

Title page

Title: Standard and Colloquial Belgian Dutch pronouns of address: A variationist-interactional study of child-directed speech in dinner table interactions.

Abstract

This paper presents a corpus-based analysis of child-directed speech during Flemish family dinner table interactions. Specifically, we scrutinize parents' alternation between Standard Dutch and Colloquial Belgian Dutch, a substandard but supraregional variant of Dutch, when interacting with their children. In integrating insights and methods from variationist and interactional sociolinguistics, we pay attention not only to macro-social categories (such as the age of the children), but also to the micro-social and pragmatic context of the style-shifts (e.g. frames). As a practical consequence of this combination of course-grained quantitative analyses and fine-grained qualitative analyses, our study focuses in on a single case. We rely on detailed transcriptions of three hours of recordings for one Flemish household with four children (age nine months and four, five and seven years old). Our results reveal significant variation in the style-shifts of mother (age 35) and father (age 39) with respect to the four children, which can be interpreted against the background of comments made by the parents during a sociolinguistic interview that followed the recordings. Generally, our analyses allow us to provide a nuanced insight into the social meaning of the two language layers (Standard Dutch and Colloquial Belgian Dutch) as they are distributed across the speakers and situations in this family, as such revealing a link between the attested patterns of child-directed speech and the acquisition of sociolinguistic norms.

Keywords: style shifts; (Colloquial) Belgian Dutch; child-directed speech; dinner table interactions; variationist sociolinguistics; interactional sociolinguistics

1 Child-directed speech and sociolinguistic awareness

In spite of the assumption in early sociolinguistics that children are monostylistic until adolescence (Labov 1970; Wolfram and Fasold 1974), a number of more recent studies have demonstrated that adult-like patterns of variation may be acquired much earlier. When exactly is however still subject to debate. Some scholars suggest that systematic patterns are acquired in the preadolescent years (10–12 years old; e.g. Romaine 1984; Chevrot et al. 2000), others take the first school years as crucial (6–8 years old; e.g. Labov 1989; Patterson 1992). More recent research provides support for an even earlier age of **acquisition of sociolinguistic norms**, placing it in parallel with the general language acquisition process (e.g. Foulkes et al. 2005; Roberts 1994; Smith et al. 2007).

An important role in this acquisition process is played by **child-directed speech** (henceforth CDS), also known as caregiver speech. Parents (largely unconsciously) adapt their language when talking to their children as a way to help them segment the speech stream and hence to acquire new forms and meanings (the analytic function of CDS), meanwhile trying to keep the conversation going (the social function) (Cameron-Faulkner et al. 2003). Primarily, research on CDS has focused on ways in which parents aim for higher clarity and simplicity of linguistic structures when talking to their children: they use shorter utterances, less complex syntactic patterns, higher and more varied pitch, more outspoken phonetic contrast and more repetition and questions than in adult-to-adult speech (e.g. Rowe 2008).

More recently, variationists have started paying attention to the degree of non-standardness in CDS and in what way the attested **variation between standard and vernacular forms** can be explained on grounds of sociolinguistic awareness (e.g. Smith et al. 2005). For instance, Foulkes et al. (2005) have demonstrated that CDS contains less vernacular forms than inter-adult speech. Moreover, their data show a clear gender effect: speech to boys is generally more vernacular than speech to girls. Additionally, it is primarily female caregivers that adjust their speech to the gender of the addressed child. Finally, there is a clear age effect in the amount of vernacular forms in CDS: the level of standardness in CDS drops as the addressed children get older (Smith et al. 2007; De Houwer 2003). At first glance, these findings tie in with the traditional interpretation of CDS as a resource for long-term language learning: using the standard language serves clarity and simplicity and is hence more important for children in the early stages of language acquisition. However, Foulkes et al. (2005) note that this interpretation is not sufficiently explanatory for the distribution of the standard and non-standard variants in their data. Social-indexical values of the variants come into play as well: the parents' choice for a particular variant in a particular context reflects the sociolinguistic value of that linguistic feature in the speech community, and hence helps children to acquire a more complete sociolinguistic repertoire and a more profound knowledge of that speech community (cp. Smith et al. 2007).

As such, research on sociolinguistic variation in CDS can help shed light on language users' **attitudes** towards and **regard** of both standard and vernacular varieties. Language regard is a cover term that refers to "attitudes toward and beliefs about language that impinge on language variation and change" (Preston 2013: 93, and see Preston 2011). As such, the term on the one hand has a wider range of application than *attitudes* (as it also covers non-evaluative views)

and *beliefs* (which has a subjective ring to it). On the other hand, it is more specific and individual-oriented than *ideology* (which refers to the belief structure of entire groups). As concerns CDS, Preston states that it is cultural knowledge and language regard that guide parents in their selection of forms in their speech as caregivers (Preston 2013: 96). As such, studying variation in caregiver speech can help reveal new insights into speakers' language regard. Parents want to teach their children which language features (and varieties) to use in which context, hence revealing which language features they consider “best” in which context.

In this study, we follow this conviction, aiming to contribute to the debate on the status of Colloquial Belgian Dutch in Flanders. Specifically, we present a single case study on variation in the use of pronouns of address during dinner table conversations in one Flemish family. In order to acquire an encompassing view on the variation between standard and vernacular pronouns, we rely on **mixed methods**: our analyses does not only pay attention to typically variationist, straightforwardly quantifiable features (e.g. internal linguistic features, macro-social categories) (as is customary in current CDS-research), but also to fine-grained discursive parameters and the immediate pragmatic context (e.g. frames) (cf. Sharma 2011; Zenner & Van De Mierop forthcoming). Additionally, we add insights acquired through sociolinguistic interviews with the parents.

The data we use in this study are described in more detail in Section 3. In Section 4 we present the impact of the intralinguistic and variationist parameters included in this study. The discourse analytic analysis of the pragmatic context of the style-shifts is presented in Section 5. In Section 6, both perspectives are brought together in a multifactorial logistic regression model and the results are linked to comments made by the parents in the sociolinguistic interview. Finally, we summarize our findings and flesh out some perspectives for future research. But first, to ensure a maximal understanding of what follows, the next section presents some basic background on the history of and research on Colloquial Belgian Dutch.

2 Colloquial Belgian Dutch

As Dutch is a language with more than one national variety, it is considered to be a pluricentric language (Clyne 1992). Belgian Dutch, one of the three official languages of Belgium, is spoken in Flanders; Netherlandic Dutch is the official language of the Netherlands. Interestingly, the process of linguistic standardization evolved differently in both regions. Contrary to the Netherlandic Dutch situation, **Belgian Dutch standardization** is a relatively recent phenomenon, as most of Belgian public life was conducted in French since the wave of standardization in Western-Europe in the seventeenth century. In the twentieth century, when the Belgian Dutch standardization process eventually took off, the choice was made for an exonormative orientation: instead of developing a Belgian Dutch standard, convergence with the (long established) Netherlandic Dutch norm was promoted, aiming for a uniform Standard Dutch (Geeraerts 2003).

Despite strong efforts in language policy planning (cf. Delarue 2013), the Flemish never truly embraced the Northern norm as their own. In contrast, a properly Flemish and increasingly

geographically dispersed variety emerged. This variety, labeled **Colloquial Belgian Dutch**¹ (henceforth CBD), is a supraregional but substandard version of Dutch that spread out from Brabant across the rest of Flanders. It is characterized by a number of lexical, syntactic and morpho-phonological vernacular features (e.g. double negation, word-final t-deletion, inflection on articles and demonstratives; see Geeraerts & De Sutter 2003; Zenner et al. 2009; Geeraerts & Van de Velde 2013). Given its supraregional nature, CBD should be considered as located in between dialect and standard language.

While linguists agree on the rapid spread of CBD, there is still some debate on the **status of CBD** in the Flemish linguistic landscape. One way to contribute to this debate is to investigate language attitudes and language regard in Flanders (Preston 2011, 2013), i.e. to verify whether language users accept CBD as a Belgian Dutch Standard (cf. Jaspers 2001) or adhere to their “bias towards an abstract idealized homogeneous language” (Standard Dutch) (Lippi-Green 1997: 64). Three types of research along these lines can be distinguished. The first strand of research builds on Lambert et al.’s (1960) **speaker evaluation paradigm**, aiming to access native speaker attitudes towards language variation in Flanders. The most recent insights are elaborated on by Grondelaers & Speelman (2013), who show that there are signs of change in Flemish language attitudes, but that these have not (yet) resulted in a new value system, thus leaving the conservative standard language ideology largely intact. The second strand of studies applies a “**societal treatment approach**” to language (Garett 2005; Grondelaers & Speelman 2013). An important contribution in this respect is made by Jaspers, who has qualitatively inferred attitudes from the way language varieties and their speakers are treated in society, e.g. by authorities, in the media, in meta-linguistic comments and through stylizations in interaction (see Absillis et al. 2012, and cf. Delarue 2013 for a discussion of the debate ensuing this publication). The third line of research, which has a “**developmental agenda**” (Blum-Kulka 2004: 197, see De Vogelaer forthcoming), is fairly new and underrepresented. Here, language regard is studied by patterning the **acquisition** of sociolinguistic awareness in Flanders. For example, De Vogelaer (forthcoming) relies on the speaker evaluation paradigm to assess and describe (the evolution in) language attitudes of Flemish children between eight and eighteen years old. De Houwer (2003) takes a corpus-based perspective, looking into the alternation between dialect features and neutral features in three Antwerpian households. Although the bulk of this study focuses on dialect/standard-alternation (with some attention for CBD/standard-alternation), it is innovative in patterning variation in child-directed speech in Flemish families. Aggregating over a number of linguistic features, De Houwer zooms in on the impact of speaker-hearer combinations on the occurrence of local (containing dialect features) versus neutral (not containing dialect features) utterances.

The present study aims to add to and expand on this final strand of research, emphasizing the link between **child-directed speech and language regard** (cf. supra; Preston 2013). First, in contrast to De Houwer (2003), we aim to focus more explicitly on CBD-variants than on dialect features, we aim to scrutinize alternations for one specific linguistic variant instead of aggregating over features, and we strive to integrate intralinguistic, macro-social and discourse-

¹ Alternative names are *tussentaal* ‘interlanguage’, *Soapyvlaams* ‘soap Flemish’ or *Verkavelingsvlaams* ‘allotment Dutch’.

analytic variables in accounting for the attested variation rather than focusing exclusively on speaker-hearer combinations. Moreover, we aim to tie in with the new trends in research on CDS and sociolinguistic awareness described above: given how the acquisition of “sociolinguistic maturity” (Kerswill & Williams 2000: 105) and sociolinguistic norms (Smith et al. 2013) is said to be strongly dependent on the initial input from parents and caregivers, scrutinizing this input can shed new light on language regard in Flemish households.

In particular, our study zooms in on the alternation between the standard and vernacular variants of the second person pronoun (subject, object and possessive forms) in the language use of one Flemish family with four children during mealtime. In the next section, the collected data and the standard- and CBD-system for pronouns of address are described in more detail, and some more attention is paid to the choice for dinner table conversations.

3 Pronouns of address in Flemish family dinner table conversations

The overall aim of this paper is to study language regard based on patterns of style-shifting during dinner table interactions in one Flemish nuclear family, relying on both quantitative variationist and qualitative discursive analyses. Specifically, we zoom in on the use of pronouns of address. The data is a sample of a larger database that is constructed in light of an ongoing project on the use of Colloquial Belgian Dutch in Flemish households, consisting of recordings for 16 families from the Brabantian area. Below, we first describe the data collection in more detail, also paying attention to the choice for mealtime conversations. Then, we provide some background on the paradigm of pronouns of address, both for Standard Dutch and for Colloquial Belgian Dutch.

3.1 *Corpus: Mealtime conversation*

The selected family self-recorded in 2011 for **three hours** of mealtime interactions. After recordings, a semi-structured **sociolinguistic interview** was conducted with both parents separately. Each interview lasted approximately thirty minutes. The family lives in Borgerhout, a district of the city of Antwerp, part of the linguistic center for Colloquial Belgian Dutch.

There are several reasons why we chose to conduct a case-study on **this family**, which consists of a 39-year old father, a 35-year old mother and four boys (aged 9 months and four, five and seven years old). First, coming from a family of six, the data provides us with a large testing ground to look for variation in child-directed speech. The age differences between the four children are particularly interesting. First, a contrast can be made between the pre-verbal stage (the youngest child) and the verbal stage (the three older children). Second, within the group of children in the verbal stage, a difference can be made between the two boys in preschool and the oldest child, who is in elementary school. A further benefit comes from the fact that all four children are boys: this neutralizes the possible confounding effect of gender when looking for age-related patterns in CDS. A third benefit is found in the professional background of the parents: both parents are teachers. The mother, who is a speech therapist, teaches Dutch to newcomers in Belgium. The father is a remedial teacher in the final years of secondary school. This pedagogical background leads us to expect more explicit opinions on language use and

language variation (cf. Delarue 2013, 2014), which might be reflected in more outspoken and more tangible patterns of variation in CDS and parent-to-parent speech.

As was indicated above, the family was assigned with the task to self-record during mealtime for at least three hours in a period of two weeks. **Mealtime** is an interesting period for practical reasons, as typically the family members are gathered in the same room and interact closely. More theoretically, interactions during family dinners are highly fascinating from a variationist perspective, as mealtime language is situated at the interface of a number of diverging factors. First, it has been observed that dinner talk occupies an “interim position” on the “continuum of formality” (Blum-Kulka 1997: 9). Even though dinner talk is clearly backstage in Goffman’s (1959) terms, it is also characterized by formal criteria of the acceptability of what is mentionable and what is not during dinner (Blum-Kulka 1997: 9). Furthermore, mealtime conversations involving children as interactional participants have been scrutinized because of their position at the interface of power and intimacy (Blum-Kulka 1990), which has led to the analysis – and calculation of the success rate – of the either direct or mitigated nature of parents’ control acts towards their children (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1990; Brumark 2010). Finally, due to “the built-in tension between dinner as an activity and dinner as a social, conversational event” (Blum-Kulka 1997: 35), different “layers” of talk can be distinguished, namely one relating to “the instrumental business talk of having dinner”, which is “superimposed by other, more open-ended, conversational layers of talk” (Blum-Kulka 1997: 9). So, being situated at the interface of formality-informality, power-intimacy and social talk versus goal-oriented interaction, dinner talk is a locus in which shifts between language varieties, typically related to these different ends of the continuum, can be expected.

speaker	age	utterances
*CH1:	7y	341
*CH2:	5y	499
*CH3:	4y	490
*CH4:	9m	0
*FAT:	39y	951
*MOT:	35y	952
total		3233

Table 1 – utterances per speaker

The three hours of high quality video recordings were transcribed using the Chat-conventions of the Childe project (MacWhinney 2000). Fragments that were analyzed in more detail in the discursive analyses were additionally transcribed using the Jeffersonian system. All statistical analyses were conducted in R.

In all, the corpus contains **3233 utterances**. As Table 1 reveals, the parents each have double the amount of utterances as the children. Naturally, the nine-month old child (CH4) does not have any utterances that contain verbal elements. For our analyses, we zoom in on the 675 utterances in the data that contain pronouns of address. Below, the Standard and Colloquial Belgian Dutch pronoun paradigm is described in some more detail.

3.2 Pronouns of address: the Standard Dutch and Colloquial Belgian Dutch system

Despite notable dialect loss amongst younger generations (discussed in Plevoets 2008; De Brabandere 2005; Willemyns 1997, De Schutter 1998; also Hinskens, Hoppenbrouwers & Taeldeman 1993), dialect, CBD and standard language co-occur in the Flemish linguistic landscape. Our analysis, however, zooms in on pronouns of address, which are characterized by an alternation of forms from the top two layers: CBD and standard language. Hence, no specific attention is paid to dialect features in this paper.

The reason to focus on pronouns of address is that this marker constitutes, in Labov's terms, a "stereotype" (Labov 1972): it is a variable with a social value that language users are typically aware of, and the variable has been subject to some kind of metapragmatic discussion (unlike 'indicators') (Eckert 2008; Johnstone et al. 2006). Particularly, the high awareness of the social value of Standard and Colloquial Belgian Dutch pronouns of address results from the strong propaganda in the Belgian Dutch education system for the use of the standard forms (Deprez & Geerts 1975, and cf. Vandekerckhove 2004). Studying such a stereotype variable is particularly interesting for our analysis, since it explicitly reflects the participants' orientation to sociolinguistic norms. Naturally, follow-up research will have to complement this study with analyses of the alternation between standard and vernacular forms of other (less focal) features, such as word-final t-deletion (compare Zenner et al. forthcoming).

For polite speech in highly formal situations, there is no variation between CBD and Standard Dutch: both use *u* in the nominal (with and without subject/verb-inversion) and the oblique form, *zich* in the reflexive and *uw* in the possessive. However, in informal contexts (such as family dinner conversations), there is variation between the pronominal system of CBD and that of Standard Dutch. In **Standard Dutch**, the informal nominal forms (with and without inversion) are *je/jij*, the informal oblique forms and the reflexives are *je/jou* and the informal possessive is *je/jouw*. The full forms *jij/jou/jouw* are typically used to add emphasis (except for the oblique, where *je* is not always possible). For **CBD**, *ge/gij* is used nominally in SVO-sentences and in VSO-sentences. In the latter case of subject-verb inversion, we also find the clitical variants *-de* (a relic from Middle-Dutch *du*) and *-degij* (a double form combining *de* and *gij*). The oblique and reflexive form is *u*, and the possessive form is *uw*. Table 2 provides a summary of these forms.

register	type	Standard Dutch	CBD
polite speech	nominal, SV	u	U
	nominal, VS	u	u
	oblique	uw	uw
	reflexive	zich	zich
	possessive	uw	uw
casual speech	nominal, SV	je/jij	ge/gij
	nominal, VS	je/jij	ge/gij/-de/-degij
	oblique	je/jou	u
	reflexive	je/jou	u
	possessive	je/jouw	uw

Table 2 - pronouns of address in Standard Dutch and CBD

Research has shown that the polite speech forms are losing ground: they are more and more reserved as a way to express social distance to an addressee with higher status in very formal contexts (Deprez & Geerts 1975; Grezel 2003). For Netherlandic Dutch, this means a nearly exclusive use of *je/jij/jou/jouw* (Plevoets, Speelman & Geeraerts 2008: 193). For the Flemish, who are usually quite aware of the substandard nature of the CBD-forms, this means some degree of alternation between the *g*-system and the *j*-system of address, depending on the discourse situation. More specifically, in higher registers, a higher use of *je/jij/jou* can be expected (cp. Van den Toorn 1977; Grezel 2003). In this paper, we want to study which of both systems parents prefer in which context when addressing which child and what this can reveal about language regards in the family.

4 Intralinguistic and variationist parameters

The data contains 922 pronouns of address², with 570 Standard Dutch observations and 374 Colloquial Belgian Dutch observations: constituting 60.3% of all cases, there is a mild preference for the standard forms. Below, we first discuss the impact of three straightforwardly quantifiable features (type of pronoun, priming and speaker/hearer-constellation). Then, we have a look at the different frames of conversation by means of discourse analyses of a number of speech samples. In this first stage, the data are analyzed using Chi-square tests for significance and Cramer's V tests to measure effect size. This test captures the strength of association between two nominal variables, expressed in a value between zero and one that can be interpreted similar to Pearson's correlation for numerical data: zero means no association, one means complete association. Finally, after attempting to provide quantifications for the discursive perspective, we present the output of an encompassing regression analysis, which reveals the relative impact of the four variables on the choice for vernacular or standard forms.

4.1 Type of pronoun

In Table 3, we summarize the occurrences of all different forms for pronouns of address in Standard Dutch and CBD. Token counts and proportions are provided for each individual form. Additionally, the final column presents proportions when aggregating over the individual forms per variety for each type of pronoun.

type	variety	variant	tokens	proportion variant	proportion variety
nominal, SV	Standard	je	89	0.270	0.594
		jij	107	0.324	
	CBD	ge	74	0.224	0.406
		gij	60	0.182	
nominal, VS	Standard	je	125	0.350	0.697
		jij	124	0.347	
	CBD	ge	19	0.053	0.303
		gij	17	0.048	

² Excluding 22 fixed expressions with personal pronouns, all instances of *alsjeblijft*, *alstublijft* and *dank u (wel)*.

		-de	38	0.106	
		-degij	34	0.095	
oblique	Standard	je	5	0.069	0.639
		jou	41	0.569	
	CBD	u	26	0.361	0.361
reflexive	Standard	je	2	0.250	0.250
		jou	0	0.000	
	CBD	u	6	0.750	0.750
possessive	Standard	je	58	0.374	0.477
		jouw	16	0.103	
	CBD	uw	81	0.523	0.523

Table 3 – types and varieties of pronouns

Several observations can be made. First, for the standard, we see a rather even distribution between the full forms (*jij/jou/jouw*) and the reduced form (*je*), except for the oblique. In the oblique, *je/jou* alternation is possible for objects (e.g. *ik geef het je* 'I give it to you'), but not in prepositional phrases (e.g. *dit is voor jou/*je* 'dit is voor jou'). Hence, the full form is more frequent here. Second, a similar even distribution can be found for the CBD-forms *ge* and *gij*. The clitic forms *-de* and *-degij* also occur almost evenly frequently, and both are more frequent in VSO-constructions than *ge* and *gij*. Next, it appears that reflexive forms are too rare in the database to be able to make any sound conclusions. Consequently, based on formal similarities, they will henceforth be grouped together with the obliques. Finally, the table reveals that the preference for standard forms is highest in subject forms in inversion (which is possibly due to the high complexity of the CBD-system here) and lowest for the possessives. The difference between the types of pronouns (subject without inversion, subject with inversion, oblique/reflexive, possessive) is significant (p-value for Chi-square < 0.00001), but the association is not very strong (Cramer's V 0.16).

Given this relatively weak effect of type of pronoun, we aggregate over the different types in the remainder of the analyses, making a basic distinction between standard- and CBD-forms of address. This also helps us avoid issues with data sparseness. In the regression model presented in the final section though, type of pronoun will be included as a parameter.

4.2 Priming

Pronouns that have been used previously in the conversation are naturally important in explaining variation, in that they can prime language users towards either standard or vernacular forms. Different types of priming can be studied: we can factor in what a speaker him/herself has said prior in the utterance or prior in conversation, or we can look at the nearest prime in the entire discourse, including the speech of interlocutors.

	SL	CBD	prop.CBD
SL.primed	413	146	0.261
CBD.primed	154	209	0.576

Table 4 – priming effect

For this study, we look at the closest pronoun of address that was used prior in conversation by any of the interlocutors. We aggregate over the types of pronouns: this means that a possessive form can function as a prime for a subject form. Table 4 reveals a strong effect of priming: the percentage of Colloquial Belgian Dutch pronouns is more than double when a CBD-form precedes the target pronoun than when a standard form precedes the target pronoun. The pattern is significant ($p < 0.00001$), and Cramer's V reveals a strong association (0.316).

4.3 Speaker-hearer constellation

The most important factor in this study concerns speaker-hearer constellation. More specifically, we are interested in the difference in parents' use of pronouns when talking to each other versus when talking to their children.

	SL	CBD	prop.CBD
CDS	446	272	0.379
PAR-PAR	7	61	0.897

Table 5 - CDS versus parent-to-parent interaction

To this end, Table 5 zooms in on the parent's pronoun use: the observations for the children are excluded from the analyses. Besides the general observation that the parents talk significantly less to each other than to their children (or, at least, use significantly less pronouns of address), we find a preference for Standard Dutch in CDS, and a preference for CBD in parent-to-parent speech (p -value for Chi-square < 0.00001 , Cramer's V 0.295). This pattern corroborates findings from previous research on sociolinguistic variation in CDS (e.g. Foulkes et al. 2005, Smith et al. 2013).

In contrast, where most existing research focuses on the way mothers talk to their children, our database has an equal amount of data for both mother and father. This allows us to scrutinize possible differences between both parents. Table 6 reveals that both parents adapt their language use to their children (Cramer's V for father: 0.266, for mother: 0.299), but the father uses more vernacular forms in general and adapts his language use to a lesser extent than the mother ($p < 0.0001$ for Cochran-Mantel Haenszel).

speaker	SP/H-context	SL	CBD	prop.CBD
father	CDS	242	197	0.449
	PAR-PAR	3	43	0.935
mother	CDS	204	75	0.269
	PAR-PAR	4	18	0.818

Table 6 - CDS versus parent-to-parent interaction for mother vs. father

The differences in pronoun use of mother and father become even more interesting when including more specific information on the addressee. Table 7 zooms in on child-directed utterances, and makes a distinction between the different children addressed for each parent. Note that in the three-hour frame, we have no utterances of the mother that are immediately and uniquely directed at the youngest child.

speaker	hearer	SL	CBD	prop.CBD
father	CH1	82	68	0.453
	CH2	98	55	0.359
	CH3	46	16	0.258
	CH4	16	58	0.784
mother	CH1	57	24	0.296
	CH2	86	33	0.277
	CH3	61	18	0.228

Table 7 - CDS versus parent-to-parent interaction for mother vs. father, per child

For both parents, we find the age-related pattern attested in previous CDS-research (Foulkes et al. 2005): mother and father use an increasing amount of CBD from the youngest to oldest child. For the mother, the style-shifts between the different addressees are too mild to reach significance. Despite the fact that she generally shows a larger drop in CBD-use from parent-to-parent to CDS than the father, she does not seem to differentiate strongly between the three oldest children. For the father, we do find a significant pattern of differentiation ($p < 0.00001$, Cramer's V 0.329)³.

Additionally, Table 7 reveals a notable and unforeseen exception to the general pattern in the father's utterances directed to the youngest child, in which case he uses an exceptionally high amount of vernacular forms. Since the youngest child is only nine months old and is hence still in the pre-linguistic phase, this result seems to suggest that a dramatic change takes place in the use of language varieties and language variation when a child starts talking, from highly vernacular when addressing pre-linguistic children (CH1), to highly standardized when talking to children in the verbal stage in pre-school (CH2/3) and from thereon back to vernacular for older children (CH3/4). Naturally, future research will have to look into more data from different families to corroborate this pattern. At this point, we make a first attempt at understanding the unexpected quantitative results better by complementing the data with a qualitative exploration of the parents' utterances, and in particular of the father's turns to the youngest child compared to his utterances directed to the other children.

These qualitative analyses demonstrate that there are different discursive *types* of talk occurring in these interactions, and that these are distributed differently among the four children. A typical example of each type of talk is provided here. In the translations provided under the utterance, all standard second person pronominal forms are underlined, all CBD-forms are in bold.

(1) father's CDS to older children:

dus da(t) mag je zo da(t) mag je me(t) je handjes ete(n) als je da(t) wil
 'so you can eat that like that you can eat that with your hands if you like'

(2) father's CDS to the youngest child. Context: this utterance occurs right after the child had not finished his bottle, containing 180cc milk:

³ When excluding the youngest child from the analysis for the father's speech, we still find a significant – though milder – pattern (p for Chi-square 0.02, Cramer's V 0.143).

al goe(d) da(t) ge geen en tweehonderdentien besteld (h)ad e Jaan
 ‘good that **you** didn’t order a two hundred and ten Jaan’

There is a clear difference between the two examples of CDS uttered by the father. First, in example 1, the father is giving directions to the second eldest child on how to eat the tortillas his mother prepared for dinner. These directions serve a particular purpose, namely ensuring that the activity of eating proceeds as fluently as possible. As such, these utterances help to achieve the pivotal goal of dinner. Second, in example 2, the father is reproaching his youngest son for not finishing his bottle, adding that it was a good thing that the one year old had not ‘ordered a two hundred and ten’ (viz. 210cc milk). It is clear from the specific phrasing that this type of pub jargon could never be uttered by a toddler and so the words are to be interpreted in a jocular frame. This type of mock-commenting on the youngest child’s eating habits is prevalent in the data and it is clear from the context that it will not affect the transactional goal of the activity. Given the youngest child’s inability to speak or understand such complicated language, these utterances clearly only serve a social purpose.

As such, these two examples are a perfect illustration of the tension between the instrumental goal (as in example 1) and the social goal (as in example 2), which are both so typical of dinner talk (Blum-Kulka 1997). An alternative hypothesis following from this qualitative exploration is then that the increasing age of the children beyond the pre-linguistic phase may not, in itself, be the trigger for parents’ higher use of CBD when addressing them, but rather the type of talk that is used when addressing these children changes as they get older. This hypothesis is tested in the next section.

5 A discourse analytic perspective on pronouns of address in CDS

In order to quantify and subsequently test the preceding hypothesis, the conversational context of the utterances was coded for, as is common in pragmatic studies on dinner talk (see e.g. Brumark 2006). In particular, Brumark’s identification of three typical discursive types, or frames (see e.g. Tannen & Wallat 1987), of talk during the family meal were useful: social conversations, instances of pedagogic comments and highly routinized activity-related (or ‘instrumental’) talk, including direct requests (Brumark 2010: 1084). These three types of talk are prevalent in our data as well and so we coded the conversational context as situated in either a social/relational, pedagogic or instrumental/transactional frame. Below, we provide an example of interactions in each of these frames.

(3) The social/relational frame

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| 1 | FAT | <i>moest ge morgen uw goed rapport al terug meenemen naar huis</i>
‘did you have to take your good report already back home tomorrow’ |
| 2 | (.) | <i>a:h naar school bedoel ik of-</i>
‘(.) a:h to school I mean or-’ |
| 3 | | <i>wil je eerst nog es stoefen bij euh</i>
‘do <u>you</u> want to brag first to erm’ |
| 4 | | <i>want morgen komt opa he</i>
‘because granddad comes tomorrow hey’ |
| 5 | CH3 | <i>o:pa</i> |

‘gra:nddad’

(4) The pedagogic frame

- 1 CH1 *maar welk is eigenlijk 50 plus 50*
‘but what actually is 50 plus 50’
- 2 MOT *wat denk je*
‘what do you think’
- 3 CH3 *60*
- 4 CH1 *2 plus 2, 50 plus 50 is 52*
‘2 plus 2, 50 plus 50 is 52’
- 5 MOT *nee 50 plus 2 is 52 (.) 50 plus 50 is 100*
‘no 50 plus 2 is 52 (.) 50 plus 50 is 100’

(5) The instrumental/transactional frame

- 1 MOT *wil jij graag die fruityoghurt*
‘would you like to have that fruit yoghurt’
- 2 FAT *of een boterham met choco*
‘or a sandwich with chocolate spread’
- 3 MOT *met aardbei (.) weer met aardbeie(n) (.) ja*
‘with strawberry (.) again with strawberries (.) yes’
- 4 CH1 *ja*
‘yes’
- 5 MOT okay

Example (3) shows us that the social/relational frame is mainly talk for the sole purpose of talking, thus without serving any goals that can be directly related to the central activity at hand (namely eating). The example of the pedagogic frame illustrates an orientation to teaching the children something that cannot be directly inferred from or related to the activity of eating; in this case interactions in the pedagogic frame are mainly concerned with relatively abstract topics the children discussed in school, such as mathematical exercises (see example), geography (*en België is Europa en wij wonen in Europa* ‘and Belgium is Europe and we live in Europe’, CH3) or the news of the day (e.g. concerning the coronation of a new king). The instrumental/transactional frame is related to the activity at hand, namely having dinner (example 5). These turns are often initiated by the parents reprimanding their children regarding their table manners, but there are also turns initiated by the children, for instance to request additional food or drinks.

Table 8 focuses on the quantitative distribution of standard- and CBD-forms of pronouns of address in the three frames ($p < 0.0001$, Cramer’s V 0.200).

Frame	SL	CBD	prop.CBD
social/relational	139	153	0.524
transactional	398	194	0.328
pedagogical	30	8	0.211

Table 8 - frames

The smallest percentage of CBD-use can be observed in the pedagogical frame, followed by the transactional frame, with the highest use of CBD in the relational frame. This distribution is emblematic of the language situation in Flanders: for ‘official’ occasions, namely when teaching the children something (the pedagogic frame), the official standard language is still considered ‘best’ (cf. Delarue 2013, 2014). In contrast, when talking in a social, informal way, especially when joking, the CBD-forms dominate (cf. attitudinal research in Impe et al. 2007).

However, the preference for CBD- or standard-forms is never absolute: Table 8 shows a handful of CBD-forms in the pedagogical frame. However, these eight observations nearly all occur in interactions between the father and the eldest child. Hence, for reasons of data sparseness, we leave be the pedagogical frame for the remainder of the analyses, and zoom in on the other two frames, further scrutinizing whether there are any differences in the preference for CBD- or standard-forms for mother versus father.

5.1 *The transactional frame*

Above, we observed an overall preference for standard forms when talking in the transactional frame. Table 9 summarizes whether there are any differences between how mother and father address the different children and each other in this frame. As concerns CH4 as hearer, we only have three observations of pronouns in the transactional frame. Hence, he was not included in the analysis.

Speaker	Hearer	SL	CBD	prop.CBD
father	CH1	61	34	0.358
father	CH2	78	45	0.366
father	CH3	34	11	0.244
mother	CH1	47	20	0.299
mother	CH2	66	33	0.333
mother	CH3	52	13	0.200
parent	parent	6	30	0.833

Table 9 – transactional frame in relation to speaker-hearer constellation

The table shows a strong difference between parent-to-parent speech and CDS, which is also the main reason for the high level of significance for the results⁴ (p for Chi-square < 0.00001 , Cramer’s $V 0.297$). In contrast, there are no significant differences in how the three children are addressed, nor for the mother’s speech or the father’s speech. Contrary to the general analysis presented above (Table 7), we find no age-related patterns when looking exclusively *within* the transactional frame. Below, we verify to what extent this also holds for the relational frame.

5.2 *The social/relational frame*

Table 8 indicated that the relational frame has the highest amount of CBD-usage in CDS in our data. It is important to note that within this frame, both generally informal interactions and jokes

⁴ This can be inferred from scrutinizing the residuals of the Chi-square test.

occur. Almost two thirds of these jokes (63.6%) are utterances by the father to his youngest child (see example 2) who is still in the pre-linguistic phase, thus making these utterances not very representative of interactional language usage. Hence we decided to exclude the specifically jocular utterances from the analysis, only scrutinizing the ‘serious’ social talk that occurred at the dinner table (see example 3).

SP	H	SL	CBD	prop.CBD
father	CH1	7	15	0.682
father	CH2	17	7	0.292
father	CH3	8	2	0.200
mother	CH1	3	0	0.000
mother	CH2	18	0	0.000
mother	CH3	8	5	0.385
parent	parent	1	28	0.966

Table 10 – social/relational frame in relation to speaker-hearer constellation

As can be seen in Table 10, there are strong significant differences across the different speaker/hearer-pairs within this frame (p for Chi-square < 0.00001 ; Cramer's V 0.694)⁵. However, given the low number of observations, caution is needed when interpreting the patterns.

On the one hand, as in the transactional frame, the highly vernacular language usage of the parents when talking to each other, stands out. On the other hand, when zooming in on CDS, we observe a different pattern for mother and father. First, the father uses significantly more CBD when talking to his oldest child compared to his younger children. This difference would be even stronger when jocular utterances were included⁶. Adding the results we saw for the transactional frame above, we see that the father only adapts his language use in relation to the age of his children when talking within this relational frame. For the mother, we find no significant results. This could be due to data sparseness, but a further qualitative analyses provides some support for the lack of differentiation between the addressed children (cf. *infra*).

Naturally, more observations, both for this family and other families are needed to corroborate these findings. Nevertheless, combining the information across and within the frames shows how our results provide support for Foulkes et al.'s findings (2005) concerning the increase of vernacular features in CDS when children grow older. They also corroborate the observation that vernacular features are more abundant in fathers' speech than in mothers' speech. On the other hand, thanks to incorporating conversational context into the analysis, we can refine these findings in that they only seem to hold for specific types of interaction: no differences between addressees were found for parents' utterances related to the instrumental frame, in which the aim is to achieve the transactional goal of ‘having dinner’. For the father, we did find age-related differentiation in the relational frame. For the mother, however, we found a nearly

⁵ Not all expected cell frequencies for the Chi-square are higher than 5, which makes the Chi-square test less reliable. However, following the rule of thumb that the test can be used if no more than 20% of the expected cell values can be higher than 5, we proceed with Chi-square.

⁶ There are 18 jocular utterances containing a pronominal form in the father/CH1-pair, of which there is only one occurrence of a standard-language pronoun.

exclusive use of standard forms in the relational frame, which contradicts the expected pattern. Below, some additional qualitative analyses of the mother's 'transactional' CBD-utterances are presented, which provide support for a general orientation towards the standard forms for the mother and hence shed some light on the unexpected differences between the transactional and the relational frame.

5.3 Discursive patterns for the mother's language use

A first observation regarding the mother's language use in both frames, is that for quite a few instances of CBD-pronouns, the mother immediately self-repairs the CBD-form to the standard language counterpart, as can be seen in the following example:

- (6) MOT *ja das waar ma nu gade nu ga jij zitten () nu ga jij zitten*
 'yes that's true but now **you** go now you go sit down () now you go sit down'

So this self-initiated self-repair demonstrates the mother's orientation to the standard as the preferred code to interact with her child (in this frame); her orientation to the insertion of a CBD second person pronominal form can be considered a slip of the tongue. A similar pattern occurs in the following example, in which one of the children went to the bathroom and after his return, he sits down at the table again without pulling up his pants. The father reprimands him in line 1, using the CBD-form. The mother mirrors this utterance in line 2 (further supporting the importance of priming, as introduced above), and rephrases it slightly in line 3, hence using the CBD-form twice. She then self-repairs, but, in contrast to example 6, this repair is spread over a number of turns:

(7) Interaction Father – Mother – Child 2

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| 1 | FAT | <i>allé trek uw broek maar aan</i>
'come on put on your pants' |
| 2 | MOT | <i>allé trekt uw broek maar aan meneer de ()</i>
'come on put on your pants mister ()'
<i>trekt uw broek naar boven</i>
'pull up your pants' |
| 4 | CH2 | <i>auw</i> |
| 5 | MOT | <i>nee broek naar boven voor je erop gaat zitten (.) nee.</i>
'no pants up before <u>you</u> sit on them (.) no' |
| 6 | FAT | <i>nee</i>
'no' |
| ((child attempts to hitch up his pants while being seated)) | | |
| 7 | MOT | <i>nee (.) da gaa nie</i>
'no (.) that does not work' |
| 8 | FAT | <i>onnozele onnozele</i>
'(you) silly silly' |
| 9 | CH2 | <i>da ga wel e</i>
'it does work hey' |
| 10 | FAT | <i>en dan zit uw onderbroek nie goe</i>
'and then your underpants are not okay' |
| ((child falls from his chair)) | | |

- 11 MOT *das waarom da we zeggen da je eerst*
 ‘that’s why we say that you first’
- 12 *je broek moet aandoen en dan pas op je stoel gaan zitten*
 ‘have to put on your pants and then sit on your chair’

So after having mirrored the father’s utterance, including his CBD-use, twice (lines 2 and 3), the mother rephrases her utterance in line 5 and shifts to the standard. After several other brief reprimands from both the mother and father (lines 6-8), the father again uses the CBD-form (line 10). Then the child dramatically falls from his chair, and even in spite of the heightened emotion in this occasion which has been found to elicit more CBD-use (see e.g. Zenner, Geeraerts & Speelman 2009), the mother quite calmly explains to the child the required chronology regarding dress code and sitting down. She consistently uses the standard-forms (lines 11-12), also in the following turns (not shown here for reasons of space). So in this fragment, the mother initially uses CBD in an utterance, primed by and mirroring the father’s contribution. While the latter consistently uses the CBD-form throughout this interaction, the mother shifts from CBD- to standard-forms in line 5 and consistently continues using the latter forms in the rest of the interaction, even when things get a little out of hand. So again, the mother’s repair of her CBD-use in lines 2-3 and the subsequent consistent shift to standard-forms demonstrates her orientation to standard language as the appropriate code to address her child in this interaction.

Concerning the mother’s unrepaired CBD-forms in the transactional frame, we can observe a couple of patterns. First, there are a number of transactional utterances by the mother which are mitigated by some kind of negotiation with the child, usually concerning an activity which the mother attempts to stop temporarily:

- (8) MOT *eerst een hap en dan moogt ge uw mop vertelle*
 ‘first a bite and then **you** can tell **your** joke’

- (9) MOT *kom (.) ewel ier steek deze in uw mond en dan kriebelt ge verder*
 ‘come (.) well here put this in **your** mouth and then **you** tickle on’

The directness of parents’ control acts and the potential ways to mitigate these have been the subject of a number of studies (e.g. Brumark 2010), and it would be interesting to study – on a larger scale – whether mitigation often entails a shift in language code, as this qualitative exploration suggests.

Finally, CBD is sometimes also found to be the code for requests initiated by the child which are not treated as routine requests by the parents. This occurs for example when the child asks if he can taste a spicy sauce, which is typically reserved for the parents. Given their daily use of all kinds of sauces and all the participants’ familiarity with the sauces, the mother is well able to judge this request as semi-serious, which may explain the use of a different language code than in ‘serious’ requests of the children (e.g. asking for ketchup).

- (10) Interaction Mother – Child 2

1	CH2	<i>mag ik proeven van die saus</i> 'can I taste that sauce'
2	MOT	<i>gij moogt daar es van proeven (.) wacht ze man</i> ' you can taste that (.) wait my man'
3	CH2	<i>is da pikant</i> 'is that spicy'
4	MOT	<i>jah</i> 'yes'
5	CH2	<i>nee (.) k wil da nie proeven</i> 'no (.) I don't want to taste that'
6	MOT	<i>ma proeft es (.) dan weete wat dat da is pikant</i> 'but taste it once (.) then you know what that is spicy'

The mother's answer to the request is very informal (cf. the endearing term 'my man', line 2), and this informal tone with vernacular 2nd person singular pronominal forms is maintained throughout the interaction (see line 6). After this fragment, the children then taste the sauce by having the mother put some sauce on their finger. So all these activities are not in the formal dining activity frame (viz. eating sauce from fingers). As soon as the sauce is evaluated surprisingly positively, it actually has the potential to become a part of the 'real' dining activity, and at that point, the mother immediately uses the 'typical' code again, namely standard language, as we see in the fragment below:

(11)	Interaction Mother – Child 2 – Child 3	
1	MOT	<i>moet ik moet ik het moet ik er een beetje in je bord doen</i> 'shall I shall I shall I put a little bit on <u>your</u> plate'
2	CH3	<i>nee</i> 'no'
3	CH2	<i>bij mij wel (.) bij mij wel</i> 'for me yes (.) for me yes'
4	MOT	<i>bij jou wel</i> 'for <u>you</u> yes'

Example 11 is a typical fragment within the transactional frame again, in which the mother makes a 'real' offer regarding the sauce – which is now ratified as a potential part of the children's meal – and in this interaction, she consistently uses standard-forms.

This section qualitatively scrutinized the surprising results that the mother uses more CBD in the transactional frame than in the relational frame. When zooming in on these 'exceptions' in the transactional frame, it became clear that many of the CBD-pronominal forms were self-repaired by the mother (examples 6-7), or that they occurred in 'special' positions within the transactional frame (examples 8-11). The discussion of these examples hence demonstrated the complexity of intersecting interactional features (e.g. the presence of self-repairs or of previous CBD-use by the father) and contextual factors (e.g. semi-serious child initiated requests) that potentially influence the choice between CBD and standard language and that may elicit style shifts. These can of course not be quantified very straightforwardly.

6 Mixed methods: Bringing the perspectives together

In the final section of this paper, we aim to bring together the different factors that we have identified above in explaining parents' choice for standard or CBD pronouns of address. Relying on logistic regression analysis, we want to reveal which of these factors still reaches significance when simultaneously taking the effect of all predictors into account in the calculations. The model zooms in on child-directed speech, and hence excludes both the children's utterances and parent-to-parent speech. For the frame-based analysis, we focus on the distinction between the transactional/instrumental frame and the social/relational frame. Due to data sparseness and an uneven distribution of the frames across the different Sp/H-constellations, utterances from the jocular and pedagogical frame are not included in the regression analysis.

Before presenting the best-fitting model for our data, we briefly describe the steps needed to create this model. We built a fixed-effects-only model, running a forward stepwise selection algorithm and cross-verifying the results by means of bootstrapping. The standard diagnostic tests reveal no significant issues with the resulting model⁷. As concerns the explanatory power of the model, tests indicate a reasonably strong model. Pseudo R², a value between 0 and 1 indicating how much of the attested variation is explained by the model, is 0.287. The model's C-measure, also a value between 0 and 1, with C's over 0.8 signifying predictability and C's over 0.7 indicating reportable models, is 0.769. When fitting predictions to the observations in the model, we find 73.9% correct predictions vs. a baseline of 61.4%.

	Estimate	Std.Error	z-value	Pr(> z)	
(Intercept)	-0.181	0.298	-0.606	0.545	
prime CBD-prime	1.395	0.180	7.759	0.000	***
Sp.H father-CH2	-0.473	0.263	-1.796	0.072	.
Sp.H father-CH3	-0.798	0.368	-2.169	0.030	*
Sp.H father-CH4	0.973	0.388	2.506	0.012	*
Sp.H mother-CH1	-0.687	0.329	-2.090	0.037	*
Sp.H mother-CH2	-0.916	0.292	-3.137	0.002	**
Sp.H mother-CH3	-1.107	0.347	-3.187	0.001	**
type subject.VSO	-0.634	0.217	-2.926	0.003	**
type possessive	0.420	0.239	1.759	0.079	.
type oblique.reflexive	-0.262	0.346	-0.756	0.450	
frame trans/instr	-0.458	0.228	-2.011	0.044	*

Table 11 – logistic regression model

Table 11 presents the effects for the predictors, ranked according to their relative importance in an ANOVA for the fixed effects only model. Non-significant predictors are not included in the table. Only main effects are listed in the table, as including interactions would lead to overfitting. The second and final column of Table 11 contain the most important information for interpreting the model. The second column shows the estimates, which capture the behavior

⁷ VIF-scores are well below 4 (indicating that we have no issues with multicollinearity), there are no outliers, the overdispersion parameter is close to one (1.04) and all standard errors are well below 2.

of the predictors. As we are dealing with categorical variables (i.e. variables whose value is one of a fixed number of nominal categories, e.g. “CBD prime” or “standard prime”), the behavior of one of the levels is captured in the intercept as reference value (in this case “standard prime”). The behavior of the other levels (“CBD prime”) is compared to this intercept. A negative estimate means that there is less chance of finding CBD pronouns than in the intercept. A positive estimate means that there is more chance of finding CBD pronouns than in the intercept. The final column indicates the significance of the pattern: the more stars, the more significant the effect (***) for $p < 0.001$; ** for $p < 0.01$; * for $p < 0.05$).

Several observations can be made. First, we see that all parameters reach significance in the model. Second, the attested patterns all confirm the exploratory analyses presented above: (1) more CBD in case of a CBD-prime; (2) a rise in CBD as children get older, except for the youngest child; (3) more CBD for the father than for the mother; (4) less CBD in subject forms in case of subject-verb inversion; (5) less CBD in the transactional frame than in the relational frame.

Looking at the relative importance of the variables in an ANOVA (Figure 1), we do see that the frame-factor has less weight in explaining variation in pronoun use than the other predictors: mainly the prime-factor and the Sp/H-constellation are important.

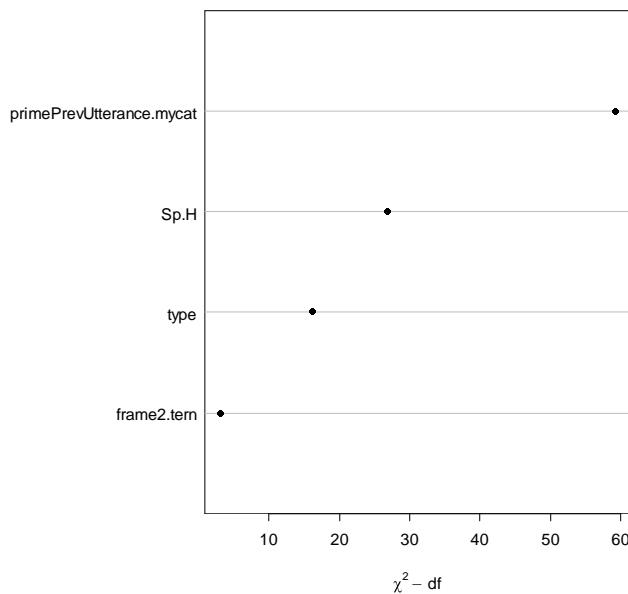


Figure 1 – relative contribution of variables

Thinking back of the analyses we presented above, this smaller effect of the frames might be related to the differences between mother and father⁸. These differences in production can

⁸ This is supported by additional analyses where we built regression models for mother and father separately. For mother, the frame-factor does not reach significance, for the father, it gains in importance (jumping over Sp/H-constellation) compared to the overarching model presented here.

interestingly be linked to language regards of both parents as revealed in the sociolinguistic interviews conducted after the recordings.

The mother generally clearly orients towards Standard Dutch. She acknowledges that she uses CBD at home, and also *gij*, but she thinks it is important that her children learn Dutch. Consequently, she says she tries to speak Standard Dutch to her children. Her high regard of the standard is clear from the following statement, where she considers it to be a sort of unattainable norm where “regular” Flemings (not even language teachers like herself) cannot make a claim on:

- (12) *Ik vind da(t) zo moeilijk om te zeggen da(t) ik Algemeen Nederlands praat. Voor mij is Algemeen Nederlands het taalgebruik van de journalisten. Dan (h)eb ik nie(t) de pretentie, allez ja, om te zeggen da(t) ik Algemeen Nederlands praat.*

‘I find it so hard to say that I speak Standard Dutch. For me Standard Dutch is the language use of the journalists. Then I won’t be as pretentious, well, as to say that I speak Standard Dutch.’

For the mother, it seems that she claims to mainly use CBD but aspires to the Standard. In contrast, the father acknowledges that he wants to teach his children sociolinguistic awareness: he is not just interested in teaching them one ‘correct’ variety, he wants to teach them which variety to use when (Fragment 13).

- (13) *Ik denk da(t) we allebei toch wel het belangrijk vinde(n) da(t) ze effectief kunnen switche(n), da(t) ze effectief Algemeen Nederlands kunnen kennen en dat ze ook weten dat er een aantal contexten zijn waar da ge da beter nie(t) gebruikt, maar dat het goed is da(t) je da(t) kan. Da(t) ge da(t) nie(t) moet doen als ge bij uw vrienden zijt, da(t) da(t) iets anders is, maar da(t) ge weet hoe het int [: in het] echt moet.*

‘I think we both find it important that they really are able to switch, that they are truly able to know Standard Dutch and that they also know that there are a number of contexts where you better don’t use that, but that it’s good that you can. That you don’t have to do that when you are with your friends, that that is something different, but that you know how to do it in real life.’

- (14) *Naar kinderen toe let ik er meer op, ja. Zeker als ge echt nen uitleg wilt geven. Als ze vragen, wa betekent, twas daarstraks aan tafel, van da je dan toch sneller overschiet in da Algemeen Nederlands, da didactische komt dan boven en dan hebt ge daar precies een andere taal voor nodig, maar int algemeen denk ik meer tussentaal.*

‘To kids, yeah, I pay more attention to it [=speaking Standard Dutch]. Especially when you really want to give an explanation. If they ask, what does ... mean, we had that earlier at dinner, that you switch more quickly to Standard Dutch then, the didactic part comes to the fore and then it seems like you need a different language for that, but in general I think [I use] more CBD.’

Additionally, the father seems to have a pretty good intuition concerning frame-based shifting in the family, and sees a clear division of labor between Standard Dutch and CBD when asked

whether he uses less *gij* when addressing his children, as can be seen in Fragment 14. These findings seem in line with previous research on gender-related differences in style choice (see e.g. Chambers 2003:116 for an overview on this topic), in which women typically orient more strongly to the most prestigious variety (i.c. the standard language).

7 Conclusions and perspectives

In this paper we zoomed in on variation in pronoun use for one Flemish family, aiming to reveal factors that steer the choice for CBD or Standard Dutch variants. Besides a clear priming effect and some mild differences in the preference for CBD depending on the type of pronoun (especially for subject-forms in subject-verb-inversion), we mainly analyzed the impact of Sp/H-constellation in different discursive settings. Throughout the analyses, clear differences were observed between mother and father.

First, we found a higher use of CBD-forms by the father than by the mother. Second, although both parents differentiated their language use depending on the child they addressed, this pattern only reached significance in the father's speech. Mainly, we found that his use of CBD was proportional to the children's age. This pattern is in line with Foulkes et al. (2005)'s observation that parents use more vernacular forms to older children. However, one notable exception emerged: the father addresses his youngest child, who is still in the pre-linguistic phase, by means of an exceptionally high amount of CBD-forms, closer to the pattern for parent-to-parent speech than for child-directed speech. This initially counterintuitive finding prompted a qualitative exploration of the data, which uncovered the importance of the conversational context for the standard/vernacular-variation. Based on previous pragmatic research on dinner talk, we made a distinction between a social/relational (with a jocular subframe), a transactional/instrumental and a pedagogic frame. On the one hand, we found that the jocular subframe was paramount in the father's speech to his youngest child, which helps explain the high occurrence of CBD-forms. On the other hand, we found clear differences in the use of CBD in the different frames when the father addressed the other children, showing highest use of CBD in the more informal social/relational frame and lowest use of CBD in the pedagogical frame. This is in line with previous studies on CBD and Standard Dutch, showing a clear division of labor between both varieties: conservative language regards in favor of the standard are largely intact, but CBD is considered the "best" language for "public interaction in a non-professional, entertainment oriented sphere" (Geeraerts & Van de Velde 2013: 539-540).

Additionally, the frame-based analyses again revealed interesting differences between mother and father. For the father, we found that differentiation between his children only reached significance in the relational frame. For the mother, we counterintuitively found a near exclusive use of standard forms in the relational frame, but instances of CBD in the transactional frame. Subsequent qualitative analyses of the mother's CBD-use in the latter frame however revealed many intersecting tendencies that help explain this unexpected pattern. Mainly, we saw instances of self-repair and instances of social/relational-activity within the transactional frame, pointing towards a general orientation towards the standard forms.

Summarizing, our results point towards a father who aims to teach his children sociolinguistic awareness by shifting between standard- and CBD-forms in interaction, thereby (unconsciously) factoring in the age of his children, and a mother who mainly aims for standard forms but who does not consistently achieve at producing these. The fact that no consistent age differentiation is found in the mother can further support the idea that those instances of CBD we find for the mother when talking to her children are mainly unintended. This basic distinction in language regard between mother and father was further corroborated by comments made by both parents during the sociolinguistic interview.

On a more general level, our analyses lead to the following conclusions. First, as concerns **sociolinguistic variation in CDS**, the impact of age of the children on the choice for vernacular or standard forms in CDS cannot be understood completely without factoring in a frame-based discursive analyses. Furthermore, within the same family, different language regards can be noted, which lead to different patterns of CDS. Such different viewpoints can only be revealed when using mixed methods, i.e. when conducting a multifactorial corpus-based analyses in which quantitative and qualitative analyses go hand in hand, combined with other types of linguistic evidence (i.c. sociolinguistic interviews). Second, as concerns the use and spread of **Colloquial Belgian Dutch in Flanders**, we find conflicting evidence. For the mother, we see language regards in which the Standard Language Ideology still speaks strongly, with Standard Dutch as an unattainable norm for speakers, which should be strived for across conversational contexts (cf. Jaspers & Van Hoof 2013). For the father, we see the division of labor between Standard Dutch and Colloquial Belgian Dutch that is more and more noticeable in the Flemish landscape: the Standard is reserved for formal situations, CBD is used in informal contexts, and children ideally know when to use which. This means that, still, for the father, CBD cannot take over the Standard, yet both are appropriate in different contexts (Grondelaers & Speelman 2013; Geeraerts & Van de Velde 2013: 539-540; Plevoets 2008). As the frame-based analysis so nicely reveals, varying between CBD and Standard Dutch within the family context is one way of introducing children to these social and sociolinguistic values of the different varieties in different situations (e.g. Kerswill & Williams 2000).

Of course, these conclusions are still largely hypothetical, and further analyses on different families and different variants (both variants lower on the level of awareness and variants with a clearer dialect/CBD/standard-distribution) are needed to arrive at less provisional conclusions. Additionally, where our analyses have now studied the language use of parents, it is equally interesting to verify to what extent the patterns of variation are picked up on and replicated by children (cf. Hazen 2002 on the tension between impact of peers and parents in the acquisition process). For now, however, the main point is to appreciate that such analyses will ideally follow a **mixed methods approach**, in which variationist and interactional sociolinguistic analyses are integrated in order to gain a maximal insight into the sequential and contextual reasons for local style shifts – as qualitative analyses tend to uncover –, while, at the same time, not losing sight of the bigger picture, as provided by quantitative analyses. We argue that such an – admittedly – complicated and labor-intensive approach is the only one that offers insights that can do justice to a research topic as complex as the one presented here.

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