	**2.47**	
6. **trap 'm op z'n staart** [put your foot down]	**0**	**1**	**0.82**	
7. **TR** [i.e. SOCO, Scenes of Crime Officer]	**0**	**24**		**19.78**
8. **m'n grootje** [blimey]	**0**	**0**		
9. **krijg de tering** [go to hell]	**0**	**3**	**2.47**	
10. **kus m'n reet** [kiss my ass]	**1**	**0**	**2.17**	
11. **rotwijf** [bitch]	**1**	**6**	**1.37**	

Table 16: Less than fifty hits in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

'TR' [SOCO, Scenes Of Crime Officer] is a Dutch abbreviation of 'Technische Recherche' and this item is used eight times in the more recent interlingual subtitles of the last two episodes of the Period III subtitles. It is never used in the intralingual subtitles. Table 17 displays the number of frequencies in both *NL CriFi 1999-2013* and SoNaR of, on the one hand, this abbreviation 'TR', and on the other hand, the word in full 'technische recherche':

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	SoNaR		LLH score
	BD	ND	E-D		B	N	
TR [SOCO]	**0**	**3**	**21**	**19.78**	**0**	**2**	**1.62**
technische recherche [Scenes of Crime Officer]	**207**	**17**	**140**	**81.07**	**34**	**129**	**12.38**

Table 17: 'TR' and 'technische recherche' in both corpora

'TR' only returned two hits in SoNaR and, thus, could be said to be an uncommon abbreviation in general written Dutch, but in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*, it occurred 24 times in three novels published after 2007; two translations and one novel by a Dutch national. As a result, 'TR' cannot be considered uncommon in crime fiction. It has to be understood as a genre-specific term. This illustrates the usefulness of such a genre-specific, crime-fiction corpus. The abbreviation, however, is not used in any of the Belgian Dutch crime-fiction novels in the corpus. The word in full is much more common in *NL CriFi 1999-2013* in general, but particularly in the Belgian Dutch

subset where it returned as many as 207 hits (cf. Table 17). As a result, this abbreviation can be said to be more common in 'non-Belgian' crime fiction based on the data taken from the linguistic corpora used in this analysis.

The reason why SoNaR returned fewer hits for the abbreviation is probably that it is a genre-specific term. The word in full, 'technische recherche', is used more frequently. Table 17 shows that it occurs 34 times in the Belgian Dutch subset of SoNar and 129 times in the Netherlandic Dutch subset. This means that it is still significantly (with a log-likelihood score of >3.84, namely, 12.38) less often used in Belgium. However, in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*, 'technische recherche' occurred 207 times in the Belgian Dutch subset, which is (with a log-likelihood score of 81.07) significantly more often than the number of hits found in the other subsets where it only occurs 157 times in total. In any case, based on these figures from *NL CriFi 1999-2013* and SoNaR, 'technische recherche' can be considered more common than its abbreviation 'TR' in Belgium and the Netherlands.

This first test, therefore, highlighted ten items (not including 'TR') taken from the interlingual subtitles that, according to the SoNaR corpus, appear to be less common in the wider Dutch language area. Using words and phrases in subtitles that are less common in a target language becomes particularly problematic when the items in question are entirely unknown to the target audience. Below a number of Dutch words and phrases that were entirely unfamiliar to the author are discussed.

6.2.2.2. Entirely unfamiliar words and phrases

Most of the 82 words and phrases that were believed to be uncommon in Belgium did not pose major comprehension problems. In seven cases, however, words and phrases were used that were entirely unfamiliar to the author. These are feared to hamper correct understanding of the subtitle for most Belgian Dutch speakers. Below, the items in question are listed with their corresponding concordance lines. The source-text concordance line reveals the meaning of each item. The word in full was added to the abbreviations and for the remaining five items literal translations are given between square brackets.

1. uitdragerij ['uitdragen' means to carry out or to disseminate]
ST #[002082] I wonder if he won the raffle.
TT #[002082] 't Lijkt wel 'n uitdragerij.
                    Inspector Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (VRT 1995)

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2. slijterij ['slijten' means to wear (out/off)]
ST #[003054] Yeah, or check the off-licences.
TT #[003054] vind je 'm in 'n pub of slijterij.

<div align="right">Inspector Morse - Service of all the Dead (VRT 1995)</div>

3. OM (Openbaar Ministerie) [public prosecutor]
ST#[006238] The CPS would never look at it.
TT#[006238] Het OM zal er niet aan willen.

<div align="right">Inspector Morse - Daughters of Cain (VRT 1996)</div>

4. trap 'm op z'n staart [lit. step on his tail, i.e. hurt him?/make him angry?]
ST#[007612] Come on Robbie. Put your foot down!
TT#[007612] Trap 'm op z'n staart.

<div align="right">Taggart - Saints and Sinners (VRT 2004)</div>

5. sufferdje [diminutive form of 'sufferd' [idiot]?]
ST #[007290] Even the Timbuktu Evening Bugle
ST #[007291] carried the story.
TT #[007290] Het stond zelfs in 't Sufferdje
TT #[007291] van Timboektoe.

<div align="right">Taggart - Saints and Sinners (VRT 2004)</div>

6. tutten [a verb derived from the noun 'tut' [a baby dummy], i.e. to suck at a baby dummy?]
ST#[016698] He fusses.
TT#[016698] Hij tut zo.

<div align="right">Inspector Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (VRT 2012)</div>

7. TR (Technische Recherche) [forensics team]
ST#[015059] Forensic teams will be going back into her house,
TT#[015059] De TR zal haar huis weer binnengaan

<div align="right">8 hits in total in:
Inspector Lewis - Generation of Vipers (VRT 2012) and Fearful Symmetry (VRT 2012)</div>

Other unfamiliar words and phrases were spotted in the interlingual subtitles, for instance, the word 'zaktelefoon' [lit. pocket phone]. Unlike the afore-mentioned seven items, 'zaktelefoon', however, did not pose comprehension difficulties, as the literal translation 'pocket phone' was helpful in this case; 'een zaktelefoon' is a mobile phone. In Belgium, the much shorter word 'gsm' is used for a mobile phone, which is also used elsewhere in the subtitles of the same episode. The literal translations given between square brackets in above, illustrate that the above words and phrases do pose significant comprehension challenges, as do the two abbreviations (OM and TR), if one is not familiar with the items in question. The list of uncommon items in Table 15: Less than fifty hits in SoNaR already includes four[80] of these items. This suggests that these words and phrases are not common in the Dutch language in general.

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[80] 1. 'uitdragerij' [second-hand shop], 5. 'sufferdje' [local newspaper], 6. 'trap 'm op z'n staart' [put your foot down], and 'TR' [SOCO, i.e. Scenes Of Crime Officer(s)

NL CriFi 1999-2013 did not prove very helpful when the general, not genre-specific Dutch words 'uitdragerij' [second-hand shop] and 'sufferdje' [local rag, i.e. newspaper] were looked up, as they hardly returned any concordances – if at all. Table 18 displays the results for both linguistic corpora.

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	SoNaR		LLH score
	BD	ND	E-D		B	N	
uitdragerij	0	0	0	0.00	4	33	10.20
sufferdje	0	1	1	1.65	2	29	13.08

Table 18: 'Uitdragerij' and 'sufferdje' in both corpora

The SoNaR corpus, however, revealed that both items were used significantly more often in Netherlandic Dutch texts. Therefore, according to the SoNaR corpus, 'uitdragerij' and 'sufferdje' are more common in the Netherlands. These headwords were also given a Netherlandic Dutch label in *Prisma 2014*. Nevertheless, the reference corpus of written Dutch suggests that the items are not very common in the language area as a whole as they occur fewer than 50 times.

Next to 'TR', another abbreviation was used in the subtitles that Belgian Dutch speakers may not be familiar with: 'OM' (Openbaar Ministerie) [public prosecutor]. In Belgium, the public prosecutor is usually referred to with culture-specific Belgian Dutch terms 'de procureur', 'het parket', or 'het auditoraat'. These variants were also used in the intralingual subtitle corpus. Table 19 shows that 'OM' is significantly less frequently used in Belgian texts. In both corpora, the word in full is more often used than its abbreviation.

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	SoNaR		LLH score
	BD	ND	E-D		B	N	
OM	0	0	13	10.71	164	2782	1350.28
Openbaar Ministerie	9	5	31	4.13	4160	3880	1150.81

Table 19: 'OM' and 'openbaar ministerie' in both corpora

The two last words, 'slijterij' [an off-licence] and 'tutten' [to fuss (over)], were, likewise, looked up in both corpora.

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	SoNaR		LLH score
	BD	ND	E-D		B	N	
slijterij	0	5	3	6.59	34	1458	932.68
tutten	0	0	0	0	6	59	21.01

Table 20: 'Slijterij' and 'tutten' in both corpora

<u>Table 20</u> displays the results: 'Tutten' could not be found in in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*, but in the SoNaR corpus it occurred significantly more often in the 'non-Belgian' texts. Thus, the linguistic corpora suggest that these words are significantly more often used in the 'non-Belgian' texts. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that they are labelled 'Netherlandic Dutch' in *Prisma 2014*.

In a nutshell, four of the seven entirely unfamiliar words and phrases are marked Netherlandic Dutch, the phrase 'trap 'm op z'n staart' appears to be uncommon in the wider Dutch language and the two abbreviations occur significantly more often in 'non-Belgian' texts. Subsequently, all of the 82 'uncommon' items were looked up in *Prisma 2014* and *Van Dale 2014*. If they were labelled 'Netherlandic Dutch' in at least one of those dictionaries, the items in question remained on the list of 'Netherlandic Dutch' and 'non-Belgian Dutch' items. If no labels were given in the dictionaries, evidence from the linguistic corpora was used to establish if they were indeed less frequently used in Belgium or not. In the latter case, they had to be removed from the list, as they could not be considered 'non-Belgian Dutch'. In the first instance, the genre-specific *NL CriFi 1999-2013* was used. If an item could not be found in this corpus or if the difference between the frequencies tallied in the Belgian subset and the other subsets was not statistically significant, the much larger corpus SoNaR was used as a last resort. The results of this analysis of the usage of the 82 words and phrases are presented in the next sections.

6.2.2.3. Labelled 'Netherlandic Dutch' in the dictionaries

Only 22 of the 82 words and phrases were labelled 'Netherlandic Dutch' in *Prisma 2014* and two of those items were also labelled as such in *Van Dale 2014*. Interestingly, two words that were not labelled in *Prisma 2014* were labelled 'Nederlands' in *Van Dale 2014*. This brings the total of marked Netherlandic Dutch items found in this subtitle corpus to 24 items. Since both dictionaries only recently started labelling Netherlandic Dutch, no older editions of the dictionaries could be used here for words and phrases that occurred in the earlier subtitle subcorpora. However, if lexicographers today label a given word or phrase as Netherlandic Dutch, it is unlikely that these items were once unmarked Dutch and suddenly have become marked Netherlandic Dutch. Thus, had the bicentric approach already been applied in earlier editions of the dictionaries, the assumption is that these items already would have been labelled 'Netherlandic Dutch' in these earlier editions. In total, 24 Netherlandic Dutch words and phrases were found; these items can be classified as follows:

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1. (Cultural-specific) references to policing, judicial systems, social services, and health care

[no items in this category]

2. Neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary

eng [creepy], geen geintjes [stop messing around], misère [misery], in de maling nemen [to play a trick on/to fool someone], slijterij [an off-licence], uitglijder [a slip-up], tutten [to fuss], uitsmijter [a bouncer], waarschuwen [to notify]

3. Lower-register crime-fiction vocabulary

bajes [jail], gatver/getver [dammit], gezeik [bullshit], jokken [to tell a porky-pie], krijg de tering [drop dead], kus m'n reet [kiss my ass], lab [a lab], lulkoek [rubbish], mafkees [a weirdo], sufferdje [a local newspaper], uitvreten [to be up to (mischief)]

4. General features of spoken language

d'r [her], nou [well, come on, really], jeetje [jeez!]

5. General, neutral-register vocabulary

uitdragerij [second-hand shop]

In <u>Table 21</u>, all 24 marked Netherlandic Dutch items are listed together with the labels used in *Prisma 2014* and *Van Dale 2014*.

01	bajes [jail] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** vooral NN, spreektaal			on/to fool someone] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** vooral NN
02	d'r [her] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN, spreektaal	14	mafkees [weirdo] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN, inf	
03	eng [creepy] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN	15	nou [well, come on, really] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** vooral NN **label in *Van Dale 2014*:** Nederlands	
04	gatver/getver [dammit] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN	16	kus/lik m'n reet [kiss my ass] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN (lik) m'n reet / aan m'n reet = dat doe ik niet, vergeet het maar	
05	geintje [joke] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** vooral NN			
06	gezeik [bullshit] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** vooral NN, spreektaal	17	slijterij [off-licence] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** vooral NN	
07	jeetje [jeez!] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN	18	sufferdje [local newspaper] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN, schertsend	
08	jokken [tell a porky pie] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** vooral NN, kindertaal	19	uitdragerij[second-hand shop] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN	
09	krijg de tering [drop dead] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN, plat, verwensing	20	tutten [to fuss] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN	
10	lab [lab] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** vooral NN, spreektaal	21	uitglijder [slip-up] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** vooral NN uitglijer [slip-up] **label in *Van Dale 2014*:** Nederlands, informeel	
11	lulkoek [nonsense] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN, spreektaal			
12	misère [misery, trouble] **label in *Van Dale 2014*:** Nederlands	22	uitsmijter [bouncer] **label in *Van Dale 2014*:** Nederlands	
13	in de maling nemen [to play a trick	23	uitvreten [to be up to (mischief)] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** NN, inf	
		24	waarschuwen [to notify] **label in *Prisma 2014*:** vooral NN	

Table 21: Netherlandic Dutch natiolectisms

The diagram in Figure 21 visualises the results of the first step taken to test the linguistic intuition about the geographic markedness of the 82 items recorded in the interlingual subtitle corpus.

labelled items in the dictionaries

- 24 items labelled Netherlandic Dutch
- 58 items unlabelled

Figure 21: Diagram labelled items

Thus, 24 items of the 82 items are marked Netherlandic Dutch. The next step is to look up the remaining 58 items in the linguistic corpora. The items that occur significantly more often in the 'non-Belgian' texts were then considered 'non-Belgian' Dutch. Thus, they are not referred to as Netherlandic Dutch, unlike the 24 items above that were actually labelled as such in the dictionaries.

6.2.2.4. Words and phrases in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

6.2.2.4.1. Less common in Belgian Dutch subset

The remaining 58 items of the 82 items were looked up in the specialised crime-fiction corpus to learn more about their usage in crime fiction written in both countries. In *NL CriFi 1999-2013*, 26 words and phrases occurred significantly more often in the 'non-Belgian' Dutch subsets. In the tables below, these items are listed together with their frequencies in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*. In the last column, the ratio is given between the average of the number of items counted in the 'non-Belgian' Dutch subsets and the Belgian subset. By way of example, 'OM' occurs 6.5 times more often in the 'non-Belgian' subsets. The log-likelihood scores are more than 3.84 (10.71 in the case of 'OM') and, thus, these differences between the frequencies are statistically significant. What is more, in 22 cases the score is even more than 6.63 which means that the there is only 1% chance that the difference between both frequencies is due to chance.

1. (Cultural) references to judicial, social security, health care system

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio ND&ED vs. BD
	BD	ND	E-D		
1. OM [public prosecutor]	0	0	13	10.71	6.5x
2. plaats delict [scene of crime]	57	21	173	14.7	1.7x

	BD	ND	E-D		
3. sectie [autopsy]	1	36	48	60.53	42x
4. TR [SOCO]	0	3	21	19.78	12x

Table 22: Category 1 items in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

2. Neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio ND&ED vs. BD
	BD	ND	E-D		
5. aardig [nice]	91	349	253	154.73	3.3x
6. bon [a fine, ticket]	1	2	11	5.68	6.5x
7. engerd [a creep]	0	16	9	20.60	12.5x
8. huilen [to cry]	198	576	229	96.76	2x
9. klap [a blow]	216	275	226	4.35	1.2x
10. plezierig [pleasant]	4	18	24	16.12	5.3x
11. schurk [a villain]	3	3	26	10.50	4.8x
12. troep [a mess]	13	51	35	22.10	3.3x
13. werkster [a cleaning lady]	2	11	5	4.97	4x

Table 23: Category 2 items in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

3. Informal and colloquial crime-fiction vocabulary

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio ND&ED vs. BD
	BD	ND	E-D		
14. biertje [a beer]	23	72	48	22.69	2.6x
15. boffen [to be lucky]	15	7	46	4.49	1.8x
16. hou je kop [shut up!]	0	7	12	15.66	9.5x
17. peuk [a fag, i.e. a cigarette]	0	9	6	12.36	7.5x
18. schoft [bastard]	29	37	66	8.85	1.8x
19. 'm smeren [to do a runner]	1	3	33	22.65	18x
20. stomkop [idiot]	0	4	10	11.54	7x

Table 24: Category 3 items in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

4. Genera features of spoken language

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio ND&ED vs. BD
	BD	ND	E-D		
21. heus [really]	18	117	54	61.13	4.5x
22. ie [he]	1	594	101	559.87	348x
23. mam [mummy]	3	210	65	200.02	45.8x
24. pap [daddy]	15	88	36	39.65	4.1x
25. toe [come on, please]	2	17	39	33.10	14x

Table 25: Category 4 items in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

5. General, neutral-register vocabulary

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio ND&ED vs. BD
	BD	ND	E-D		
26. verpleeghuis [a care home]	0	39	8	38.74	23.5x

Table 26: Category 5 items in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

The lexis of the Netherlandic Dutch subset in *NL CriFi 1999-2013* was quickly compared with the lexis of the Belgian Dutch subset by generating a keyword list[81] in WordSmith Tools 5.0.0.213 for Windows. All proper names were removed from the keyword list and this resulted in a list of 24 crime fiction-related items that occur significantly more often in the Netherlandic Dutch subset of the corpus. In total, four of the above items (i.e. 'aardig' [nice], 'huilen' [to weep/cry], 'heus' [really], and 'mam' [mummy]) and the marked Netherlandic Dutch item 'nou' [well] appeared in this keyword list. These items were highlighted in Table 27. 'Nou' heads the keyword list. This means that this particle has the highest keyness score. Thus, this keyword analysis confirms that these items occur significantly more often in the Netherlandic Dutch subset than in Belgian Dutch subset.

	ranking	keyness score	key word	frequency
01	4	2528.544	NOU	1898
02	62	497.2007	EH	404
03	87	416.2235	HÈ	466
04	96	396.4006	HOOR	652
05	168	259.2783	MAM	210
06	171	252.7244	KLINIEK	215
07	178	239.3964	LEKKER	706
08	196	208.775	SCHRIKT	177
09	270	152.545	SCHIET	270
10	290	139.6847	ROEPT	153
11	315	126.2976	STEEKT	222
12	322	122.6082	MOBIEL	126
13	359	112.5965	GRIJPT	111
14	409	98.79931	AARDIG	216
15	413	97.87984	ONGELUK	302
16	423	94.87624	OVEREIND	460
17	425	94.16238	GISTER	69
18	432	91.90917	LIEVERD	101
19	446	88.04854	VERDWIJNT	115
20	449	87.58676	JOURNALISTE	80
21	452	87.33895	WETHOUDER	64
22	459	86.16018	HUILEN	285
23	481	80.51553	HARTSTIKKE	59
24	490	78.99194	HEUS	117

Table 27: Keywords in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

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[81] This was also done in 5.1.2.3. The non-Belgian Dutch subcorpora to compare the non-Belgian Dutch subsets of *NL CriFi 1999-2013* with the Belgian subset.

The results of this second step in the analysis are that a total of 26 items are used significantly more often in the 'non-Belgian' subsets of *NL CriFi 1999-2013* (cf. Table 28). The crime-fiction corpus, unfortunately, did not prove very helpful when searching 25 items, as the frequencies calculated for these items were not statistically significant.

	less common in Belgium	more common in Belgium	not statistically significant
NL CriFi 1999-2013	26	7	25

Table 28: Results in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

In the case of seven items, contrary to intuition, the words and phrases in question appeared significantly more often in the Belgian subset. These items are discussed in the next section.

6.2.2.4.2. More common in Belgian Dutch subset

Fifteen of the 58 items that were looked up in the crime-fiction corpus occurred more often in the Belgian Dutch subset. However, this difference was only statistically significant in seven cases. In most of these cases, the log-likelihood score is well over 6.63 which implies that the there is only 1% chance that the difference between both frequencies is due to chance. In Table 29-Table 32, all fifteen items are listed. The shaded boxes contain the instances in which the difference was not statistically significant.

1. (Cultural) references to judicial, social security, health care system
[no items in this category]

2. Neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND&E-D
	BD	ND	E-D		
naar [creepy; nasty]	25	28	15	0.27	1.2x
1. kroeg [pub]	151	39	68	65.89	2.8x
2. schoppen [to kick]	126	82	86	10.46	1.5x
3. triest [sad]	103	62	27	31.82	2.3x
intriest [extremely sad]	4	1	1	2.69	4x
een poets bakken [to play a trick on someone]	2	1	2	0.08	1.3x
4. zeuren [to nag]	136	125	56	11.39	1.5x

Table 29: Category 2 items in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

3. Informal and colloquial crime-fiction vocabulary

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND&E-D
	BD	ND	E-D		
belazeren [to set someone up]	26	32	18	0.01	1.0x
mollen [to bump off]	4	2	4	0.17	1.3x
zat [fed up]	14	8	10	1.37	1.6x
5. pilsje [a beer]	52	43	5	13.96	2.2x

Table 30: Category 3 items in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

4. Genera features of spoken language

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND&E-D
	BD	ND	E-D		
arme drommel [poor bugger]	2	0	4	0.00	1x
6. hemeltje [o dear!]	4	0	1	4.50	8x

Table 31: Category 4 items in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

5. General, neutral-register vocabulary

	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND&E-D
	BD	ND	E-D		
pienter [clever]	7	4	8	0.08	1.2x
7. zoen [a kiss]	188	119	16	80.38	2.8x

Table 32: Category 5 items in *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

These items were removed from the list. Some of the above items, however, have synonyms that are much more widespread not only in Belgium, but also in the whole of the Dutch language area. In most cases, these synonyms were also used elsewhere in the interlingual subtitle corpus. These variants are discussed in the next section.

6.2.2.4.3. More common synonyms

In the case of four of the above items, synonyms were available that were much more common than the above items. These were looked up in both linguistic corpora to compare the frequencies tallied for both variants. Below the Dutch synonyms for the English source-text items 'a pub', 'I'm getting sick of/I've had enough', 'a beer', and 'a kiss' are discussed.

6.2.2.4.3.1. 'kroeg' versus 'café' [a pub]

The source-text item 'pub', in the interlingual subtitle corpus, is translated twice into Dutch with 'kroeg' (P1-0, P2-1, P3-1), 9 times with 'pub' (P1-6, P2-3, P3-0), and 14 times with 'café' (P1-1, P2-11, P3-1). The latter is much more common in both Belgium and the Netherlands than 'kroeg', as the data from both linguistic corpora in

Table 33 confirm, the general, unmarked Dutch 'café' is used three times more often in Belgian crime fiction, and 22 times more often in the Belgian subset of SoNaR than 'kroeg'.

pub	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND&ED	SoNaR		ratio BD vs. ND&ED	LLH score
	BD	ND	E-D			B	N		
kroeg	151	39	68	65.89	2.8x	2072	2510	1.5	278.02
café	460	349	73	125.39	2.2x	46435	8576	10.8	61364.97

Table 33: 'Kroeg' and 'café' in both corpora

The figures for the Netherlandic Dutch subsets show that 'café' is more common than 'kroeg' in the Netherlands as well. 'Kroeg' did not occur in the intralingual subtitle corpus under investigation.

6.2.2.4.3.1. 'zat' versus 'beu' [fed up]

In the interlingual subtitles, two Dutch phrases, 'ik ben/word 't zat' (P1-0, P2-2, P3-1) and 'ik ben 't beu' (P1-0, P2-2, P3-5), were used to translate the source-text phrases "I'm getting sick of" and "I've had enough". As Table 34 shows, both linguistic corpora suggest that the phrase 'het zat zijn', contrary to intuition, is equally widespread in both countries, as the difference between the Belgian and the Dutch subsets were not statistically significant in both corpora.

fed up	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND&ED	SoNaR		ratio BD vs. ND&ED	LLH score
	BD	ND	E-D			B	N		
zat	14	8	10	1.37	1.6	220	421	1	0.28
beu	65	2	10	84.37	10.8	8322	576	28.9	14484.95

Table 34: 'Zat' and 'beu' in both corpora

In Belgian crime fiction, however, phrases with 'beu' occurred almost five time more often than phrases with 'zat', and in the Belgian subset of SoNaR the former were used 38 times more often than phrases with 'zat'. 'Zat', in this meaning, did not occur in the intralingual subtitle corpus under investigation.

6.2.2.4.3.1. 'pilsje' versus 'pintje' [a beer]

Table 35 shows that the word 'pilsje' [a beer], which occurs two times in the interlingual subtitles (P1-1, P2-1, P3-0), contrary to intuition, is more frequently used in the Belgian subset of the crime-fiction corpus than the marked Belgian Dutch word 'pintje', which does not occur[82] in the interlingual subtitles, although 'pintje' is much more widespread in Belgium. The frequencies tallied in the Belgian Dutch

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[82] The word 'pint', however, does occur in the subtitles (P1-0, P2-4, P3-1).

subset of SoNaR show that 'pintje' is 19 times more often used than 'pilsje' and 3 times more often than 'biertje' (P1-3, P2-2, P3-1), which occurs 6 times in the interlingual subtitles, in SoNaR's Belgian Dutch subset.

beer	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND&ED	SoNaR		ratio BD vs. ND&ED	LLH score
	BD	ND	E-D			B	N		
pilsje	52	43	5	13.96	2.2x	202	280	1.4	15.38
biertje	23	72	48	22.69	5.2x	1145	2606	1.1	13.51
pintje	26	0	2	43.69	26x	3908	56	139.6	8043.88

Table 35: 'Pilsje' and 'pintje' in both corpora

Nonetheless, 'pilsje' is more widespread than the Belgian Dutch natiolectism 'pintje' in the Belgian subset of *NL CriFi 1999-2013*. The word 'pintje' only occurred in the intralingual subtitle corpus analysed here, whereas 'pilsje' and 'biertje' did not occur in this subtitle corpus.

6.2.2.4.3.1.   'zoen' versus 'kus' [a kiss]

Similarly, Table 36 reveals that 'zoen' [a kiss] is more frequently used than 'kus' in the Belgian Dutch subset of *NL CriFi 1999-2013*. However, the general, unmarked Dutch word 'kus' occurs four times more often than 'zoen' in the Belgian subset of SoNaR, which corresponds to the author's linguistic intuition.

kiss	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND&ED	SoNaR		ratio BD vs. ND&ED	LLH score
	BD	ND	E-D			B	N		
zoen	188	119	16	80.38	2.8x	4049	524	15.4	6153.52
kus	28	104	46	29.49	2.7x	16699	4788	7	17777.79

Table 36: 'Zoen' and 'kus' in both corpora

What is more, just like in the case of 'café' above, the word 'kus' occurs significantly more often than 'zoen' in the Netherlandic Dutch subset of SoNaR as well. In the interlingual subtitle corpus, 'zoen' was used once (P1-1, P2-0, P3-0) and 'kus' three times after 1998 (P1-0, P2-1, P3-2).

6.2.2.4.4.   Summary

After consulting *NL CriFi 1999-2013*, only 26 items occurred significantly less often in Belgian crime fiction. Therefore, after this step, 50 items of the original list of 82 'uncommon' items could remain on the list of the 'Netherlandic Dutch' and 'non-Belgian Dutch' items. The author's linguistic intuition about the usage of these 50 items was corroborated in the dictionaries and the specialised crime-fiction corpus. However, 32 items remained unaccounted for and, thus, had to be looked up in

SoNaR. The diagram in <u>Figure 22</u> visualises the results of the *NL CriFi 1999-2013* analysis.

NL CriFi 1999-2013

- 24 items labelled Netherlandic Dutch
- 26 items less common in Belgian crime fiction
- 32 items unaccounted for

Figure 22: Diagram *NL CriFi 1999-2013*

6.2.2.5. Words and phrases in SoNaR

Firstly, the 15 items listed in <u>Table 22</u>-<u>Table 26</u> in <u>6.2.2.4.2. More common in Belgian Dutch subset</u> were looked up in SoNaR to verify if they are more frequently used in the Belgian subset in this corpus as well. This was the case in all except one item, 'hemeltje', which according to SoNaR occurs statistically more often in the Netherlandic Dutch subset. In the case of all other fourteen items, the differences were statistically significant except for 'zat' [fed up] (cf. shaded boxes in <u>Table 38</u>). Thus, based on both corpora the 13 items could not be considered less common in Belgium. In the tables below (<u>Table 37</u>-<u>Table 40</u>), the words and phrases are listed together with the exact number of hits counted in the two SoNaR subsets. It has to be borne in mind, however, that the Belgian Dutch (BD) subset is roughly half the size of the Netherlandic Dutch (ND) subset. This is why the absolute frequencies cannot be compared to one another directly. For this reason, the ratio was added in the last column. By way of illustration, 'belazeren' occurs 2.3 times more often in the Belgian Dutch subset.

1. (Cultural) references to judicial, social security, health care system
[no items in this category]

2. Neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary

		SoNaR		LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND
		BD	ND		
1.	naar [creepy, nasty]	752	1327	7.43	1.1x
2.	kroeg [pub]	2072	2510	278.02	1.6x
3.	schoppen [to kick]	4439	2945	2209.65	3x
4.	triest [sad]	3168	2172	1506.20	2.9x
5.	een poets bakken [to play a trick on someone]	22	10	16.70	4.4x
6.	intriest [extremely sad]	188	31	259.61	12.1x
7.	zeuren [to nag]	1943	2400	242.94	1.6x

Table 37: Category 2 items in SoNaR

3. Informal and colloquial crime-fiction vocabulary

	SoNaR		LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND
	BD	ND		
8. belazeren [to set someone up]	407	347	135.18	2.3x
9. mollen [to bump off]	45	59	4.44	1.5x
zat [fed up]	220	421	0.28	1x
10. pilsje [a beer]	280	202	123.51	2.8x

Table 38: Category 3 items in SoNaR

4. Genera features of spoken language

	SoNaR		LLH score	ratio
	BD	ND		
11. arme drommel [poor bugger]	67	59	20.89	2.3x
hemeltje! [o dear!]	43	132	6.37	1.5x

Table 39: Category 4 items in SoNaR

5. General, neutral-register vocabulary

	SoNaR		LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND
	BD	ND		
12. pienter [clever]	260	116	200.68	4.5x
13. zoen [a kiss]	4094	524	6153.52	15.6x

Table 40: Category 5 items in SoNaR

Thus, 13 items of the above list were more frequently used in the Belgian subsets of SoNaR and this difference was statistically significant for all these items. Additionally, five other items appeared statistically more often in the Belgian subsets of SoNaR. They were added in <u>Table 41</u>.

	SoNaR		LLH score	ratio BD vs. ND
	BD	ND		
14. bezopen [pissed]	218	228	45.82	2x
15. janboel [a mess]	56	54	14.38	2x
16. lolbroek [a joker]	188	100	122.24	3.8x
17. nor [a jail]	117	23	150.65	10.2x
18. zaktelefoon [a mobile]	180	29	250.69	12.4x

Table 41: 5 additional items in SoNaR

Based on these figures, in total 18 words had to be removed from the original list of 82 'uncommon' words, as they occurred significantly more often in the Belgian subset of SoNaR. One of these is the afore-mentioned word 'zaktelefoon' [mobile phone]. The SoNaR corpus seems to suggest that this word is mainly used in Belgian texts where it occurs 12 times more often than in the Dutch texts. The Belgians may

have introduced this new Dutch coinage for the 'English' word 'gsm' [mobile phone]. However, just as in the case of the above-mentioned 'kroeg', 'zat', 'pilsje' and 'zoen', a synonym is available for this item, namely 'gsm', that is much more common in Belgium as Table 42 displays.

phone	NL CriFi 1999-2013			LLH score	ratio	SoNaR		ratio BD vs. ND&ED	LLH score
	BD	ND	E-D			B	N		
zak-telefoon	0	0	1	1.45	0.5x	180	29	12.4x	250.69
gsm	1024	108	232	971.49	6x	27299	1044	52.3x	51886.42

Table 42: 'Zaktelefoon' and 'gsm' in both corpora

The word 'gsm' occurs 1,024 times (more often) in the Belgian subset of *NL CriFi 1999-2013* and 27,299 times or 152 times more often than 'zaktelefoon' in the Belgian subset of SoNaR. These figures, thus, confirm that 'gsm' is much more widespread than 'zaktelefoon'. The word 'gsm' also occurs in the interlingual subtitle corpus where it was used 22 times after 1998 (P1-0, P2-11, P3-11), while 'zaktelefoon' was only used twice in the second period (P1-0, P2-2, P3-0).

Finally, the remaining 13 items had to be looked up in SoNaR. Unfortunately, three items ('aanlopen' [to pay a visit], 'tekstje' [a text message, i.e. sent from a mobile phone], and 'vies' [dirty]) could not be looked up in any of the linguistic corpora, as they are ambiguous and no efficient search queries could be carried out to circumvent this ambiguity. The lemma search in SoNaR resulted in too many concordance lines that had to be carefully analysed and this was not feasible here. For this reason, these three items, unfortunately, remained unaccounted for and were removed from the list. The item 'trap 'm op z'n staart' [hurry up] could not be found in the SoNaR corpus. As a result, only nine of the 13 items still had to be checked in the reference corpus of written Dutch. Table 43 lists the only items that were significantly more often used in the Netherlandic Dutch subset together with the afore-mentioned 'hemeltje'.

	SoNaR		LLH score	ratio ND vs. BD
	BD	ND		
1. borrel [a drink]	616	1966	110.51	1.6x
2. hemeltje! [o dear!]	43	132	6.37	1.5x
3. plastic tas [a plastic bag]	75	256	18.14	1.7x

Table 43: 'borrel', 'hemeltje, and 'plastic tas' in SoNaR

The remaining seven items had to be removed from the list of 82 words and phrases, as they did not occur significantly more often in the Netherlandic Dutch

subset. Thus, only three of the 32 items that still had to be accounted for occurred significantly more often in the Netherlandic Dutch subset. Contrary to intuition, 18 items appeared more often in the Belgian subset of this reference corpus of written Dutch, and, unfortunately, no usage information was available for 11 items.

	less common in Belgium	more common in Belgium	no information
SoNaR	**3**	**18**	**11**

Table 44: Results in SoNaR

These 11 items are listed in Table 45.

	SoNaR		LLH score	ratio
	BD	ND		
1. aanlopen [to pay a visit]				
2. tekstje [a text message]				
3. vies [dirty]				
4. trap 'm op z'n staart [put your foot down]	**0**	**0**		
5. inslecht [bad to the bone]	**1**	**5**	**0.85**	**2.5x**
6. m'n grootje [o dear!]	**17**	**18**	**3.46**	**1.9x**
7. naarling [a nasty person]	**3**	**13**	**1.69**	**2.2x**
8. pitten [to get some kip]	**150**	**270**	**1.06**	**1.1x**
9. rotwijf [bitch]	**14**	**23**	**0.33**	**1.2x**
10. sufferd [idiot]	**53**	**124**	**0.93**	**1.2x**
11. zat [fed up]	**220**	**421**	**0.28**	**1x**

Table 45: 11 remaining items in SoNaR

The first three ambiguous items could not be looked up; one item did not occur in the reference corpus, and the frequencies tallied for the seven last items were not statistically significant. Four of these items (#5, #6, #7, and #9) occurred fewer than 50 times in the corpus. This could imply that these items are less common in the wider Dutch language area, or that these items belong to a register that is not sufficiently covered in the reference corpus of written Dutch.

The diagram in Figure 23 summarises the results of all steps taken to establish if the original 82 words and phrases that were found in the interlingual subtitles are indeed more frequently used in the Netherlands. Based on these results, 53 items from the original list either are marked Netherlandic Dutch, or can be said to be 'non-Belgian' Dutch.

SoNaR

- 24 items labelled Netherlandic Dutch
- 26 items less common in Belgian crime fiction
- 3 items less common in Belgian subset of SoNaR
- 18 items more common in Belgium
- 11 items unaccounted for
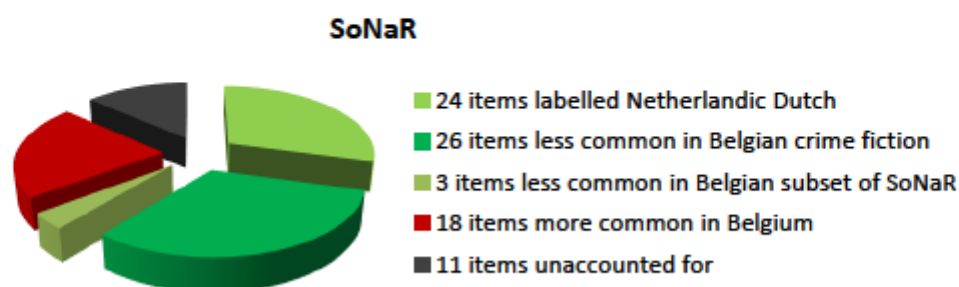
Figure 23: Diagram SoNaR

6.2.3. Results of the second analysis

After consulting two dictionaries and two linguistic corpora, 53 words and phrases that were spotted in the interlingual subtitles are labelled 'Netherlandic Dutch', or can be said to be less common in Belgium, as they occur statistically more often in the 'non-Belgian' subsets of the linguistic corpora that were used for the sake of this analysis. This means that the original list of 82 items that were felt to be less common in Belgium based on the author's linguistic intuition was reduced to 53 items. All of the original 82 items were also looked up in the intralingual subtitle corpus and the numbers of hits in both interlingual and intralingual subtitle corpora are included in 9.7. Appendix G: 'Uncommon' words and phrases. Quite revealingly, only eight of these variants also occurred in the intralingual subtitles under investigation. Upon closer inspection, however, three of these were only used in the literal rendition of a Dutch national's speech ('ie' [he], 'nou' [well], and 'zeuren' [to nag]). The five remaining items occurred more than once in the intralingual subtitles. These items are 'plaats delict' [scene of crime], 'klap' [a blow], 'lab' [a lab], 'toe' [please], and 'waarschuwen' [to notify].

The intralingual subtitles give an almost verbatim rendition of the spoken Belgian Dutch source text. For this reason, they can be considered a useful resource of Belgian Dutch crime-fiction vocabulary. This is one of the reasons why, in the end it was decided not to include these five items in the list of 53 Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items. 'Plaats delict' [scene of crime], 'klap' [a blow], 'lab' [a lab], 'toe' [please], 'waarschuwen' [to notify] were thus not considered here, although the latter is marked Netherlandic Dutch according to *Prisma 2014* and the four other items occurred significantly more often in the 'non-Belgian' texts. An other reason is that the number of hits three of the items generated in the Belgian subset of *NL CriFi 1999-2013* was still relatively high; 'plaats delict' [scene of crime]

returned 57 hits, 'klap' [a blow] 216 hits, and 'lab' [a lab] 46 hits. Thus, these items can still be said to be common in Belgium. This brings the original list of 82 items to 48 items. In the first subcorpus covering the subtitles that were created before the 1998 policy changes, 26 of these items were found. In the other subcorpora, 25 and 18 items were found respectively.

In brief, the above analysis suggests that the interlingual subtitle corpus contains marked Netherlandic Dutch lexis and lexis that is statistically more frequently used in the 'non-Belgian' subsets of the linguistic corpora. In total, 48 items were found. All of these items were classified into the afore-mentioned five crime-fiction categories. The results are discussed in the next section. Nonetheless, it cannot be said that these words or phrases were always used to translate the corresponding source-text item. In a number of cases, the more common equivalents that are general, unmarked Dutch were used in the subtitles as well. Particularly problematic, however, are seven items that were entirely unfamiliar to the author and, in all probability, to other Belgian native speakers of Dutch as well.

6.3. Categorisation of the marked lexis

All geographically marked words and phrases that could be retrieved in the inter- and intralingual VRT subtitles were put into the five different categories that were drawn up for the sake of this research. This enabled direct comparison of the numbers of Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' items with the numbers of Belgian Dutch items found in each category. The four first categories are particularly interesting as they relate to crime fiction-specific lexis and general features of spoken language that are used to render the dialogues in the subtitles. The approximately 300 geographically marked words and phrases were put into these categories in 9.8. Appendix H: All natiolectisms. Only the main four categories are listed here together with the numbers of natiolectisms found in both VRT subtitle corpora.

1. (Cultural-specific) references to policing, judicial systems, social services, and health care

Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' items in interlingual corpus	2
Belgian Dutch items in interlingual corpus	0
Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' items in intralingual corpus	0
Belgian Dutch items in intralingual corpus	20

2. Neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary

Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' items in interlingual corpus	22
Belgian Dutch items in interlingual corpus	25
Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' items in intralingual corpus	0
Belgian Dutch items in intralingual corpus	68

3. Lower-register crime-fiction vocabulary

Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' items in interlingual corpus	13
Belgian Dutch items in interlingual corpus	8
Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' items in intralingual corpus	0
Belgian Dutch items in intralingual corpus	69

4. General features of spoken language

Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' items in interlingual corpus	8
Belgian Dutch items in interlingual corpus	0
Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' items in intralingual corpus	(2)
Belgian Dutch items in intralingual corpus	8

In total, 20 items from the first category — references to policing, judicial system, social services and health care—were found in the intralingual subtitle corpus and all of these were marked Belgian Dutch. In the interlingual subtitles, no marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases were found that fitted into this category. Only the abbreviations 'OM' [public prosecutor] and 'TR' [SOCO] fit into this category and both items are more widespread in Netherlandic Dutch texts. In the intralingual subtitles, neither 'OM', nor 'Openbaar Ministerie' [public prosecutor] is used. Three marked Belgian Dutch alternatives were found in this corpus, namely 'auditoraat' [ministry of public prosecution], 'parket' [office of the public prosecutor], and 'Procureur des Konings' [public prosecutor]. These are culture-specific and relate to Belgian law and policing. 'Openbaar Ministerie' is probably the only unmarked Dutch word that could be used for the source-text item 'public prosecutor'. It is highly likely that the VRT subtitlers used the abbreviations, rather than the word in full

because it is much shorter. Nevertheless, not all Belgians may be familiar with the abbreviations, which could cause comprehension difficulties.

By the same token, neither 'TR', nor 'technische recherche' is used in the intralingual subtitles analysed here. In the intralingual subtitles the more general term 'lab' or 'labo' [lab] is used. The latter is marked Belgian Dutch and occurs more often (32 hits), than the former (17 hits) in this subtitle corpus. The marked Belgian Dutch 'labo', however, was never used in the interlingual subtitle corpus. Only 'lab' occurs 23 times in the subtitles analysed here. Another marked Belgian Dutch word taken from the intralingual subtitle corpus is 'wetsdokter' [police surgeon], which was never used in the interlingual subtitles. In this corpus, the general, unmarked Dutch 'patholoog' is used six times and 'lijkschouwer' once to translate the source-text items 'pathologist', 'coroner', and 'forensic scientist'. The former, 'patholoog', never occurs in the intralingual subtitle corpus and the latter, 'lijkschouwer', only once. In the Belgian subset of *NL CriFi 1999-2013*, 'patholoog' and 'lijkschouwer' occur significantly less often – the former 11 and the latter a mere 5 times – than the marked Belgian Dutch 'wetsdokter', which occurs as many as 134 times in this subset.

Most geographically marked items, however, were found in categories 2 and 3, namely neutral, and lower-register crime-fiction vocabulary. The figures above show that in the interlingual subtitles slightly more – 25 items compared to 22 – marked Belgian Dutch lexis was used than Netherlandic and 'non-Belgian' Dutch lexis in the neutral-register category. In the lower-register category, the opposite is the case. Only eight marked Belgian Dutch items were found here and 13 Netherlandic and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items. In the intralingual subtitles, no Netherlandic and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items could be found in these categories. Marked Belgian Dutch lexis, however, is well represented in this neutral-register and lower-register crime-fiction category. In this intralingual subtitle corpus, 68 items fitted into the former and 69 items in the latter category.

The number of items belonging to the fourth category of general features of spoken language shows that in the interlingual subtitle corpus not a single marked Belgian Dutch item could be retrieved from this category. Of the geographically marked items found in the interlingual subtitle corpus, only marked Netherlandic and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items were used to convey speech in writing in this subtitle corpus. Eight items in total were found. A quick comparison with the intralingual subtitle corpus reveals that in this category only two Netherlandic and 'non-Belgian'

Dutch items were used here, but those only occurred in subtitles that literally convey a Dutch national's speech. Eight marked Belgian Dutch items were used to convey features of speech in the subtitles in the intralingual subtitle corpus. The analysed interlingual subtitle corpus, thus, seems to suggest that VRT subtitlers do not resort to marked Belgian Dutch lexis to convey general elements of speech in the subtitles. They resort to general features of unmarked Dutch, such as contractions: 't [it], 'm [him], 's [once, someday], 'n [a], z'n [his], m'n [my], 'r [her], and marked Netherlandic and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items in the subtitles under investigation.

6.4. Crime-fiction alternatives

The analysis of the interlingual subtitle corpus suggests that subtitlers mainly draw on general, unmarked Dutch lexis. The analysis of the intralingual subtitle corpus shows that words and phrases that are less common in Belgium (i.e. Netherlandic and 'non-Belgian' Dutch) hardly ever occur in the subtitle corpus. When they do occur in this corpus, they are an exact rendering of a Dutch national's speech. It is fair to say that the vocabulary used in the intralingual subtitles is much closer to Belgian Dutch spoken registers. One way of finding more suitable alternatives for the Netherlandic and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items that were found in the interlingual subtitle corpus, therefore, could be to use the intralingual subtitle corpus as a lexical resource. In 9.9. Appendix I: Lexical alternatives, 25 items were listed together with such alternatives taken from in the intralingual subtitle corpus. In six cases, it has to be said that these alternatives also occurred elsewhere in the interlingual subtitles.

By way of example, an alternative for the marked Netherlandic Dutch item 'mafkees' [crackpot] could be 'zot', which, in fact, is a general, unmarked Dutch word. This word was used six times in this sense in the intralingual subtitle corpus. In 9.9. Appendix I: Lexical alternatives, the number of hits found in *NL CriFi 1999-2013* for both items, the 'non-Belgian Dutch' item and the suggested alternative, are also given. For instance, 'mafkees' never occurred in the Belgian subset of the crime-fiction corpus, whereas 'zot' occurred 22 times in this subset. Based on this information from the intralingual subtitle corpus and the crime-fiction corpus, one could argue that the much shorter 'zot' is a suitable alternative for 'mafkees' in subtitles aiming at a Belgian audience. In total, the frequencies counted in *NL CriFi 1999-2013* confirmed that 17 of these 25 alternatives were more frequently used in contemporary Belgian crime-fiction novels.

Nevertheless, in four cases the alternatives found in the intralingual subtitle corpus were, in fact, less common than the uncommon items in *NL CriFi 1999-2013* ('brol' [rubbish], 'met iemands voeten spelen' [to joke around with], 'mispeuteren' [to be up to (mischief), and 'wenen' [to weep]). This serves as a reminder that Belgian crime fiction is by no means a subset of 'pure' Belgian Dutch. Belgian authors may avoid using marked Belgian Dutch and might use Netherlandic Dutch instead, or these variants may well have been inserted by their editors. Even so, Belgian nationals are exposed to these Belgian novels and, for this reason it was decided that words and phrases that were frequently used in these Belgian novels could not be considered 'non-Belgian Dutch'. This is why words and phrases that are believed to be uncommon in Belgium, such as 'belazeren' [to set up], and 'zeuren' [to nag], were not included in the list of 'non-Belgian' Dutch items, as they occurred relatively frequently in the Belgian Dutch subset of the crime-fiction corpus. It is worth mentioning, however, that these items have more widespread Belgian Dutch counterparts that were also used in the intralingual subtitle corpus: 'iemand erbij lappen/iemand iets lappen' [to set up], and 'zagen' [to nag].

6.5. Findings

The results of this diachronic analysis of some ten thousand interlingual subtitles show a small increase in the use of marked Belgian Dutch lexis in subtitles that were created five years after the 1998 policy changes. Nevertheless, in all subcorpora, the number of words and phrases that are marked Netherlandic Dutch or occurred more frequently in the Netherlandic Dutch subsets of the linguistic corpora used in this analysis outnumbered the Belgian Dutch words and phrases. In the more recent subtitles of the Period III subcorpus, less geographically marked lexis was found altogether. Mainly general, unmarked Dutch appears to be used in this corpus of interlingual subtitles. This is particularly true if the usage labels in the Van Dale dictionary are taken as an authority on geographic markedness, as it tends to be done at VRT's translation department. According to the Van Dale dictionary namely, only 27 of the 88 geographically marked items that were found in the entire interlingual subtitle corpus are natiolectisms. Four of those are labelled 'Netherlandic Dutch', and 23 'Belgian Dutch'.

For the sake of this analysis, the usage labels in the RBBN file (1998, 2005) and *Prisma 2014* were used. Additionally, two linguistic corpora, *NL CriFi 1999-2013* and the SoNaR reference corpus of written Dutch, were used to determine if certain

words and phrases were less common in Belgium. According to these sources, a total of 88 of the words and phrases that were detected in the interlingual subtitle corpus can be said to be marked for geographic region. The highlighted boxes in <u>Table 46</u> show that fewer geographically marked Belgian Dutch items were found in the subtitle corpus under scrutiny. Only 40 of the 88 natiolectisms were marked Belgian Dutch. Moreover, four times fewer instances of the latter were found in the interlingual subtitle corpus (61 compared to 255 instances). In every subcorpus each corresponding to a different period, the number of marked Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items exceeds the number of marked Belgian Dutch items. The last subcorpus covering the more recent (2011-2012) subtitles, nonetheless, contains fewer marked Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items (namely 18) than the two previous subcorpora (26 and 25), but even fewer items (eight as opposed to 18) were marked Belgian Dutch in this Period III subcorpus.

	Period I (1995-1996)	Period II (2004-2006)	Period III (2011-2012)	total
subtitles	3,437	3,626	2,833	9,896
word tokens	27,006	27,842	21,876	76,724
word types	3,449	3,394	3,490	7,096
Belgian Dutch (*RBBN & Prisma 2014*)	**16 items**	**20 items**	**8 items**	**40 items**
	26 inst.	23 inst.	12 inst.	61 inst.
Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' Dutch (*Prisma 2014, Van Dale 2014* and corpora)	**26 items**	**25 items**	**18 items**	**48 items**
	77 inst.	132 inst.	46 inst.	255 inst.

Table 46: Number of natiolectisms in interlingual subtitle corpus

Lower-register natiolectisms, i.e. items that are labelled 'informal' and 'colloquial', were analysed separately.

lower-register items	INTERlingual			INTRAlingual		
	P1	P2	P3	P1	P2	P3
Belgian Dutch items	**10** (16 inst.)			**92** (334 inst.)		
	0	6	4	30	47	45
Netherlandic and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items	**16** (31 inst.)			**1** (1 inst.)		
	5	10	3	0	1	0

Table 47: Lower-register items in both subtitle corpora

<u>Table 47</u> shows that significantly fewer lower-register geographically marked items are used in the interlingual subtitle corpus compared to the intralingual subtitle

corpus. In the interlingual subtitle corpus, more lower-register marked Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian Dutch' items were found than lower-register marked Belgian Dutch items. In total, 16 items as opposed to only ten lower-register Belgian Dutch items were identified. Furthermore, these items occur twice as often (31 as opposed to 16 instances).

The results of this analysis suggest that VRT subtitlers did not use any lower-register Belgian Dutch equivalents in the first period (1995-1996), i.e. before the 1998 policy changes. Some Belgian Dutch lower-register items were used in the Period II (2004-2006) subtitles, but the subtitlers still gave preference to marked Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' Dutch lower-register items in the subtitles analysed for this period. Almost twice as many such items were found in this subcorpus. This subcorpus of interlingual subtitles contains the most lower-register marked Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items. In total, ten items were found in this subcorpus, whereas only six lower-register Belgian Dutch items were attested in the same subcorpus. The more recent subtitles in the last subcorpus contain significantly fewer Netherlandic Dutch lower-register items, only three items as opposed to ten in the previous period.

Overall, only 26 lower-register natiolectisms were used in the interlingual subtitle corpus, while as many as 93 were used in the intralingual subtitle corpus. Only one Netherlandic Dutch item occurred in the intralingual subtitle corpus that is labelled 'spreektaal' [colloquial] in *Prisma Handwoordenboek Nederlands* (Martin, Smedts and van Cleyenbreugel 2014), the particle 'nou' [well]. This particle occurs 26 times in the interlingual subtitle corpus and was only used once in the intralingual subtitle corpus in the verbatim rendition of a Dutch national's speech. The above figures suggest that in this corpus of interlingual subtitles, features of lower-register spoken language in the dialogues are mainly translated with neutral or lower-register unmarked, general Dutch lexis. If however, geographically marked lexis was used to render these features in the subtitles, in the first two periods, Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' Dutch words and phrases, rather than their Belgian Dutch counterparts, were used. This seems to confirm the 1998 subtitlers' accounts with regard to the use of Netherlandic Dutch to convey the informal varieties used in the English source text (Hendrickx and Reid 1998).

The third subcorpus with more recent subtitles that were created in 2012, however, show a significant drop in the use of Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' Dutch lexis in general and, particularly, in lower-register Netherlandic Dutch. In this

subcorpus, more or less the same number of lower-register marked Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch items is used. Compared to the last subcorpus of the intralingual subtitle corpus, six times fewer – 45 items compared to 7 – lower-register items were used in the interlingual subtitles that were created in the same period (2011-2013).

Some of the words and phrases that are less common in Belgium are not necessarily more widespread in the Netherlands. Some, for example, occurred fewer than 50 times in the 500 million-word reference corpus of written Dutch. As a result, these words and phrases could be considered less common in the Dutch language area as a whole. Using lexis that is less common in the target culture's language or its national variety in itself may cause viewers to stumble over words. Unfamiliar words and phrases may distract viewers and disturb their viewing experience. Therefore, why the word 'zaktelefoon' [mobile phone] was used on a few occasions in the more recent interlingual subtitles, for instance, rather than the widely used general, unmarked standard Dutch word 'gsm' that is also much shorter, beggars belief. Particularly problematic, however, are words and phrases that may be entirely unknown to the target audience, as they are likely to cause comprehension difficulties. In total, the author considers seven such items that were found in all three different subcorpora of the interlingual subtitle corpus to be problematic.

For the sake of this analysis of crime-fiction subtitles, the 297 geographically marked variants that were found in both subtitle corpora were classified into five rough categories. The diagram in Figure 24 shows the proportion of each category.

297 natiolectisms

Category 1
Category 2
Category 3
Category 4
Category 5
Category 6
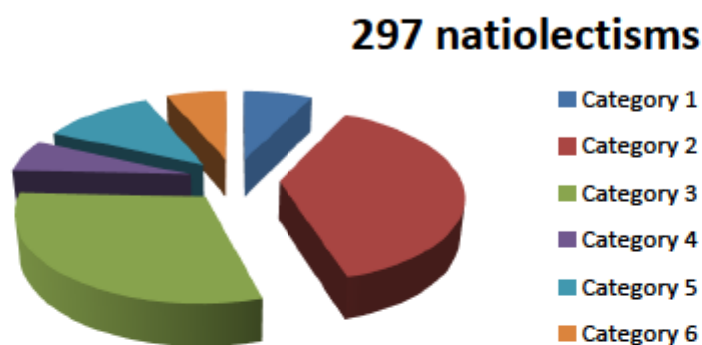
Figure 24: Diagram crime-fiction categories

This classification reveals that almost 40% of all the geographically marked variants occurr in category 2. neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary. Similarly, category 3. lower-register crime-fiction vocabulary contains a high number of such natiolectisms (around 30% of all items). The latter categories are highlighted in Table 48. Category 4 general features of spoken language contains the fewest items (around 5% of all geographically marked variants). In categories 3 and 4, however, in the interlingual

subtitle corpus the number of marked Belgian Dutch items is still lower than the number of marked Netherlandic Dutch items (cf. the figures in bold print in <u>Table 48</u>).

	lower-register items	BD INTRA	ND INTRA	BD INTER	ND INTER
1	(culture-specific) references	20	0	0	2
2	neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary	68	0	25	22
3	lower-register crime-fiction vocabulary	69	0	8	13
4	general features of spoken language	8	(2)	0	8
5	general, neutral-register vocabulary	27	0	5	3
6	lower-register general vocabulary	18	0	1	0

Table 48: All natiolectisms

7. Conclusions

The *written* word plays an important role in the standardisation process of languages and this standardisation process is an on-going process, as languages are in constant flux. In smaller languages, such as Dutch, the *written translated* word, more specifically, has a greater impact because of the large proportion of translations published in such smaller language areas. The popularity of audiovisual media, however, is likely to result in increased exposure to *written subtitled* texts in such language areas. For this reason, Cees Koster (1997, p.30) states that subtitling editors-in-chief are "responsible for the development of Dutch" [author's translation]. What happens in subtitling, indeed, may be more significant from a language-planning perspective than what happens in publishing. This is why a diachronic corpus of interlingual fiction subtitles was analysed in the present research. These subtitles were created and transmitted by the Flemish public service broadcaster (VRT), which has a history as a language-planning agent with regard to Dutch in Belgium. When the Dutch language area was recognised as a pluricentric language area with a Belgian and a Netherlandic Dutch national variety, VRT changed its language policy by adhering no longer to the Netherlandic Dutch standard. The impact of this policy change was gauged in a representative sample of its open interlingual fiction subtitles in the present research.

In 2003, the Dutch Language Union issued a report in which it officially acknowledged Dutch as a pluricentric language with two natiolects in Europe. Each of the two motherlands of Dutch has its own natiolect today. Although both natiolects officially have equal status, the Belgian Dutch natiolect is considered non-dominant and the Netherlandic Dutch natiolect dominant in this pluricentric language area. This is also reflected in literary publication where generally the Netherlandic Dutch standard is upheld. Some established Belgian authors, however, resist this practice, and as a result, less Netherlandic Dutch and more Belgian Dutch can be found in present-day Dutch fiction originating from Belgium. This, however, is not the case in literary translation. Translators and translation scholars have started to speak up for a richer, more inclusive Dutch written standard. Language professionals also realise that potentially valuable language contact within the overall Dutch language area is being thwarted by restrictive publishing practices. Speakers of both natiolects, who for centuries have been separated politically and culturally from one another by state borders, are alienating from one another linguistically as well. Familiarising Dutch-speakers in Europe with both natiolects, therefore, could foster mutual

intelligibility and stop the linguistic divergence. Moreover, it would enrich the language that the Dutch, after all, share, not just with the Belgians, but also with Dutch speakers outside of Europe, who, likewise, have their present and future contribution to make to their native language.

To date, VRT's interlingual subtitle output has not been analysed systematically with regard to the use of marked Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch lexis. Such words and phrases are one of the most visible markers of national variation in written Dutch. The aim of this analysis was to establish whether or not VRT's 1998 language policy is reflected in its interlingual subtitles. By the same token, it sought to establish whether subtitles – being *written* texts – provide a counterbalance to the Dutch publishing industry's edited written texts by including Belgian Dutch features. The main focus of attention in this analysis, thus, was geographically marked lexis. Only an estimated 10% of the entire Dutch lexicon is marked for geographic region. Most of such natiolectisms are content words that, in general, occur considerably less often than function words. Thus, the linguistic phenomenon under scrutiny here is a low-frequency phenomenon. This low-frequency phenomenon is worth examining since, the use of marked Belgian Dutch lexis is controversial in Dutch-language literary publication, but even more so in translation. It is important to determine what the status of this national variety is within Belgian borders and to what extent the Flemish public service broadcaster (VRT) uses its own natiolect in its linguistic output. In 1998, VRT, whose target audience is the Dutch-speaking Community in Belgium, announced that it would allow for the use of more Belgian Dutch lexis in its broadcasts. A diachronic analysis of almost ten thousand interlingual subtitles created and transmitted by the Flemish public service broadcaster, before and after the policy changes, was conducted to establish to what extent marked Belgian Dutch lexis is actually used in this specific text type.

The findings of this analysis are that only a limited number of geographically marked items was used in the crime-fiction corpus under investigation. This seems to suggest that subtitlers predominantly drew on general, unmarked Dutch lexis. Interestingly, the subtitles that were created before the policy changes already contained a number of marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases. However, the pivotal year 1998 did not prove to be a radical turning point in VRT subtitling, as there was only a small increase in the number of Belgian Dutch items in the second subcorpus. This subcorpus comprises subtitles that were created roughly seven years after the policy changes. In every subcorpus, however, the number of marked Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian' Dutch items (items that occur significantly less

often in Belgium) exceeded the number of marked Belgian Dutch items. Particularly problematic, however, are the – albeit small number of – words and phrases found in the interlingual subtitles that are believed to be unknown to the average Belgian Dutch speaker.

When two pronunciation variants for the same word are available, VRT prefers to use the marked Belgian Dutch, rather than the marked Netherlandic Dutch pronunciation. Ruud Hendrickx (2003, p.12) emphasises that this is not because VRT deems the latter wrong, but because the Netherlandic Dutch variant is hardly used, if at all, in Belgium. For this reason, VRT's guidelines explain it is not suitable for VRT's target audience, or as Hendrickx puts it, "viewers and listeners are easily distracted by pronunciation variants they are not used to" [author's translation]. Surely, the same could be said about Netherlandic Dutch lexis in subtitles. Moreover distracting the viewer is what subtitlers have to avoid at all cost, as dwelling for too long on a word may cause the viewer to miss the rest of the subtitle, which disappears within four seconds. Thus, in this case, distraction may even cause serious comprehension difficulties.

Subtitles are a hybrid text form. They have to render speech in writing. There are several ways to do this, one of which is to use lower-register spoken vocabulary. The general – unmarked for geographic region – Dutch lower-register spoken vocabulary is relatively limited, therefore, translators may have to resort to their own natiolect to come up with a suitable translation of a given word or phrase. In the case of VRT, this would be the Belgian natiolect. In the corpus of interlingual subtitles that was analysed here, only few Belgian Dutch lower-register words and phrases were used. Significantly more such items were found in a similar-sized intralingual subtitle corpus. Thus, there seems to be a reluctance to use lower-register Belgian Dutch in interlingual subtitles. In general, interlingual subtitlers, tend to neutralise features of spoken language, hence, this is not necessarily characteristic of VRT's subtitling policy.

The results of the analysis of the first subcorpus seem to confirm that no Belgian Dutch lower-register lexis whatsoever was used in subtitles created before the policy changes. Nevertheless, some geographically marked lower-register items were found in this subcorpus. These items were marked Netherlandic Dutch or 'non-Belgian' Dutch items, which confirms the subtitlers' account with regard to the use of Netherlandic, rather than Belgian lower-register lexis in interlingual subtitles. This is remarkable, as VRT, for a long time, has felt the need to subtitle colloquial spoken

Netherlandic Dutch registers in imported Dutch fiction series, because it believed its (Belgian) target audience would struggle with the lower spoken registers of Netherlandic Dutch used in these programmes.

Some marked Belgian Dutch lower-register lexis was found in the second subcorpus containing subtitles that were transmitted after the policy changes. Nonetheless, the number of marked Netherlandic Dutch or 'non-Belgian' Dutch items was two times higher in this subcorpus. The third subcorpus containing subtitles that were created in 2011 and 2012, contained far fewer Netherlandic Dutch or 'non-Belgian' Dutch lower-register items. In conclusion, it is fair to say that the analysis of this interlingual subtitle corpus does not suggest that the new language policy resulted in an explosion of marked Belgian Dutch lexis in VRT's interlingual subtitles. In the intralingual subtitle corpus that was analysed, considerably more Belgian natiolectisms were found, particularly in the two last subcorpora containing subtitles that were created between 2009 and 2013. Moreover, in this intralingual subtitle corpus, Netherlandic Dutch or 'non-Belgian' Dutch was only used to convey the speech of Dutch nationals in subtitles. The number of Netherlandic Dutch and 'non-Belgian Dutch items was higher than the number of Belgian natiolectisms in all of the interlingual subtitle subcorpora. This could mean that the Netherlandic Dutch standard is still upheld in VRT's interlingual subtitles, albeit with some room for Belgian Dutch lexis. The findings of this analysis of genre-specific crime-fiction subtitle corpus could hypothetically be generalised to VRT's output of fiction subtitles. However, other VRT fiction subtitle corpora will have to be analysed to corroborate this hypothesis.

At VRT, intralingual teletext subtitlers are allowed to use certain lexical features of colloquial Belgian Dutch. The widespread personal pronoun[83] 'gij'/'ge' [you], which is a clear marker of informal spoken registers in Belgium, for instance, cannot be used in teletext subtitles. VRT only agreed to make concessions with regard to the use of lower-register marked Belgian Dutch vocabulary, after a survey revealed that its deaf and hard-of-hearing audience objected to VRT standardising Belgian Dutch colloquial and dialect registers in its intralingual subtitles. According to VRT's language policy, such Belgian Dutch registers can be functional in the spoken dialogues of its home-produced television series. However, they cannot be used in VRT's interlingual subtitles, although such lexis, of course, can be functional here as well to aptly convey the spoken registers in the source-text dialogues.

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[83] This pronoun also occurs 285 times in the Belgian subset of the *NL CriFi 1999-2013* corpus.

Register differences play an important role in subtitled fiction and particularly in crime fiction. In this sense, VRT's language policy arguably hampers effective subtitling practice.

The language used in intralingual subtitles is much closer to the spoken (colloquial) variety of Belgian Dutch, since these subtitles give an almost verbatim rendition of the varieties used in the source-text dialogues. This means that the language used in those subtitles is much closer to the target audience's everyday language. For a long time, colloquial Belgian Dutch has been used in the oral output of home-produced, Dutch-language fiction series in Belgium. Thus, VRT's audience is perfectly familiar with this variety. Moreover, most Belgian Dutch-speakers use it, or at least are exposed to it on a daily basis. This is why Sonja Vandepitte (2009, p.96), for example, suggested in her translation handbook that Belgium's widespread colloquial variety of Dutch could be used in fiction translation as a "general type of non-standard or common speech". Therefore, this variety could be the solution to the problem of conveying dialects and non-standard source-text varieties in subtitles; the problem interlingual VRT subtitlers broached in 1998.

In any case, the use of lower-register Netherlandic Dutch in subtitles aiming at a Belgian audience that is no longer familiar with these registers of Netherlandic Dutch is problematic. Intralingual subtitles can be used as comparable texts to inform interlingual subtitlers about more suitable target audience-oriented lexis. This was done at the end of the previous chapter. The intralingual crime-fiction subtitles were used as a lexical resource from which translation alternatives were mined for some of the target-text items found in the interlingual subtitle corpus, which are less common in Belgium. As the suggested alternatives illustrate, the variants that are more widespread in Belgium than some of the above-mentioned uncommon variants selected by the interlingual subtitlers in the analysed subtitle corpus often are general, unmarked Dutch.

VRT's language-policy documents revealed that its attitude towards the lower-register colloquial variety of Belgian Dutch is – to say the least – ambiguous. This ambiguity is also reflected in its subtitles, as intralingual subtitles contain colloquial Belgian Dutch lexis while interlingual subtitles do not. In 1998, the *VRT Taalcharter* stated the use of this variety was suitable in fiction for the sake of realism, but in the late 2000s, VRT became less open to this variety. In its latest *Taalcharter*, VRT states all varieties of Dutch can be used in fiction that does not aim at children. Hendrickx made no secret of the fact that he would like to see the establishment of

another variety of Belgian Dutch that could be used in informal situations instead. What is more, he believes better proficiency in the Belgian variety of standard Dutch will enable the consolidation of this variety. This new variety he has in mind is closer to standard Dutch than the much maligned, present-day colloquial variety of Belgian Dutch.

Some Belgian sociolinguists, however, believe that a linguistic change in exactly the opposite direction is taking place. They think it is highly likely that a new standard variety of Belgian Dutch is evolving from its current colloquial variety. The advantage of this variety is that, unlike Netherlandic Dutch, it is not a 'foreign' standard that is 'imposed on' Dutch speakers in Belgium. It is 'their' language that 'naturally' evolved out of 'their' Belgian dialects. Because of its unrelenting popularity, despite several language-planning efforts to stop it since the late 1980s, and hence because of its linguistic prestige, Guy Tops believes this colloquial Belgian Dutch variety has all it needs to become the new Belgian standard (Stroop 2003b). Johan Taeldeman, however, worries that this new Belgian standard variety may take a completely separate course and in the end will "no longer deserve the name Dutch" [author's translation] (Notte and Scheirlinck 2007).

This concern that Belgian Dutch may be evolving away from Netherlandic Dutch and, in doing so, tear apart the already small language area is possibly the reason why the acceptance of general Belgian Dutch features in written language, which has long been considered the most prestigious form of language, is still a contentious issue. Yet, more openness towards variation and a broader written standard, to which not only Dutch nationals contribute, could help stop such diverging tendencies. The Dutch linguist, Marc van Oostendorp (2012), appealed for more linguistic tolerance in both spoken and written Dutch in his 2012 column "Als we niet toleranter worden, verstaan we elkaar straks niet meer" [If we do not become more tolerant, we may no longer understand each other in the future]. The Belgian author Kristien Hemmerechts (2010, p.46) put it this way, "if the Dutch language wants to survive, it has to take up as many variants as possible" [author's translation]. Similarly, translation scholars Désirée Schyns and Philippe Noble (2008) believe a more inclusive written standard could be the solution to the problem of linguistic divergence within the Dutch language area. They also called for a more clearly defined standard.

VRT's current language adviser, Ruud Hendrickx, has been a member of the Dutch Language Union's *Taaladviesoverleg* [Language Advisory Panel] since 2001 and

became the Belgian editor-in-chief of the Van Dale dictionary's Belgian editing staff in 2009. However, at VRT he follows neither the Van Dale dictionary's labels, nor the Dutch Language Union's official spelling categorically. VRT agreed to allow for the use of words and phrases labelled 'general Belgian Dutch'in the Van Dale dictionary, but there are exceptions. VRT, appears to be less lenient towards loan translations and foreign words. It has to be borne in mind, however, that many of the marked Belgian Dutch words and phrases that are nowadays labelled 'general Belgian Dutch' were once discarded as 'barbarisms' and 'purisms'. Such loan translations and foreign words become accepted in language areas and, in the end, are embraced by the wider linguistic community. Anyhow, one could argue that Hendrickx's affiliation to the Van Dale dictionary, the Dutch Language Union, and VRT puts him in the ideal position to streamline language policy with regard to Belgian Dutch. If these language-planning bodies were to agree on what Belgian Dutch looks like, this could settle the confusion surrounding this natiolect and its acceptability. At present, Dutch speakers in Belgium including VRT's subtitlers are confronted with several, sometimes conflicting, reference works (e.g. the Van Dale dictionary vs. the Prisma dictionary, VRT vs. the Dutch Language Union's language advice), which further complicates matters.

The one-sided Netherlandic written standard in both original and translated fiction has come under criticism. In November 2014, the results of a survey caused a lot of commotion in Dutch-speaking Belgium (e.g. Houthuys 2014, Houthuys and Van den Eynde 2014). This survey revealed that almost 60% of Belgian language professionals were in favour of a more Belgian-flavoured written standard. Johan De Schryver, who conducted a comparable survey among parliamentarians with a similar outcome (De Schryver and De Saedeleer 2014a; 2014b), pointed out that, in the light of these results, it was not sensible to continue to teach the Netherlandic standard in Belgium. Most Belgian and some Dutch translators believe marked Belgian Dutch lexis could enrich the Dutch language. In their account of interlingual subtitling at VRT, Ruud Hendrickx and Helene Reid (1998), refer to the shifting borders of *acceptability* with regard to non-standard lexical items, modernisms, archaisms, barbarisms and regionalisms. They explain subtitlers also have to consider such changes. Surely, VRT subtitlers also have to consider changes with regard to the *acceptance* of marked Belgian Dutch natiolectisms that have become accepted as a linguistic reality. The present research suggests that they have done so only to a certain extent in their interlingual subtitles since the policy changes.

Continuing to isolate the European natiolects of this already small language from each other is likely to contribute to linguistic divergence. Spoken varieties of Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch continue to deviate from one another and the younger Belgian generation is becoming increasingly disenchanted with the Dutch standard and more confident and assertive in its use of colloquial spoken Belgian Dutch. In linguistics, Ludo Beheydt (1991) observed that the late 1980s marked a generation clash with 'younger' linguists, such as Kas Deprez[84] (°1945) and Koen Jaspaert (°1957), no longer warming to the idea of a monocentric Dutch and the consequential unconditional adherence to the Netherlandic standard in the same way their older colleagues Guido Geerts (°1935), Roland Willemyns (°1943) and Jan Goossens (°1944) did. In 1994, Deprez, made the following call:

> I expect the Flemings to contribute to the Dutch language. They can enrich the language with (a) their typically Flemish words and phrases, (b) their Gallicisms, and (c) their purisms. [author's translation] (Kas Deprez quoted in Berode 1996).

The year 2000 reaffirmed a generation clash between, what De Caluwe calls a "new generation of linguists, writers, people in the media [who] share a much more instrumental conception of language, claiming the right of the [Dutch-speaking Belgians] to speak and write the way they themselves prefer" (De Caluwe 2005, p.55). The application of the Netherlandic standard in both original and translated publishing is increasingly met with dissatisfaction in Belgium. Ultimately, while it is in the Dutch language area's interest to continue to share one and the same written standard, this standard needs to become more inclusive. This standard needs to accommodate features of other natiolects as well for it to be acceptable not just to Belgians, but also to Dutch speakers elsewhere, who all have a claim to their mother tongue.

Today's globalising world is experiencing a growing interest in minority and smaller languages, as the loss of linguistic diversity, the demise of minority languages and the ever more dominant role of a small number of majority languages has wider implications for language users around the globe. As English dominates the world, even major languages such as German, Spanish and French come to be 'minoritised' (Cronin 2000) in that they experience many of the language-planning phenomena more often associated with minority languages, and have to resort to minority language-planning strategies to protect their weakened position (O'Connell and Walsh 2006). Regional and geographic variation within smaller languages tend to be a contentious issue, as it is feared that it may further weaken their already fragile

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[84] Kas Deprez (1945-2000) may not have been one of the "younger" linguists, but he certainly was one of the most controversial linguists amongst his contemporaries.

position. There are advantages in having a strong, uniform language, but diversity is also important and a fact of linguistic life. This research explored linguistic diversity in Dutch as a case study. Nonetheless, the questions 'To what extent are different regional and national varieties in reality acknowledged?", "Are language users of a national varieties allowed to make their own contribution to the general standard language?', and "What are the implications for translators", of course, are also pertinent to other larger languages and language areas.

One final thought. Even if one day only a limited number of major languages were to survive, the heterogeneity of their drastically extended speech community is bound to have an impact on the form and structure of these languages. If people with different national and regional backgrounds appropriate the same language, they will all want to put something of themselves into this language. In short, the whole notion of 'native speaker' may soon have to be reconsidered. Particularly in translation, this notion is often used as an authoritative argument, e.g. the requirement that translators have to be 'native speakers' of the target language, similarly, translation quality can only be assessed by 'native speakers' of the target language (e.g. House 1997). In this age of political correctness, it is remarkable that a term like 'native speaker' is still used, but, most importantly, to what exactly does it refer? Pure and full-blooded language users, who were born and bred in the linguistic heartland of the language and were unspoiled by other languages?

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9. Appendices

9.1. Appendix A: Interlingual subtitle corpus

9.1.1. Selected subtitles

1) Inspector Morse - The Dead of Jericho (ITV Studios 1987)
2) Inspector Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (Central Independent Television 1987)
3) Inspector Morse - Service of all the dead (Central Independent Television 1987)
4) Inspector Morse - The Daughters of Cain (ITV Studios 1996)
5) Taggart - Saints and Sinners (SMG Productions 2004)
6) Taggart - Puppet on a String (SMG Productions 2004)
7) Taggart - The Wages of Sin (SMG Productions 2004)
8) Taggart - Cause to Kill (SMG Productions 2006)
9) Taggart - Law (SMG Productions 2006)
10) Inspector Lewis - The Soul of Genius (ITV Studios / Masterpiece 2012)
11) Inspector Lewis - Generation of Vipers (ITV Studios / Masterpiece 2012)
12) Inspector Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (ITV Studios / Masterpiece 2012)

9.1.2. Details selected subtitled episodes

n°	Period I (1990-1995)	
1.	TV series	Inspector Morse
	Title	The Dead of Jericho
	Producer	Zenith Entertainment/Central Independent Television
	Series/Episode	I/1
	UK airdate	06-01-1987
	VRT air date	25-04-1995
	N° subtitles	822
	Word count	6,649 /1,237 6,645 / 1,236 (without hyphens)
	Subtitler	Lieve Van Steenberghe
	Editor-in-chief	Ruud Hendrickx
	Language adviser	Eugène Berode
2.	TV series	Inspector Morse
	Title	Silent World of Nicholas Quinn
	Producer	Zenith Entertainment/Central Independent Television

	Series/Episode	I/2
	UK airdate	13-01-1987
	VRT air date	02-05-1995
	N° subtitles	801
	Word count	6,585 / 1,328
	Subtitler	Lieve Van Steenberghe
	Editor-in-chief	Ruud Hendrickx
	Language adviser	Eugène Berode
3.	TV series	Inspector Morse
	Title	Service of all the Dead
	Producer	Zenith Entertainment/Central Independent Television
	Series/Episode	I/3
	UK airdate	20-01-1987
	VRT air date	09-05-1995
	N° subtitles	754
	Word count	5,737 / 1,228
	Subtitler	Lieve Van Steenberghe
	Editor-in-chief	Ruud Hendrickx
	Language adviser	Eugène Berode
4.	TV series	Inspector Morse
	Title	The Daughters of Cain
	Producer	Carlton UK Productions/Amberlodge
	Series/Episode	IX/1
	UK airdate	27-11-1996
	VRT air date	12-12-1996
	N° subtitles	1,060
	Word count	8,041 / 1,728 8,040 / 1,728 (without hyphens)
	Subtitler	Daisy Bal
	Editor-in-chief	Ruud Hendrickx
	Language adviser	Ruud Hendrickx

n°	Period II (2000-2005)	
5.	TV series	Taggart
	Title	Saints and Sinners
	Producer	SMG Productions
	Series/Episode	XX/4 (VRT afl. 17)
	UK airdate	30-12-2004
	VRT air date	26-06-2004 and 17-03-2007
	N° subtitles	745
	Word count	5,245 / 1,208

A2

	Subtitler	Veerle Van Houtte
	Editor-in-chief	Willem Muylaert
	Language adviser	Ruud Hendrickx
6.	TV series	Taggart
	Title	Puppet on a String
	Producer	SMG Productions
	Series/Episode	XXI/1 (VRT afl. 18)
	UK airdate	06-01-2005
	VRT air date	03-07-2004 and 24-03-2007
	N° subtitles	794
	Word count	5,907 / 1,219
	Subtitler	Lieve Van Steenberghe
	Editor-in-chief	Willem Muylaert
	Language adviser	Ruud Hendrickx
7.	TV series	Taggart
	Title	The Wages of Sin
	Producer	SMG Productions
	Series/Episode	XXI/2 (VRT afl. 19)
	UK airdate	13-01-2005
	VRT air date	10-07-2004 and 31-03-2007
	N° subtitles	724
	Word count	5,737 /1,183
	Subtitler	Marcel Schraepen
	Editor-in-chief	Willem Muylaert
	Language adviser	Ruud Hendrickx
8.	TV series	Taggart
	Title	Cause to Kill
	Producer	SMG Productions
	Series/Episode	XXII/5 (VRT afl. 28)
	UK airdate	11-11-2005
	VRT air date	18-03-2006 and 07-07-2007
	N° subtitles	650
	Word count	5,298 /1,170
	Subtitler	Nicole Vanwayenbergh
	Editor-in-chief	Willem Muylaert
	Language adviser	Ruud Hendrickx
9.	TV series	Taggart
	Title	Law
	Producer	SMG Productions
	Series/Episode	XXII/8 (VRT afl. 30)

	UK airdate	22-03-2006
	VRT air date	01-04-2006
	N° subtitles	713
	Word count	5,655 / 1,085
	Subtitler	Nicole Vanwayenbergh
	Editor-in-chief	Willem Muylaert
	Language adviser	Ruud Hendrickx

n°	Period III (2010-2013)	
10.	TV series	Lewis
	Title	The Soul of Genius
	Producer	ITV Studios / Masterpiece
	Series/Episode	VI/1 (VRT afl. 20)
	UK airdate	16-05-2012
	VRT air date	14-11-2012
	N° subtitles	901
	Word count	7,043 / 1,514
	Subtitler	Veerle Van Houtte
	Editor-in-chief	Sara Brouckaert
	Language adviser	Ruud Hendrickx
11.	TV series	Lewis
	Title	Generation of Vipers
	Producer	ITV Studios / Masterpiece
	Series/Episode	VI/2 (VRT afl. 21)
	UK airdate	23-05-2012
	VRT air date	22-11-2012
	N° subtitles	1036
	Word count	8,641 / 1,862 8,640 / 1,861 (without hyphens)
	Subtitler	Edwin Van den Bogaerde
	Editor-in-chief	Sara Brouckaert
	Language adviser	Ruud Hendrickx
12.	TV series	Lewis
	Title	Fearful Symmetry
	Producer	ITV Studios / Masterpiece
	Series/Episode	VI/3 (VRT afl. 22)
	UK airdate	30-05-2012
	VRT air date	30-11-2012
	N° subtitles	898
	Word count	6,193 / 1,431
	Subtitler	Annemie D'hondt
	Editor-in-chief	Sara Brouckaert

	Language adviser	Ruud Hendrickx

TOTAL	Tokens	76,724
	Types	7,096
	P1	27,006 / 3,449
	P2	27,842 / 3,394
	P3	21,876 / 3,490

9.2. Appendix B: Intralingual subtitle corpus

Two crime series were selected for the intralingual subtitle corpus, both produced by VRT and set in Belgium. A highly popular police series, *Flikken*, was used for the first two periods (2004 and 2009) 6 episodes were selected of series 4 (broadcast in 2004) and 7 episode were taken from series 10 (broadcast in 2009).

1) Flikken IV-070 Solfer (VRT 2004)
2) Flikken IV-074 Stof (VRT 2004)
3) Flikken IV-075 De verbrande Vrouw (VRT 2004)
4) Flikken IV-076 De Vikings (VRT 2004)
5) Flikken IV-077 Kwelling (VRT 2004)
6) Flikken IV-078 Verlossing (VRT 2004)

7) Flikken X-121 Uitweg-II (VRT 2009)
8) Flikken X-122 Bonnie and Clyde I (VRT 2009)
9) Flikken X-123 Bonnie and Clyde II (VRT 2009)
10) Flikken X-124 Een vrouwelijke Kant-I (VRT 2009)
11) Flikken X-125 Een vrouwelijke Kant-II (VRT 2009)
12) Flikken X-126 Jeugdzorgen I (VRT 2009)
13) Flikken X-127 Jeugdzorgen II (VRT 2009)

This crime series was discontinued in 2009. This is why another VRT television series, *Salamander*, was selected for the last period. The first Salamander episode was left out as it was broadcast in 2012. All the other 11 episodes were broadcast in 2013:

14) Salamander 2 (VRT 2013)
15) Salamander 3 (VRT 2013)
16) Salamander 4 (VRT 2013)
17) Salamander 5 (VRT 2013)
18) Salamander 6 (VRT 2013)
19) Salamander 7 (VRT 2013)
20) Salamander 8 (VRT 2013)
21) Salamander 9 (VRT 2013)
22) Salamander 10 (VRT 2013)
23) Salamander 11 (VRT 2013)
24) Salamander 12 (VRT 2013)

TOTAL	Tokens	77,671
	Types	7,138
	P1	22,804 / 3,487
	P2	27,388 / 3,449
	P3	27,479 / 3,443

9.3. Appendix C: Crime-fiction corpus

9.3.1. Belgian Dutch crime fiction

n°	Period I (1999-2005)	
1.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Het Dreyse Incident
	first published	1999 (Van Holkema & Warendorf, Houten)
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
2.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Dood Tij
	first published	2000 (Van Holkema & Warendorf, Houten)
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
3.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	13
	first published	2003
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
4.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Onvoltooid Verleden
	first published	2004
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
5.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Naakte zielen
	first published	1999
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
6.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Lokaas
	first published	2001
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen & Amsterdam
7.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Kortsluiting
	first published	2002
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
8.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Sluipend gif
	first published	2003

	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
9.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Copycat
	first published	2005
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen

n°	Period II (2006-2009)	
1.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Alibi
	first published	2006
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
2.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Zonder spijt
	first published	2006
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
3.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Rebus
	first published	2007
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
4.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Bankroet
	first published	2008
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
5.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Misleid
	first published	2009
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen

6.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Ademloos
	first published	2006
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
7.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Angst
	first published	2007
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
8.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Spoorloos
	first published	2007
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
9.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Pitbull
	first published	2008
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
10.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Schimmen
	first published	2009
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen

n°	Period III (2010-2013)	
1.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	De Vijand
	first published	2010
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
2.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Erewoord
	first published	2010

	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
3.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Postscriptum
	first published	2011
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
4.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Solo

n°		
	first published	2011
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
5.	Author	Pieter Aspe
	Title	Eiland
	first published	2012
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
6.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Jaloezie
	first published	2010
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
7.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Prooi
	first published	2010
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
8.	Author	Luc Deflo

n°		
	Title	Enigma
	first published	2012
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
9.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Losers
	first published	2012
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
10.	Author	Luc Deflo
	Title	Genadeloos
	first published	2013
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen
11.	Author	Piet Baete
	Title	Vrijdag de 14de
	first published	2012
	publisher	Manteau
	city	Antwerpen

9.3.2. Netherlandic Dutch crime fiction

n°	Period I (1999-2005)	
1.	Author	René Appel
	Title	Zinloos geweld
	first published	2001 (Bakker, Amsterdam)
	publisher	Prometheus
	city	Amsterdam
2.	Author	René Appel
	Title	Noodzakelijk Kwaad (Bakker, Amsterdam)
	first published	2002
	publisher	Noordhoff
	city	Groningen
3.	Author	René Appel
	Title	Doorgeschoten
	first published	2003
	publisher	Bakker
	city	Amsterdam
4.	Author	René Appel
	Title	Misbruik wordt Gestraft
	first published	2004

n°		
	publisher	Prometheus
	city	Amsterdam
5.	Author	René Appel
	Title	Als Broer en Zus
	first published	2005
	publisher	Stichting Collectieve Propaganda van het Nederlandse Boek
	city	Amsterdam
6.	Author	René Appel
	Title	Loverboy
	first published	2005 (Prometheus, Amsterdam)
	publisher	Anthos
	city	Amsterdam
7.	Author	John Brosens
	Title	Duijkers Dossiers
	first published	2005
	publisher	Ellessy Crime
	city	Arnhem
8.	Author	Marinus Daniel

n°		
		Ferdinandusse
	Title	Dovemansoren
	first published	2001
	publisher	Stichting Collectieve Propaganda van het Nederlandse Boek
	city	Amsterdam
9.	Author	Tim Krabbé
	Title	Een goede dag voor de ezel
	first published	2005
	publisher	Prometheus
	city	Amsterdam
10.	Author	Marion Pauw
	Title	Villa Serena

n°		
	first published	2005
	publisher	Archipel
	city	Amsterdam
11.	Author	Thomas Ross
	Title	De klokkenluider
	first published	2003
	publisher	Stichting Collectieve Propaganda van het Nederlandse Boek
	city	Amsterdam
12.	Author	Thomas Ross
	Title	De zesde mei
	first published	2003
	publisher	De Bezige Bij
	city	Amsterdam

n°	Period II (2006-2009)	
1.	Author	René Appel
	Title	Los Geld
	first published	2006
	publisher	Prometheus
	city	Amsterdam
2.	Author	René Appel
	Title	Weerzin
	first published	2008
	publisher	Anthos
	city	Amsterdam
3.	Author	Marelle Boersma
	Title	Stil Water
	first published	2006
	publisher	Ellessy Crime
	city	Arnhem
4.	Author	Marelle Boersma
	Title	CompleX
	first published	2007
	publisher	Karakter
	city	Uithoorn
5.	Author	Carla de Jong
	Title	Serpent : achtervolgd door een onvoltooid verleden
	first published	2009

n°		
	publisher	Archipel
	city	Amsterdam
6.	Author	Loes den Hollander
	Title	Broeinest
	first published	2008
	publisher	Karakter
	city	Uithoorn
7.	Author	Loes den Hollander
	Title	Dwaalspoor
	first published	2008
	publisher	Karakter
	city	Uithoorn
8.	Author	Corine Hartman
	Title	Sportzaak
	first published	2007
	publisher	Karakter
	city	Uithoorn
9.	Author	Corine Hartman
	Title	In vreemde handen
	first published	2009
	publisher	Karakter
	city	Uithoorn
10.	Author	Marion Pauw
	Title	Daglicht

	first published	2008
	publisher	Anthos
	city	Amsterdam
11.	Author	Marion Pauw

	Title	Lolliepop
	first published	2009
	publisher	B for Books
	city	Naarden

n°	Period III (2010-2013)	
1.	Author	René Appel
	Title	Van twee kanten
	first published	2010
	publisher	Anthos
	city	Amsterdam
2.	Author	René Appel
	Title	Goede Vrienden
	first published	2011
	publisher	Anthos
	city	Amsterdam
3.	Author	Marelle Boersma
	Title	De Babymakelaar
	first published	2010
	publisher	Verbum Crime
	city	Laren
4.	Author	Marelle Boersma
	Title	Vals Alarm
	first published	2011
	publisher	Verbum Crime
	city	Laren
5.	Author	Loes den Hollander
	Title	Krachtmeting
	first published	2010
	publisher	Karakter
	city	Uithoorn

6.	Author	Loes den Hollander
	Title	Troostkind
	first published	2012
	publisher	Karakter
	city	Uithoorn
7.	Author	Corine Hartman
	Title	Schijngestalten
	first published	2010
	publisher	Karakter
	city	Uithoorn
8.	Author	Corine Hartman
	Title	Als de Dood
	first published	2011
	publisher	Karakter
	city	Uithoorn
9.	Author	Thomas Ross
	Title	De tweede Verlosser
	first published	2010
	publisher	Cargo
	city	Amsterdam
10.	Author	Thomas Ross
	Title	Kort
	first published	2011
	publisher	Cargo
	city	Amsterdam

9.3.3. Translated crime fiction

n°	Period I (1999-2005)	
1.	Original Author	Peter James
	Original Title	Dead simple (Macmillan: London, 2005)
	Translator	Jacqueline Caenberghs
	Dutch Title	Doodsimpel
	first published	2005
	publisher	De Fontein
	city	Utrecht

2.	Original Author	Val McDermid
	Original Title	A place of execution (HarperCollins: London, 1999)
	Translator	Sophie Brinkman
	Dutch Title	De Terechtstelling
	first published	2000
	publisher	Luitingh-Sijthoff
	city	Amsterdam
3.	Original Author	James Patterson
	Original Title	1st to die (SueJack Inc., 2001)
	Translator	Ineke van den Elskamp
	Dutch Title	De Eerstverlorene
	first published	2002
	publisher	Bruna
	city	Utrecht
4.	Original Author	Douglas Preston and Lincoln B. Child
	Original Title	Thunderhead (Warner Books: New York, 1999)
	Translator	Marjolein van Velzen
	Dutch Title	De Verloren Stad
	first published	2000
	publisher	Luitingh-Sijthoff
	city	Amsterdam
5.	Original Author	Douglas Preston and Lincoln B. Child
	Original Title	Dance of Death (Warner Books: New York, 2005)
	Translator	Marjolein van Velzen
	Dutch Title	Dans des Doods
	first published	2005
	publisher	Luitingh-Sijthoff
	city	Amsterdam

n°	Period II (2006-2009)	
1.	Original Author	Peter James
	Original Title	Not dead enough (Macmillan: London, 2007)
	Translator	Ineke de Groot
	Dutch Title	Op dood Spoor
	first published	2007
	publisher	De Fontein
	city	Utrecht
2.	Original Author	Peter James
	Original Title	Dead man's footsteps (Macmillan: London, 2008)
	Translator	Ineke de Groot
	Dutch Title	Op sterven na Dood
	first published	2008
	publisher	De Fontein

	city	Utrecht
3.	Original Author	Stuart Macbride
	Original Title	Flesh House (HarperCollins: London, 2008)
	Translator	Kick Rotteveel
	Dutch Title	Slachthuis
	first published	2009
	publisher	Van Holkema & Warendorf Unieboek
	city	Houten
4.	Original Author	Val McDermid
	Original Title	Beneath the bleeding (HarperCollins: London, 2007)
	Translator	Annemieke Oltheten
	Dutch Title	De wrede Hand
	first published	2008
	publisher	Luitingh-Sijthoff
	city	Amsterdam
5.	Original Author	Val McDermid
	Original Title	Cleanskin (HarperCollins: London, 2006)
	Translator	Annemieke Oltheten
	Dutch Title	Misdaadkoning
	first published	2007
	publisher	Luitingh-Sijthoff
	city	Amsterdam
6.	Original Author	Denise Mina
	Original Title	Still midnight (Orion Books: London, 2009)
	Translator	Marijke Versluys
	Dutch Title	In de stille Nacht
	first published	2009
	publisher	Anthos
	city	Amsterdam
7.	Original Author	Iain Rankin
	Original Title	Death is not the end : an Inspector Rebus novella (Orion Books: London, 1998)
	Translator	Rob Kuitenbrouwer en Frank Lekens
	Dutch Title	De Dood is niet het Einde
	first published	2009
	publisher	Luitingh-Sijthoff
	city	Amsterdam

n°	Period III (2010-2013)	
1.	Original Author	Peter James
	Original Title	The perfect murder (Pan Books: London, 2010)
	Translator	Lia Belt
	Dutch Title	De perfecte Moord
	first published	2011

	publisher	De Fontein
	city	Utrecht
2.	Original Author	Stuart Macbride
	Original Title	Birthdays for the dead (HarperCollins: London, 2011)
	Translator	Annemie de Vries
	Dutch Title	Dertien
	first published	2012
	publisher	Van Holkema & Warendorf Unieboek
	city	Houten
3.	Original Author	Stuart Macbride
	Original Title	Shatter the bones (HarperCollins: London, 2011)
	Translator	Jaap Sietse Zuierveld
	Dutch Title	Verbrijzeld
	first published	2011
	publisher	Van Holkema & Warendorf Unieboek
	city	Houten
4.	Original Author	Val McDermid
	Original Title	Trick of the dark (Brown Little: London, 2010)
	Translator	Annemieke Oltheten
	Dutch Title	Blinde Obsessie
	first published	2011
	publisher	Luitingh-Sijthoff
	city	Amsterdam
5.	Original Author	Caro Ramsay
	Original Title	Dark water (Penguin Books: London, 2010)
	Translator	Ton Heuvelmans
	Dutch Title	Donker Water
	first published	2011
	publisher	Anthos
	city	Amsterdam
6.	Original Author	Iain Rankin
	Original Title	The impossible dead (Orion Books: London, 2011)
	Translator	Gertjan Cobelens
	Dutch Title	De Onmogelijke Dood
	first published	2012
	publisher	Luitingh-Sijthoff
	city	Amsterdam

9.4. Appendix D: RBBN items in subtitle corpora

#	RBBN word/phrase	INTER			INTRA			concordance
		1	2	3	1	2	3	
001	**aanschuiven** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = in de file rijden/staan, bumper-aan-bumper-rijden ● **Prisma 2014 <BN>** BN in de file staan ● **VD14** (no geographic variation label) 2 schuivend dichter bij iets komen; - in de rij, de file staan		1						1. ST #[010514-5]: Those of you who are waiting for your books to be signed, **could you start to form an orderly queue?** TT #[010514-5]: Wie z'n boek wil laten signeren, mag hier **aanschuiven (Taggart - Cause to Kill (2006))**
002	**academiejaar** (unieke variant) = academisch jaar ● **Prisma 2014 <BN>** academisch jaar, periode van ± september tot juli, van het begin tot het eind van de colleges ● **VD12** (no geographic variation label) jaarcursus aan een hogeschool	1							1. ST #[004746]: End of the academic year. TT #[004746]: Eind van 't **academiejaar. (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))**
003	**administratie** (vrije alternant) = ambtenarij, de verzamelde ambtenaren in overheidsdienst **Prisma 2014 <BN ook>** BN ook overheidsdienst, ambtenarenapparaat ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 4. ambtenarenapparaat belast met het beheer van specifieke bestuurlijke aangelegenheden (m.n. als onderdeel van een ministerie)						1		1. Uit de politiek, magistratuur, **administratie,** zakenwereld... **(Salamander 2013)**
004	**afdreigen** (vrije alternant) = chanteren, afpersen ● **Prisma 2014 <vooral BN>** vooral BN door bedreiging geld afpersen; door dreigementen afweren of afhouden; bedreigen ● **VD online** (no geographic variation label) 1. (juridisch) [...] synoniem: chanteren						1		1. Ik laat me niet **afdreigen. (Salamander 2013)**

#	Word entry (description)	Counts			Examples
005	**afkomen** (substandaard) = langskomen ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal (van personen) op bezoek komen, overkomen (voor een bepaalde gelegenheid) ● **VD14** (Belg.N., niet alg.) 4 (Belg.N., niet alg.) (langs, op bezoek) komen ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) langskomen, op bezoek komen	2	1		1. Hij maakt zich zorgen en <mark>komt af</mark>. (Flikken-Bonnie en Clyde II (2009)) 2. <mark>Komt af?</mark> Naar waar? (Flikken-Bonnie en Clyde II (2009)) 3. Ik ben alleen, <mark>kom</mark> maar **af.** (Salamander 2013)
006	**alleszins** (vrije alternant) = in ieder geval ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook in ieder geval, zeker ● **VD14** (alg. Belg.N.) 3. (alg. Belg.N.) hoe dan ook, in ieder geval ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, niet algemeen) ▼3. hoe dan ook, in ieder geval	1	2		1. <mark>Alleszins</mark> met één. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 2. <mark>Alleszins</mark> bedankt. (Salamander 2013) 3. Maar het was <mark>alleszins</mark> april 1944 (Salamander 2013)
007	**allez** (unieke variant) = komop, vooruit, komaan, toe nou ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> 1 vooruit!, komaan! 2 toe nou, kom nou, ik bedoel <als voortzetting of beëindiging van een mededeling, met toegevende kracht, als aansporing, als stopwoord> allee ("allez" not in dictionary) ● **VD13 - VD14 - VD online** (no geographic variation label) ● **VD12** (no geographic variation label) komaan, vooruit	11	22	24	allez: Flikken II e.g. <mark>Allez</mark>, kom, mannekes. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) allee: Flikken III + Salamander e.g. <mark>Allee</mark>, kom. Zet je in de zetel. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))
008	**allusie** (vrije alternant) = zinspeling ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook toespeling, zinspeling ● **VD12** (no geographic variation label) toespeling, zinspeling	1			1. ST #[003676]: There was never any suggestion of that with either of the boys. I can assure you. TT #[003676]: Daar is nooit <mark>allusie</mark> op geweest. (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))

#	Lemma / definitie						Voorbeelden
009	**amai** (omgangstaal) = uitroep: hé, nou zeg, sjonge jonge, wat ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal uiting van verbazing of teleurstelling ● **VD13 & VD14 & VD online** (Belg.N.,spreekt.) uitroep van verbazing of teleurstelling, syn. nou	3	4	9				e.g. ● Ik dacht nog… **Amai**, die weet daar veel over. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) ● **Amai**, dat is hier groot. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)) ● **Amai** papa, zo'n chique auto. (Salamander 2013)
010	**ambetant** (substandaard) = vervelend ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal onaangenaam, vervelend ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) 1. vervelend, naar			1				1. Je had me gezworen dat er niks **ambetants** in de kluis lag. (Salamander 2013)
011	**embêteren** (substandaard) = ergeren ● **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / **ambeteren** ● **VD14** (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) ▼1. (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) lastigvallen synoniem: plagen, ergeren, vervelen		1					1. Ga je die jongen nog lang **ambeteren**? (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009))
012	**'s anderendaags** (vrije alternant) = de volgende dag ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook de volgende dag ● **VD13 & VD online** (no geographic variation label) in de bijwoordelijke verb.'s anderendaags, de volgende dag				1	1		1. ST #[008474]: I leave them there, then collect them **next day**. TT #[008474]: haal ze **'s anderendaags** op (Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004)) 2. ST #[012923]: came back for them **the next day**. TT #[012923]: **'s Anderendaags** kwam hij ze halen. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))
013	**animatie** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = verlevendiging, activering, het organiseren van activiteiten (b.v. voor kinderen: "kinderanimatie') ● **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN het organiseren van activiteiten, verlevendiging, activering			1				1. Ik weet niet of die extra **animatie** een goed idee was. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))

014

- VD 14 (alg. Belg.N.)
- VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands)
(Belgisch-Nederlands) activiteiten waarmee toeristen of bezoekers aan een evenement bij wijze van ontspanning beziggehouden worden

anorak (vrije alternant)
= windjack met capuchon
- **Prisma 2014** exact sense not in dictionary, only windjack zoals de Eskimo's dragen, zonder sluiting en met capuchon, dat over het hoofd moet worden aangetrokken
- **VD12** (no geographic variation label)
1. windjak met capuchon, syn. *parka*.

1. ST #[001978]: That old **anorak** of his.
   TT #[001978]: - Z'n ouwe **anorak**.

2. ST #[002469-71]: Back at the office. It's where he said he was, and where Quinn's **anorak** was, and it was in the **anorak** that we found Quinn's ticket.
   TT #[002470-71]: Daar was Quinn z'n **anorak** met 't kaartje.

3. ST #[002501-2]: The driver was wearing Quinn's **anorak**. Of course. It was raining, he wanted to look like Quinn.
   TT #[002501-2]: En iemand in Quinn z'n **anorak**. - Ja, hij moest op 'm lijken.

4. ST #[002607-9]: That Quinn was in the building was confirmed by the presence of his **anorak**.
   TT #[002607-08]: Quinns **anorak** hing er, dus was hij in 't gebouw.

5. ST #[002629-31]: you went quietly in, along to Quinn's office, put on his **anorak**, crept out the back, got into his own car
   TT #[002629-31]: U ging naar binnen, naar 't bureau van Quinn. U deed z'n **anorak** aan en reed weg
   (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995))

(red cell: 5)

015

sociaal assistent(e) (vrije alternant)
= maatschappelijk werk(st)er
- **Prisma 2014** <BN>
BN sociaal assistent = iemand die sociaal werk doet
- **VD14** (alg. Belg.N.)

1. Zijn **sociaal assistente** komt straks langs. (**Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)**)

2. De **sociaal assistente**, in verband met Davy De Prins. (**Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)**)

(green cell: 3)

#	Dictionary entry				Examples
	maatschappelijk werker (werkster, werkster)				3. Als **sociaal assistente** heb ik niet zoveel met Lien te maken (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
016	**associé** (substandaard) = vennoot • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> persoon die met iemand deelneemt in een bedrijf, vennoot, compagnon • **VD13** (no geographic variation label) vennoot, compagnon			(green) · red **2**	1. Ik bemoei me niet met wat mijn **associé** aanneemt. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004)) 2. Feiremans wordt verdedigd door een **associé** van Johan. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))
017	**attest** (vrije alternant) = certificaat • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> schriftelijke getuigenis, schriftelijke verklaring, bijv. van een arts - een doktersattest • **VD12 & VD online** (no geographic variation label) 1. schriftelijke verklaring die tot staving van iets moet dienen, syn.: getuigenis, getuigschrift	red **1**		red **1**	1. ST #[000596-597]: Do you have any objections to my issuing a **burial notice**? TT #[000596-597]: Hebt u er bezwaar tegen dat ik een **begrafenisattest** uitschrijf ? (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995)) 2. Er is een **doktersattest**. (Salamander 2013)
018	**auditoraat** (cultuurgebonden) = rechterlijke instantie bij o.m. het Krijgshof • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD online** (in België) 2. het Openbaar Ministerie bij een arbeidsrechtbank, een arbeidshof en de krijgsraad 3. instantie bij de Raad van State, die o.a. adviseert in zaken van administratief recht	green **3**			1. Dat is hier, in het Rijksarchief, of bij het **auditoraat-generaal.** 2. Misschien zit het bij het **auditoraat-generaal** 3. Het **auditoraat** raadplegen? (Salamander 2013)
019	**awel** (substandaard) = welnu • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) 1. welnu, wel5, nu4 (2)	green **8**			8x awel (Salamander 2013) 1. **Awel** ja, dat het toevallig enkel jouw bank is 2. **Awel**, nu sta ik hier. Help mij nu ook. 3. Wat ben je nu van plan? **Awel**... Kijk. 4. Wat wil ik, denk je? **Awel**. Doe er dan iets aan 5. **Awel**? Jij kleine spion. Hè?

#	Lemma / definitie	Status	Voorbeelden
			6. Oké. Awel, tot dan. Ja. 7. Ja, zijn dochter zorgt voor haar. Awel. Kom, jong. 8. Welke foto? Awel, de foto van die toegangspoort.
020	**een bak bier** (vrije alternant) = een krat bier ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook krat een bak bier ● **VD14** (Belg.N., spreekt.) krat	1 (groen)	1. Een **bak bier** ? (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
021	**bankkaart** (vrije alternant) = creditcard, betaalkaart, betaalpas ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook bankpas, betaalkaart, betaalpas ● **VD14** (alg. Belg.N.) creditcard, betaalkaart, betaalpas	2 (groen)	1. Geen gsm, papieren of **bankkaart**. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 2. Bij een huiszoeking bij de moordenaar werd gezocht naar identiteitspapieren, **bankkaart**, alles, maar... (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
022	**bediende** (cultuurgebonden) = beambte, ambtenaar, een werknemer die i.t.t een arbeider kantoorwerk verricht, geen arbeider is ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, recht> iemand die werk doet in een ondergeschikte positie op een kantoor, in een winkel enz. BN, recht werknemer in loondienst die geen arbeider is en hoofdzakelijk kantoorwerk verricht ● **VD14** (no geographic variation label) 3 volgens het Belgische arbeidsrecht, officiele benaming voor alle werknemers die geen arbeider zijn, syn. hoofdarbeider	1 (rood)	1. Arbeiders, professoren, **bedienden**, politici. Verenigd in dezelfde ondeugd. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
023	**iets aan zijn been hebben** (omgangstaal) = ergens mee opgescheept zitten, bedrogen zijn, m.n. een slecht product gekocht hebben ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal iets aan zijn been hebben = ergens mee opgescheept zitten, bedrogen zijn	1 (groen)	1. Ik denk dat ik morgen een afscheidsfeestje **aan mijn been heb**. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))

	Dictionary coding				Examples
	• VD14 (Belg.N., spreekt.) niet meer van iets (onaangenaams) afkomen, bedrogen uitkomen				
024	**Belgacom** (cultuurgebonden) = naam van het overheidsbedrijf dat de telegrafie en telefonie verzorgt • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD13** headword not in dictionary			1	1. Volgens **Belgacom** is het net omgekeerd. (**Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)**)
025	**magistrale bereiding** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = bereiding volgens recept • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD13** (Belg.N., med.) geneesmiddel volgens recept			1	1. Een poeder dat apothekers gebruiken bij hun **magistrale bereidingen.** (**Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)**)
026	**Civiele Bescherming** (cultuurgebonden) = organisatie ter bescherming van de bevolking in oorlogstijd en voor hulp bij rampen in vredestijd • **Prisma 2014** <in België> <in België> Civiele Bescherming = overheidsdienst die zich o.a. richt op hulpverlening aan personen en bescherming van goederen in geval van rampen, gewapende conflicten e.d. • **VD online** (in België) organisatie ter bescherming van de burgerbevolking in oorlogstijd en tot hulpverlening bij rampen	1			1. Bevoegdheid over 45.000 politiemensen...**civiele bescherming**, crisisbeleid. (**Salamander 2013**)
027	**best** (omgangstaal) = het best • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD13** definition not in dictionary • **VD14** (Belg.N., niet alg.) 3 ter uitdrukking van een suggestie of voorschrift, syn.:		2	2	1. **Best** even alleen laten. (**Flikken – Stof (2004)**) 2. Hij zag in dat zijn rechten **best** verdedigd worden door 'n advocaat. (**Flikken - De Vikings (2004)**) 3. We steken er dus **best** spoed achter. (**Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)**) 4. Als je me wilt bereiken, dan bel je **best** op mijn gsm.

	beter, bij voorkeur	(Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))			
028	**betreffend** (vrije alternant) = bedoeld, genoemd • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> waar het om gaat, om wie het gaat de betreffende boom wordt direct gekapt de betreffende medewerker is inmiddels ontslagen • **VD13** (Belg.N.) betrokken, bedoeld, genoemd	1. in een hotel in de betreffende stad (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004))			**1**
029	**zich bevragen** (substandaard) = inlichtingen vragen • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN spreektaal onderzoeken, ter discussie stellen iets kritisch bevragen BN, spreektaal inlichtingen vragen zich bevragen bij de jeugddienst • **VD14** (Belg. N., niet alg.) inlichtingen vragen bij, zich wenden tot	mastbevraging 1. een **mastbevraging** voor het nummer 0495/244881 (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)) 2. Als we elke keer een **bevraging** zouden doen als jij je gsm… (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)) 3. Bel de onderzoeksrechter voor een **mastbevraging**. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde II (2009)) 4. Hoe zit het met die **mastbevraging**? (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde II (2009)) 5. Raymond doet een **mastbevraging**. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))		**5**	
030	**dat is geen klein bier** (vrije alternant) = dat is niet niks • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal dat is geen klein bier = dat is niet niks • **VD13** (no geographic variation label) het is een zaak van belang, het is de moeite waard	1. ST #[009205]: Murder's no small matter though, even for McGregor. TT #[009205]: Toch is 't **geen klein bier**. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))	**1**		
031	**bijhebben** (vrije alternant) = bij zich hebben • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook bij zich hebben • **VD13** (Belg.-N.) 2 bij zich hebben • **VD14** (alg. Belg.N.)	1. **Had** ze een handtas **bij**? (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 2. **Hadden** jullie geen kleren **bij** of zo? (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)) 3. Torre **heeft** altijd iets **bij**. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))	**3**	**3**	**1**

Ref	Dictionary info							Examples
	2 bij zich hebben • VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands, niet algemeen) 2. bij zich hebben							4. Ze **had** de hele voorraad van Torre **bij**. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)) 5. Die **heeft** pakken geld **bij** (Salamander 2013) 6. En ik **heb** iets **bij** over onze vriend Laridon (Salamander 2013) 7. Ik **heb** die foto's voor je **bij**. (Salamander 2013)
032	**bil** (substandaard) = dij; <van dieren> bout • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal vlezig deel van het bovenbeen, dij • **VD14** (Belg.N.,niet alg.) dij			4				1. Neem een foto van haar **linkerbil**. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 2. Weet jij of je zus een tatoeage heeft ? Op haar **bil**. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 3. Ze heeft een tatoeage van een maantje op haar **bil**. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 4. Hoe wist je dat het lijk een tatoeage had op haar **bil** ? (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
033	**binnen mogen** (substandaard) = naar binnen mogen • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD13 & VD14** expression not in dictionary		1	2	3			1. ST #[009552]: Billy, I'm so sorry, but you'll have to **go**. TT #[009552]: Billy, je **mag** echt niet **binnen**. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004)) 2. ST #[010617]: So, can we **come in**? TT #[010617]: **Mogen** we **binnen**? (Taggart - Cause to Kill n(2006)) 3. ST #[012516-7]: That shelter place doesn't **let** men in. TT #[012516-7]: In dat vluchthuis **mogen** geen mannen **binnen**. (Taggart – Law (2006)) 4. Dus als ze een fooi geven **mogen** ze **binnen**? (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 5. Engeland **mag** hij niet meer **binnen**. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009)) 6. En iedereen **mag** hier zomaar **binnen**. (Flikken - Een

#	Entry		Examples
034	**binnenrijven** (vrije alternant) = binnenhalen • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 1. (een contract, een geldsom) binnenhalen	1	1. Ze zorgen ervoor dat mekaars bedrijven overheidscontracten **binnenrijven**. (Salamander 2013)
035	**bomma** (substandaard) = oma • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD13** headword not in dictionary until VD14 (gew., Belg. N., spreekt.)	1	1. En de avond van de moord was ik bij mijn **bomma**. (Flikken - Stof (2004))
036	**bouwpromotor** (vrije alternant) = projectontwikkelaar • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook projectontwikkelaar, eigenaar of medewerker van een projectbureau • **VD13** (Belg.-N., niet alg.) 1. projectontwikkelaar	1	1. In de 19e eeuw komen de **bouwpromotoren**. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))
037	**brol** (substandaard) = rommel • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal rommel • **VD13** (Belg.-N., spreekt.) 1 rommel, prullen	2	1. Chemische **brol**. Cocaïne? (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 2. En die chemische **brol** is ontploft. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004))
038	**de buiten** (vrije alternant) = platteland • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook platteland op de buiten • **VD13** (Belg.-N., spreekt.) 1. platteland	1	1. Een stukje op **de buiten** en weer naar Gent. (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))

bureau (vrije alternant)

= werkkamer, kantoor

● **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label>
headword/sense not in dictionary

2 gebouw of kamer waarin een kantoor of een dienst is gevestigd
het bureau van de Burgerlijke Stand
3 politiebureau
hij moest mee naar het bureau

● **VD12** (no geographic variation label)
2. kantoor waar een administratie wordt gevoerd

● **VD13 & VD14 & VD online**
2. kantoor waar een administratie wordt gevoerd [...]
waar plaatsbiljetten te krijgen zijn; - werkkamer

039

Morse – Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995):

1. ST #[001858] Chief Inspector, the keys you wanted to Quinn's **office**

   TT #[001858] De sleutels van Quinn z'n **bureau**

2. ST #[002065] And you didn't go near the **office**?

   TT #[002065] Ging u terug naar uw **bureau** ?

3. ST #[002228] I looked in all the **rooms**. He did, too.

   TT #[002228] We keken in alle **bureaus**.

4. ST #[002469] Back at the **office**. It's where he said he was

   TT #[002469] - In z'n **bureau**. Dat zei hij toch ?

5. ST #[002629-30] you went quietly in, along to Quinn's **office**,

   TT #[002629-30] U ging naar binnen, naar 't **bureau** van Quinn.

6. ST #[002784] he was being offered a glass of sherry in one of the **offices** downstairs

   TT #[002783-4] Iemand gaf 'm een sherry in 'n **bureau**.

(Taggart – Saints and Sinners (2004))

7. ST #[006797-8] And the Elysium case, Mr. Muir?

   I thought I picked that up from your **office**.

   TT #[006797-8] En 't dossier van Elysium,

   lag dat niet in uw **bureau**?

Salamander

8. U werkt beter in uw **bureau**. Hier. Dat lag op zijn bureau.

9. Hij zat vannacht om één uur nog in zijn **bureau**.

10. ...ligt dat nog bij jou thuis? Mhm. In Guys **bureau**.

Color bars (values): 6 | 1 | 6

		Voorbeelden / Examples
		11. Wie was er in mijn **bureau**? Wat doe je met dat mes?
		12. Dan zitten ze een paar uur in zijn **bureau**.
		13. U bent wel erg onbeschoft. Dit is mijn **privébureau**.
040	**camionette** (substandaard) = bestelwagen ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal bestelwagen, bestelauto; kleine vrachtauto ● **VD14 & VD online** (Belg.N., spreekt.) bestelwagen	5x (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)) 11x (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009)) 1x (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009)) 1x (Salamander 2013)
041	**caoutchouc** (substandaard) = rubber ● **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / ● **VD online** (verouderd) 1. rubber, gummi	1. een waterdicht zeil wil maken en niet die **caoutchouc** (Salamander 2013)
042	**cel** (cultuurgebonden) = team of bijzondere afdeling binnen politie, b.v. de cel 'mensenhandel' ● **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN team of bijzondere afdeling binnen de politie de cel vermiste personen onderzoekt onrustbarende verdwijningen ● **VD13 & VD14** definition not in dictionary ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 11. gespecialiseerde afdeling van een organisatie only in online version	1. **cel jeugdcriminaliteit** (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 2. **Cel Verdwijningen** (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde II (2009)) 3. **Cel Vermiste Personen** (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009)) (Salamander 2013): 7x **cel** P9
043	**chance** (substandaard) = geluk ● **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary /	1. Die mens heeft geen **chance** gehad. (Salamander 2013)

Nr.	Lemma / Bron			
044	**choco** (omgangstaal) = chocoladepasta ● **Prisma 2014 <BN>** BN chocoladepasta ● **VD13** (no geographic variation label) 4 (als verkorting van) chocopasta ● **VD online** (toegevoegd in 2006) 1. (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) geluk vergelijk sjans			1. Enfin, ontbijt in jouw geval. <mark>Choco.</mark> (Flikken - De Verlossing (2004))
045	**compassie** (substandaard) = medelijden ● **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> medelijden, compassie met iemand hebben ● **VD online** (no geographic variation label) ▼1. medelijden	1		1. Ik moet er toch geen <mark>compassie</mark> mee hebben, zeker? (Salamander 2013)
046	**congé** (substandaard) = vakantie ● **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / ● **VD13 & VD14** (gew.) 2 vakantie, verlof	1	1	1. Iedereen uit <mark>congé</mark>? (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) 2. Ik zal nog maar eens <mark>congé</mark> pakken. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))
047	**contacteren** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = in contact treden met, contact opnemen met ● **Prisma 2014 <BN>** BN contact opnemen ● **VD13** (niet alg.) in contact treden met –, syn.: benaderen, opzoeken ● **VD14** (niet alg.) in contact treden met –, syn.: benaderen, opzoeken ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 1. contact opnemen met – synoniem: benaderen, opzoeken	1 / 4	6	1. Zij <mark>contacteerde</mark> mij. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 2. <mark>Contacteer</mark> ons als je 'r aantreft. (Flikken – Stof (2004)) 3. Check of iemand de politie heeft <mark>gecontacteerd</mark>. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 4. Mocht er u nog iets te binnen schieten, <mark>contacteer</mark> ons. (Flikken – Kwelling (2004)) 5. Reniers en Michiel, <mark>contacteer</mark> vrienden van die twee. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)) 6. Ik <mark>contacteer</mark> Interpol. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde II (2009)) 7. En <mark>contacteer</mark> Iedereen die Mike of Barbara kent. (Flikken

- Bonnie and Clyde II (2009))
8. We zullen haar seinen, familie **contacteren**, huis observeren. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009))
9. **Contacteer** hem en vraag of hij iets gezien heeft. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))
10. Heb je die manager al **gecontacteerd**? (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))
11. Ik wacht tot u mij **contacteert**? (Salamander 2013)

1. Hij is geen **crapuul** zoals Dean. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde II (2009))
2. Ik heb geen **crapuulstreek** meer uitgehaald. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
3. Ik ben geen **crapuul**. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
4. Dat je me niet als **crapuul** behandelt (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
5. Ik heb het gezegd, het is **crapuul**, maar het zijn specialisten. (Salamander 2013)
6. Als hij zijn zin niet krijgt....sleurt dat **crapuul** de koninklijke familie door het slijk. (Salamander 2013)

1. Ondervraag de portier die gisteravond **van dienst was**. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))

1. Hij is zelfs gespecialiseerd in dat soort **dienstbetoon**. (Salamander 2013)

	col A	col B	col C
(contacteren)	green	green	green
048 crapuul	2 (green)	4 (red)	gray
049 van dienst	gray	1 (green)	gray
050 dienstbetoon	1 (green)	gray	gray

048

crapuul (substandaard)
= uitschot
● **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label>
slechte mensen, gespuis
● **VD14** (no geographic variation label)
1 gepeupel, gespuis
● **VD online**
1. gepeupel, gespuis
2. (Belgisch-Nederlands) schoft, smeerlap

049

van dienst zijn (substandaard)
= dienst hebben
● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal>
BN, spreektaal van dienst zijn = dienst hebben, <vooral> wacht- of weekenddienst
● **VD14**
expression not in dictionary

050

dienstbetoon (variant niet gelexicaliseerd)
= bemiddeling bij overheid door een politicus, ten voordele van zijn/haar kiezers
● **Prisma 2014** <BN>
BN bemiddeling bij de overheid door een politicus, ten

ID	Entry / Dictionary analysis	Grades	Examples
	voordele van zijn kiezers • **VD online** (Belgisch–Nederlands) 2. bemiddeling van een politicus in ambtelijke aangelegenheden ten gunste van zijn kiezers, met de bedoeling in ruil daarvoor stemmen te krijgen		
051	**naar de dieperik gaan / de dieperik ingaan** (unieke variant) = ten onder gaan, naar de haaien gaan • **Prisma 2014** <vooral BN> BN de dieperik ingaan = naar de haaien gaan, ten onder gaan • **VD14** (alg. Belg.N.) 1 de dieperik in gaan, naar de dieperik gaan a) (van schepen) zinken b) (van personen) verdrinken • **VD online** (Belgisch–Nederlands, informeel) de dieperik in gaan, naar de dieperik gaan – synoniem: (van schepen) zinken – synoniem: (van personen) verdrinken – (figuurlijk) ten onder gaan	1	1. Hij sleurt haar gewoon mee de dieperik in. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))
052	**zich (niet) laten doen** (omgangstaal) = (niet) met zich laten sollen • **Prisma 2014** <BN ,spreektaal> BN, spreektaal zich (niet) laten doen = (niet) met zich laten sollen, zich (niet) seksueel laten gebruiken • **VD14** expression not in dictionary	2	1. Deze keer heb ik mij laten doen. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009)) 2. Ik heb mij laten doen. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
053	**doorgaan** (substandaard) = weggaan • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD14 & VD online** (Belg.N., spreekt.) 17. naar huis gaan, syn.: weggaan	2 / 1	1. Ik zocht mijn zus en ben gewoon doorgegaan . (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009)) 2. Hey. Ik ga doorgaan, als je het niet erg vindt. Nu al? (Salamander 2013) 3. Ben je zeker dat je wilt doorgaan? (Salamander 2013)
054	**doorwegen** (vrije alternant)	1	1. ST #[000799-800]: Which travels before me? The singing

#	Dictionary entry				Example
	= van belang zijn • **Prisma 2014 <BN ook>** BN ook van doorslaggevend belang zijn • **VD12** Not in dictionary until VD14 (Belgisch-Nederlands) van belang zijn, een rol spelen)			(green)	bit or the policing bit? TT #[000799]: **Weegt** het zingen **door** of de politieman ? (**Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995)**) 1.
055	**dop** (omgangstaal) = werklozensteun • **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** 1 uitkering aan werklozen, steun 2 instantie die de uitkeringen aan werklozen verzorgt aan de dop zijn = werkloos zijn, steun trekken • **VD14 (Belg.N., spreekt.)** 3 het doppen3(2) doppen3 (Belg.N., spreekt.) 2 zich als werkloze gaan aanmelden, werkloos zijn, syn.: stempelen	1 (green)			1. Mijn ma was van de **dop** gegooid. (**Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)**) 1.
056	**doppen** (omgangstaal) = stempelen, als werkloze een uitkering ontvangen • **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** BN, spreektaal steun trekken, werkloos zijn • **VD14 (Belg.N., spreekt.)** 2 zich als werkloze gaan aanmelden, werkloos zijn, syn.: stempelen	1 (green)			1. Als Jurgen haar zwanger maakt, moet ze niet meer **doppen**. (**Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)**) 1.
057	**drink** (omgangstaal) = borrel, receptie • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / (but 'borrel' vooral NN) • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 2.borrel (4), receptie (2)		1 (green)		1. ST #[017189-90]: I brought Marion to a **drinks thing** at work TT #[017189-90]: Marion was 's mee op een **drink** van kantoor. (**Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012)**) 1.
058	**op zijn eentje** (vrije alternant) = alleen • **Prisma 2014 <BN ook>** vooral NN in zijn (dooie) eentje / BN ook op zijn eentje = alleen, zonder gezelschap			1 (red)	1. ST #[012141-2]: Jackie, see if you can have a quiet word with his wife, **on her own**. TT #[012141-2]: Jackie, probeer z'n vrouw 's te spreken. **Op 'r eentje.** (**Taggart – Law (2006)**) 1.

#	Definition						Examples
059	• VD14 (no geographic variation label) zonder gezelschap, terwijl men alleen is **eenzaat** (vrije alternant) = individualist • **Prisma 2014 <BN>** BN eenzelvig iemand, iemand die graag alleen is, eenling • **VD13** (Belg.N., niet alg.) 3 (Belg.N.) eenzelvig en contactarm persoon, geïsoleerd levend mens 4 (Belg.N., niet alg.) eigenzinnig iem., iem. die zijn aanpak durft door te voeren zonder veel rekening te houden met de reacties van anderen, syn. *einzelgänger*					🟥	🟩 1	1. ST #[008410-1]: Stuart's right. Fits the profile - loner, obsessive. TT #[008410-1]: Stuart heeft gelijk. Het klopt. <mark>Eenzaat</mark>, geobsedeerd. **(Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))**
060	**eerst en vooral** (vrije alternant) = in de eerste plaats • **Prisma 2014 <BN ook>** BN ook eerst en vooral = in de eerste plaats • **VD13 & VD online** (no geographic variation label) in de eerste plaats, ten eerste	🟥 1		🟥 1				1. Ik wil u <mark>eerst en vooral</mark> mijn excuses aanbieden. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 2. Dit is <mark>eerst en vooral</mark> een school, en geen herstellingsoord (Salamander 2013)
061	**effectief** (vrije alternant) = daadwerkelijk, de facto • **Prisma 2014 <BN ook>** BN ook <van een gevangenisstraf, schorsing e.d.> daadwerkelijk uitgevoerd, uitgezeten, onvoorwaardelijk BN, spreektaal inderdaad, echt het is effectief waar het is effectief gebeurd • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) ▼2. daadwerkelijk, de facto	🟩 1						1. En hij is <mark>effectief</mark> op zoek naar april '44? (Salamander 2013)
062	**errond** (vrije alternant) = eromheen • **Prisma 2014 <BN>** BN eromheen • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 1. eromheen	🟩 3						1. Dus morgen gaat heel die bankkraak en alles <mark>errond</mark> in onderzoek. (Salamander 2013) 2. En een zon met hartjes <mark>errond</mark>. Dat is mooi. (Salamander 2013) 3. ...ook zo'n beest. Met een slang <mark>errond</mark>. (Salamander 2013)

#	Entry	Counts							Examples
063	**excuseer!** (vrije alternant) = beleefdheidsformule: neem me niet kwalijk! • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook excuseer! = neem me niet kwalijk • **VD13** (Belg.N., spreekt.) excuseer!, neem me niet kwalijk, pardon • **VD online** (no geographic variation label) neem me niet kwalijk synoniem: pardon	**4** (rood)		**2** (groen)					1. Excuseer, meneer. Ik kan niet eten en praten tegelijkertijd. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 2. Excuseer. Hoe bent u hier binnengeraakt? (Flikken – Kwelling (2004)) 3. Excuseer. Wie bent u? Wat doet u hier? (Salamander 2013) 4. Dan zou ik dat toch weten? Onzin. Excuseer. Dit is een inventaris van de bank. (Salamander 2013) 5. rees van niet. Mijn man is vorig jaar gestorven. Excuseer. (Salamander 2013) 6. Excuseer. Ik ben helemaal… (Salamander 2013)
064	**familiair** (unieke variant) familiaar • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> (te) vrij in de omgang, (te) ongedwongen hij legde familiair een hand op haar schouder • **VD online** (no geographic variation label) ▼ 1. gemeenzaam, vertrouwelijk, ongedwongenvormvariant: familiaar				**1** (rood)				1. ST #[017226-7]: Your over-familiarity made her uncomfortable. TT #[017226-7]: Ze vond dat u iets te familiair tegen haar deed. (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))
065	**federaal** (cultuurgebonden) = op Belgisch niveau, i.t.t. gemeenschapsniveau • **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN op nationaal, Belgisch niveau, i.t.t. gemeenschapsniveau • **VD14 & VD online** (no geographic variation label) ▼ 1. van, betreffende, van de aard van een federatie, een federatie vormend synoniem: federatief, bondgenootschappelijk	**7** (rood)	**1** (rood)						1. Draag het onderzoek over aan de federale. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009)) 7x federale (politie) (Salamander 2013)
066	**fier** (vrije alternant) trots • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> trots BN ook fier op = trots op	**1** (groen)	**1** (rood)						1. Onze fiere papa! (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde II (2009)) 2. Ik ben daar wel wat fier op, want… Allee… (Salamander 2013)

| 067 | **firmawagen** (vrije alternant)
= bedrijfsauto/ -wagen
• **Prisma 2014** <BN ook>
BN ook bedrijfsauto
• **VD13**
headword not in dictionary until VD14 (Belgisch-Nederlands) bedrijfswagen | | 3 | | 1. Is de firmawagen van Feiremans teruggevonden? (Flikken - De verbrande vrouw (2004))
2. Een hotelkamer… Zijn firmawagen. (Flikken - De verbrande vrouw (2004))
3. Ik parkeer er de firmawagen, telkens als ik in Gent ben. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) |
| 068 | **flik** (unieke variant)
= smeris
• **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal>
BN, spreektaal smeris, politieagent
• **VD13** (Belg.N., inform.)
1. politieagent, smeris
• **VD14**
not in dictionary
• **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal)
1. politieagent, smeris | 5 | 23
6
3 | | 1. ST #[015393-4]: Why don't you ask your new boyfriend? The gangly copper.
TT #[015393-4]: Vraag 't aan je nieuwe vriend, de slungelige flik. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))
play on words: bacon <pig (=police officer)
2. ST #[014713]: Don't often get the bacon knocking on my door.
TT #[014713]: De flikken komen hier niet vaak.
3. ST #[014714]: "Bacon." That's funny. And original.
ST #[014714]: - Flikkers? Leuk, origineel. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012)) |

Entry above 067 (fier):

BN, spreektaal zo fier als een gieter = heel trots, zo trots als een pauw
• VD14 (no geographic variation label) & (Belg.N., niet alg.)
(van personen) vervuld en uiterlijk blijk gevend van een sterk zelfbewustzijn en eergevoel, in gunstige zin trots: een fier karakter; (Belg.N., niet alg.) fier op –, trots op
• VD online (no geographic variation label) & (Belgisch-Nederlands)
▼ 1. (van personen) vervuld en uiterlijk blijk gevend van een sterk zelfbewustzijn en eergevoel, in gunstige zin trots
• een fier karakter
• (Belgisch-Nederlands) fier op –

Flikken episodes (all in P3): 29 hits (incl. "direct de flik... politie gebeld")

Salamander: 5 hits

1. Ik ben nog altijd een flik. Godverdomme!
2. Carl. Ik ben een flik, en jij niet meer. Ja.
3. Vraag het aan hem. Jij bent de flik.
4. En dan geeft je vrouw alles aan een flik?
5. Ik vroeg of die flik daar nog is, die commissaris van Gerardi.

1 ST #[016728-29]: - It would've taken no particular strength to smother her. There was **no obvious funny business, was there?**

TT #[016728-29]: Veel kracht was er niet nodig. Er was **geen duidelijk gefoefel**, hè? (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))

2 ST #[016730-32]: - Afraid that's not a medico-legal term with which I'm familiar. But, no. **No obvious funny business.**

TT #[016730-32]: - Die gerechtelijk-geneeskundige term ken ik niet. Maar nee, **geen duidelijk gefoefel.** (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))

1. En ik heb pas een nieuwe frigo en tv gekocht. (Flikken - De verbrande vrouw (2004))
2. Ik had net een frigo gekocht op afbetaling. (Flikken - De verbrande vrouw (2004))

		2			2	

069

foefelen
=knoeien, sjoemelen
• **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal>
1 niet te werk gaan zoals het hoort, slecht of slordig werken
2 vlug of heimelijk verbergen; wegmoffelen
3 heimelijk met iets bezig zijn, scharrelen; bedriegen, valsspelen
• **VD online**
1. (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) slordig werken
synoniem: knoeien
▼ 2. ritselen (3) • zich erdoor foefelen zich uit een moeilijkheid, een netelige of gevaarlijke toestand weten te redden
▼ 3. heimelijk bezig zijn synoniem: wroeten • hij foefelt eronder hij doet niet eerlijk, fopt, bedriegt

070

frigo (vrije alternant)
= koelkast
• **Prisma 2014** <BN ook>
1 BN ook ijskast, koelkast
2 BN koelhuis
• **VD13** (Belg.Nederlands, spreekt.)
ijskast

#	Entry							Examples
071	**fuif** (vrije alternant) = feest ● **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> vrolijk informeel besloten feest ● **VD12 & VD online** (no geographic variation label) 1. (inform.) vrolijk feest van niet-openbaar karakter, m.n. naar aanleiding van een heuglijke gebeurtenis: een gloeiende fuif geven				**1**		**1**	1. ST #[000671]: Did I meet you at his <mark>birthday</mark>? TT #[000671]: Was u op z'n verjaardags<mark>fuif</mark>? (**Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995)**) 2. ST #[015019]: You know me. Party, party. TT #[015019]: Je kent me. Het <mark>fuif</mark>nummer. (**Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012)**)
072	**gans** (vrije alternant) = heel, helemaal ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal, NN, vero, behalve in vaste uitdrukkingen geheel, heel ● **VD14** (arch., Belg.N., niet alg.) geheel, heel		**2**					1. Leon is hier <mark>gans</mark> de voormiddag geweest. (**Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)**) 2. Je wou haar <mark>ganse</mark> identiteit. (**Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009)**)
073	**garçon** (substandaard) = ober, kelner ● **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / ● **VD13** 2 (gew.) kelner, ober	**6**						1. Wat denk je? <mark>Garçon.</mark> 2. Hij moet werken. <mark>Garçon.</mark> 3. <mark>Garçon</mark>? Dat mag toch niet? 4. Wat hoor ik, jongen? <mark>Garçon</mark>? Ik heb het geld nodig. 5. U mag nu bellen naar uw dienst. <mark>Garçon</mark>! 6. <mark>Garçon</mark>! Voor mij ook één. (**Flikken - De Vikings (2004)**)
074	**gazet** (substandaard) = krant ● **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN krant ● **VD14 & VD online** ▼1. (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) krant			**1**	**2**			1. Op de tv, in de <mark>gazet</mark> en in alle boekjes. Voilà. (**Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009)**) 2. Maar enfin. We hebben twee, drie <mark>gazetten</mark> aan onze kant. (**Salamander 2013**) 3. Hij stond er zelfs mee in de gazet. (**Salamander 2013**)
075	**gedaan zijn** (vrije alternant) = klaar, af, voorbij ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN klaar, af, voorbij, uit BN, spreektaal gedaan zijn = klaar, af, voorbij zijn ● **VD online** expression not in dictionary				**2**			1. Eerlijk. Schat. Het <mark>is</mark> bijna <mark>gedaan.</mark> 2. Het zal niet lang meer duren, het <mark>is</mark> bijna <mark>gedaan.</mark> (**Salamander 2013**)

Nr.	Lemma en definities					Voorbeelden
076	**gedomicilieerd zijn** (vrije alternant) = woonachtig ● **Prisma 2014 <BN ook>** BN ook officieel woonachtig stemgerechtigden die in de betreffende gemeente zijn gedomicilieerd ● **VD13** (no geographic variation label) domicilie, vaste woonplaats hebbend (te-): ergens gedomicilieerd zijn			**1** (rood)		1. Hij is **gedomicilieerd** in Basseveld (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004))
077	**gelijk wie** (omgangstaal) = wie dan ook ● **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** BN, spreektaal gelijk wie = wie (dan) ook BN, spreektaal gelijk welk(e) = om het even welk(e) ● **VD online** (niet algemeen) ▼ 1. (gevolgd door een vragend voornaamwoord of bijwoord) om het even	**2** (groen)				1. **gelijk wie** erachter zit (Salamander 2013) 2. **Gelijk wie** er belang bij heeft (Salamander 2013)
078	**gelijkvloers** (vrije alternant) = benedenverdieping ● **Prisma 2014 <BN ook>** BN ook benedenverdieping; begane grond op het gelijkvloers wonen = beneden, gelijkvloers wonen ● **VD13** (Belg.N.) benedenverdieping			**1** (groen)		1. Gordijnen dicht op het **gelijkvloers**. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))
079	**gerant** (omgangstaal) = filiaalhouder van een winkel/zaal ● **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** 1 beheerder van een restaurant of hotel die niet de eigenaar is 2 BN, spreektaal filiaalhouder van een winkel of zaal ● **VD13** (no geographic variation label) verantwoordelijk beheerder (van commanditaire vennootschappen, hotels, e.d.)				**1** (rood)	1. ST #[009275-6]: That's Jimmy's concern. I never go near the place. Jimmy's the manager. TT #[009275]: Dat is iets voor Jimmy, de **gerant**. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))
080	**gerechtshof** (vrije alternant)	**1** (groen)				1. Ik kan proberen bij het militair **gerechtshof**. (Salamander

081 (orange cell)

gerust laten (substandaard)
= met rust laten
● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal>
BN, spreektaal iemand gerust laten = iemand met rust laten, iemand niet lastigvallen
● **VD13** (Belg.N., niet alg.)
met rust laten
● **VD online**
(Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) met rust laten

Green cell: **3**, **2**

1. <mark>Laat</mark> mij <mark>gerust</mark>. Klootzak. (Flikken – Stof (2004))
2. <mark>Laat</mark> me <mark>gerust</mark>, Thomas. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004))
3. Mama, <mark>laat</mark> mij <mark>gerust</mark>. (Salamander 2013)
4. En <mark>laat</mark> me <mark>gerust</mark>! (Salamander 2013)
5. Stop ermee, stop. <mark>Laat</mark> ons <mark>gerust</mark>! (Salamander 2013)

082

er niet gerust in zijn (vrije alternant)
= er niet gerust op zijn
● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook>
er niet gerust op zijn / BN ook er niet gerust in zijn = bezorgd zijn
● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands)
●(Nederlands) er niet gerust op zijn, (Belgisch-Nederlands) er niet gerust in zijn; bezorgd zijn dat het niet goed gaat, afloopt enz.; er geen vertrouwen in hebben

Green cell: **1**

1. Dat is toch niet normaal? Ik <mark>ben er</mark> <mark>gerust in</mark>. Waar is Paul? (Salamander 2013)

083 (red cell)

ginder (vrije alternant)
= daar
● **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label>
daar verderop, daarginds

Red cell: **1**

1. <mark>Ginder</mark> hè, daar ligt Engeland. (Salamander 2013)

(top section, no entry number)

= rechtbank
● **Prisma 2014** <BN>
1 <in Nederland> hogere rechtbank waar men in beroep kan gaan tegen vonnissen van de arrondissementsrechtbanken
2 BN niet-officiële aanduiding voor verschillende soorten rechtbanken
● **VD online** (in België)
▼1. rechtbank van hogere rang •het Internationaal Gerechtshoforgaan van de Verenigde Naties •het Europees Gerechtshof orgaan van de Europese Unie •Militair Gerechtshof (in België) hoogste militaire rechtbank

	Entry / Definition					Examples
	• VD online (no geographic variation label) ▼1. daar in de verte, daar op die plaats (op enige, soms op grote afstand van de spreker)					
084	**voor je eigen goed** (omgangstaal) = om (je) bestwil • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal voor je eigen goed = voor je eigen bestwil • **VD online** expression not in dictionary	1				1. Het is voor je eigen goed. (Salamander 2013)
085	**goedgezind** (omgangstaal) = monter, in een vrolijke stemming • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal goedgehumeurd, in een vrolijke stemming • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 2. goedgehumeurd	2				1. Amai. Zo goedgezind. (Salamander 2013) 2. Ik ben ook goedgezind. Hola... (Salamander 2013)
086	**goesting** (vrije alternant) = zin • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal lust, trek, zin • **VD14** (Belg.N., spreekt.) 1 lust, trek, zin, smaak 2 bekomst • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, informeel) ▼1. lust, trek, zin, smaak ▼2. Bekomst	1	1			1. Ik zie haar chinezen en ik kreeg ook goesting in een fix. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)) 2. Tegen dan heeft hij geen wapen meer, geen politiekaart, en geen goesting. (Salamander 2013)
087	**gouverneur** (cultuurgebonden) = verkort voor *provinciegouverneur persoon aan het hoofd van de *'Bestendige Deputatie', vergelijkbaar met 'Commissaris van de Koning(in)' in Nederland • **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN hoofd van een provincie • **VD13** (no geographic variation label) - het burgerlijk hoofd van een Belgische provincie			2		1. Die receptie bij de gouverneur? (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) 2. Ga je vanavond mee naar de receptie bij de gouverneur? (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))

	Term / definitie			Voorbeelden
088	**hangar** (omgangstaal) = loods ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal loods in het algemeen ● **VD14** (no geographic variation label) 1. overdekte bergplaats, m.n. grote loods voor berging van vliegtuigen en luchtschepen	**1**		1. Torre was in de <mark>hangar</mark> (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))
089	**zich herpakken** (vrije alternant) = beter worden, zich herstellen ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> 1 herstellen, beter worden de zieke herpakte zich 2 weer moed vatten; bekomen na deze tegenslag herpakten zij zich snel 3 ten goede keren, zich herstellen de vraag naar auto's herpakt zich ● **VD12 (gew., gall.)** 2 (van een zieke, het werk) beter worden, ten goede keren ● **VD13 & VD14** (no geographic variation label) 2 (van een zieke, het werk) beter worden, ten goede keren	**1**	**3**	1. stop met zagen en <mark>herpak je</mark>. Oké? (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 2. Ik zit in de miserie. Ik probeer <mark>me te herpakken</mark>. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004)) 3. Ik ben blij dat je <mark>je herpakt</mark>. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004)) 4. Ik heb een paar dingen mispeuterd, maar ik heb <mark>me herpakt</mark>. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
090	**hold-up** (omgangstaal) = overval ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook overval, roofoverval ● **VD14** (no geographic variation label) 1. (roof)overval	**1**		1. Oproep aan alle eenheden: mogelijke <mark>hold-up</mark> apotheek Willems (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009))
091	**hoogdag** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = belangrijke kerkelijke feestdag ● **Prisma 2014** <BN> 1 RK kerkelijke feestdag: Pasen, Pinksteren, Allerheiligen en Kerstmis 2 fig belangrijke dag ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands)	**2**		1. Dag, mevrouw Van Mechelen. Zalige <mark>hoogdag</mark>. (Salamander 2013) 2. Zalige <mark>hoogdag</mark>. Dat is mijn zoon, Raymond. (Salamander 2013)

1. (rooms-katholiek) grote kerkelijke feestdag, t.w. Pasen, Pinksteren, Maria-Tenhemelopneming, Allerheiligen of Kerstmis

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092

hospitaal (alternant met restricties)
= ziekenhuis
• **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> (oorspr militair) ziekenhuis, verpleeginrichting
• **VD13 & VD online** (no geographic variation label)
1. (militair) ziekenhuis, waar zieke en gewonde soldaten verpleegd worden

1. Wie is die vrouw in het **hospitaal**? (Flikken – De **verbrande vrouw (2004)**)
2. Moeder overleden 14 augustus 1951, Sint-Jans**hospitaal** Brussel. **(Salamander 2013)**

093

humaniora (cultuurgebonden)
= voorbereidend wetenschappelijk of algemeen voortgezet middelbaar onderwijs (tgo. technisch of beroepsonderwijs)
• **Prisma 2014** <BN>, <vroeger>
BN, <vroeger> voorbereidend wetenschappelijk of algemeen voortgezet middelbaar onderwijs (vergelijkbaar met het vwo in Nederland), tegenwoordig a.s.o.
• **VD12** (in Belg.)
2. voorbereidend wetenschappelijk of algemeen middelbaar onderwijs (tgov. technisch of beroepsonderwijs): oude of nieuwe, moderne humaniora, resp. met of zonder Latijn en Grieks

1. ST #[003524-5]: Before that, he was Stamford **Grammar School.**
TT #[003524-5]: Daarvoor deed hij z'n **humaniora** in Stamford. **(Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))**

094

identiteitskaart (cultuurgebonden)
= officiële pas met persoonlijke gegevens die iedere volwassene bij zich moet hebben als officieel legitimatiebewijs
• **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> officiële kaart met naam, geboortedatum, geboorteplaats enz. waarmee iemand kan bewijzen wie hij is
• **VD13 & VD14** (no geographic variation label) identiteitsbewijs

1. **Identiteitskaart** of een ander document? (Flikken – De **verbrande vrouw (2004)**)
2. En dan een nieuwe **identiteitskaart** aanvragen (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))

#	Entry	Examples
095	**zich inbeelden** (omgangstaal) = zich indenken ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal zich voorstellen u kunt zich inbeelden dat . ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 3. zich indenken [green: 1]	1. Je kunt je inbeelden hoe de pers daarop springt. (Salamander 2013)
096	**inhaken** (vrije alternant) = (van de telefoon) ophangen ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook <van telefoon> ophangen ● **VD14 & VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 4. (Belgisch-Nederlands) een telefoongesprek beëindigen door de verbinding te verbreken synoniem: ophangen [green: 1] [green: 1]	1. Om te praten over het boksen. Maar ik heb ingehaakt. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 2. Sofie, schatje, haak in, zeg ik je. (Salamander 2013)
097	**inkaderen** (omgangstaal) = inlijsten ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal inlijsten ● **VD13** (no geographic variation label) inlijsten, omlijsten [red: 1]	1. De fiscus zal die spreuk zeker inkaderen. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))
098	**inroepen** (vrije alternant) = (van een getuigenis e.d.) zich beroepen op (ter verdediging) ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook aanvoeren, naar voren brengen een argument/excuus inroepen ● **VD12** (in Belg.) 3. zich beroepen op – [green: 1]	1. ST #[004431-2]: Did you, during the course of that conversation, hear anything which might be considered by the Court to be mitigating evidence in the case against my client? TT #[004431-2]: Hoorde u iets wat ik als verzachtende omstandigheden kan inroepen (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))
099	**jeugdrechter** (vrije alternant) = kinderrechter ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook kinderrechter ● **VD14** (no geographic variation label) [red: 1]	1. Van de jeugdrechter moest ik dat met herstelbemiddeling (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))

in het Belgische rechtssysteem, kinderrechter

100

job (vrije alternant)
= baan
● **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label>
1. baan, betrekking
2. BN ook bijbaan, nevenfunctie, baantje, <vooral> parttimebaan van een student
● **VD13 & VD14 & VD online** (no geographic variation label)
betrekking, baan, werkkring

1. hoe en met wie ik mijn **job** doe (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004))
2. Maar ze gaan mij aan een **job** helpen. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))
3. Hij vroeg of ik geen **job** had voor hem. (Flikken – Bonnie and Clyde I (2009))
4. Een vakantie**job**. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
5. Wel, dan ben je je **job** kwijt (Salamander 2013)

(kleurvakken: rood 1, 3, 1; rood 1)

101

justitiepaleis (vrije alternant)
gerechtshof, het gebouw waarin het hoogste rechterlijke college zitting houdt
● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook>
BN ook gerechtshof
● **VD13** (Belg.N.)
paleis van justitie, syn: gerecht-gebouw

1. Ik moet naar het **justitiepaleis**. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))

(kleurvakken: groen 1; groen 1)

102

kabinetschef (cultuurgebonden)
= chef van de politieke medewerkers van een minister
● **Prisma 2014** <in België>
<in België> secretaris-generaal van een ministerieel departement
● **VD online** (in België)
2. het hoofd van het kabinet (11) van een minister of staatssecretaris

1. Met Vande Kerckhove, **kabinetschef** van de koning. (Salamander 2013)

(kleurvak: groen 1)

103

kassei (vrije alternant)
= kinderkopje
● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook>
BN ook straatkei met min of meer afgeronde bovenkant, kinderhoofdje, kinderkopje
● **VD14** (no geographic variation label)
▼2. keisteen met min of meer afgeronde bovenkant, gebruikt voor bestrating
synoniem: kinderkopje, kinderhoofdje

1. Ik heb een harde kop. **Kasseien** krijgen mij niet klein. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))

(kleurvak: rood 1)

#	Lemma / definitie	Voorbeelden	Score
104	**er is geen kat** (omgangstaal) = er is helemaal niemand (komen opdagen) • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal geen kat = geen mens, helemaal niemand • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, informeel) er is niemand synoniem: er is geen hond	1. Er zal <mark>geen kat</mark> luisteren naar u. (Salamander 2013)	**1** (groen)
105	**kelderen** (vrije alternant) = de grond in boren, doen mislukken • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook de grond in boren, doen mislukken • **VD12 & VD13** (no geographic variation label) 3. (m betr.t. een plan) zorgen dat het niet uitgevoerd wordt	1. ST #[004879]: Oh, God, I hope not. That would **scupper** the appeal altogether. TT #[004879]: Dat hoop ik niet. Dat had onze inzameling **gekelderd (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))** 2. ST #[009419]: That's what I mean. McGregor could **wreck** his reputation. TT #[009419]: McGregor kan hem <mark>kelderen</mark>. **(Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))**	**1** / **1** (rood)
106	**kernkabinet** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = groep van de belangrijkste ministers van een regering • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD online** (no geographic variation label) 1. deel van een kabinet (4) bestaande uit de belangrijkste ministers	1. Na het <mark>kernkabinet</mark> (Salamander 2013) 2. Het <mark>kernkabinet</mark> verliep dan ook in een sfeer van crisis (Salamander 2013)	**2** (rood)
107	**klacht neerleggen** (vrije alternant) = klacht indienen • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> indienen, aanhangig maken, deponeren een klacht neerleggen • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) indienen	1. Heeft er iemand <mark>klacht neergelegd?</mark> (Salamander 2013) 2. Heeft Jonkhere zelf <mark>klacht neergelegd?</mark> (Salamander 2013)	**2** (groen)
108	**klak** (substandaard) = pet • **Prisma 2014** <dial.> dial pet (met een stijve klep) • **VD14** (Belg.N., spreekt.) muts met klep, syn: pet	1. Of ga je die <mark>klak</mark> echt blijven dragen ? (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))	**1** (groen)

#	Entry	Codes			Example
109	**klankband** (vrije alternant) = geluidsband • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD13** (w. g.) geluidsband			1 (green)	1. Bewijsmateriaal in mijn hotel zetten, <mark>klankbanden</mark> trukeren. **(Flikken - Verlossing (2004))**
110	**klasseren** (omgangstaal) = in de doofpot stoppen, seponeren, als afgedaan beschouwen • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal zonder gevolg laten, in de doofpot stoppen, afdoen; recht (een strafzaak) seponeren • **VD online** (no geographic variation label) 4. (figuurlijk) als afgedaan beschouwen	1 (red)			1. De affaire is toen <mark>geklasseerd</mark> **(Salamander 2013)**
111	**koer** (substandaard) = speelplaats (van een school) • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal binnenplaats, binnenplein • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, niet algemeen) 2. speelplaats, schoolplein	1 (green)			1. Mannekes, komaan. Hup. Naar de <mark>koer</mark>. **(Salamander 2013)**
112	**kost en inwoon** (unieke variant) = kost en inwoning • **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN inwoning met kost en inwoon • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 1. kost en inwoon synoniem: kost en inwoning	1 (green)			1. Ik betaal je niks, je krijgt <mark>kost en inwoon</mark>. **(Salamander 2013)**
113	**kroezelhaar** (omgangstaal) = kroeshaar, dik krulhaar • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal kroeshaar, dik krulhaar • **VD14** (Belg.N., niet alg.) kroeshaar		1 (green)		1. Jij hebt alleen maar oog voor die bitch met haar <mark>kroezelhaar</mark>. **(Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))**
114	**kuis** (omgangstaal)	1 (green)		1 (green)	1. Zou jij zelfmoord plegen tijdens de <mark>kuis</mark>? **(Flikken – Stof**

#	Definitie	Voorbeelden			
	= het kuisen, de schoonmaak ● **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** 1 schoonmaak de grote kuis = de lenteschoonmaak 2 het uit de weg ruimen, het zich ontdoen (van ongewenste personen); opruiming, zuivering grote kuis houden = orde op zaken stellen ● **VD13 & VD online (Belg.N., spreekt.)** schoonmaak	(2004)) 2. Schakel de **kuisploeg** in. (Salamander 2013)			
115	**kuisen** (omgangstaal) = schoonmaken, reinigen ● **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** BN, spreektaal schoonmaken, poetsen, reinigen ● **VD13 & VD14 (Belg.N., spreekt.)** schoonmaken, reinigen	1. Pas **gekuist**. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) 2. toen ze aan het **kuisen** was (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 3. Moest jij ook wc's **kuisen** met een tandenborstel ? (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))	1	2	
116	**labo** (vrije alternant) = laboratorium ● **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** BN, spreektaal verkorting van laboratorium; vgl. lab (vooral NN, spreektaal) ● **VD13 (Belg.N.)** als verkorting van laboratorium ● **VD14 (alg. Belg.N.)** (als verkorting van) laboratorium ● **VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands)** (als verkorting van) laboratorium	1. Goed, laat het **labo** komen. (Flikken – Stof (2004)) 2. Het **labo** is ernaar op zoek. (Flikken – Stof (2004)) 3. Het **laboverslag**. (Flikken – Stof (2004)) 4. Metalen **labospuit**. (Flikken – Stof (2004)) 5. Alles, **labospuit**, veiligheidsbril, mondmasker… (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 6. Laat dat over aan het **labo**. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 7. was u ook toevallig de **labo-assistente** Femke Dierickx aan het stalken. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 8. Ik zou ook beter een **labo** in xtc beginnen. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 9. De villa was een **drugslabo**. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 10. In dat **labo** woonde hij niet. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 11. Als we hem linken aan dat **xtc-labo**, hangt hij. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 12. Er is een bestelbon op uw naam in een **xtc-labo**! (Flikken	21	7	4

– De verbrande vrouw (2004))

13. In zijn labo. (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004))
14. Ik heb zelf de labospuit, de camera, het flesje ethaanethyol (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))
15. nog materiaal uit het labo (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
16. Labo-informatie. (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
17. de kans is dat het labo er geen druppeltje speeksel of huidschilfer (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
18. En hoe kwam Feiremans aan die labopakken ? (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
19. De labospuiten, de zwavelgeur? (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
20. Professor Dejongh zat elke dag in een labo. (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
21. En niet alleen van labomateriaal. (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
22. Er zit bloed op. - Is het labo verwittigd? (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))
23. Bel jij het labo? (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))
24. Plaats van delict beveiligd ? Labo ? (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
25. Labo ? We komen eraan. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
26. Het labo is ter plekke. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
27. Het labo heeft je sportschoenen onderzocht. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
28. Ik heb de labo-informatie. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
29. Het labo heeft die ontleed. (Salamander 2013)
30. Het labo heeft niks kunnen vinden in dat appartement. (Salamander 2013)
31. Ik heb een verslag uit '87 van ons labo over Salamander en Jonkhere. (Salamander 2013)
32. Plus laborapporten van explosieven. (Salamander 2013)

1. Ik denk niet dat ze daarmee lachen. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))

| | | | | 1 | | |

117 | **lachen met iemand/iets** (vrije alternant) = spotten met iemand/iets, iemand uitlachen

#	Entry				Examples
	● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook met iets lachen = over of om iets lachen BN, spreektaal dat is niet gelachen / dat is niet om mee te lachen = dat is van belang, ernstig, niet om mee te spotten ● **VD14** (no geographic variation label) 3 lachen met – a) bespotten				
118	**lap!** (substandaard) = uitroep ter nabootsing van iets dat valt ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> het geluid van een klap, een mep e.d., pats ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, informeel) ▼1. uitroep ter nabootsing van het geluid door een klap veroorzaakt	**1** (groen)	**rood**		1. <mark>Lap.</mark> Hier. (Salamander 2013)
119	**last verkopen** (vrije alternant) = vervelend zijn ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook last verkopen = lastig, vervelend, moeilijk zijn ● **VD13** (uitdr., Belg.N., spreekt.) lastig, moeilijk zijn			**2** (groen)	1. Mijn dochter heeft een bekkenvergroeiing en loopt met een kruk. Maar <mark>verkoopt</mark> ze <mark>last?</mark> (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) 2. Na die aanrijding was ze verlamd. Maar <mark>verkoopt</mark> ze <mark>last?</mark> (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))
120	**leefloon** (vrije alternant) = uitkering die je krijgt als je geen inkomen hebt of als je inkomen niet voldoende is om op een menswaardige manier te kunnen leven ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook uitkering die onder voorwaarden wordt toegekend aan mensen met geen of bijna geen inkomen ● **VD14** (alg. Belg.N.) uitkering van het OCMW aan personen die geen inkomen hebben of geen andere uitkering krijgen (voorheen bestaansminimum geheten)		**1** (groen)		1. Blijkbaar heeft ze een <mark>leefloon</mark> aangevraagd. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))
121	**iemand de les spellen** (vrije alternant) = iemand de les lezen ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook iemand de les spellen = iemand de les lezen,	**1** (groen)			1. U moet magistraten <mark>de les</mark> niet <mark>spellen.</mark> (Salamander 2013)

berispen • VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands) iem. berispen		
122	**lief** (vrije alternant) = geliefde • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> geliefde, degene van wie iemand houdt, **BN ook** verloofde, vrijer; beminde, geliefde; vriend, vriendin • **VD14 & VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) vriend (6), vriendin (2)	1. Welk uitschot gooit zijn **lief** te grabbel op een matras (**Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)**) 2. Hij is wel een junk die zijn **lief** te grabbel gooit aan kwijlende venten (**Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)**) 3. Hij weet dat Mark Devreese een oud **lief** is, meer niet. (**Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)**) 4. Als ik nu eens begon met een **lief**. Jij? (**Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)**) 5. Zijn nieuw **lief**. (**Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009)**) 6. Was Ellen jouw **lief**? (**Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009)**) 7. Ik denk dat iedereen hier gewoon een **lief** zoekt. (**Salamander 2013**)
123	**liegen dat je zwart ziet** (unieke variant) = liegen dat je barst • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> liegen dat je barst / liegen dat je zwart ziet = heel erg liegen • **VD13** not in dictionary	1. Stijn De Roovere **liegt dat hij zwart ziet**. (**Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)**)
124	**iemand liggen hebben** (omgangstaal) = beethebben, de baas zijn • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal iemand liggen hebben = iemand de baas zijn, de loef afsteken; iemand te pakken hebben, beetgenomen hebben • **VD14** (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) iem. liggen hebben – hem in het worstelen op de grond krijgen – hem onschadelijk maken, hem de baas zijn	1. Oké, met de fuckmobiel **heb** je **mij liggen**. (**Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)**)

Counts (coloured cells): 122 → 1 ; 6 ; 123 → 1 ; 124 → 1

#	Entry			Examples
	– hem beetnemen			
125	**living** (vrije alternant) = woonkamer ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook als verkorting van livingroom woonkamer, huiskamer ● **VD13 & VD14 & VD online** (no geographic variation label) 2 woonkamer, huiskamer	1 / 1	1 / 1	1. Met hun strafbladen samen kan je een living behangen. (Flikken – De Vikings (2004)) 2. Waar verstopte hij haar overdag ? In de living ? (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 3. Karin! Naar de living! Nu! (Salamander 2013)
126	**lopen** (vrije alternant) = rennen ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook rennen ● **VD13** (no geographic variation label) 1 zich op de benen snel voortbewegen 2 zich met de benen voortbewegen, syn. gaan		1	1. Kom, Dorien. **Loop**. (Flikken – Solfer (2004))
127	**madam** (substandaard) = vrouw ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> 1 BN, spreektaal, ook schertsend mevrouw; echtgenote 2 iron vrouw die zich deftig voordoet of die veeleisend is ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) ▼ 2. vrouw	1		+ Je bent een knappe **madam** geworden. (Salamander 2013)
128	**merkwaardig** (vrije alternant) = opmerkelijk ● **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> vreemd, interessant, opmerkelijk wat een merkwaardig toeval wat een merkwaardige ideeën heeft die jongen ● **VD13 & VD online** (no geographic variation label) ▼ 1. zo, dat men erop let, er kennis van neemt synoniem: belangrijk, buitengewoon, opmerkelijk	1 / 1	1	1. Dit is **merkwaardig**. (Flikken – Kwelling (2004)) 2. Ik vind het toch **merkwaardig**. (Salamander 2013)
129	**op de middag** (vrije alternant)	2		1. ST #[001790]: Well, the drill was at 12.

	Dictionary entry	Score	Examples
	= rond 12 uur, op het middaguur ● Prisma 2014 <BN ook> BN ook op de middag = rond 12.00 uur, op het middaguur ● VD12 not in dictionary until VD13 (Belg.N., niet alg.) op de middag, rond het middaguur (1)	green	1. ST #[001790]: De oefening was op de middag. (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995)) 2. ST #[002017]: So, you went off at lunch time, right? TT #[002017]: U ging op de middag weg. (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995))
130	tussen de middag (vrije alternant) = tijdens de middagpauze ● Prisma 2014 <NN> NN tussen de middag = tijdens de middagpauze, tussen ongeveer12.00 en 14.00 uur ● VD13 (no geographic variation label) in de tijd tussen morgen en middag, in de middagpauze	red 1	1. ST #[010002]: It was at lunchtime, wasn't it? Do you know what time? TT #[010002]: Het was tussen de middag, he? Hoe laat precies? (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))
131	iets misdoen (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) =in strijd met de wet handelen ● Prisma 2014 <no geographic variation label> verkeerd handelen, iets verkeerds doen ● VD13 & VD14 (no geographic variation label) 1 kwalijk handelen, syn.: zondigen 2 in strijd met de wet handelen 3 onrecht aandoen, syn. beledigen	red 1 / red 2	1. ST #[008381-3]: What d'you want.. I've done nothing. Apart from stealing half the hospital by the looks of it. TT #[008381-3]: Ik heb niks misdaan. Alleen maar het ziekenhuis geplunderd? (Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004)) 2. ST #[011885-6]: Done nothing wrong. We know that. But we need a favour. TT #[011885-6]: We hebben niks misdaan. - Dat weten we. (Taggart – Law (2006)) 3. Heeft Davy iets misdaan ? (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
132	miserie (vrije alternant) = ellende ● Prisma 2014 <BN ook> BN ook ellende, narigheid; nood, armoede, misère; nare gebeurtenis zij zit in de miserie ● VD13 & VD14 (Belg.N., spreekt.) 1 ellende, misère	green 2 / green 1	1. Ik zit in de miserie. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004)) 2. Uit de miserie, uit de criminaliteit. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 3. Het is met jou dat al mijn miserie begonnen is. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))

133	**mislukken** (vrije alternant) = niet slagen (met een persoon als onderwerp) • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> niet worden wat iemand of iets moest worden, niet slagen hij is mislukt als zakenman • **VD online** (no geographic variation label) ▼ 1. niet lukken, slecht, verkeerd uitvallen synoniem: stranden, misgaan ▼ 2. niet slagen, geen succes hebben in wat men onderneemt synoniem: ▼ 3. niet worden wat iem. of iets worden moest				**1** (red)			1. ST #[016859-60]: Failure across the board. Societal. Educational. Parental. TT #[016859-60]:Totaal ==mislukt==. Op sociaal, educatief en ouderlijk vlak. **(Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))**
134	**iets mispeuteren** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = in strijd met de wet handelen • **Prisma 2014** <BN> 1 iets ondeugends doen 2 in strijd met de wet handelen • **VD14** (alg.Belg.N.) iets slecht of verkeerd doen, syn. misdoen		**2** (green)					1. Ik heb een paar dingen ==mispeuterd==, maar ik heb me herpakt. **(Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))** 2. Dat je me niet als crapuul behandelt omdat ik vroeger wat heb ==mispeuterd==. **(Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))**
135	**mobilhome** (vrije alternant) = motorhome • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook kampeerauto, motorhome, camper • **VD13** (Belg.N.) 1 motorhome	**1** (green)						1. Nieuwe motor, chique veranda… ==Mobilhome==. **(Flikken - De Vikings (2004))**
136	**niet moeten** (vrije alternant) = niet hoeven • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook hoeven, behoeven niet moeten = niet hoeven ik moet zeker niet zeggen hoe blij ik was ik moet je wel niet vertellen hoe bedroefd zij was • **VD12 & VD13** not in dictionary untill VD14 • **VD14** (alg.Belg.N.)	**3** / **1** (green)	**3** / **3** (green)	**3** / **3** (green)				1. ST #[004541-2]: Oh, Brenda… **You shouldn't have. But I'm glad you did.** TT #[004541-2]: Brenda, dat had je ==niet moeten== doen. Maar ik ben wel blij. **(Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))** 2. Hij is zijn vergunning nooit komen halen. Hij ==moest niet== meer bouwen. **(Flikken - De Vikings (2004))** 3. Zeg tegen de bodyguards dat ze zich ==niet moeten==

Examples (right column):

aanstellen. **(Flikken - Verlossing (2004))**

4. Die foto **moet niet** over heel de stad hangen. **(Flikken - Solfer (2004))**

5. Je had **niet moeten** meerijden. **(Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))**

6. Je **moet niet** koken vanavond. We gaan Thais eten. **(Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009))**

7. Als Jurgen haar zwanger maakt, **moet ze niet** meer doppen. **(Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))**

8. Je **moet** mij **niet** overtuigen. Overtuig Gerardi dat hij uit dat klooster komt. **(Salamander 2013)**

9. Je **moet niet** zo'n moeite doen. **(Salamander 2013)**

10. Je **moet niet** bang zijn. **(Salamander 2013)**

1. die **mossel** van een Laridon **(Salamander 2013)**

1. Wij? Is dat niet eerder iets voor Nick en Bruno? **Motards** onder mekaar.
   - Die zijn bezig. **(Flikken - De Vikings (2004))**

1. Ben je met de **moto** gekomen? **(Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009))**

1. dat hij **ervanonder** zal kunnen **muizen** (Flikken –

Dictionary entries (left column):

9. hoeven (I, 1) (steeds met ontkenning of beperking): ik moet morgen niet werken; ik moet hem maar eens aankijken, en het gebeurt
• VD www (Belgisch-Nederlands, niet algemeen)
hoeven1 (1) (steeds met ontkenning of beperking)

137
mossel (omgangstaal)
= slappeling
• **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal>
BN, spreektaal futloos, besluiteloos persoon, slappeling
• **VD online**
7. (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) lammeling

138
motard (substandaard)
= motorrijder
• **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary
/
• **VD13**
definition not in dictionary until VD14
2 (Belgisch-Nederlands) motorrijder in het algemeen

139
moto (substandaard)
= motor
• **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary
/
• **VD14** (Belgisch-Nederlands, niet algemeen) motorfiets

140
er vanonder muizen (vrije alternant)

141

kwart, tien, vijf enz. na
i.e. als onderdeel van tijdsaanduidingen
● Prisma 2014 <BN ook>
BN ook over, als onderdeel van tijdsaanduidingen kwart, tien, vijf enz. na twaalf = kwart, tien, vijf enz. over twaalf
● VD14
(alg. Belg.N.) kwart na acht, na vier e.d. kwart over acht e.d.
● www
(Belgisch-Nederlands, niet algemeen) kwart na acht, na vier e.d. kwart over acht e.d.

(voorbeeld eerste rij:)
= stilletjes weggaan
● Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>
BN, spreektaal er vanonder muizen = ongemerkt, stilletjes weggaan
● VD14 (niet alg.)
3. ongemerkt weggaan (alleen in de verb.): terwijl zij aan 't praten waren, ben ik eruit gemuisd; eruit, ervandoor, ervanonder muizen

Jeugdzorgen I (2009))

1. En tegen iets na 11 zijn we vertrokken. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009)) — **1**

142

nachtuil (omgangstaal)
= nachtbraker
1. iem. die 's nachts (door)werkt
2. iem. die 's nachts uitgaat
● Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>
BN, spreektaal nachtbraker (iemand die heel laat naar bed gaat, tot laat in de nacht op is)
● VD13
2 (fig.) nachtbraker
5 (gew.) iem. die tot laat in de nacht in de kroeg zit

1. ST #[006590-2]: Do they always go on very late? Richard Flett's the **night-owl**. Charlie likes to slip away.
TT #[006590-2]: Wordt 't altijd zo laat? Richard Flett is 'n **nachtuil**. Charlie glipt eerder weg. (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004)) — **1**

143

de nagel op de kop slaan (vrije alternant)
= de zaak precies treffen, precies zeggen waar het op aankomt
● Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>
BN, spreektaal de nagel op de kop slaan = precies zeggen

1. Ze **sloeg** wel **de nagel op de kop**. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) — **1**

#	Dictionary entry / definition		Examples
	waar het om gaat, de spijker op de kop slaan (vooral NN) • VD13 expression not in dictionary only: de spijker op de kop slaan		
144	dikke nek (omgangstaal) = branieschopper, een bourgeois, dikhals, diknek • Prisma 2014 headword/sense not in dictionary / • VD14 (Belg.N., spreekt., meton.) een dikke nek, branieschopper, een bourgeois, dikhals, diknek	2	1. Ik kan niet tegen een veld vol miljonairs met een dikke nek. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009)) 2. Een dikke nek heeft zo zijn voordelen. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))
145	een dikke nek hebben (omgangstaal) = verwaand zijn, het hoog in de bol hebben • Prisma 2014 <BN> BN een dikke nek hebben = verwaand zijn, het hoog in de bol hebben • VD14 (Belg.N., spreekt.) naast zijn schoenen lopen	1	1. Wesley Vreeswijk heeft een dikke nek (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))
146	net = juist, precies • Prisma 2014 <no geographic variation label> juist, precies • VD12 & VD13 & VD14 & VD online net4 1. juist, nauwkeurig, precies	1 1 1 1 2 1	1. ST #[003204-5]: It's a very funny thing, but as soon as someone doesn't want to discuss something, I do. TT #[003204-5]: Als iemand ergens niet over wil praten, wil ik dat net wel doen. (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995)) 2. ST #[009202]: He's more than capable. TT #[009202]: Net iets voor hem. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004)) 3. ST #[014780]: I thought that's what the trade was meant to get rid of TT #[014780]: Moet u dat niet net voorkomen? (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012)) 4. ST #[017027-8]: But we're not, though, are we? Not all.

#	Term / Dictionary notes	Examples				
		That's the problem. TT #[017027-8]: Toch niet. Niet allemaal. Dat is **net** het probleem. **(Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))** 5. Volgens Belgacom is het **net** omgekeerd. **(Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004))** 6. Ze komt telkens **net** voor de overval binnen om de winkel te verkennen **(Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009))**				
147	**nondeju/dju** (substandaard) = verdorie ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, plat> BN, plat verdomme ● **VD14 & VD online** (no geographic variation label) 1. bastaardvloek vormvariant: nondedju	1. Carla? **Dju**. **(Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde II (2009))** 2. Paul? **Nondedju**. Godverdomme! Stomme kloot. **(Salamander 2013)** 3. **Dju**, dju. Weet Patricia wie ik ben? **(Salamander 2013)** 4. Dju, **dju**. Weet Patricia wie ik ben? **(Salamander 2013)**	3	1			
148	**OCMW** (cultuurgebonden) = Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn ● **Prisma 2014** <in België> <in België> Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn ● **VD13** (in Belg.) Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn	1. Het **OCMW** heeft dat ontdekt na een klacht van vissers. **(Flikken - Kwelling (2004))**			1		
149	**omnium(verzekering)** ● **Prisma 2014** <BN> omnium BN omniumverzekering, allriskverzekering (<vooral> voor voertuigen) omniumverzekering BN ook allriskverzekering ● **VD13** (Belg.N.) 3 als verkorting van omniumverzekering	1. Ik heb geen **omnium**. **(Flikken – Stof (2004))**			1		
150	**omslag** (vrije alternant) = envelop ● **Prisma 2014 exact** sense not in dictionary, only (papieren) bekleedsel, kaft van een boek ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands)	1. Mag ik u vragen deze **omslag** bij te houden? **(Salamander 2013)** 2. Als die eerste twee een telefoon of **omslag** krijgen, plegen ze zelfmoord. **(Salamander 2013)**	6				

		Examples	Counts		
	enveloppe, couvert	3. Alles zat in deze **omslag**. (Salamander 2013) 4. Je stuurt een **omslag** en drie dagen later geef je een telefoontje (Salamander 2013) 5. Ik heb de drie **omslagen** op de bus gedaan. (Salamander 2013) 6. Die **omslag** bevat de inhoud van kluis (Salamander 2013)			
151	**onbestaand** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = niet bestaand • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD online** (no geographic variation label) ▼ 1. niet bestaand	1. Een valse naam met een **onbestaand** adres. (Salamander 2013)	**1**		
152	**onderzoeksrechter** (cultuurgebonden) = rechter van instructie • **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN rechter die in strafzaken het vooronderzoek leidt • **VD13 & VD14** rechter die met het onderzoek in strafzaken belast is (o.a. in Belgie en Frankrijk; vergelijkbaar met de rechter van instructie in Nederland) • **VD online** 1. (in België) rechter die met het onderzoek in strafzaken belast is (vergelijkbaar met de rechter van instructie in Nederland)	1. Ik heb een afspraak met Britt bij de **onderzoeksrechter**. (Flikken – Stof (2004)) 2. Meneer de **onderzoeksrechter** (Flikken – Kwelling (2004)) 3. En niet zonder de juiste bevelen van de **onderzoeksrechter**. (Flikken – Verlossing (2004)) 4. Geef me goede argumenten en ik bel om 5 uur de **onderzoeksrechter**. (Flikken – Verlossing (2004)) 5. We gaan naar de **onderzoeksrechter**. (Flikken – Verlossing (2004)) 6. Bel de **onderzoeksrechter** voor een mastbevraging. (Flikken – Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 7. Meneer de **onderzoeksrechter**? Klopt, ja. (Flikken – Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 8. Meneer de **onderzoeksrechter**? Gaat het? (Flikken – Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 9. De **onderzoeksrechter** ziet er geen reden meer voor. (Flikken – Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 10. Heb jij de **onderzoeksrechter** verwittigd? (Flikken – Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 11. De **onderzoeksrechter** heeft mij gebeld(Flikken – Bonnie	1	8	5

#	Entry						Examples
			1				12. Bel de **onderzoeksrechter** maar. (Flikken – Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009)) 13. John, de **onderzoeksrechter** wil je spreken. (Flikken – Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009)) 14. De **onderzoeksrechter** is er. (Salamander 2013)
153	**onrustwekkend** (vrije alternant) = onrustbarend ● **Prisma 2014** \<BN ook> BN ook onrustbarend ● **VD14** (alg. Belg.N.) onrustbarend, zorgwekkend ● **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) ▼1. onrustbarend, zorgwekkend	1	1				1. De **onrustwekkende** verdwijning van Lien Clarysse 2. Als Laridon morgen niet opdaagt, is dit een (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))**onrustwekkende** verdwijning. (Salamander 2013)
154	**ontlenen** (vrije alternant) = (van iemand) lenen ● **Prisma 2014** \<BN ook> BN ook (van iemand) lenen, boeken ontlenen ● **VD13** (Belg.N., niet alg.) 1 van iem. lenen : zij hielden het verborgen, dat zij geld ontleend hadden **exact definition not in dictionary until VD14:** ((Belgisch-Nederlands) lenen bij een instelling zoals een bibliotheek, videotheek of mediatheek)			3			1. Ons superbrein **ontleent** zijn boeken braaf in de bibliotheek. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 2. Feiremans **ontleende** dat boek (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 3. Wie heeft dat de laatste tijd **ontleend**? (Flikken - Solfer (2004))
155	**onwettelijk** (vrije alternant) = onwettig ● **Prisma 2014** \<no geographic variation label> niet volgens de wet, niet op een wetsbepaling gegrond ● **VD13** (Belg.N.) 1 strijdig met de wet, syn.: onwettig (1) 2 (w. g., jur.) niet gegrond op enige bepaling der wet					1	1. ST #[007358]: That's illegal, by the way! TT #[007358]: Dat is overigens **onwettelijk**. (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))
156	**ophebben** (substandaard) = achten	1					1. Ik heb het nooit **hoog opgehad** met de mens.

#	Entry / definition	Examples	Counts
	● Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal iemand laag/hoog ophebben = een lage/hoge dunk van iemand hebben ● VD online ▼12. (Belgisch-Nederlands, niet algemeen) iem. laag of niet hoog ophebben niet hoog schatten	(Salamander 2013)	
157	**opkuisen** (substandaard) = schoonmaken ● Prisma 2014 <BN> BN <een vloer, huis e.d.> schoonmaken, een (schoonmaak)beurt geven; in orde brengen, opknappen; opnemen, opdweilen ● VD13 & VD online (Belg.N., spreekt.) 1 opvegen, schoonmaken	1. Ik heb nog moeten afruimen en **opkuisen**. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004)) 2. om haar stront **op te kuisen**? (Flikken - De Vikings (2004)) 3. Nee, je blijft en we gaan **opkuisen**. (Salamander 2013) 4. We hebben zijn kantoor **opgekuist**. (Salamander 2013) 5. Ik ga je vuile was niet **opkuisen**. (Salamander 2013)	3 / 2
158	**overeenkomen** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = het goed met elkaar kunnen vinden ● Prisma 2014 <BN> BN het goed met elkaar kunnen vinden ● VD13 & VD14 (Belg.N.) met iem. (kunnen) opschieten	1. Jullie **komen** toch goed **overeen**? (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)) 2. En met wie **kwam** hij hier **overeen**? (Flikken – Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 3. Met wie **kwam** Dean goed **overeen**? (Flikken – Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 4. Geen enkele bokser **kwam** met hem **overeen**. (Flikken – Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 5. Je **komt** niet goed **overeen**? (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))	4 / 1
159	**overlopen** =doorlopen ● Prisma 2014 <BN ook> BN ook vluchtig bekijken, doorlopen; achteraf opnieuw doornemen, een lijst met titels overlopen ● VD14 (alg. Belg.N.) 4. doorlopen2 (4): het dagblad dat hij 's ochtends vlug overliep	1. Ik heb het nog eens **overlopen**, hè. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))	1
160	**overmaken** (omgangstaal)	1. die klacht over die gestolen aandelen zullen we	1

Nr	Lemma / Definitie	Markers	Voorbeelden
	= overhandigen ● **Prisma 2014** <BN schrijftaal> BN, schrijftaal (van berichten, brieven e.d.) toesturen, toezenden, doorgeven; (een vraag, zaak) voorleggen; (opmerkingen) doorspelen; (een suggestie) doen; (groeten) overbrengen ● **VD13** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 2. bezorgen, doorgeven ● een brief, gegevens, informatie overmaken		**overmaken** aan de bevoegde diensten. **(Flikken - De Vikings (2004))**
161	**overste** (substandaard) = chef ● **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> luitenant-kolonel, ook bij de marine ● **VD13** (verouderd) officier in het algemeen (in België nog wel gebruikt voor iedere militaire meerdere)	1	1. ST #[009930-1]: Look, we can find out from your **commanding officer**. TT #[009930-1]: We kunnen 't ook aan je **overste** vragen. **(Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))**
162	**een pak** (omgangstaal) = een heleboel ● **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal een heleboel, een hoop ● **VD13** definition not in dictionary until VD14: (Belgisch-Nederlands, informeel) een pak synoniem: veel, een hoop, een stuk	1 / 1	1. ST #[007246-7]: If Turner hadn't decontaminated properly... it would have saved **a lot of dosh**. TT #[007246-7]: Als Turner de grond niet saneerde, bespaarde ie **'n pak geld**. **(Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))** 2. Dat is dan **een pak minder** dan dat het Jeanke zal kosten. **(Flikken - De Vikings (2004))**
163	**pakken** (unieke variant) = aangrijpen ● **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook treffen, aangrijpen, ontroeren zijn dood heeft me erg gepakt ● **VD13** (Belg.N.) 12. aangrijpen (4)	1	1. ST #[009060]: Maybe it's **affected him** more than we thought. TT #[009060]: Het **pakt 'm** meer dan we dachten. **(Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))**
164	**panikeren** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = in paniek raken	1	1. Er vallen klappen, Brecht raakt gewond, ze **panikeren** (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))

• Prisma 2014 <BN> BN in paniek raken • VD14 (alg. Belg.N.) in paniek raken, syn. panieken		

165

iets zo beu als koude pap zijn (omgangstaal)
= er meer dan genoeg van hebben
• Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>
BN, spreektaal iets zo beu als koude pap zijn = er meer dan genoeg van hebben
• VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands)
er meer dan genoeg van hebben, ervan walgen

	1	

1. Sofie, ik ben zijn werk zo beu als koude pap. Echt waar. (Salamander 2013)

166

parket (cultuurgebonden)
= het bureau van de procureur des konings
• Prisma 2014 <BN>
BN bureau van de procureur des Konings
• VD13 & VD14 & VD online
het bureau van het Openbaar Ministerie (in België van de procureur des Konings): ten parkette van de officier van justitie
3 (meton.) het openbaar ministerie: onmiddellijk na de moord was het parket aanwezig

4	2	2

1. Wij hebben nog een verzoek voor het parket in Brussel. (Flikken - Solfer (2004))
2. Als de dader aangewezen is, kan de zaak naar het parket. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))
3. Ik ga bij het parket de arrestatie van Davy laten bevestigen. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
4. Ik heb zelf al het parket opgebeld. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
5. Wie zegt dat? Het parket-generaal. (Salamander 2013)
6. Maar blijf uit het zicht van het parket. (Salamander 2013)
7. Als het parket er is en iemand stelt vragen (Salamander 2013)
8. Parket noch familie kennen een mogelijk motief. (Salamander 2013)

167

parking (vrije alternant)
= parkeerterrein, parkeergarage
• Prisma 2014 <vooral BN>
vooral BN parkeerterrein, parkeergebouw, parkeerruimte, parkeerstrook, parkeerhaven
• VD13 & VD14 & VD online (no geographic variation label)

2	1	2

1. Dat is goedkoper dan uw parkings. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))
2. Op de parking? (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
3. Hij reed op de parking achter Dreamland. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009))
4. Vanop het internaat, op de parking. (Salamander 2013)

#	Entry	Definition	Counts	Examples
	parkeerterrein, parkeergarage		(red / red / red)	5. Toen ik je op de parking zag staan, dan dacht ik.... (Salamander 2013)
168	pintje (vrije alternant)	= pilsje ● Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal glas bier ● VD14 only pint in print 3. (niet alg...) glas of pot met bier of wijn ● VD www pintje (voorlopig toegevoegd in 2010) (Belgisch-Nederlands, informeel) ▼1. glas pils synoniem: pilsje, biertje ● een pintje drinken, pakken	1	1. Enfin, jongen. Pintje? - Hij moet naar huis. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))
169	piste (unieke variant)	= denkspoor, onderzoeksroute ● Prisma 2014 <BN ook> BN ook denkspoor, onderzoeksroute, lijn waarlangs een gedachtegang of onderzoek verloopt ● VD13 definition not in dictionary until VD14 only denkpiste (Belg.N.) richting waarin verder gedacht wordt, nog verder te ontwikkelen gedachtegang, syn. denkspoor: een denkpiste volgen ● VD online(Belgisch-Nederlands) ▼6. een van de verschillende mogelijke wegen om iets te realiseren of te onderzoeken synoniem: spoor, richting vergelijk: denkpiste	2 / 1	1. ST #[016395-6]: It's a line of inquiry we're pursuing. TT #[016395-6]: Het is een van de pistes die we onderzoeken. (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012)) 2. We blijven ons concentreren op de wraakpiste. (Flikken – Stof (2004)) 3. We onderzoeken de wraakpiste, maar.... (Flikken – Stof (2004))
170	plezant (omgangstaal)	= plezierig, prettig ● Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal plezierig, aangenaam een plezant boek dat waren plezante uren ● VD13 (niet alg.)	2 / 1 / 4	1. Het kan plezant worden. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 2. Omdat ze het plezant vinden, zeker? (Flikken - De Vikings (2004)) 3. MC The Vikings. Plezant. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004)) 4. Trouwens, morgen gaan wij iets plezants doen. (Flikken -

		Definition		Example
		1. plezierig 2. vrolijk, opgewekt, lustig • VD14 & VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) 1. plezierig 2. vrolijk, opgewekt, lustig		**De Vikings (2004))** 5. Da's toch **plezant**. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 6. Ik vond dat echt **plezant**. (Salamander 2013) 7. Nee, het is **superplezant**. (Salamander 2013)
171		**pluimen** (omgangstaal) = van zijn geld of bezit beroven • **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** BN, spreektaal van zijn geld of bezit beroven • **VD14 (alg. Belg.N.)** 1 plukken (I, 2); - (fig.) plukken (1,3)		1. We gaan je **pluimen** tot de laatste cent. (**Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009))**
172		**postmeester** (unieke variant) = postdirecteur • **Prisma 2014 <BN>** BN beheerder van een postkantoor, postdirecteur • **VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands)** 2. hoofd van een postkantoor synoniem: (Nederlands) postdirecteur		1. De **postmeester** zegt dat je een brief hebt gekregen uit Antwerpen. (**Salamander 2013**)
173		**procureur des Konings** (cultuurgebonden) = wat in Nederland 'officier van justitie' heet • **Prisma 2014 <BN>** BN procureur des Konings = vertegenwoordiger van het Openbaar Ministerie • **VD13 & VD14** 2. procureur des Konings, in het Belgische rechtssysteem, de vertegenwoordiger van het Openbaar Ministerie in een juridisch arrondissement (vergelijkbaar met de officier van justitie in Nederland)		1. ik probeer iets te regelen met de **procureur**. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 2. Het lek zit bij de **procureur** of in... uw team. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 3. En wat zeg je dan tegen de **procureur**? (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 4. Wil jij de **procureur** bellen? (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 5. Ik ben hier nodig. Om **procureurs** te bellen. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 6. Goed, laat het labo komen. Ik bel de **procureur**. (Flikken - Stof (2004)) 7. Ik zal bellen met de **procureur**. (Flikken – De verbrande Vrouw (2004)) 8. De politie en de **procureur des konings** vragen ons

Count cells: green — (plezant row) blank, blank, blank; (row) 1; postmeester 1. red — (procureur) 7, 1.

#	Lemma / definitie	Voorbeelden			
		volgend opsporingsbericht te verspreiden. (Flikken – Bonnie en Clyde (2009))			
174	**prof** (vrije alternant) = verkort voor professor • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> inf verkorting van professor • **VD13** (inform.) 1. als verkorting van professor	1. Dejongh is **prof** bij toegepaste wetenschappen. **(Flikken - Verlossing (2004))** 2. U bent **prof** bij toegepaste wetenschappen. **(Flikken - Verlossing (2004))**			2	
175	**proper** (vrije alternant) = schoon, net • **Prisma 2014** <vooral BN> 1 zindelijk, net een proper huishouden 2 keurig, tot in de puntjes verzorgd; fraai, netjes een proper uniform 3 geschikt, goed, behoorlijk, duidelijk proper werk leveren • **VD13 & VD14** (no geographic variation label) 1. goed verzorgd, keurig, fraai 2. goed schoon, syn.: zindelijk, rein	1. Altijd een **proper** hemd in je kastje. **(Flikken - Verlossing (2004))** 2. Van Davy De Prins. **Propere** jongen blijkbaar. **(Flikken - Jeugdzorgen (2009))** 3. Een dag voor mijn pensioen. - Dat had **proper** geweest **(Flikken - Jeugdzorgen (2009))** 4. Op factuur en met btw. Hij heeft de **propere** versie gevraagd. **(Flikken - Jeugdzorgen (2009))**		3	1	
176	**het raden hebben naar** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = slechts kunnen gissen • **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN het raden hebben naar iets = slechts kunnen gissen naar iets • **VD online** not in dictionary	1. Naar de reden voor het ontslag **hebben we voorlopig het raden**. **(Salamander 2013)**	1			
177	**in eigen rangen** (vrije alternant) = in eigen gelederen • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook in eigen rangen = in eigen geledeeren • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) ▼3. uit eigen kring	1. Een verrader **in eigen rangen**, verdomme! **(Salamander 2013)**	1			

#	Entry	Counts	Examples
178	**recht** (vrije alternant) = overeind • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook spreektaal> BN ook, spreektaal overeind, omhoog sta recht! = sta op! recht in zijn schoenen staan = overtuigd zijn van zijn gelijk • **VD13** (Belgisch-Nederlands) definition not in dictionary until VD14 ▼ 12. omhoog, overeind **rechtstaan** (Belg.N.) 1 (rechtop)staan 2 gaan staan, overeind komen	4 (groen) 1 (groen)	1. Feiremans. Rechtstaan. Nu. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 2. Sta eens recht, als er iemand tegen je spreekt. (Salamander 2013) 3. Kom, sta recht. (Salamander 2013) 4. Sta recht, kom. (Salamander 2013) 5. Sta recht! (Salamander 2013)
179	**refter** (omgangstaal) = eetzaal • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal eetzaal van een school of bedrijf, kantine • **VD13** (Belg.N., niet alg.) 2. eetzaal (m.n. in een school of bedrijf)	1 (groen)	1. Noteer haar verklaring in de refter en bezorg haar bescherming. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))
180	**rijkswacht** (cultuurgebonden) = de Belgische rijkspolitie • **Prisma 2014** <BN hist> BN, hist nationale politie (in 2001 opgegaan in de lokale en federale politie) • **VD13 & VD14** de nationale politie in België	1 (rood) 1 (rood)	1. De eerste verklaring van Patsy aan de rijkswacht. (Flikken –Stof (2004)) 2. De rijkswacht. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
181	**rijkswachter** (cultuurgebonden) = lid van de *rijkswacht • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD14** lid van de Rijkswacht, syn. *gendarme*	2 (rood)	1. Ik herinner me nog als jonge rijkswachter in Gent (Flikken –Jeugdzorgen II (2009)) 2. Ik herinner me iemand die als jonge rijkswachter (Flikken –Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
182	**sacoche** (substandaard) = handtas • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary	1 (groen) 6 (groen)	1. Sacochentrekker. Niet je favoriete soort, zeker. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 2. Sacoche gestolen, oud vrouwtje tegen de grond (Flikken –

	Entry	Dictionary information	Examples						

sacoche (continued)

/
- VD14
2. boodschappentas; - (gew.) (hand)tasje
- VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal)
▼3. handtas

Examples:
- Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
3. Je telt niet mee als je nooit een **sacoche** gepikt hebt. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
4. Pas op, die gast heeft van zijn leven geen **sacoche** meer aangeraakt (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
5. Als ze je **sacoche** afpakken ? (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
6. iemand die als jonge rijkswachter een **sacochentrekker** onder handen heeft genomen. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
7. Un milliard. Roef, direct in de **sacoche**. (Salamander 2013)

183

schoon (omgangstaal)
= mooi
- Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>
  BN, spreektaal mooi
- VD14 & VD online (in 't algemeen, archaïsch, Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal)
  wat door vorm, kleur, verhouding enz. behaaglijk is voor oog of oor, wat ons esthetisch gevoel aangenaam aandoet

Examples:
1. We leven in een **schoon** land, madam. (Flikken – Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))
2. Weinig **schone** jongens. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))
3. Dure auto's, **schone** wijven. (Flikken – Bonnie and Clyde I (2009))
4. Je krijgt straks een **schone** drinkcent. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
5. Je hebt **schone** schoentjes aan. (Flikken – Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
6. Al het **schone** is aan mij voorbijgegaan. (Salamander 2013)

Counts: 1, 5

184

schuif (vrije alternant)
= lade
- Prisma 2014 <BN ook>
  BN ook lade, schuifbare bak in een meubelstuk
- VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands)
▼4. lade

Examples:
1. In zijn portefeuille. In de **schuiven**. In zijn gsm. (Salamander 2013)
2. Ik vraag wie er in mijn **schuif** zat! (Salamander 2013)

Counts: 2, 1

185

serieus (vrije alternant)
= ernstig, zwaar, als in: 'hij is serieus ziek'
- Prisma 2014 <no geographic variation label>

Examples:
1. ST #[007925-7]: Iain Redman. Flagged by the Branch. **Hard man with previous assault.**
   TT #[007925-7]: Iain Redman. Zware jongen met 'n

Counts: 4, 1

serieus

ernstig
een serieuze overtreding
een serieus probleem
- • VD13
definition not in dictionary until VD14
- • VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal)
3. aanzienlijk, in hoge mate

1. serieus strafblad. (Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))
2. Een serieuze lijst. (Flikken – Stof (2004))
3. Maar dan sta je serieus bij ons in het krijt, hè vriend. (Salamander 2013)
4. serieus bij ons in het krijt, hè vriend. Serieus, hè. (Salamander 2013)
5. Hola... Dat ziet er wel serieus uit. Je zou het zeggen, hè. (Salamander 2013)
6. Ik loop hier een serieus risico. (Salamander 2013)

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186 serre (vrije alternant)

= broeikas
- • Prisma 2014 <BN ook>
BN ook kas, broeikas; ook lage broeibak, broeibed
- • VD13
1. grote broeikas
2. glazen veranda aan een huis

1. ST #[01 0021-2]: At the glass house. I used to take them there when they were wee in the winter time. It was warm, and they liked playing hide and seek.
TT #[01 0021-2]: In de serre. Daar ging ik vroeger met ze heen in de winter. Ze speelden er graag verstoppertje. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))

(marked: 1 — red)

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187 shift (substandaard)

= ploeg (bij ploegenstelsel in de fabriek)
- • Prisma 2014 <no geographic variation label>
ploeg van arbeiders die in afwisseling met een of meer groepen in hetzelfde bedrijf dezelfde arbeid verrichten
in shift werken = in ploegendienst
- • VD14
ploegendienst

1. Zijn shift zat erop. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen II (2009))

(marked: 1 — red)

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188 shotten (substandaard)

= voetballen
- • Prisma 2014 spelled "sjotten" <BN, spreektaal, voetbal>
1 voetballen
2 hard tegen de bal trappen, schoppen; vandaar (iemand) hard raken met de voet
iemand tegen de schenen sjotten

1. Hoe was het sjotten vandaag? (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009))

(marked: 1 — green)

Nr.	Definitie (VD / Prisma)	Codering	Voorbeeld
	• VD 14 spelled "sjotten" (Belg.N., spreekt.) (Belg.N., spreekt.) (m.n. tegen een bal) trappen, schoppen, vgl. schieten; 2 (Belg.N., spreekt.) voetballen • VD online spelled "sjotten" (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) 1. (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal, m.n. tegen een bal) trappen, schoppenvergelijk: schieten 2. (Belgisch-Nederlands, spreektaal) voetballen		
189	slechtgezind (omgangstaal) = slechtgehumeurd • Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal slechtgehumeurd • VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands) 2. slechtgehumeurd	1	1. Pff... Ga je weer heel de avond **slechtgezind** doen? (Salamander 2013)
190	sluik- (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = (als eerste lid van een samenstelling) clandestien, illegaal • Prisma 2014 <BN> BN het clandestien laten verschijnen van drukwerk • VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands, historisch) 1. clandestiene pers (m.n. in de bezettingstijd)	1	1. De **sluikpers**, de soldij voor het verzet, geld voor de vakbonden... (Salamander 2013)
191	snokken (omgangstaal) = rukken • Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal> 1 rukken (aan) 2 rukkende of schokkende bewegingen (doen) maken; schokken 3 krachtig stoten, trekken zij snokte aan de bel • VD14 (Belg.N., niet alg.) 1. rukken	1	1. Een touw rond de klink en één rond je tand en **snok**. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
192	(de dienst) spoedgevallen (unieke variant) = (de afdeling) eerste hulp	1 1	1. Hij moet naar de **spoedgevallen**. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))

#	Entry	Count	Examples
	• **Prisma 2014** `<BN>` BN (de dienst) spoedgevallen = (de afdeling) eerste hulp, voor spoedeisende medische bijstand • **VD13 & VD14** not in dictionary • **VD14: spoed** (Belgisch-Nederlands, informeel) 2. spoedafdeling	(green) (green)	2. Ik had dienst op de **spoed**. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009))
193	**sportkledij** (vrije alternant) = sportkleding • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD13** (no geographic variation label) speciale kleding gedragen bij het sporten	(red) 3	1. Femke zien wegrijden om 18.15 uur in **sportkledij** (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) 2. Maar in de badkamer was geen bezwete **sportkledij**. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) 3. Haar **sportkledij** is gevonden in een vijver (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
194	**sportzak** (omgangstaal) = sporttas • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD13** not in dictionary until VD14 ("sporttas" is): 1. (Belgisch-Nederlands, niet algemeen) zak voor sportbenodigdheden synoniem: sporttas	(green) 1	1. Hij had die gestolen uit haar **sportzak**. (Flikken - Solfer (2004))
195	**zijn staart intrekken** (substandaard) = terugkrabbelen • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD online** (gewestelijk) beschaamd of vreesachtig heengaan	(green) 1	1. Dan valt er een dode, ocharmen, en **hij trekt zijn staart in**. (Salamander 2013)
196	**(geen) steek houden** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = (van argumenten e.d.) (niet) bestand zijn tegen kritiek, tegenwerpingen e.d. van andere • **Prisma 2014** `<no geographic variation label>` `<van argumenten e.d.>` (geen) steek houden = (niet)	(red) 1	1. ST #[013733-4]: So he can get them to do anything just on the promise of it. **It's a story.** - Yeah, but do people really plot and scheme and kill over some daft puzzle? TT #[013733-4]: En hij had twee jongelui die alles zouden

#	Word / dictionary entry	Examples	Scores
	bestand zijn tegen kritiek of tegenwerpingen • **VD online** (no geographic variation label) ▼23. (figuurlijk) stand houdenhun rumoerige moed die geen steek houdt a•(van een redenering) steek houdenbestand zijn tegen de bedenkingen van anderen, opgaanopvattingen die geen steek houden	doen om bij z'n club te komen. <mark>Het houdt steek.</mark> - Gaan mensen echt samenzweren en moorden om een domme puzzel? (Lewis – The Soul of Genius (2012))	(red)
197	**stilaan** (vrije alternant) = langzamerhand • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> 1 langzamerhand, gaandeweg we moesten stilaan maar weer eens op huis aan • **VD14 & VD online** (no geographic variation label) ▼1. van lieverlee synoniem: langzamerhand	1. Moeten we niet <mark>stilaan</mark> zeggen dat ze niet zomaar is weggelopen ? (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 2. Moeten we niet <mark>stilaan</mark> de politie verwittigen? (Salamander 2013)	(red) 1 / 1
198	**stockeren** (vrije alternant) = opslaan • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> 1 BN ook in voorraad opslaan, inslaan 2 BN in voorraad houden • **VD13** (Belg.N., niet alg.) opslaan, opbergen, verzamelen	1. ik moest haar meubels <mark>stockeren</mark>. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))	(green) 1
199	**stoefen** (substandaard) = opscheppen, snoeven, pochen • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal opscheppen, snoeven, bluffen, opsnijden; pralen, pronken • **VD13** (Belg.N., spreekt.) opscheppen	1. Kinderen, wat heb ik gezegd over <mark>stoefen</mark>? (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))	(green) 1
200	**studies** (omgangstaal) = studie, als in: 'hij heeft zelf zijn studies bekostigd' • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD14 & VD online** not in dictionary	1. Zwangere griet van 16, daar kun je je <mark>studies</mark> toch niet voor opgeven ? (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 2. En haar <mark>studies</mark> gaan voor, hoe moeilijk ook. (Salamander 2013)	(green) 1 / 1
201	**tegenkanting** (vrije alternant)	1. Ik heb gehoord dat er op het einde wel <mark>tegenkanting</mark> was	(red) 1

202

= tegenwerking
● **Prisma 2014 <BN ook>**
BN ook tegenwerking, verzet
● **VD online** (no geographic variation label)
▼ 1. verzet, oppositie

van geen tel zijn/niet van tel zijn (omgangstaal)
= **weinig aanzien genieten, niet belangrijk zijn**
● **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>**
BN, spreektaal van geen tel zijn / BN, spreektaal niet van tel zijn = weinig aanzien genieten, niet belangrijk zijn
● **VD14 (alg. Belg.N.)**
van geen tel zijn, onbelangrijk zijn, niet meetellen

(Salamander 2013)

1. Uw gekrakeel is niet van tel! (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))

203

telefoon (vrije alternant)
= telefoontje
● **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label>
telefonische oproep
● **VD13 & VD online** (no geographic variation label)
4. telefonische oproep

1. ST #[013121]: Dr Falconer, **there's a phone call** for you.
   TT #[013121]: Dr. Falconer? **Telefoon** voor u. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))

2. **Dreigtelefoons**, ingegooide ruiten, dode beesten... (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))

3. We hebben **telefoon** gehad over je Opel Corsa die hier staat. (Salamander 2013)

4. Drie minuten eerder, om 10.40 uur, kreeg hij **telefoon**. (Salamander 2013)

5. Als die eerste twee een **telefoon** of omslag krijgen, plegen ze zelfmoord. (Salamander 2013)

6. Secretaris-generaal Desmet verwacht **telefoon** van mij. (Salamander 2013)

7. meneer Wolters....verwacht **telefoon** van mij. (Salamander 2013)

8. Afgevaardigd bestuurder Leonard verwacht **telefoon** van mij. (Salamander 2013)

#	Entry				Status	Examples
204	**tet** (substandaard) = borst • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD14 print & www (no geographic variation label)** tiet (zie ald.) tiet (inform.) 2 gehele vrouwenborst	**1**				1. Ze zit in haar blote **tetten** aan de Costa del Sol. (**Flikken - Jeugdzorgen II (2009)**)
205	**tiens!** (vrije alternant) = wel wel! • **Prisma 2014** headword/sense not in dictionary / • **VD online** (toegevoegd in 2008) 1. (Belgisch-Nederlands) uitroep ter uitdrukking van verbazing of verwondering				3	1. Iedereen, **tiens**. (**Salamander 2013**) 2. Je feliciteren, **tiens**. (**Salamander 2013**) 3. Verzekeringsrechercheur, **tiens**. (**Salamander 2013**)
206	**toelaten** (vrije alternant) = toestaan • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> 4 BN ook in staat stellen, in de gelegenheid stellen hierdoor werd de gemeente toegelaten de bouw te voltooien 5 BN ook veroorloven, toestaan kinderen toegelaten = (bij de film) alle leeftijden • **VD online** (niet algemeen) a toestaan2 (2) •onderzoek op menselijke embryo's is nu wettelijk toegelaten **toestaan2** 2. goedkeuren dat iem. iets ontvangt, ten deel valt, of dat hij iets doet synoniem: veroorloven				1	1. Je god **laat** veel **toe**, makker. (**Salamander 2013**)
207	**tussenkomen** (vrije alternant) = bemiddelen, tussen beide komen or **tussenkomst** (vrije alternant) = financiële bijdrage				1	1. Dit dankzij uw **tussenkomst** bij de betrokken instanties. (**Salamander 2013**)

#	Dictionary entry	Example
	• **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> 1 tussenbeide komen, bemiddelend optreden, bemiddelen; ingrijpen, (handelend) optreden de politie moest tussenkomen in de disco 4 bijdragen in de kosten, tegemoetkomen; gebruikt worden (bij) kernenergie komt al voor 25% tussen in de elektriciteitsproductie van dat land • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, niet algemeen) 3. ◄ leenvertaling van Frans ►intervenir tussenbeide komen, bemiddelend optreden synoniem: interveniëren **or tussenkomst** 4. ◄ leenvertaling van Frans intervention ►(Belgisch-Nederlands) financiële bijdrage	1. De **uitbater** van de zaak heeft een gebroken neus (**Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)**)
208	**uitbater** (vrije alternant) = exploitant • **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> iemand die een restaurant, café e.d. exploiteert • **VD14** (no geographic variation label) 1. exploitant, beheerder, gerant	
209	**uitdraaien** (vrije alternant) = uitpakken • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook slecht, lelijk uitdraaien = slecht aflopen, een slechte afloop hebben • **VD12** (gew.) I 2. in de verb. (uitdr.) *uitdraaien op* –, ten slotte leiden tot, uitlopen op –, als resultaat hebben [...]in de verb. (uitdr., gew.) *slecht, lelijk uitdraaien* slecht aflopen, slecht uitvallen	1. ST #2531-2532: And, as a result, I sometimes... sometimes... **get things arse-about-face.** TT #2531-2532: Maar wat is 't resultaat ? Dat het soms wel 's anders **uitdraait**. (**Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995)**)
210	**uitschuiver** (vrije alternant) = blunder • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook blunder	1. Volgens u zijn het **uitschuivers**, te wijten aan een slechte gezinssituatie ? (**Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009)**)

211	• VD14 (Belg.N., niet alg.) 1. blunder, uitglijer, misser **uitsteken** (substandaard) = uitspoken, een streek uithalen • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook, spreektaal> BN ook, spreektaal (iets slechts, ongunstigs) uithalen kattenkwaad/fratsen uitsteken iets uitsteken = een streek uithalen, iets uitspoken veel, weinig uitsteken = veel, weinig uitvoeren • **VD14** (Belg.N., spreekt.) 4 iets uitsteken, een streek uithalen • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 4. • iets uitsteken een streek uithalen		1	1					1. Lien ? Wat heeft ze nu weer ==uitgestoken== ? (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009)) 2. Je hebt toch al meer ==uitgestoken== op het internet? (Salamander 2013)
212	**uittreksel** (unieke variant) = dagafschrift • **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN dagafschrift • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, financiën) 3. dagafschrift	1							1. ==Uittreksels== van de bank Jonkhere. (Salamander 2013)
213	**unief** (alternant met restricties) =universiteit • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal verkorting voor universiteit • **VD13** (Belg.N., spreekt.) als verkorting van universiteit • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands, informeel, als verkorting van) 1. universiteit			3	2				1. ST #[015606-7]: Miranda knew Kit Renton at Oxford. TT #[015606-7]: Miranda kende Kit Renton ==van de unief.== (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012)) 2. ST #[015662-3]: We forgot who else was at university with Miranda. TT #[015662-3]: Wie studeerde er ook ==aan de unief== met Miranda? Connelly. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012)) 3. Ja, Feiremans herstelde op haar lab ==in de unief== microscopen. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) 4. We kunnen ==op de unief== gaan vragen (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) 5. Misschien ==bij de unief.== (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))

214	verhuis (vrije alternant) = verhuizing ● **Prisma 2014** \<BN ook> BN ook het verhuizen, verhuizing de grote verhuis begint donderdag ● **VD13** (Belg.N) verhuizing			**4**	1. Pas getrouwd, de <mark>**verhuis**</mark>... (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 2. zo dicht bij een doorbraak.. en dan die <mark>**verhuis**</mark>... (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 3. eneden is alles klaar voor de <mark>**verhuis**</mark>. (Flikken - Solfer (2004)) 4. Verloren geraakt tijdens een <mark>**verhuis**</mark>. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))
215	**verklikking** (omgangstaal) = verraad ● **Prisma 2014** headword not in dictionary **verklikken** doorvertellen aan personen voor wie het geheim had moeten blijven, verraden **denunciatie** aangifte, kennisgeving, verklikkerij ● **VD online** (no geographic variation label) **verklikken** ▼ 1. heimelijk aan-, overbrengen synoniem: verraden •die jongen verklikt alles **-ing** 1. achtervoegsel waarmee van werkwoorden zelfstandige naamwoorden worden gevormd die betekenen: het verrichten van de door het grondwoord bedoelde handeling; de betekenis van de afleidingen op -ing is vergelijkbaar met die van gesubstantiveerde infinitieven [...] verkiezeling, verklikking,[...] **denunciatie** 1. verklikking, verraad	**1**			1. Dus landverraad, diefstal, slagen en <mark>**verklikking**</mark>. (Salamander 2013)
216	**verluchten** (vrije alternant) = luchten, ventileren ● **Prisma 2014** \<no geographic variation label> (een vertrek) luchten, ventileren ● **VD13** (no geographic variation label) verluchten 1. aan de wind blootstellen, laten doorwaaien syn.			**1**	1. Ik heb telefoon gebracht, water aangesloten en de kamer <mark>**verlucht**</mark>. (Flikken – Stof (2004))

#	Term / Definition	Markers	Example
	uitluchten, spuien (4), zich even verluchten een luchtje scheppen 2. opluchten (2) 3. ventileren (m.n. in de bouwkunde gebruikt)	(red cell) / green **1**	
217	**vernoemen** (vrije alternant) =vermelden • **Prisma 2014 <BN>** BN ook noemen, vermelden iemands naam vernoemen de winnaars worden vernoemd in ons maandblad • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 1. (met ere) noemen, vermelden		1. ST #[016757-8]: Mr Addams never **mentioned** her? TT #[016757-8]: Mr Addams heeft haar nooit **vernoemd?** (**Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012)**)
218	**verontschuldigd zijn** (unieke variant) = afwezig zijn met kennisgeving • **Prisma 2014 <BN>** BN verontschuldigd zijn = afwezig zijn met kennisgeving • **VD online not in dictionary, only** verontschuldigen •zich laten verontschuldigen bericht zenden dat men niet kan komen	green **1**	1. Er **zijn** er zes van de twaalf **verontschuldigd**. (**Salamander 2013**)
219	**versassen** (vrije alternant) = overbrengen, doorsluizen • **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** BN, spreektaal overbrengen, doorsluizen • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 3. (mbt. personen of goederen) (massaal, in grote hoeveelheden) overbrengen van de ene plaats naar de andere	green **1**	1. In twee jaar zijn honderdduizenden euro's **versast.** (**Salamander 2013**)
220	**familiale verzekering** (unieke variant) = een vorm van WA-verzekering • **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** BN, spreektaal verkorting van familiale verzekering; zie bij familiaal • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) burgerlijke-aansprakelijkheidsverzekering	green **1**	1. toch geld kunnen trekken van **de familiale** (**Salamander 2013**)

221	**vestiaire** (unieke variant) = garderobe ● **Prisma 2014** <no geographic variation label> bewaarplaats voor jassen, hoeden e.d. in een openbaar gebouw, garderobe in een schouwburg e.d. ● **VD13** (no geographic variation label) 1. bewaarplaats voor overjassen en hoeden bij schouwburgzalen enz. synoniem: garderobe			**1**					1. Deze dame zag hen in de <mark>vestiaire</mark>. (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
222	**iemand met de vinger wijzen** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = als de schuldige aanwijzen, beschuldigen ● **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN iemand met de vinger wijzen = iemand beschuldigen ● **VD online** (no geographic variation label) met de vinger wijzen zo de aandacht op iets of iem. vestigen				**1**				1. ST #[017140-1]: I don't like **to point the finger**, but somebody is clearly going out of their way to drag me into this. ● TT #[017140-1]: Ik wil <mark>niemand met de vinger wijzen</mark>, maar iemand wil me erin luizen. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))
223	**vluchthuis** (unieke variant) = blijf-van-mijn-lijfhuis ● **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN blijf-van-mijn-lijfhuis, opvanghuis voor mishandelde vrouwen ● **VD14** (alg. Belg.N.) 1 blijf-van-mijn-lijfhuis					**1**			1. ST #[012516-7]: **That shelter place** doesn't let men in. ● TT #[012516-7]: In dat <mark>vluchthuis</mark> mogen geen mannen binnen. (Taggart – Law (2006))
224	**vluchtmisdrijf** (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = het doorrijden na een ongeval te hebben veroorzaakt ● **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN strafbaar feit bestaande uit het doorrijden van een automobilist na een aanrijding, verkeersovertreding e.d. ● **VD14** 1 (alg. Belg.N.) het doorrijden na een ongeval veroorzaakt te hebben ● **VD online** ▼ 1. (Belgisch-Nederlands) het doorrijden na een ongeval veroorzaakt te hebben	**1**	**1**						1. <mark>Vluchtmisdrijf</mark>. Er is een kleine jongen van zijn fiets gereden. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen (2009)) 2. Over een ongeval met <mark>vluchtmisdrijf</mark> door een minderjarige. (Salamander 2013)

#	Definition		Example sentences
225	**met iemands voeten spelen** (omgangstaal) = iemand voor de gek houden • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal met iemands voeten spelen = iemand voor de gek houden • **VD13** not in dictionary until VD14 (Belgisch-Nederlands, informeel) met iemands voeten spelen – hem voor de gek houden, foppen – hem bedriegen – hem tijd laten verliezen, hem ophouden	**1** (groen)	1. Ah, hij **speelt met onze voeten**. (Flikken - Solfer (2004))
226	**voormiddag** (vrije alternant) = ochtend, voor de middag • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook de ochtend, <vooral> de late(re) morgenuren, tussen 9 en 12 uur 's voormiddags = in de ochtend, 's ochtends • **VD14** 1 tijdperk van de dag voor de middag, in engere zin tussen negenen en twaalven: des voormiddags, in de voormiddag, 's morgens 2 vroeg in de middag, van twaalf tot twee: kom je vroeg in de voormiddag, want 's morgens ben ik er niet	**4** (rood)	1. De hele **voormiddag**? (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 2. Leon is hier gans de **voormiddag** geweest. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 3. Hooguit een uur of twee, **morgenvoormiddag**. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009)) 4. Ongeveer 24 uur. Dus van **gisterenvoormiddag**? (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
227	**voortdoen** (vrije alternant) = doorwerken, voortwerken • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> verdergaan, doorgaan (met werken), voortwerken, doorwerken • **VD13** (Belg.N., niet alg.) voortgaan met de verrichting van een werk, in het alg. met dat waarmee men bezig is syn. doorwerken, (uitdr.) *goed voortdoen*, goede zaken doen	**1** (groen)	1. Hij rijdt haar met rolstoel in de bestelwagen. Brengt haar naar de chalet. Daar **doet** hij ongestoord **voort** en maakt foto's. (Flikken - Verlossing (2004))
228	**voorzien** (vrije alternant) = vaststellen, bepalen, plannen, regelen	**2** (groen)	1. Er zijn extra patrouilles **voorzien**. (Flikken - Bonnie and

Nr.	Lemma		Voorbeelden
	• Prisma 2014 <BN ook> BN ook vaststellen, bepalen de wet voorziet controle- en sanctiemaatregelen BN ook in het vooruitzicht stellen, ontwerpen een maatregel voorzien BN ook plannen, organiseren een viering voorzien BN ook ter beschikking staan, aanwezig zijn er zijn moderne waslokalen voorzien • VD14 (Belg.N., niet alg.) plannen, organiseren, regelen:het vertrek was voorzien om twee uur		Clyde II (2009)) 2. Is er morgen iets **voorzien** voor je afscheid ? (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
229	**op vraag van** (vrije alternant) = op verzoek van • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook op vraag van = op verzoek van • **VD13** (Belg.N., niet alg.) op vraag van – [leenvertaling van Frans à la demande de] op verzoek van –	1	1. Er komt een loonbeslag. - **Op vraag van** de bank? (Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004))
230	**ten vroegste** (vrije alternant) = op zijn vroegst • **Prisma 2014** <BN> BN ten vroegste = op zijn vroegst, niet eerder dan • **VD12** (gew.) ten vroegste. op het eerst mogelijke tijdstip: zij kan op zijn vroegst om zeven uur hier zijn	1	1. ST #2302 I don't know. **Not before tomorrow morning.** TT #2302 Morgenochtend **ten vroegste**. (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995))
231	**erover waken** (vrije alternant) = ervoor zorgen • **Prisma 2014** <BN schrijftaal> BN, schrijftaal erover waken dat = erop toezien dat • **VD12** (in Belg.) erover waken dat …, zorgen dat…	1	1. ST #[002032-3]: As president of the Board of Syndics, I **shall do everything in my power to** see the Syndicate is not damaged. TT #[002033-4]: Als voorzitter **waak ik erover** dat de Commissie geen schade lijdt. (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995))
232	**wapendracht** (omgangstaal)	1	1. Slagen en verwondingen, **wapendracht**, 20 gram speed,

= wapenbezit • **Prisma 2014 <BN, m.g.>** BN, m.g. het dragen van wapens, wapenbezit verboden wapendracht • **VD13** 2. (Belg.N., niet alg.) **wapenbezit**					handel in anabolica **(Flikken - De Vikings (2004))**
233 **weddenschaal** (vrije alternant) = salarisschaal • **Prisma 2014 <BN ook>** BN ook salarisschaal, schaal voor het vaststellen van salarissen • **VD14 (Belg.N., niet alg.)** 1 salarisschaal		1			1. Commissaris, proficiat met je nieuwe <mark>weddeschaal</mark>. **(Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009))**
234 **wedersamenstelling** (alternant met restricties) = reconstructie (van een ongeval enz.) • **Prisma 2014 <BN, recht>** 1 reconstructie (van een misdaad, ongeluk e.d.) als onderdeel van het gerechtelijk onderzoek 2 weergave, overzicht de wedersamenstelling van de feiten • **VD13** 1. (Belg.N., niet alg.) reconstructie (4) van een delict of een (verkeers)ongeval e.d. als onderdeel van een gerechtelijk onderzoek			1		1. Ze was op de <mark>wedersamenstelling</mark>, een laborante. **(Flikken - Kwelling (2004))**
235 **weeral** (omgangstaal) = alweer • **Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal>** BN, spreektaal weer, alweer, opnieuw weeral een jaar dat voorbij is • **VD14 (Belg.N.)** 1 (Belg.N., niet alg.) alweer		1			1. Sorry, we moeten nog even geduld hebben. - <mark>Weeral</mark>. **(Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009))**
236 **de weerstand** (omgangstaal) = het verzet (inz. tijdens W.O. II) • **Prisma 2014 <in België>**	8				1. Een grote baas van de <mark>weerstand</mark>. **(Salamander 2013)** 2. Van de <mark>weerstand</mark> in april 1944. **(Salamander 2013)** 3. een cel van de <mark>weerstand</mark> die bomaanslagen en sabotage

(vervolg weerstand)

pleegden (Salamander 2013)
4. Hij zou er met het geld van de **weerstand** vandoor zijn. (Salamander 2013)
5. Operatie van **weerstands groep** Spika. (Salamander 2013)
6. vader kwam niet meer terug na een actie van de **weerstand**. (Salamander 2013)
7. dat hij met massa's geld en diamanten van de **weerstand** ervandoor is gegaan (Salamander 2013)
8. Ze zaten samen in de **weerstand** (Salamander 2013)

<in België> <in de Tweede Wereldoorlog> verzet, verzetsbeweging
• VD online (Belgisch-Nederlands, verouderd)
3. ondergrondse verzetsbeweging tijdens WO II
synoniem: verzet

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237 wervingsreserve (variant niet gelexicaliseerd)

1. Misschien benaderde hij meerdere meisjes tegelijk. Om een **wervingsreserve** te hebben. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))

= reserve aan geselecteerde sollicitanten (waaruit bij een vacature moet worden gekozen)
• Prisma 2014 <BN>
BN reserve aan geselecteerde sollicitanten op wie een beroep kan worden gedaan bij een vacature
• VD13 (in Belg. en bij de Europese instellingen)
1. reserve aan geselecteerde sollicitanten (waaruit bij een vacature moet worden gekozen)

(groen: 1)

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238 wetsdokter (unieke variant)

1. Het rapport van de **wetsdokter**. (Flikken – Stof (2004))
2. Volgens de **wetsdokter** geen kindje (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
3. Hij zit bij de **wetsdokter**. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009))

= politiearts
• Prisma 2014 <BN>
BN politiearts
• VD13 (Belg.N.)
(Belg.N.) politiearts
• VD14
(alg.Belg.N.) politiearts

(groen: 2 / 1)

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239 Wetstraat (cultuurgebonden)

1. De **Wetstraat** staat nog altijd in rep en roer. (Salamander 2013)
2. Terwijl de koning op hem wachtte kwam in de **Wetstraat** 16 een e-mail toe (Salamander 2013)

= metonymisch voor de Belgische regering
• Prisma 2014 <BN>
1 eig straat in Brussel met o.a. de gebouwen van enkele belangrijke ministeries
2 fig de Belgische regering
• VD online (no geographic variation label)

(rood: 2)

	Definition	Codes			Example
	▼1. straat in Brussel waaraan o.m. het parlement en enkele ministeriegebouwen liggen a (metonymisch) de Belgische regering, de federale politiek in België				
240	woonst (vrije alternant) = woning ● Prisma 2014 <BN ook, schrijftaal> 1 woning, huis dikwijls van woonst veranderen 2 het wonen; woongelegenheid gratis woonst krijgen 3 woonplaats; gemeente waar men woont vaste woonst = vaste verblijfplaats, domicilie ● VD13 (Belg.N., niet alg.) 1 woning 2 domicilie			1	1. We moeten sporen vrijwaren in de **woonst** van het slachtoffer (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))
241	wreed (substandaard) = uitermate, bijwoord ● Prisma 2014 headword/sense not in dictionary jeugdtaal heel mooi, heel goed een wreed feest was dat, zeg! ● VD14 (gew., ook turbotaal) 11 uitermate, zeer: 't is wreed koud, wreed veel volk		1		1. Ik zou het niet mogen zeggen, maar Lien kon **wreed** zagen. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
242	wroeten (omgangstaal) = zwoegen ● Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal erg hard werken, ploeteren, zwoegen ● VD13 (no geographic variation label) 2. (oneig.) veel moeite doen, zich afsloven, *ploeteren,* *zwoegen: tobben en wroeten om aan de kost te komen* ● VD14 (no geographic variation label) 2. (oneig.) veel moeite doen, zich afsloven, syn. ploeteren, zwoegen, tobben en wroeten om aan de kost te komen - (gew.) hard werken ● VD online (no geographic variation label) ▼2. (figuurlijk) veel moeite doen, zich afsloven	1		1	1. een schat van een mens die heel haar leven **gewroet** heeft (Flikken - De Vikings (2004)) 2. Elke dag van mijn leven heb ik **gewroet** (Salamander 2013)

#		Definition / Source	Examples
		synoniem: ploeteren, zwoegen • tobben en wroeten om aan de kost te komen	
243		zagen (vrije alternant) = zeuren • Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal zeuren, zaniken, doorzagen • VD13 & VD14 II.3. (oneig.) voortdurend zaniken (over iets)	1. Stop eens met **zagen**, maat. (**Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)**) 2. Stop met **zagen** en herpak je. Oké? Allez, kom. (**Flikken – De verbrande vrouw (2004)**) 3. Ik zou het niet mogen zeggen, maar Lien kon wreed **zagen**. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
244		zat (vrije alternant) = dronken • Prisma 2014 <no geographic variation label> inf dronken • VD14& VD online (no geographic variation label) ▼2. (informeel) dronken, bezopen, lazarus	1. Wat? Nee, die is gewoon **zat**, hè. (**Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009)**) 2. In het café. En die **zatlappen** van de vorige keer kunnen dat bevestigen (**Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009)**) 3. Mama zei dat ze niet te veel gedronken had, maar ze was toch **zat**. (Salamander 2013)
245		zelfverklaard (variant niet gelexicaliseerd) = op eigen verklaring berustend • Prisma 2014 <no geographic variation label> op eigen verklaring berustend, die dat van zichzelf zegt een zelfverklaard genie • VD 14 & online (no geographic variation label) 1. zichzelf zo noemend	1. ST #[013692-3]: Vincent and Mia are a couple of self-styled postmodernists. TT #[013692-3]: Vincent en Mia zijn een stel **zelfverklaarde** postmodernisten. (**Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012)**)
246		zetel (vrije alternant) = fauteuil • Prisma 2014 <BN> BN fauteuil, luie stoel, armstoel • VD14 5 (alg.Belg.N.) luie stoel, syn. fauteuil	1. Allee, kom. Zet je in de **zetel**. (**Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009)**)
247		zeveraar (unieke variant) = zeurkous, kletsmajoor • Prisma 2014 <no geographic variation label> inf iemand die zevert, zeur, kletser, zanik, kletsmajoor • VD13 (niet alg.)	1. Die **zeveraar** van haar werk viel haar daar ook lastig. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) 2. Wie bedoelt u? - Die **zeveraar**. Iemand die verliefd was op haar (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))

#	Term / definition	Count	Examples
	zeveren 1 (niet alg.) flauwe praat verkopen; - zaniken **-aar** 1. achtervoegsel waarmee m.n. van werkwoorden waarvan de stam eindigt op l, n of r, voorafgegaan door een sjwalettergreep, mannelijke persoonsnamen (nomina agentis) worden gevormd die betekenen: iem. die de door het werkwoord bedoelde handeling verricht [...]winnaar, zeveraar (not in VD13)		
248	**zeveren** (vrije alternant) = onzin vertellen, lullen ● Prisma 2014 <no geographic variation label> inf zeuren, wauwelen, onzin uitkramen ● VD14 (niet alg.) 2 flauwe praat verkopen; - zaniken	3	1. Weet ik veel. Die kerel komt zeveren, dus ik zever terug, hè. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)) 2. Die kerel komt zeveren, dus ik zever terug, hè. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009)) 3. Wat is er aan de hand? Niks, chef. - Niet zeveren, Michiel. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009))
249	**dat zie je van hier** (omgangstaal) = dat doe ik niet, dag Jan ● Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal dat zie je van hier! = daar is geen denken aan! (als afwijzende reactie) ● VD14 not in dictionary	1	1. moet ik je helpen? Dat zie je van hier. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009))
250	**van zodra** (vrije alternant) = zodra ● Prisma 2014 <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal van zodra / zodra dat = zodra ● VD13 not (Belg.N., niet alg.) van zodra	1	1. Mensen kennen het hier. Van zodra ze wat ongewoons zien bellen ze direct. (Flikken – Stof (2004))
251	**zonneklopper** (vrije alternant) = leegloper die niets doet dan in de zon te liggen/zonnebaden ● Prisma 2014 <BN> 1 zonaanbidder, iemand die niets liever doet dan in de zon te liggen	1	1. The Sun Riders. Dat zijn toch geen zonnekloppers? (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))

	INTER			INTRA			
2 leegloper, nietsnut • **VD13** 1. (Belg.N.) iem. die niets doet dan in de zon liggen en genieten.			🟩				
252	**intensieve zorgen** (vrije alternant) = intensive care • **Prisma 2014** <BN ook> BN ook intensieve zorgen = intensive care • **VD14** (alg. Belg.N.) (medische) verzorging, syn. verpleging: palliatieve zorgen; de eerste zorgen, eerste hulp (bij ongelukken); intensieve zorgen, intensive care		🟩 1			1. Stabiel. Hij ligt wel nog op **intensieve**. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))	
253	**zwarte** (omgangstaal) = collaborateur • **Prisma 2014** <BN, spreektaal> BN, spreektaal collaborateur (tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog); fascist, zwarthemd • **VD online** (Belgisch-Nederlands) 2. collaborateur tijdens WO II				🟩 2		1. Was je vader een **zwarte**? Wat heeft hij gedaan? 2. Juist iets voor een **zwarte**. (Salamander 2013)	

Legend

- the 6 columns in the middle (i.e. 3 columns under 'INTER', and 3 columns under 'INTRA') contain the number of instances of the RBBN items in the 3 periods under investigation. Grey boxes indicate that the item did not occur in the subcorpus in question
- the boxes are coloured in red when according to the corresponding *Van Dale* dictionary this item is part of general, unmarked Dutch (i.e. not Belgian Dutch)
- the boxes are coloured in green when according to the corresponding *Van Dale* dictionary this item can be considered Belgian Dutch
- the last column, under the header 'concordance', contains all the concordance lines in which the RBBN item in question was found, unless there were more than 20 concordance lines. The RBBN items is highlighted in yellow. The episodes from which the concordances were taken from the interlingual subtitle corpus the corresponding source-text lines are given as well. The episodes from which the concordances were taken are added between brackets
- in the RBBN word/phrase column, the RBBN item is listed with its label between brackets and the definition taken from the RBBN file. Subsequently, the label and definition used in *Prisma 2014* is added and the label and definition in the corresponding *Van Dale* dictionary

- boxes containing a lower register/lower status RBBN item (i.e. items labelled 'substandard' [substandaard] or 'omgangstaal'/'spreektaal' [colloquial]) are coloured in orange
- boxes containing a culture-specific RBBN item (i.e. items labelled 'cultuurgebonden' [culture-specific]) are coloured in blue
- 13 boxes in the first column are coloured in red, these items are no longer labelled as 'Belgian Dutch' in the *Prisma* 2014 dictionary

Number of RBBN items based on RBBN file (1998, 2005)

	INTERlingual			INTRAlingual		
	P1	P2	P3	P1	P2	P3
number of RBBN items per period	16	20	15	90	100	104
overall number of RBBN items INTER vs. INTRA	45			220		
all instances of RBBN items per period	26	23	20	178	238	226
overall number of instances of RBBN items INTER vs. INTRA	69			642		
number of RBBN items in entire corpus	253 RBBN items (711 instances)					

Number of RBBN items based on RBBN file (1998, 2005) and Prisma (2014)

	INTERlingual			INTRAlingual		
	P1	P2	P3	P1	P2	P3
number of RBBN/Prisma 14 items per period	16	20	8	90	89	91
overall number of RBBN/ Prisma 14 items INTER vs. INTRA	40			208		
number of instances	26	23	12	178	219	198
	61			595		
number of RBBN/ Prisma 14 items in both subtitle corpora corpus	240 items (656 instances)					

Number of RBBN items in the corresponding Van Dale edition

	INTERlingual			INTRAlingual		
	P1	P2	P3	P1	P2	P3
RBBN/ Prisma 14 items that still can be considered BD after consulting labels in corresponding VD editions	23			165		
	9	9	5	65	70	76
number of instances	34			449		
	15	11	8	130	173	146
number of RBBN/ Prisma 14 items in both subtitle corpora corpus	181 items (483 instances)					

Number of RBBN items that are are labelled as cultural references in RBBN list

	INTERlingual			INTRAlingual		
	P1	P2	P3	P1	P2	P3
items that are Belgian Dutch cultural references according to RBBN (2005)	1 (1 inst.)			16 (66 inst.)		
	1 (1)	0	0	9 (21)	9 (19)	8 (26)
labelled 'cultuurgebonden' [culture-specific]	1 (1)	0	0	5 (10)	3 (12)	6 (17)

Number of RBBN items that are labelled as lower register/lower status in RBBN list (2005) and Prisma (2014)

	INTERlingual			INTRAlingual				
	P1	P2	P3	P1	P2	P3		
items that are lower register Belgian Dutch according to RBBN (2005) and Prisma (2014)	10 (16 inst.)			92 (334 inst.)			INTER	010 / 40 items = 25%
labelled 'substandaard' [substandard], 'omgangstaal'/'spreektaal' [colloquial]	0	6 (8)	4 (8)	30 (83)	47 (138)	45 (113)	INTRA	092/ 208 items = 44%

9.5. Appendix E: Keyword lists

#	keyword	EN gloss	ND keyness ranking (& score)	E-N keyness ranking (&score)
	crime fiction items in keyword lists			
01	gsm	mobile phone	25 (862.19)	44 (482.31)
02	onderzoeksrechter (RBBN)	± examining magistrate	29 (674.57)	30 (611.74)
03	kerel	bloke	36 (602.34)	92 (300.91)
04	kerels	blokes	381 (105.02)	
05	commissaris	police commissioner	40 (579.65)	47 (474.08)
06	procureur (RBBN)	± public prosecutor	49 (470.71)	51 (454.53)
07	flikken (RBBN)	coppers	67 (388.51)	72 (374.22)
08	flik (RBBN)	copper	128 (239.73)	132 (232.83)
09	café	pub		117 (257.63)
10	papa	dad		146 (213.7)
11	pv	charge, ticket, summons	139 (223.9)	148 (210.69)
12	duvel	strong Belgian beer	61 (428.06)	52 (446.25)
13	gelukkig	happy (adj) or luckily (adv)		65 (407.42)
14	sigaret	cigarette	62 (416.8)	49 (458.63)
15	wagen	car	99 (285.31)	374 (98.309)
16	handtas	purse	108 (270.3)	287 (123.71)
17	federale (RBBN)	federal	147 (219.68)	206 (164.09)
18	mama	mum		209 (162.75)
19	hoofdcommissaris	superintendent	160 (211.83)	
20	technische (recherche)	scene-of-crime officer	175 (199.73)	
21	moordenaar	murderer	189 (191.54)	
22	wetsdokter (RBBN)	pathologist	208 (184.47)	198 (173.59)
23	schreeuwde	yelled	214 (176.01)	438 (87.579)
24	inspecteur	inspector	220 (172.22)	
25	inspecteurs	inspectors	345 (114.06)	478 (80.87)
26	vingerafdrukken	finger prints	271 (140.44)	436 (87.817)

27	lijk	corpse	272 (140.38)	
28	sloeg	hit	280 (136.32)	
29	vermoord	killed	284 (134.9)	
30	smeerlap	bastard	285 (138)	299 (120.31)
31	gij (RBBN)	you		308 (117.01)
32	ge (RBBN)	you		313 (115.88)
33	slachtoffer	victim	291 (130.69)	
34	bewijsmateriaal	evidence	305 (125.73)	
35	moorden	murders	308 (124.38)	
36	parket (RBBN)	office of the public prosecutor	309 (123.58)	291 (122.26)
37	onderzoek	investigation	322 (120.44)	
38	parking(RBBN)	car park	336 (116.88)	331 (109.98)
39	nummerplaat	number plate	342 (114.32)	483 (80.677)
40	estaminet(RBBN)	pub	344 (114.06)	337 (107.33)
41	verdachte	suspect	365 (110.15)	
42	tiens(RBBN)	well (particle)	385 (104.21)	378 (98.056)
43	premier	prime minister	398 (100.51)	334 (109.71)
44	identiteitskaart(RBBN)	ID card	402 (99.981)	
45	ondervraging	interrogation	435 (94.945)	
46	excuseer(RBBN)	beg your pardon	446 (93.608)	443 (87.048)
47	speurder	investigator	456 (90.806)	
48	speurders	investigators	330 (118.48)	328 (111)
49	hoer	whore	464 (89.613)	309 (116.75)
50	komaan	come on (particle)	483 (85.899)	481 (80.83)

9.6. Appendix F: Corresponding dictionary editions

episodes	Van Dale dictionary				RBBN '98-'05	Prisma '14
	12th '92	13th '99	14th '05	www '10-'14		
Inspector Morse – The Dead of Jericho (1995)	X				X	
Inspector Morse - Silent World of N. Quinn (1995)	X				X	
Inspector Morse - Service of all the dead (1995)	X				X	
Inspector Morse – The Daughters of Cain (1996)	X				X	
Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004)		X			X	
Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004)		X			X	
Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004)		X			X	
Taggart - Cause to Kill (2006)			X		X	
Taggart – Law (2006)			X		X	
Inspector Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012)				X		X
Inspector Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012)				X		X
Inspector Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012)				X		X
Flikken IV-070 Solfer (VRT 2004)		X			X	
Flikken IV-074 Stof (VRT 2004)		X			X	
Flikken IV-075 De verbrande Vrouw (VRT 2004)		X			X	
Flikken IV-076 De Vikings (VRT 2004)		X			X	
Flikken IV-077 Kwelling (VRT 2004)		X			X	
Flikken IV-078 Verlossing (VRT 2004)		X			X	
Flikken X-121 Uitweg-II (VRT 2009)			X			X
Flikken X-122 Bonnie and Clyde I (VRT 2009)			X			X
Flikken X-123 Bonnie and Clyde II (VRT 2009)			X			X
Flikken X-124 Een vrouwelijke Kant-I (VRT 2009)			X			X
Flikken X-125 Een vrouwelijke Kant-II (VRT 2009)			X			X
Flikken X-126 Jeugdzorgen I (VRT 2009)			X			X
Flikken X-127 Jeugdzorgen II (VRT 2009)			X			X
Salamander 2 (VRT 2013)				X		X
Salamander 3 (VRT 2013)				X		X
Salamander 4 (VRT 2013)				X		X
Salamander 5 (VRT 2013)				X		X
Salamander 6 (VRT 2013)				X		X
Salamander 7 (VRT 2013)				X		X
Salamander 8 (VRT 2013)				X		X
Salamander 9 (VRT 2013)				X		X
Salamander 10 (VRT 2013)				X		X
Salamander 11 (VRT 2013)				X		X
Salamander 12 (VRT 2013)				X		X

9.7. Appendix G: 'Uncommon' words and phrases

#	non BD items	INTER 1	INTER 2	INTER 3	INTRA 1	INTRA 2	INTRA 3	concordance
01	'm smeren Prisma 2014: inf		2					1. ST#[007974] On you go, you know what he's like. TT#[007974] **Smeer 'm**, je weet hoe hij is. (Taggart – Puppet on a String (2004)) 2. ST#[010656] We eh, did. But he legged it. TT#[010656] - We waren er, maar hij **smeerde 'm**. (Taggart – Cause to kill (2006))
02	aanlopen	1						1. ST#[001086] Anyway, she called me. She wanted me to look in. TT#[001086] Ze belde en wou dat ik even **aanliep**. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))
03	arme drommel		1					1. ST#[006531] Poor bugger, eh? TT#[006531] **Arme drommel!** (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))
04	aardig	14	6	8				28 hits, e.g. • ST#[000070] No, er...I mean... I meant this is a very nice area. TT#[000070] Ik vind 't een heel **aardige** buurt. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995)) • ST#[012919] He was nice. TT#[012919] Hij was **aardig**. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))
05	bajes(klant) Prisma 2014: vooral NN , spreektaal			1				1. ST#[013901] Hello, my little jailbirds. TT#[013901] Hallo, **bajesklantjes** van me. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))
06	belazeren Prisma 2014: spreektaal		3	1				1. ST#[012714] The cops are outside! You set us up! You set us up! TT#[012714] De politie is er. Jij hebt ons **belazerd**.

#	Term			Examples
				2. ST#[012726] You set me up! TT#[012726] Dat zal je leren, mij belazeren. 3. ST#[012727] You set me up! TT#[012727] Je hebt me belazerd. (Taggart - Law (2006)) 4. ST#[015961] She made a fool of me once. I won't let her do it again. TT#[015961] - Ik laat me niet nog eens belazeren. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))
07	bezopen Prisma 2014: inf	1	1	1. ST#[006102] Ashley got paralytic. He always does. TT#[006102] Hij was bezopen, zoals altijd. (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996)) 2. ST#[017306] I was madly over the limit. I... TT#[017306] Ik was straalbezopen. Ik... (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))
08	biertje	1 2 3	1	1. ST#[001564] Fancy a pint? TT#[001564] weg. Biertje? (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995)) 2. ST#[002997] there's always time for one more pint. TT#[002997] Er kan altijd nog 'n biertje bij. (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995)) 3. ST#[003577] I'm not supposing anything, until I've had at least two pints of beer. TT#[003577] - Eerst twee biertjes. (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995)) 4. ST#[010533] Fancy a pint in the next one? TT#[010533] 'n Biertje in het volgende? (Taggart - Cause to Kill (2006)) 5. ST#[012005] Right, couple of pints, and TT#[012005] Dan ga ik nu 'n biertje drinken

(Taggart - Law (2006))

6. ST#[016290] No, I'd had a couple of beers,
TT#[016290] Ik had wat biertjes gedronken.
(Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))

boffen

1. ST#[001556] You're a lucky lad, Dixon. On another day, you'd have ended up
TT#[001556] Je boft, Dickson, dat ik je niet aan
(Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))

2. ST#[001851] Some people get all the perks.
TT#[001851] Hij boft, zeg ik maar.
(Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995))

3. ST#[003580] Then it's your lucky day. I've just
TT#[003580] Je boft. Ik ben net opgehouden
(Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))

4. ST#[005081] As a matter of fact he was damn lucky
TT#[005081] Hij boft dat hij niet definitief
(Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))

5. ST#[008085] You know, maybe you didn't draw the short straw after all.
TT#[008085] Misschien bof je toch nog.
(Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))

6. ST#[011206] Yeah, it was a real stroke of luck them meeting you, wasn't it.
TT#[011206] Ze boften dat ze u ontmoetten?
(Taggart - Cause to Kill (2006))

7. ST#[017146] I'm lucky if they can think one move ahead.
TT#[017146] Ik bof als ze een zet vooruitdenken.
(Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))

bon

1. ST#[000986] Right. What about the business of the parking ticket?

			1	2	4
09					
10					8

1. TT#[000986] En hoe zit 't met die parkeerbon ?
2. ST#[000987] Have you followed that up?
   TT#[000987] Heb je dat al uitgezocht ? Die bon.
3. ST#[000992] There was a parking ticket on the windscreen.
   TT#[000992] Er zat 'n bon onder de ruitewisser.
4. ST#[001071] you also pay their parking fines for them.
   TT#[001071] auto's uit én u betaalt de bonnen.
5. ST#[001074] Right. There's no point, is there, if you know about the parking ticket and all. OK er.
   TT#[001074] Goed, u weet 't nu toch van die bon.
6. ST#[001110] You see, Alan was lying about the car and the ticket
   TT#[001110] Alan loog over de auto, de bon
7. ST#[001115] It was me that got the ticket and I paid it.
   TT#[001115] Ik betaalde de parkeerbon.
8. ST#[001208] And that she paid the parking ticket. She did as well.
   TT#[001208] En ze betaalde de bon.

(Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))

borrel

1. ST#[003349] Mind if I had a drink?
   TT#[003349] - Eerst 'n borrel.

   (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))
2. ST#[004118] I'll get you a drink.
   TT#[004118] Ik geef je 'n borrel.

   (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))
3. ST#[006725] Come on, you need a drink.
   TT#[006725] - Je bent aan 'n borrel toe.

   (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))

11	borrel			
		2	2	1
			2	

#	Lemma / Note				Examples
					4. ST#[006751] Worth a drink? TT#[006751] Krijg ik nu 'n borrel? (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004)) 5. ST#[014304] Except without the drinks. TT#[014304] maar dan zonder borrels. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))
12	d'r Prisma 2014: NN, spreektaal		1		1. ST#[009383] How could you let him ST#[009384] near her? TT#[009383] Hoe kon je hem in d'r buurt laten TT#[009384] komen? (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))
13	eng Prisma 2014: NN	1		1	1. ST#[003952] I was a bit spooked, yeah. TT#[003952] - Ja, ik vond 't eng. (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995)) 2. ST#[017202] No. That would be creepy. TT#[017202] Nee. Dat zou pas eng zijn. (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))
14	engerd		1		1. ST#[008494] He gives me the creeps. TT#[008494] Wat 'n engerd. (Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))
15	gatver(darrie)/getver Prisma 2014: NN		1		1. ST#[006360] God sakes, Muir, not you as well? TT#[006360] Gatver, Muir. Jij ook al? (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))
16	geintje Prisma 2014: vooral NN			2	1. ST#[000523] I hope you'll not try anything funny. TT#[000523] Haal geen geintjes uit. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995)) 2. ST#[005502] Stop larking about there. Come on. TT#[005502] Geen geintjes. Schiet op. (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))
17	gezeik		1		1. ST#[009121] Yer pishing in the wind. TT#[009121] Wat 'n gezeik.

#	Term	Examples			
		Prisma 2014: vooral NN , spreektaal			
18	hemeltje	(Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004)) 1. ST#[004853] Felix? Ha! Good heavens! TT#[004853] - Felix? **Hemeltje** nee. 2. ST#[005806] Good heavens! This really is a museum piece. TT#[005806] **Hemeltje**, een echt museumstuk. (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))			2
19	heus	1. ST#[009822] Don't worry, we'll get him. TT#[009822] - We krijgen 'm **heus** wel. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004)) 2. ST#[016834] You know what I mean. TT#[016834] Dat weet je **heus** wel. (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))	1	1	
20	hou je kop **Prisma 2014: spreektaal**	1. ST#[009820] Oh shut up Stuart! TT#[009820] - **Hou je kop.** (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))		1	
21	huilen	1. ST#[001353] Oh, don't go maudlin on us. TT#[001353] Doe niet zo **huilerig.** 2. ST#[001356] but, yes, I'll try not to go maudlin. TT#[001356] mag niet **huilerig** doen. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995)) 3. ST#[005604] She was crying. TT#[005604] Ze **huilde.** 4. ST#[005697] The number of times I've had her in here weeping ST#[005698] and showing her bruises like it was St Crispin's Day. TT#[005697] Hoe vaak heeft ze hier niet staan TT#[005698] **huilen.** Bont en blauw sloeg hij haar.	1	2	4

5. ST#[006445] You were expecting a weeping widow.
TT#[006445] U verwachtte 'n <mark>huilende</mark> weduwe.
(Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))
(Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))

6. ST#[012044] He was on his knees in tears.
TT#[012044] Hij knielde, en <mark>huilde.</mark>
(Taggart - Law (2006))

7. ST#[013201] He screamed. He wept.
TT#[013201] Hij schreeuwde en <mark>huilde.</mark>
(Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))

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ie

74x + 1x in intra [Dutch national speaking], e.g.
- ST#[003150] How's... How's tricks?
  TT#[003150] Dag, dominee. Hoe gaat <mark>ie</mark>?
- ST#[006377] Why would the killer leave his shooter behind?
  TT#[006377] Waarom laat <mark>ie</mark> z'n wapen achter?

1. Profiel... Alles heeft <mark>ie</mark> bekeken. (Flikken - Solfer (2004))
[Dutch national speaking]

22	ie	1	73 1

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inslecht

1. ST#[016139] I knew she had to be bad to the bone.
TT#[016139] ben. Ik wist dat ze <mark>inslecht</mark> moest zijn.
(Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))

23	inslecht	1 1

---

intriest

1. ST#[017130] So sad.
TT#[017130] <mark>Intriest</mark> allemaal.
(Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))

24	intriest	1 1

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in de maling nemen

Prisma 2014: vooral NN

1. ST#[001233] So what are you doing? Are you just ragging me or what? - No.
TT#[001233] <mark>Neemt u me dan in de maling</mark>?
(Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))

25	in de maling nemen / Prisma 2014: vooral NN	1

#	Word	Examples				
26	janboel	1. ST#[000199] Sorry it's a mess. TT#[000199] Sorry voor de **janboel**. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))				1
27	**jeetje** Prisma 2014: NN	2. ST#[005763] Oh, dear. Don't say I've upset him. TT#[005763] **Jeetje**, heb ik iets gezegd? (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))				1
28	jokken Prisma 2014: vooral NN, kindertaal	1. ST#[015048] So I told a porky-pie about being out late TT#[015048] Ik **jokte** over het uur (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))			1	
29	klap	1. ST#[003040] One very fierce blow. Death instantaneous. TT#[003040] - Eén flinke **klap**. Op slag dood. (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))				
		2. ST#[012773] First inspection reveals blow to the front right side of the skull TT#[012773] **Klap** op z'n voorhoofd rechts, (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))	2			
		3. ST#[012854] Cause of death, blow to the head. TT#[012854] Doodsoorzaak: een **klap** op het hoofd. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))				
		4. ST#[014021] Right. Erm cause of death, single blow TT#[014021] Doodsoorzaak: een **klap** (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))	6		1	
		5. ST#[014242] One blow was all it took. One blow. TT#[014242] Eén **klap** was genoeg. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))				
		6. ST#[014410] You got beaten up, too? TT#[014410] - En je hebt **klappen** gekregen? (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))				
		7. ST#[015437] by three or four blows by... that.				

#	Term	Counts	Examples
30	**krijg de tering** Prisma 2014: NN , plat, verwensing	1	TT#[015437] door drie of vier klappen. Daarmee. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012)) 1. Eerder een klap met een voorwerp. Goed, laat het labo komen. 2. Ze kreeg een klap en is gevallen. Nek gebroken (Flikken - Stof (2004)) 1. ST#[004518] Bugger Mrs Stevens. TT#[004518] Mrs Stevens kan de tering krijgen. (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))
31	**kroeg**	1 / 1	1. ST#[006918] Pub on the Parade. TT#[006918] lets gaan drinken in de kroeg. (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004)) 2. ST#[015343] It's my favourite pub. You don't mind if I...? TT#[015343] Dit is m'n lievelingskroeg. Mag ik…? (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))
32	**kus/lik m'n reet** Prisma 2014: NN (lik) m'n reet / aan m'n reet = dat doe ik niet, vergeet het maar	1	1. ST#[000759] Thanks a shit. I mean, really, thanks a complete shit. TT#[000759] Bedankt. En kus m'n reet. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))
33	**lab** Prisma 2014: vooral NN , spreektaal	3 / 14 / 16 / 2 / 5	23x + 17x, e.g. • ST#[001043] from the forensic people. TT#[001043] 't lab. • ST#[001369] God, these fingerprint boys TT#[001369] De jongens van 't lab maken er wel • We laten het lab eerst zijn werk doen. • Het lab is onderweg. Kijk in haar zakken. • Hij zit bij de mensen van het lab. Het is nu aan ons

#	Term	Dictionary	C1	C2	C3	Examples
						• Hij heeft vanmorgen in het universitair lab gewerkt. • Bon. Bruno en Nick naar het lab. (Flikken - Solfer (2004))
34	lolbroek			1		1. ST#[009920] We don't tend to see the party animal when we're investigating. TT#[009920] - We spreken zelden lolbroeken (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004)).
35	lulkoek	Prisma 2014: NN , spreektaal			1	1. ST#[001423] It's rubbish and you know it. TT#[001423] Lulkoek. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))
36	m'n grootje				1	1. ST#[001896] Fat chance. TT#[001896] M'n grootje. (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995))
37	mafkees	Prisma 2014: NN , inf	1			1. ST#[012945] to talk to crackpots. TT#[012945] om met mafkezen te praten. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))
38	mam		1	9		10x, e.g. • ST#[007569] Either me or your mum, son. TT#[007569] - Mij of je mam, jongen. • ST#[013152] Yes, mum. TT#[013152] Ja, mam.
39	misère	Van Dale 2014: Nederlands		1		1. ST#[009968] After all we've been through! Go on, get lost! TT#[009968] Na al onze misère. Hoepel op. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))
40	mollen	Prisma 2014: inf	1	1	1	1. ST#[012354] You were all for planting him the last time he was here. TT#[012354] - De vorige keer wou je 'm mollen. 2. ST#[016740] She's the one that did her kids in,

#	Word	Examples				
		right? TT#[016740] Dat is dat mens dat 'r kinderen molde.				
41	naar	1. ST#[003138] Nasty for him, all this. TT#[003138] Naar voor 'm. 2. ST#[003139] Nasty, Lewis? Nasty? TT#[003139] - Naar, Lewis ? Naar ? 3. ST#[003139] Nasty, Lewis? Nasty? TT#[003139] - Naar, Lewis ? Naar ? (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995)) 4. ST#[014671] than just write nasty stuff. TT#[014671] dan nare dingen schrijven, (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))		1		3
42	naarling	1. ST#[000972] I'm a quite different kettle of fish, Lewis. TT#[000972] Ik ben 'n ander soort naarling, Lewis. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))				1
43	nor Prisma 2014: spreektaal	1. ST#[010338] visiting me in prison? I won't go through that. TT#[010338] bezoeken in de nor? Niks ervan. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))			1	
44	nou Prisma 2014: vooral NN	26x + 1x [Dutch national speaking], e.g. • ST#[000908] He's not exactly a brain merchant but he does… TT#[000908] Hij is nou niet meteen 'n knappe kop, • ST#[001535] Well, I guessed that. TT#[001535] - Kijk nou. 1. Hoe kunt u dat nou zeggen? (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009)) [Dutch national speaking]	1	4	11	11

#	Term	Examples			
45	OM	1. ST#[006238] The CPS would never look at it. TT#[006238] Het **OM** zal er niet aan willen. (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))			1
46	pap	6x, e.g. 1. ST#[003417] Yes, Dad? TT#[003417] Ja, **pap**? (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))	5	1	
47	peuk Van Dale 2014: informeel	1. ST#[007092] Right. Have you got a fag? TT#[007092] Heb je 'n **peuk**? (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))	1		
48	pilsje	1. ST#[001925] Do you mind if I have a beer, sir? TT#[001925] Mag ik 'n **pilsje**? (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995)) 2. ST#[010579] Eh, two bottles of that lager please. TT#[010579] - Twee van die **pilsjes**, graag. (Taggart - Cause to Kill (2006))	1	1	1
49	pienter	1. ST#[009281] Oh very clever. TT#[009281] Heel **pienter**. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))	1		
50	pitten Prisma 2014: inf	1. ST#[008272] going home for some kip. TT#[008272] naar huis om te **pitten**. (Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))	1		
51	plaats delict	1. ST#[015599] Nothing from the crime scene TT#[015599] Niets op de **plaats delict** 2. ST#[015873] and this is from the crime scene. TT#[015873] en deze is van de **plaats delict**. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012)) 1. Op het **plaats delict** heeft een patrouille hem opgemerkt. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))	2	1	1

#	Keyword	Examples	
		2. gevonden in de zachte berm op de **plaats delict**. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))	
52	plezierig	1. ST#[000217] What about piano teaching? Is that fun? TT#[000217] Pianoles, is dat **plezierig**? 2. ST#[000218] Yes. It's not fun. It's OK. TT#[000218] Ja... Hoewel, **plezierig**. 't Gaat wel, (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))	2
53	een poets bakken	1. ST#[001494] I'm assuming that that letter was a sort of ST#[001495] practical joke. Am I right in thinking that? - Yes. TT#[001494] Ik denk dat iemand hem **'n poets** TT#[001495] **wou bakken**. Heb ik gelijk? (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))	1
54	rotwijf	1. ST#[008219] Bitch...! TT#[008219] **Rotwijf**. (Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))	1
55	schoft	1. ST#[009973] If some lowlife dealt drugs to TT#[009973] Als 'n **schoft** dealde aan (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004)) 2. ST#[010400] Get a life will you! TT#[010400] Maak jullie weg, **schoften**. (Taggart - Cause to Kill (2006)) 3. ST#[012390] Two dead. These bastards TT#[012390] Twee doden. Die **schoften** (Taggart - Law (2006)) 4. ST#[012719] The bastard's wearing a wire! TT#[012719] De **schoft** laat ons afluisteren. (Taggart - Law (2006)) 5. ST#[015986] trouble-making bastard.	1 / 4

	#	Examples			
		TT#[015986] onruststokende schoft is. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))			
schoppen	56	1. ST#[000322] She managed to kick the stool ST#[000323] halfway across the room. TT#[000322] Ze heeft de stoel 'n eind TT#[000323] weggeschopt. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))			1
schurk	57	1. ST#[001872] Bland? Good name for a villain - Bland. TT#[001872] Bland. Echt 'n naam voor 'n schurk. 2. ST#[001911] went off to Al-Jamara. Yes, Mr George Bland is a villain, you see. TT#[001911] Golf vertrok. Mr Bland is 'n schurk. 3. ST#[002316] villain here at the Syndicate, TT#[002316] schurk was (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995))			3
sectie	58	1. ST#[000532] Oh, I hate this place. ST#[000533] I hate inquests. TT#[000532] Ik haat deze plek en die sectie- TT#[000533] onderzoeken. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995)) 2. ST#[000710] Why didn't you come to the inquest? TT#[000710] - Je was niet op 't sectieonderzoek. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995)) 3. ST#[002535] You can't do that. You've gotta go to the inquest. TT#[002535] U moet naar 't sectieonderzoek. (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995)) 4. ST#[015849] Dr Hobson is in the middle of a tricky postmortem. TT#[015849] Dr. Hobson is met een lastige sectie (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))		1	3

#	Word	Dictionary note	Examples	Freq
59	slijterij	Prisma 2014: vooral NN	1. ST#[003054] Yeah, or check the off-licences. TT#[003054] vind je 'm in 'n pub of slijterij. (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))	1
60	stomkop		1. ST#[012425] The stupid... Well what else TT#[012425] De stomkop. Wat heeft hij nog (Taggart - Law (2006))	1
61	sufferd		1. ST#[003757] I'm scared of bloody heights, you stupid sod! TT#[003757] - Ik heb hoogtevrees, sufferd. (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))	1
62	sufferdje	Prisma 2014: NN , schertsend	1. ST #[007290] Even the Timbuktu Evening Bugle ST #[007291] carried the story. TT #[007290] Het stond zelfs in 't Sufferdje TT #[007291] van Timboektoe. (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))	1
63	(plastic) tas		12x, e.g. • ST#[013048] There's a lady with bags waiting for you. TT#[013048] Een vrouw met tassen. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012)) • ST#[015031] plastic bag... a shopping bag, over her head, TT#[015031] een plastic boodschappentas, (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012)) • ST#[015046] We still don't know it was a plastic bag. TT#[015046] U weet niet of 't een plastic tas was. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))	12
64	tekstje		1. ST#[012186] I've got something. The text message	4

#	Term	Examples				
		that TT#[012186] Ik heb iets. Het tekstje dat Shelley 2. ST#[012378] The text message was sent from her phone before she was killed. TT#[012378] Het tekstje was van daarvoor. 3. ST#[012622] that sent the text to Shelley TT#[012622] die Shelley met 'n tekstje naar 4. ST#[012641] then you send a text to Sara saying TT#[012641] Dan stuur je 'n tekstje naar Sara: (Taggart - Law (2006))				
65	toe	13x + 2x in intralingual subtitle corpus, e.g. • ST#[009168] Marc. Not today, please. TT#[009168] Marc, niet vandaag. Toe. • ST#[009220] It's alright. Go and find your mother, eh? Go on. TT#[009220] Ga maar naar je moeder. Toe. • ST#[015980] Come on, David. Don't tell me you didn't know. TT#[015980] - Toe, David. Dat wist je toch wel? 1. Je weet het niet? - William... Toe. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004)) 2. Allee, toe. Ze kent hier niemand. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant I (2009))	1	1	3	10
66	TR	1. ST#[015059] Forensic teams will be going back into her house, TT#[015059] De TR zal haar huis weer binnengaan 2. ST#[015550] We'd like to send a crime scene unit to search the offices TT#[015550] We willen de TR het kantoor			8	

3. ST#[015903] I'll call SOCO.
TT#[015903] Ik bel de **TR**.
(Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))

4. ST#[016190] Point of entry's a conservatory door.
TT#[016190] Volgens de **TR** is de verandadeur

5. ST#[016232] Techies are ripping a list of contacts off her mobile now.
TT#[016232] - De **TR** onderzoekt haar gsm.

6. ST#[016320] Mm. I'm going to call SOCO and Forensics and have them check the polyprop rope
TT#[016320] Ik zal de **TR** vragen of het touw hier

7. ST#[016816] let SOCOs take a look.
TT#[016816] Laat de **TR** het maar uitzoeken.

8. ST#[017495] No-one in or out until SOCO get here.
TT#[017495] binnen of buiten tot de **TR** er is.
(Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))

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67 — trap 'm op z'n staart

1. ST#[007612] Come on Robbie. Put your foot down!
TT#[007612] <mark>Trap 'm op z'n staart.</mark>
(Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))

| | | 1 | |

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68 — triest

1. ST#[003224] I don't know whether to be sad or happy.
TT#[003224] Moet ik nu <mark>triest</mark> zijn of blij ?
(Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))

2. ST#[004846] Er sad case. But you know how it is.
TT#[004846] <mark>Triest</mark>, maar u weet hoe dat gaat.
(Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))

3. ST#[008403] I'm not as sad as that.
TT#[008403] Mijn leven is minder <mark>triest</mark>.
(Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))

4. ST#[008952] Yeah, well, that was the sad part.

1	1		
1	1		
2	2		

#	Word	Examples				Source
		TT#[008952] - Dat was het trieste deel. (Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))				
		5. ST#[016649] it's the reek of bad grass and Nick Drake till all hours. TT#[016649] aan de wiet en de trieste muziek. (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))				
		1. Trieste dood. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))				
69	troep	1. ST#[000683] It's not very tidy, is it? Sorry. TT#[000683] 't Is nogal 'n troep, he ? Sorry.		1		
		2. ST#[001370] make a mess. TT#[001370] 'n troep van. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))	1	1		
		3. ST#[008592] I er won't apologise for the mess. TT#[008592] Ik excuseer me niet voor de troep. (Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))			2	
		4. ST#[013106] Too much rubbish in his blood. TT#[013106] Te veel troep in z'n bloed. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))				
70	tutten	1. ST#[016698] He fusses. TT#[016698] Hij tut zo. (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))	1			Prisma 2014: NN
71	uitdragerij	1. ST#[002082] I wonder if he won the raffle. TT#[002082] 't Lijkt wel 'n uitdragerij. (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995))			1	Prisma 2014: NN
72	uitglijder	1. ST#[007013] what would you call that, Lord Falkland? A bit of a slip-up? TT#[007013] wat is dat? Een uitglijdertje? (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))		1		Prisma 2014: vooral NN Van Dale 2014: Nederlands, informeel

#	Word / Dictionary				Examples
73	uitsmijter Van Dale 2014: Nederlands	1			1. ST#[010584] Well that's funny, cause the eh bouncer said TT#[010584] Vreemd. De uitsmijter zei net dat ze (Taggart - Cause to Kill (2006))
74	uitvreten Prisma 2014: NN , inf	1			1. ST#[008959] So, what's he supposed to have done? TT#[008959] Wat heeft hij uitgevreten? (Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))
75	verpleeghuis			1	1. ST#[004264] Your mother will have to go into a ST#[004265] home now. TT#[004264] Je moeder zal naar 'n verpleeghuis (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))
76	vies			1	1. ST#[005434] There's something on it. TT#[005434] - Hij is vies. (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))
77	waarschuwen (inlichten) Prisma 2014: vooral NN		2 / 2 / 2		1. ST#[012821] Next of kin been notified? TT#[012821] - Is de familie gewaarschuwd? (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012)) 2. ST#[016841] He wouldn't be the first man ST#[016842] to lose his head over a baby-sitter. ST#[016843] What, he thinks there's something on offer that isn't? ST#[016844] Things get out of hand. ST#[016845] She threatens to go to Honey or... ST#[016846] or us, even. TT#[016841] Er vallen wel meer mannen TT#[016842] voor de oppas. TT#[016843] Hij interpreteert iets verkeerd. TT#[016844] Het loopt uit de hand. TT#[016845] Ze dreigt ermee Honey TT#[016846] te waarschuwen of ons.

		(Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))
		1. Als u hem ziet, waarschuwt u ons dan? (Flikken - Solfer (2004))
		2. hebt alles teruggelegd en dan pas mij gewaarschuwd (Flikken - Stof (2004))
		3. Je struikelt over een lijk en waarschuwt de politie niet? (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
		4. - Ze waarschuwen ons als ze daar opduikt. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen II (2009))
78	werkster	1. ST#[001675] A note from his cleaning lady. TT#[001675] Een briefje van z'n werkster. (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995))
		2. ST#[002411] Oh, since his old cleaning lady left. TT#[002411] - Sinds z'n werkster weg is. (Morse - Silent World of Nicholas Quinn (1995))
		3. ST#[005571] That's rather unusual, isn't it? A cleaner TT#[005571] Vreemd toch. Een werkster die (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))
		4. ST#[005623] The cleaners found it like this at eight o'clock TT#[005623] De werksters vonden het zo (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))
		5. ST#[006057] tucked her cleaning lady up in bed TT#[006057] stopte ze 'r werkster in bed en stak (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))
79	zaktelefoon	1. ST#[012590] Shelley's mobile phone. TT#[012590] - Shelleys zaktelefoon.
		2. ST#[012620] It was the mobile phone. All this time we've been looking for TT#[012620] Die zaktelefoon. De hele tijd zochten

Counts: werkster — 5; zaktelefoon — 2

80 zat

(Taggart - Law (2006))

1. ST#[010097] I've had enough.
   TT#[010097] Ik ben 't zat.
   (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))

2. ST#[012194] I've had enough of this.
   TT#[012194] - Ik ben 't zat.
   (Taggart - Law (2006))

3. ST#[013786] I'll tell you what, I'm getting sick of nonsense,
   TT#[013786] Ik word het zat.
   (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))

1 | 2

81 zeuren

1. ST#[006510] without coming across a couple
   ST#[006511] of numpties.
   TT#[006510] heeft er altijd wel iemand
   TT#[006511] iets te zeuren.

2. ST#[007070] I told you every development has its cranks.
   TT#[007070] Elk project heeft z'n zeurpieten.
   (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))

3. ST#[009826] Get over it Robbie. Jackie?
   TT#[009826] - Zeur niet, Robbie. Robbie.
   (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))

4. ST#[017466] The toy that Honey Addams
   ST#[017467] has been asking for.
   TT#[017466] De knuffel waarover Honey
   TT#[017467] blijft zeuren.
   (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))

1. Hij zeurde wel over morele verplichtingen tegenover AA Gent.
   [Dutch national speaking]
   (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009))

1 | 1 | 3

| 82 | zoen | | 1 | 1. ST#[006278] Give her a kiss for the cameras.
TT#[006278] Geef haar 'n <mark>zoen</mark>. Voor de camera.
(Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996)) |

9.8. Appendix H: All natiolectisms

9.8.1. (Culture-specific) references (22)

ND (2):
1. OM [Public Prosecutor]
2. TR [SOCO]

BD INTRA (20):
1. auditoraat [ministry of public prosecution]
2. Cel (Verdwijningen) [(missing persons) unit]
3. federaal [federal]
4. gerechtshof [the court]
5. hospitaal [hospital]
6. identiteitskaart [ID card]
7. intensieve zorgen [intensive care]
8. jeugdrechter [judge in a juvenile court]
9. justitiepaleis [name of the court in Brussels]
10. leefloon [minimal wage]
11. OCMW [Belgian social service]
12. omnium(verzekering) [a comprehensive policy]
13. onderzoeksrechter [examining magistrate]
14. parket [office of the public prosecutor]
15. Procureur des Konings [public prosecutor]
16. rijkswacht [former Belgian state police]
17. rijkswachter [former Belgian state police officer]
18. sociaal assistent(e) [social worker]
19. wetsdokter [police surgeon]
20. (de dienst) spoedgevallen [accident and emergency department]

9.8.2. Neutral-register crime-fiction vocabulary (115)

ND (22):
1. aardig [nice]
2. biertje [a beer]
3. boffen [to be lucky]
4. bon [a fine]
5. borrel [a drink]
6. eng [creepy]
7. engerd [a creep]
8. geen geintjes [stop joking around]
9. huilen [to cry, to weep]
10. in de maling nemen [to play a trick on/to fool someone]
11. misère [misery]
12. plezierig [pleasant]
13. schoft [bastard]
14. schurk [villain]
15. sectie [autopsy]
16. slijterij [off-licence]
17. stomkop [idiot]
18. troep [a mess]
19. tutten [to fuss]
20. uitglijder [slip-up]
21. uitsmijter [bouncer]
22. werkster [cleaning lady]

BD INTER (25):
1. allusie [allusion]
2. attest [certificate]
3. bureau [private study, office room]
4. dat is geen klein bier [that is no small matter]
5. doorwegen [have a bearing on]
6. eenzaat [a loner]
7. erover waken [to make sure that]
8. iemand met de vinger wijzen [to point the finger at]
9. iets misdoen [to do something wrong]
10. inroepen [to call in]
11. kelderen [to ruin]
12. net [precisely]
13. niet moeten [to not have to]
14. onwettelijk [illegal]
15. op de middag [at noon]
16. op zijn eentje [on his own]
17. pakken [to move emotionally]
18. piste [a line of thought/enquiry]
19. 's anderendaags [the next day]
20. serieus [considerable]
21. ten vroegste [at the earliest]
22. tussen de middag [at lunchtime]
23. uitdraaien [to end up, to turn out]
24. vernoemen [to mention by name]
25. vluchthuis [a refuge]

BD INTRA (68):
1. afdreigen [to threaten]
2. alleszins [in any case]
3. bankkaart [debit card]
4. bediende [white-collar worker]
5. betreffend [concerning]
6. bijhebben [to have/carry with you]
7. binnenrijven [to rake in]
8. bureau [private study, office room]
9. contacteren [to contact]
10. drink [a drinks do]
11. de buiten [the countryside]
12. de nagel op de kop slaan [to be spot on]
13. een bak bier [a case of beer bottles]
14. eerst en vooral [first and foremost]
15. effectief [de facto]
16. er niet gerust in zijn [to be worried]
17. errond [around]
18. fier [proud]
19. gedomicilieerd zijn [to be registered in]
20. gelijkvloers [ground floor]
21. het raden hebben naar [to not have a clue]
22. iemand de les spellen [to boss someone around]
23. in eigen rangen [people from one's own set]
24. inhaken [to hang up]
25. job [job]
26. kost en inwoon [board and lodging]
27. kwart, tien, vijf enz. na [a quarter, half, ten past]
28. lachen met iemand/iets [to laugh at]
29. last verkopen [to be a nuisance]
30. lief [boy/girlfriend]
31. liegen dat je zwart ziet [to lie till one is black in the face]
32. lopen [to run]
33. merkwaardig [remarkable]
34. miserie [misery, trouble]
35. net [precisely]
36. naar de dieperik gaan [to go down the drain]
37. niet moeten [to not be necessary]
38. onbestaand [non-existing]
39. onrustwekkend [alarming]
40. op vraag van [at the request of]
41. overeenkomen [to get along]
42. overlopen [to glance through]
43. panikeren [to panic]
44. parking [car park]
45. piste [line of inquiry]
46. proper [clean]
47. recht (staan) [(stand)up]
48. schuif [drawer]
49. serieus [considerable]
50. tegenkanting [opposition]
51. telefoon [phone call]
52. toelaten [to tolerate]
53. tussenkomen [to intervene]
54. uitschuiver [a slip up]
55. uittreksel [a bank statement]
56. van zodra [as soon as]
57. verhuis [a move]
58. verontschuldigd zijn [to be excused]
59. vluchtmisdrijf [hit-and-run]
60. voormiddag [morning]
61. voortdoen [to continue working]
62. voorzien [to organise]
63. weddenschaal [salary scale]
64. wedersamenstelling [reconstruction of a crime]
65. wervingsreserve [shortlist]
66. woonst [a residence]
67. zetel [a couch]
68. zich herpakken [to change for the better]

9.8.3. Lower-register crime-fiction vocabulary (90)

ND (13):
1. 'm smeren [to do a runner]
2. bajes(klant) [jail(bird)]
3. gatver/getver [dammit]
4. gezeik [bullshit]
5. hou je kop [shut up]
6. jokken [to tell a porky-pie]
7. krijg de tering [drop dead]
8. kus m'n reet [kiss my ass]
9. lulkoek [rubbish]
10. mafkees [a weirdo]
11. peuk [a fag]
12. sufferdje [a local newspaper]
13. uitvreten [to be up to (mischief)]

BD INTER (8):
1. binnen mogen [to be allowed to come in]
2. een pak [loads of]
3. flik [a copper]
4. foefelen [to cheat]
5. fuif [a party]
6. gerant [a manager]
7. nachtuil [a nicht owl]
8. overste [a superior]

BD INTRA (69):
1. afkomen [to pay a visit]
2. ambetant [annoying]
3. best [best]
4. bil [a buttock]
5. binnen mogen [to may come in]
6. brol [rubbish]
7. chance [luck]
8. congé [a holiday]
9. dat zie je van hier [you wish!]
10. dikke nek [a bragger]
11. doorgaan [to leave]
12. dop [welfare]
13. doppen [to be on welfare]
14. een dikke nek hebben [to brag]
15. een pak [loads of]
16. embêteren-ambeteren [annoy]
17. er is geen kat [there is nobody]
18. er vanonder muizen [to sneak out]
19. familiale verzekering [family insurance]
20. flik [a copper]
21. gans [entire]
22. garçon [a waiter]
23. gazet [a newspaper]
24. gedaan zijn [to be over]
25. gelijk wie [no matter who]
26. gerust laten [to leave alone]
27. goedgezind [in a good mood]
28. goesting [an appetite, fancy]
29. hold-up [a hold-up]
30. iemand liggen hebben [to pull someone's leg]
31. iets aan zijn been hebben [to be stuck with]
32. iets mispeuteren [to be up to (mischief)]
33. iets zo beu als koude pap zijn [to be absolutely fed up with]
34. klasseren [to be done with]
35. kroezelhaar [frizzy hair]
36. kuis [the cleaning, a clean-up]
37. kuisen [to clean]
38. labo [lab]
39. met iemands voeten spelen [to mess with someone]
40. mossel [a loser]
41. ophebben [to (not) think much of]
42. opkuisen [to clean up]
43. overmaken [to submit]
44. pintje [a glass of beer]
45. plezant [pleasant]
46. pluimen [to pluck]
47. prof [a lecturer]
48. sacoche [a purse]
49. schoon [pretty]
50. shotten [to kick, to play football]
51. slechtgezind [bad tempered]
52. snokken [to tug at, to jerk]
53. stoefen [to brag]
54. tet [tit]
55. uitsteken [to be up to (mischief)]
56. van dienst zijn [to be on duty]
57. van geen tel zijn/niet van tel zijn [to not count]
58. versassen [to divert]
59. voor je eigen goed [for your own good]
60. wapendracht [possession of arms]
61. weeral [again]
62. wreed [serious(ly)]
63. wroeten [to plough]
64. zagen [to nag]
65. zeveraar [a gobshite]
66. zich (niet) laten doen [to stand no nonsense]
67. zich bevragen [to inform oneself]
68. zich inbeelden [to imagine]
69. zijn staart intrekken [to pull out]

9.8.4. General features of spoken language (16)

ND (8):
1. d'r [her]
2. hemeltje [oh dear!]
3. heus [really]
4. ie [he]
5. jeetje [jeez!]
6. mam [mummy]
7. nou [well]
8. pap [daddy]

ND INTRA (2) [DUTCH NATIONAL SPEAKING]:
1. ie [he]
2. nou [well]

BD INTER (0)

BD INTRA (8):
1. allez [come on!, well, I mean]
2. amai [wow]
3. awel [well, oh]
4. excuseer! [beg your pardon]
5. lap! [damn]
6. madam [Madam]
7. nondeju/dju [damn]
8. tiens! [well, well]

9.8.5. General, neutral-register vocabulary (35)

ND (3):
1. plastic tas [a shopping bag]
2. uitdragerij [a second-hand shop]
3. verpleeghuis [a care home]

BD INTER (5):
1. aanschuiven [to queue up]
2. academiejaar [an academic year]
3. anorak [a parka]
4. humaniora [grammar school]
5. serre [a greenhouse]

BD INTRA (27):
1. administratie [administration]
2. animatie [animation]
3. Belgacom [Begian state telecom company]
4. bouwpromotor [property developer]
5. Civiele Bescherming [civil defence]
6. dienstbetoon [political favour]
7. firmawagen [business car]
8. frigo [fridge]
9. gouverneur [provincial governor]
10. hoogdag [heyday]
11. kabinetschef [principal private secretary]
12. kassei [cobblestone]
13. kernkabinet [inner cabinet]
14. klankband [audiotape]
15. living [living room]
16. magistrale bereiding [magistral preparation]
17. mobilhome [a camper van]
18. omslag [an envelope]
19. ontlenen [to take out, borrow]
20. postmeester [a postmaster]
21. sluikpers [clandestine press]
22. sportkledij [sportswear]
23. stockeren [to stock]
24. verluchten [to air]
25. vestiaire [cloakroom]
26. Wetstraat [the Belgian federal government]
27. zonneklopper [a sun worshipper]

9.8.6. Lower-register general vocabulary (19)

BD INTER (1): unief [a uni]

BD INTRA (18):
1. associé [an associate]
2. bomma [granny]
3. camionette [a van]
4. caoutchouc [rubber]
5. choco [chocolate spread]
6. de weerstand [Resistance during WWII]
7. hangar [a warehouse]
8. inkaderen [to frame]
9. klak [a hat]
10. koer [a playground]
11. motard [a motorcyclist]
12. moto [a motorbike]
13. refter [refectory]
14. sportzak [a sports bag]
15. studies [studies]
16. unief [a uni]
17. verklikking [to grass]
18. zwarte [a blackshirt]

9.9. Appendix I: Lexical alternatives

01

a bastard
(ND) schoft (5 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(GD) klootzak (15 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus and 1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[015986] trouble-making bastard.
TT#[015986] onruststokende schoft is. (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))
INTRA:
Die klootzak heeft haar vermoord. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
schoft	29	37	66
klootzak	137	186	360

02

a crackpot
(ND) mafkees (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) zot (6 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[012945] to talk to crackpots.
TT#[012945] om met mafkezen te praten. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))
INTRA:
Onnozele zot. (Salamander 2013)

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
mafkees	0	5	15
zot	22	0	2

03

a fine / a ticket
(ND) bon (8 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(GD) boete (1 hit in intralingual subtitle corpus and 1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[001208] And that she paid the parking ticket. She did as well.
TT#[001208] En ze betaalde de bon. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))
INTRA:
Enkele verkeersboetes, joints, belastingontduiking,... (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
bon	1	2	11
boete	25	7	2

04

a local newspaper
(ND) sufferdje (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) gazet (3 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)
ST #[007290] Even the Timbuktu Evening Bugle
ST #[007291] carried the story.
TT #[007290] Het stond zelfs in 't Sufferdje
TT #[007291] van Timboektoe. (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))
INTRA:
Op de tv, in de gazet en in alle boekjes. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen II (2009))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
sufferdje	0	1	1
gazet	45	0	0

05

a mobile (phone)
(GD) zaktelefoon (2 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) gsm (45 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus and 22 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[012590] Shelley's mobile phone.
TT#[012590] - Shelleys zaktelefoon. (Taggart - Law (2006))
INTRA:
- Mijn gsm is gepikt. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
zaktelefoon	0	0	1
gsm	1024	108	232

06

a postmortem
(ND) sectie (4 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(GD) autopsie (2 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus and 4 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[015849] Dr Hobson is in the middle of a tricky postmortem.
TT#[015849] Dr. Hobson is met een lastige sectie (Lewis - Generation of Vipers (2012))
INTRA:
De autopsie moet de doodsoorzaak nog bepalen. (Salamander 2013)

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
sectie	1	36	48
autopsie	92	9	47

07

a slip-up
(ND) uitglijder (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) uitschuiver (1 hit in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[007013] what would you call that, Lord Falkland? A bit of a slip-up?
TT#[007013] wat is dat? Een uitglijdertje? (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))
INTRA:
Volgens u zijn het uitschuivers, te wijten aan een slechte gezinssituatie ? (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
uitglijer	0	1	1
uitschuiver	5	0	0

08

a text message

tekstje (4 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.

(BD) sms (7 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus and 1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus)

INTER:

ST#[0123378] The text message was sent from her phone before she was killed.

TT#[0123378] Het tekstje was van daarvoor. (Taggart - Law (2006))

INTRA:

Een halfuur geleden kreeg Barbara ook nog deze sms. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde II (2009))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
tekstje		ambiguous search query	
sms	126	93	121

09

an idiot

(ND) stomkop (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) and sufferd (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.

(BD) mossel (1 hit in intralingual subtitle corpus)

INTER:

ST#[012425] The stupid... Well what else

TT#[012425] De stomkop. Wat heeft hij nog (Taggart - Law (2006))

ST#[003757] I'm scared of bloody heights, you stupid sod!

TT#[003757] - Ik heb hoogtevrees, sufferd. (Morse - Service of all the dead (1995))

INTRA:

Jij kunt voor ons veel meer betekenen dan die mossel van een Laridon. (Salamander 2013)

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
stomkop	0	4	10
mossel		ambiguous search query	

10

damn

(ND) gatver (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.

(BD) (nonde)dju (4 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)

INTER:

ST#[006360] God sakes, Muir, not you as well?

TT#[006360] Gatver, Muir. Jij ook al? (Taggart - Saints and Sinners (2004))

INTRA:

Twee onbekenden hebben naar haar gevraagd. Dju, dju. (Salamander 2013)

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
gatver	1	3	0
nonde(d)ju	13	2	0

11

drop dead! / you wish!

(ND) krijg de tering and (ND) kus m'n reet (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.

(BD) dat zie je van hier (1 hit in intralingual subtitle corpus) and (GD) kus m'n kloten (2 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)

INTER:

ST#[004518] Bugger Mrs Stevens.

TT#[004518] Mrs Stevens kan de tering krijgen. (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))

ST#[0007759] Thanks a shit. I mean, really, thanks a complete shit.

TT#[0007759] Bedankt. En kus m'n reet. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))

INTRA:

Eerst sluit je mij op en dan moet ik je helpen? Dat zie je van hier. (Flikken - Bonnie and Clyde I (2009))

Kus mijn kloten, jong. (Salamander 2013)

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
krijg de tering	0	0	3
kus m'n reet	1	0	0
dat zie je van hier	0	0	0
kus m'n kloten	5	0	0

12

nonsense

(ND) lulkoek and gezeik (1hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.

(BD) zever (5 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)

INTER:

ST#[001423] It's rubbish and you know it.

TT#[001423] Lulkoek. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))

ST#[009121] Yer pishing in the wind.

TT#[009121] Wat 'n gezeik. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))

INTRA:

- Niet zeveren, Michiel. (Flikken - Een vrouwelijke Kant II (2009))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
lulkoek	3	4	7
gezeik	2	7	7
zeveren	9	3	1

13

Oh dear

(ND) jeetje and hemeltje vs.

(BD) amai (16 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)

INTER:

ST#[005763] Oh, dear. Don't say I've upset him.

TT#[005763] Jeetje, heb ik iets gezegd? (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))

ST#[005806] Good heavens! This really is a museum piece.

TT#[005806] Hemeltje, een echt museumstuk. (Morse - Daughters of Cain (1996))

INTRA:

Amai. Zo goedgezind. (Salamander 2013)

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
jeetje	3	16	22
hemeltje	4	0	1
ama|aji	13	0	0

14 — rubbish

troep (4 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
brol (2 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[013106] Too much rubbish in his blood.
TT#[013106] Te veel troep in z'n bloed. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))
INTRA:
Chemische brol Cocaïne? (Flikken - De verbrande vrouw (2004))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
troep	13	51	35
brol	0	0	0

15 — shut up

(ND) hou je kop (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) hou je bakkes (4 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[009820] Oh shut up Stuart!
TT#[009820] - Hou je kop. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))
INTRA:
Dus hou je bakkes en ga zitten. (Salamander 2013)

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
hou je kop	0	7	12
hou je bakkes	13	0	0

16 — stop joking around

(ND) geen geintjes (2 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) and (ND) in de maling nemen (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) niet met iemands voeten/kloten spelen and (BD) iemand liggen hebben (1 hit in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[000523] I hope you'll not try anything funny.
TT#[000523] Haal geen geintjes uit. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))
ST#[001233] So what are you doing? Are you just ragging me or what? - No.
TT#[001233] Neemt u me dan in de maling ? (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))
INTRA:
Ah, hij speelt met onze voeten. (Flikken - Solfer (2004))
Stop met mijn kloten te spelen, Feiremans! Godverdomme! (Flikken - De verbrande vrouw (2004))
Oké, met de fuckmobiel heb je mij liggen. (Flikken - Uitweg II (2009))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
geintje	0	27	24
in de maling	16	8	5
met iemands voeten / kloten spelen	9	0	0

17 — strange

(GD) gek (2 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) merkwaardig (2 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[005741] This knife that was stolen.... It's very funny. It exactly fits the description
TT#[005741] Gek toch, dat gestolen mes lijkt
INTRA:
Dit is merkwaardig. Onder haar vingernagels zat een dikke laag aarde. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
gek	ambiguous search query		
merkwaardig	86	45	45

18 — to be fed up / to have enough of

(ND) zat (3 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(GD) beu (8 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus and 7 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[012194] I've had enough of this.
TT#[012194] - Ik ben 't zat. (Taggart - Law (2006))
INTRA:
Dat is goed voor jullie, maar ik ben het beu. (Flikken - Kwelling (2004))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
(spuug)zat	14	8	10
(kots)beu	65	2	10

19 — to be up to (mischief)

(ND) uitvreten vs.
(BD) mispeuteren (2 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus) and (BD) uitsteken (2 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[008959] So, what's he supposed to have done?
TT#[008959] Wat heeft hij uitgevreten? (Taggart - Puppet on a String (2004))
INTRA:
Ik heb een paar dingen mispeuterd, maar ik heb me herpakt. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009))
Wat heeft ze nu weer uitgestoken ? (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen I (2009))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
uitvreten	12	5	9
mispeuteren	7	0	0
uitsteken	ambiguous search query		

20 — to cry / to weep

(ND) huilen (7 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) wenen (2 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)

21

INTER:
ST#[013201] He screamed. He wept.
TT#[013201] Hij schreeuwde en huilde. (Lewis - The Soul of Genius (2012))
INTRA:
Ik wil dat je stopt met wenen en doet wat ik zeg. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen II (2009))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
huilen	198	576	229
wenen	5	0	2

to do a runner
(ND) 'm smeren vs.
(BD) het aftrappen (1 hit in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[010656] We eh, did. But he legged it.
TT#[010656] - We waren er, maar hij smeerde 'm. (Taggart - Cause to kill (2006))
INTRA:
Jij kan mij misschien helpen door het rustig en stil af te trappen. (Salamander 2013)

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
'm smeren	1	3	33
aftrappen	17	0	0

22

to fuss / to nag
(ND) tutten (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) and zeuren (4 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) zagen (3 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[016698] He fusses.
TT#[016698] Hij tut zo. (Lewis - Fearful Symmetry (2012))
ST#[009826] Get over it Robbie. Jackie?
TT#[009826] - Zeur niet, Robbie. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))
INTRA:
Stop eens met zagen, maat. (Flikken - De verbrande vrouw (2004))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
tutten	0	0	0
zeuren	136	125	56
zagen	ambiguous search query		

23

trouble / misery
(ND) misère (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) miserie (3 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[009968] After all we've been through! Go on, get lost!
TT#[009968] Na al onze misère. Hoepel op. (Taggart - The Wages of Sin (2004))
INTRA:
Ik zit in de miserie. Ik probeer me te herpakken. (Flikken - De Vikings (2004))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
misère	3	3	3
miserie	36	0	0

24

well
(ND) nou (26 hits in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) awel (8 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus) and (BD) allez (11 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[0015535] Well, I guessed that.
TT#[0015535] - Kijk nou. (Morse - The dead of Jericho (1995))
INTRA:
Wat ben je nu van plan? Awel... Kijk.
Allez. Twee levens verwoest, maar everybody happy. (Flikken - Stof (2004))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
nou	5	1898	1771
awel	2	0	0
allez	30	0	0

25

worrying / troubling
(GD) verontrustend (1 hit in interlingual subtitle corpus) vs.
(BD) onrustwekkend (4 hits in intralingual subtitle corpus)
INTER:
ST#[017020] Do you find that troubling?
TT#[017020] Vindt u dat verontrustend?
INTRA:
De onrustwekkende verdwijning van Lien Clarysse, 16 jaar. (Flikken - Jeugdzorgen II (2009))

NL CriFi 1999-2013	BD	ND	E-D
verontrust	13	11	8
onrustwekkend	14	0	0