

p	pɛ:ɾ	‘pear’	t	tɔβ	‘closed’	k	ˈkæ:ɾməs	‘fun fair’
b	bɛ:ɾ	‘bear’	d	dɔβ	‘(I) push’	(g)	ˈbrœgə	‘bridges’
			c	o:ɲc	‘onion’			
			ʃ	ˈlɪŋjə	‘length’			
m	mɪk	‘bread’	n	ˈnɛ:və	‘next to’	ŋ	ɪŋ	‘narrow’
			(ɲ)	ɲc	‘end’			
f	fɪəst	‘party’	s	sɔp	‘soup’	x	da:x	‘day’
v	viə	‘cattle’	z	zɔk	‘sock’	ɣ	ɣo:t	‘good’
			ʃ	bœɾʃ	‘drop dead’			
			ʒ	ˈmɔzə	‘did you have to’			
β	ˈβɪçtəɾ	‘children’				j	jo:ŋk	‘young’
l	lɔxt	‘sky’				(ʔ)	ɣəˈæ:ɾmc	‘arm in arm’
(ʌ)	ˈɣœ:ʎjə	‘guilder’	ɾ	ɾi:st	‘rice’	h	hɔ:s	‘glove’

In proper names and loans, [c, ʃ, ʒ] may occur in the onset of a strong syllable, as in [ʃæk] ‘tobacco’, [ʒa:k] ‘Jack’, where their status is marginal. In the ‘basic’ vocabulary, [c] and [ʃ] occur in coda position and in the onsets of weak syllables, and because of the general distributional restriction of voiced obstruents to syllable onsets, their voiced counterparts, [j] and [ʒ], are only found in the onsets of weak syllables. They often occur in cliticized forms of 2nd person plural and 2nd person masculine singular pronouns: [ˈkɣɲjə] ‘can+you’, [ˈlɛ:zə] ‘read+you’.

The post-alveolar segments [ɲ, ʎ] are variants of [n, l], occurring before [c, ʃ] within the word, as in [ɛɲc] ‘duck’, [ɛɲjə] ‘ducks’, [sxœ:ʎc] ‘debt’, [sxœ:ʎjə] ‘debts’. As in standard Dutch, [ɲ] has a marginal status intervocalically, as in [kəˈsta:ɲəl] ‘chestnut’.

[x] and [ɣ] contrast in the syllable onset, as in [ˈlaxə] ‘to laugh’, [ˈvlaxə] ‘flags’, but the occurrence of the voiceless velar fricative is limited to loans like [ˈxa:ɔs] ‘chaos’ or [xlu:ɾ] ‘chlorine’ in word-initial position. [x] and [ɣ] are prevelar when preceded or followed by a front vowel: [ɪç] ‘I’, [jɛ:ɾ] ‘gladly’. [g] only occurs intervocalically, as in [ˈlɛgɑ:f] ‘(the chickens have) stopped laying’. Younger speakers of the dialect tend to use [ɣ] instead of [g], as in [ˈbrœɣə] vs. [ˈbrœgə] ‘bridges’.

[ɾ] is a uvular or pre-uvular trill with a fricative component, the latter element being particularly prominent in the coda, where the consonant is partially devoiced.

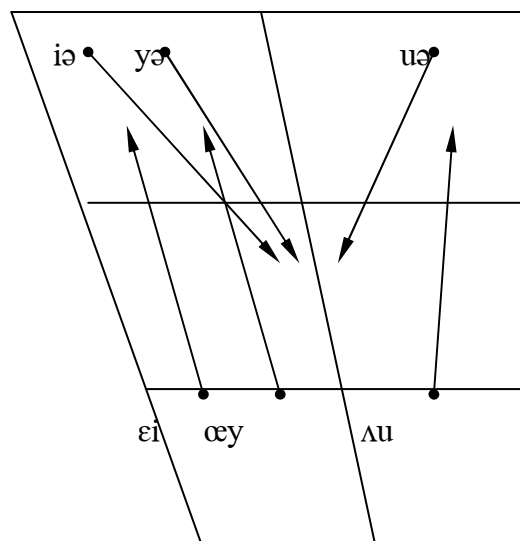
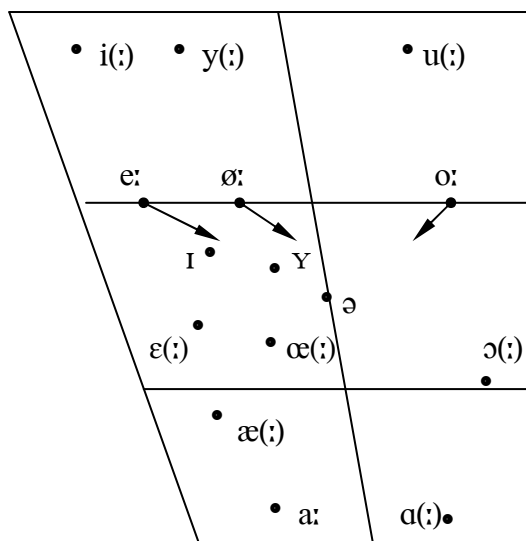
Vowels

The dialect has 28 stressable oral vocalic nuclei: seven short lax vowels, three short tense vowels, twelve long (tense or lax) monophthongs, and six diphthongs, of which three are centring and three are closing. Among the short vowels, eight have approximately the same quality as their long counterparts. In addition, there is [ə], which occurs in unstressed syllables only. The typologically interesting set is formed by the long monophthongs, which include the series [i:, e:, ɛ:, æ:, a:, ɑ:, ɔ:, o:, u:], of which [æ:, a:, ɑ:] are all unrounded. The vowels [ɑ:] and [æ:] are restricted to positions before a sonorant consonant in the coda, but in this position contrast with the other vowels, as shown by [kɛ:l] ‘smock’, [kɛ:l] ‘throat’, [bæ:ls] ‘Belgian’,

[ka:l] ‘bold’ and [kɑ:l] ‘rumours’. The dialect thus strengthens the case for the existence of five-vowel height systems made earlier on the basis of the Bavarian dialect of Amstetten (Austria) by Traunmüller (1982), cited in Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 289). The two dialects would appear to have similar long vowels systems: Weert has unrounded [ɑ:] where Amstetten has [ɔ:], while Weert lacks Amstetten's open [æ:].

SHORT VOWELS			LONG VOWELS			DIPHTHONGS		
i	rit	‘Mary’	i:	βit	‘far’	iə	kiət	‘hut’
y	yt	‘out’	y:	zy:t	‘sees’	yə	γryəts	‘proud of’
ɪ	hitst	‘heat’	e:	re:t	‘reed’	uə	ruət	‘red’
ɤ	blyts	‘bump’	ø:	zø:t	‘sweet’	ei	leit	‘sorrow’
ɛ	'zɛgə	‘to say’	ɛ:	'blɛ:cə	‘leaf+DIM’	œy	kœyt	‘fun’
œ	nœt	‘mean’	œ:	fœ:ts	‘slap’	ɹu	stɹut	‘naughty’
æ	slæt	‘dishcloth’	æ:	tæ:nt	‘tent’			
			a:	na:t	‘wet’			
ɑ	krɑts	‘scratch’	ɑ:	lɑ:ŋk	‘tall’			
ɔ	krɔt	‘beet’	ɔ:	kβɔ:t	‘angry’			
			o:	blø:t	‘blood’			
u	ruts	‘slide’	u:	ru:t	‘pane’			
ə	'mɛ:xcə	‘girl’						

Before [R] in the same word, [i, y, u], [iə, yə, uə] and [ei, œy, ɹu] do not occur, but all other vowels do. However, when preceded by [ɪ, ɤ, ɛ], [R] is not very frequent and even has a marginal status, as in ['βɪRβɑR] ‘crisscross’, [YRZə'linə] ‘nuns having St. Ursula as a patron’. The close-mid series [e:, ø:, o:] is pronounced [e^ɔ, ø^ɔ, o^ɔ], unlike the similarly transcribed vowels in the standard language, which are closing diphthongs, except before [R], where they are centring, as in Weert. Unlike the author LH, who is also a native speaker of the dialect, our informant appeared to be less secure in the distribution of [ɛ] vs. [æ] and [ɤ] vs. [œ], which may foreshadow the collapse of these distinctions in future generations. Older speakers seem to have an additional [u], as evidenced in Van den Berg et al. (1983: 36), Van Moorsel (1996: vii), and Hermans et al. (1998: 40), which neither LH nor OH have. Van Moorsel (1996: vii) gives the allophones of [e:], [ø:] before nasals as [ɪ:], [ɤ:], respectively.



Vowel plus glide

Like many southeastern dialects, Weert allows short lax vowels to be followed by [≡', φ] in the coda, by the side of long vowels, which latter possibility it shares with the standard language. When preceded by a short vowel, the glide can be followed by a tautosyllabic consonant. These are the combinations that occur:

SHORT VOWEL + GLIDE			LONG VOWEL + GLIDE		
ɪj	bɪɪj	'happy'	i:β	li:β	'lion'
ʏj	kʏj	'cows'	y:j	py:j	'paws'
			e:j	sne:j	'cut'
			ø:j	zø:j	'she, they'
œj	bœj	'shower'	ɛ:j	bɛ:j	'(I) pray'
æj	dʀæj	'three'	œ:j	sxœ:j	'bolts'
(ɑj)	de:'tɑj	'detail'	a:j	sla:j	'lettuce'
ɑβ	nɑβ	'narrow'			
(ɔj)	hɔj	'hi'	ɔ:j	kɔ:j	'cold'
ɔβ	nɔβ	'new'	o:j	ʏo:j	'good'
			o:β	no:β	'now'
			u:j	ku:j	'cage'

The vowel+glide combinations [æj], [œj], [ɑβ] are distinct from the closing diphthongs [ɛi, œy, ʌu], whose qualities are similar to those of the corresponding diphthongs in the standard language. First, the durations of the vowel+glide combinations are shorter than those of the diphthongs. In the context [βæjts] 'luxurious', [zβɛit] 'sweat' spoken in isolation, the respective durations are 180 ms and 230 ms. Second, the short vowels are slightly opener than the first elements of the diphthongs, [œ] being considerably opener before [j] than elsewhere. The duration of the long vowel+glide combination [a:j] is 300 ms. Because the diphthongs [ɛi, œy, ʌu] rarely occur word-finally, there are few minimal pairs with short vowel plus glide

combinations in final position. An example of a near-minimal pair is [bœj] ‘shower’, [nœy] as in [hɛ: kRɛ:x ɔp sin 'nœy] ‘he was given a good beating’. Preconsonantal (near-)minimal pairs can easily be found: [βæjc] ‘(the wind) blows’, [leit] ‘sorrow’, [dœjts] ‘German’ (adj.), [kœyt] ‘fun’, [ɑβx] ‘eye’, [Λux] ‘also’.

Prosody

Although Weert is usually included in the Limburgian, Ripuarian, and Mosel-Franconian geographical area with lexical tone (as on the map in Gussenhoven and Bruce 1999, which is based on Peeters and Schouten 1989, Schmidt 1986, and Wiesinger 1975), and its dialect is described as having a tonal contrast by Verhoeven (1992), and Verhoeven and Connell (1992), it is in fact non-tonal (Heijmans 1999). It has an intonation system which is very similar to that of the standard language. The reason why it has been classified as tonal is probably that well-known tonal minimal pairs in the more easterly dialects, like [bein] ‘leg’ (pronounced with a falling-rising pitch in the declarative intonation) vs. [bein] ‘legs’ (pronounced with a sharply falling pitch in the declarative intonation, and with a somewhat shorter duration than [bein] ‘leg’) correspond to [bein] versus [bæjn] in Weert, which thus in a sense mimics the durational difference of the more easterly dialects. Other such pairs are [kni:n] ‘rabbit’, [knin] ‘rabbits’ and [bæ:RX] ‘mountain’, [bæRX] ‘mountains’, which have segmentally identical, but tonally distinct cognates in the more easterly dialects.

Stress and accentuation

The stress pattern in the dialect of Weert is identical to that of standard Dutch: main stress is assigned to the antepenult, the penult, or the final syllable of a word if the penult is open, and to the penult or final syllable if the penult is closed.

Largely depending on focus, intonational pitch accents are aligned with respect to the main stressed syllable of certain words, marked with [◡] in the transcription. Intonational phrases are delimited by the single bar $\bar{\quad}$, while the end of the phonological utterance is indicated by the double bar $\bar{\bar{\quad}}$.

Transcription of passage

də 'no:rdəβe:jnc æn də 'zɔn | 'hɑ:jə nən dɪs'kʏsi | 'o:vər də 'vrɔ:x | βe:m van hʏn tβijə
də 'stæ:rkstə βo:r | tun dər 'jyst e:məs vər'be:j kβo:m | dɛ: ənə 'dikə | βæ:rmə 'jas a:nhɑ:j
|| zə 'sprɔ:kən 'ɑ:f | dæt βe:m də vər'be:jʏɑŋər | zuβit zo:j 'kri:ʏə | ʏm zinə 'jas ʏt tə
trækə | də 'stæ:rkstə zo:j ze:n || də 'no:rdəβe:jnc | bəʏɔs ʏt 'alə mɑxt tə 'blɔ:zə | mæR βi
'hɑ:rdər hɛ: 'ble:s | dæs tə 'strɑŋər | də vər'be:jʏɑŋər zinə 'jas ʏm zix 'hɛ:r trɔk ||
ʏt'ʔeindələk | ʏo:f də 'no:rdəβe:jnc ət mæR 'ɔp || 'dɔ:ɔ: | bəʏɔs tə 'zɔn | 'krɑxtəx tə 'strɔ:lə |
æn mətæjn dɔ:'ʔɔp trɔk də vər'be:jʏɑŋər zinə 'jaz ʏt || də 'no:rdəβe:jnc | mɔs 'tun βɑ:l
'tɔβɛ:və | dæt də 'zɔn də 'stæ:rkstə βo:r ||

Standard Dutch orthographic version

De noordenwind en de zon hadden een discussie over de vraag wie van hun tweeën de sterkste was, toen er juist iemand voorbij kwam die een dikke, warme jas aanhad. Ze spraken af dat wie de voorbijganger ertoe zou krijgen zijn jas uit te trekken de sterkste zou zijn. De noordenwind begon uit alle macht te blazen, maar hoe harder hij blies, des te dichter de voorbijganger zijn jas om zich heen trok. Uiteindelijk gaf de noordenwind het maar op. Daarna begon de zon krachtig te stralen, en meteen daarop trok de voorbijganger zijn jas uit. De noordenwind moest toen wel toegeven dat de zon de sterkste was.

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