Steenwijk: Folk Perception and Regional Language of the Youth

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# Table of Contents

**Acknowledgements**  
4

**Abstract**  
5

**Chapter 1: Introduction**  
6

1.1 Low Saxon  
8

1.2 General differences between Low Saxon and Dutch  
10

1.3 Steenwijk  
13

1.4 Language in Overijssel  
13

1.5 Unity in Diversity  
14

**Chapter 2: Language attitude and language change**  
17

2.1 Folk Perception  
17

2.2 Regional and minority languages  
18

2.3 Language revitalization  
19

2.4 The matched-guise technique  
20

2.5 Research question and hypotheses  
21

**Chapter 3: Methodology**  
23

3.1 Steenwijk compared with Dutch  
23

3.1.1 Phonology  
23

3.1.2 Morphology  
24

3.1.2.1 Personal pronouns  
24

3.1.2.2 Verbs  
25

3.1.2.3 Other aspects  
26

3.1.3 Syntax and lexical items  
26

3.2 Qualitative data  
27

3.3 Quantitative data  
27

3.4 Subjects  
27

3.4.1 Subjects for qualitative data  
27

3.4.2 Subjects for qualitative data  
28

3.5 Materials  
29

3.5.1 Materials for qualitative data  
29

3.5.2 Materials for quantitative data  
29

3.6 Procedure  
31

3.6.1 Procedure for qualitative data  
31
3.6.2 Procedure for quantitative data 31
3.7 Design and analyses 32

Chapter 4: Results 33
4.1 Results from qualitative study 33
  4.1.1 S-participants 33
  4.1.2 Identity questionnaire and in-depth interview 34
4.2 Results from quantitative study 35
  4.2.1 Use of the regional language 35
  4.2.2 Attitude towards the regional language 36

Chapter 5: Discussion 41
5.1 Folk perception 41
5.2 Stereotypical traits of regional language in Steenwijk 41
5.3 Use of regional language among younger generation 42
5.4 Attitude of younger generation towards regional language 43
5.5 Linguistic features that play a role in triggering attitude 44

Chapter 6: Conclusion 45
References 47
Appendices 50
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Abstract
In this thesis, research has been done on the perception and language of Steenwijk, a Dutch city in the province of Overijssel. First, a qualitative study was done to describe the language of Steenwijk, and moreover, the perception of adults towards the language and the region. This thesis proves that the perception on Steenwijk and the language is positive in regards to living there and maintaining the regional language. Second, research was done on the attitude of the younger generation towards the regional language. The matched-guise technique was used to indirectly measure how the regional language is looked at in that city. Using a questionnaire, the use of the regional language can be determined as well. Almost 150 students of a high school in Steenwijk participated and the results show that the regional language is still being used among the younger generation, but that the attitude towards the language is negative when compared to Dutch.
Chapter 1: Introduction

In the use of the regional language in Overijssel, a decline has been observed in the last few decades (Bloemhoff, 2005; Driessen, 2012). There are many factors that contribute to such a decline (Baker, 2011). Therefore, it is hard to indicate which factor should be emphasized the most, but one that will be looked at in this thesis is the attitude towards the regional languages. Studies by, for example, Gal (1978) have shown that the attitude some have towards a language is an important determiner as to whether the language will be used or not. Preston (2002) calls this the ‘‘folk perception.’’ Preston argues that this folk perception seems to trigger the attitude towards a language more than linguistic features do, but that sometimes linguistic features do play a role as well (Preston, 2002). Preston focused on the attitude of different groups of people in the USA. Also, in the Netherlands some research has been done on the attitude of people towards the regional languages (Daan, 1987; Giesbers, 2008; Gorter & Jonkman, 1995; Hilton & Gooskens, 2013; Jongbloed-Faber, 2014; Willemyns, Vandenbussche & Drees, 2010; Ytsma, 2007). Frisian is officially recognized as the second language of the Netherlands (Rijksoverheid, 2010), and so it is no surprise that multiple studies have focused on this language as it is a minority language (Gorter & Jonkman, 1995; Hilton & Gooskens, 2013; Jongbloed-Faber, 2014; Ytsma, 2007). Furthermore, in other areas of the Netherlands research has been done to the attitude of regional languages (Daan, 1987; Giesbers, 2008; Willemyns et al. 2010).

Thus far, research has mainly focused on questionnaires when it was done to the attitude (e.g. Gorter & Jonkman, 1995; Ytsma, 2007). This is a direct way to find out the attitude towards a language, but more recently Hilton and Gooskens (2013) have used an indirect way to find out the attitude towards Frisian using the matched-guise technique. The idea for the matched-guise technique came from Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum (1960).

Most studies on language attitude focus on adults, as is the case in Overijssel where research was done on the use of the regional language among adults (Bloemhoff, 2005). However, not much data is available on the attitude and use among the younger generation (12-18 years). It is often at this age that people start making conscience decisions about which language to use and in what situation (Kirkham & Moore, 2013; Riagáin, Williams & Moreno, 2008). In Friesland, Jongbloed-Faber (2014) is an example of a study that researched the use and attitude towards the Frisian language among the younger generation sending questionnaires to two thousand high school students. She found that those with Frisian as their
mother tongue would be more positive towards Frisian than those that have Dutch as the mother tongue.

In Overijssel, a research among the younger generation has not yet been done, so one of the research questions in this thesis will be: what is the attitude of the younger generation (12-18 years) towards the regional language in Overijssel, and more in particular in Steenwijk? In order to research this, the matched-guise technique will be used to measure the attitude towards the regional language and a questionnaire afterwards will help to understand the background of the participants more and the way in which they use the regional language. Looking at the decline, observed in Driessen (2012), of the regional language in the last decades the expectation is that the attitude towards the regional language is not positive. The focus will be on the city of Steenwijk where people were willing to assist in the research as well as the local high school which made an appropriate research possible.

However, the main research question of this thesis will be: what is the folk perception of the people in Steenwijk on (the language of) Steenwijk? Since, according to Bloemhoff (2005), the language is not used that much it is expected that this would be negative. Another question that will be answered within the scope of this research is: what linguistic features trigger the attitude towards the regional language? This is possible, because in the matched-guise experiment one of the recordings will have the Dutch text and lexical items in Steenwijks. There are no previous studies taking the lexicon into mind as has been done in this study, but Preston (2002) does mention a few studies wherein some linguistic features were analyzed and found that it played a role in triggering the attitude towards the language. (Labov, 1966; Purnell, Idsardi & Baugh, 1999). So, I expect that the lexicon might trigger an effect for the attitude towards the language.

The situation of the regional language in Overijssel is quite complex. In order to find out the folk perception and the attitude and use of the younger generation, a description will be given of what the regional language in Overijssel entails. More in particular, the focus will be on the variety of Steenwijks, and what has already been done to receive a higher level of recognition. This will lead to a more theoretical chapter on the differences between the regional variety of Steenwijks compared with Dutch. Moreover, different studies to the attitude of a language will be looked at in order to motivate the choice for the method used in this study. After explaining the method and showing what results it leads to suggestions will be made for further research.
1.1 Low Saxon

The Low Saxon language area not only covers Overijssel, but also the province of Groningen, Drenthe and parts of Gelderland and Friesland, see figure 1:

![Language area Low Saxon](image)

Figure 1: Language area Low Saxon. Reprinted from "Klank- en vormleer," by H. Bloemhoff, 2008a, in J. van der Kooi (Ed.), Handboek Nedersaksische taal-en letterkunde (p. 86). Copyright 2008 by Koninklijke Van Gorcum BV.

When Low Saxon was recognized in part II of the European charter, it became more important to have a handbook that would describe exactly what Low Saxon entails and how it can be recognized. Scholars from the different provinces with an interest in Low Saxon came together and decided to publish such a handbook and it was finally published in 2008 (Van der Kooi, 2008). Kremer (2008) describes how the study to Low Saxon has changed over the years and that scientists only became interested in studying the dialects more after a standard version of Dutch was created and scientists started to notice the differences more between standard Dutch and the varieties of Low Saxon (Kremer, 2008, p. 23). People only started noting down the different varieties of Low Saxon in the late 19th century and beginning 20th century. In 1977, the first institute in the Low Saxon language area was founded: the IJsselacademie (Kremer, 2008, p. 27). Many more followed which resulted in more research
that could be done to different areas of the regional varieties. A lot of effort has especially been put into creating regional dictionaries and grammars. Thus, the research department within the Low Saxon area is still young and a lot has already been achieved since that time, but still much more research has to be done.

Bloemhoff (2008c, pp. 312-320) states that the stronger position of Dutch has caused the regional language to be spoken less and less. Yet a very important cause for the lesser use of the regional languages is that parents do not use this as much anymore with their children. See table 1, from Driessen (2012):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Saxon between:</th>
<th>father and mother</th>
<th>mother and child</th>
<th>father and child</th>
<th>child and siblings</th>
<th>Child and friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Use of Low Saxon in entire language area. Adapted from “Ontwikkelingen in het gebruik van Fries, streektaalen en dialecten in de periode 1995-2011,” by Driessen, 2012, p. 3.

There is a probability that this has something to do with the attitude towards the regional language (more on this also in chapter 2), and that parents find Dutch more important. In more formal situations, Dutch is indeed the language of preference. The regional language ‘vernederlandst’ [Dutchifies] (Bloemhoff, 2008c, p. 315) more and more. Words that were typical in the regional language become more like Dutch, but then with a regional sounding, for example, ‘schaatsen’ [ice-skating] becomes ‘schoatsen’ instead of ‘scheuvels’ (Bloemhoff, 2008c, p. 315). Bloemhoff also mentions that when language transmission does not come from parents it can come in other ways, like education etc. He mentions that an urge to maintain the regional language is necessary in order to preserve it (Bloemhoff, 2008c, p. 319). However, politicians do not seem to have this urge: ‘men lijkt weinig besef te hebben van de meerwaarde van meertaligheid en is vooral bang voor financiële claims in Den Haag.’ [people do not seem to have a notion of the benefits of multilingualism and are more afraid of financial claims in the Hague] (Bloemhoff 2008c, p. 320). In 2003, a stocktaking was done by public administrator D. Vliegenthart, as mentioned by Bloemhoff (2008c), who concluded that there was no reason that Low Saxon should not be allowed to be recognized in part III of
the European charter. Recognition in part III will help to create a good policy to further preserve and promote the regional language (Council of Europe, 1992).

1.2 General differences between Low Saxon and Dutch

Bloemhoff (2008a) describes how Low Saxon has similarities and differences between the different varieties. The main focus in this thesis lies on the region of the city of Steenwijk, consequently most comparisons will be made with that region. A significant difference with Dutch is in the phonology where Low Saxon uses more vowels than Dutch does. Within the varieties, however, there is not too much difference phonologically except that vowels might be used differently within words (Bloemhoff, 2008a, p. 69). For example, the difference between Stellingwerfs and Sallands with ae vs. ëë(aa) (Bloemhoff, 2008a, p. 75). Another difference is an open syllable in words like ‘aeten’ (to eat) in Stellingwerfs/Steenwijkerland where it is a long vowel versus ‘etten’ in Salland where it is a short vowel (Bloemhoff, 2008a, pp. 81-82). Bloemhoff explains that this is a natural change that has happened going from a short vowel to a long vowel in an open syllable (Bloemhoff, 2008a, p. 83). Also in the morphology there are mainly similarities between the Low Saxon varieties and differences that do exist, normally are differences that are logical and explainable due to historical background of the specific region (Bloemhoff, 2008a, p. 100). Those differences usually do not differ too much from what it used to be. A difference in the present tense of the verb is that central Low Saxon (which includes Overijssel, the Achterhoek, the eastern part of the Veluwe, south Drenthe and parts of Stellingwerf) has an suffix with -e, -t, -t for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular while Steenwijkerland and Stellingwerfs have –en for 2nd person singular. Also, for the plural the suffix in central Low Saxon is –t, but for Stellingwerfs and Steenwijs this is –en (Bloemhoff, 2008a, p. 102). For the diminutive suffix, there are two versions with their derivatives in the entire Low Saxon area. It is either –ken or –gien (Bloemhoff, 2008a, p. 105). A typical difference as well, between Dutch and Low Saxon, is that in Low Saxon umlaut is present (Bloemhoff, 2008a, p. 109). Syntactically, Van Bree (2008) describes no major differences between Dutch and Low Saxon except that Low Saxon is able to use sentences that are not possible in Dutch, such as double negation.

Daan (2008) describes how the lexicon between Low Saxon and Dutch is not that different. Differences in the lexicon are the result of four different possibilities (Daan, 2008, p. 137): 1. Dutch and Low Saxon have the same word with the same meaning. 2. Dutch and Low Saxon have a similar word with a different meaning. 3. Low Saxon uses a word that did exist
in Dutch, but is not used anymore in Dutch. 4. Low Saxon has a word that does not exist at all in Dutch. Daan (2008, p. 142) does mention though that specific research is needed to examine how different varieties of Low Saxon and Dutch actually are.

Scholtmeijer, Heijerman & Turin (2007) have put forth a classification of the language varieties of Overijssel and there is a clear distinction between two areas: Twente and West-Overijssel. This is visible in figure 2. The upper half of the figure includes the region of Twente and the bottom half is the rest of Overijssel. It shows clearly how a division can be made between Twente and the rest of Overijssel. In the figure also ‘standard’ Dutch is noted (Nederlands, below Blokzijl and Kuinre).
The dendrogram shows how similar varieties are related to each other. For example, Hardenberg and Ommen are very much alike while Deventer sticks out and is quite different from other varieties. Blokzijl and Kuinre have a variety that is closest to 'standard' Dutch.
All the varieties are also portrayed in the handbook and the ones that are of particular interest in this thesis are the ones portrayed by Bloemhoff (2008b) and Bloemhoff-de Bruijn (2008), namely Stellingwerfs and West-Overijssel. Furthermore, as will become clear in this thesis, Steenwijk has features from both Stellingwerfs and West-Overijssel.

1.3 Steenwijk
Steenwijk is located in the northwest of Overijssel and is by far the largest city of the municipality of Steenwijkerland with 24,690 inhabitants as of 2015 (http://www.stadindex.nl). It is a city with a long and important history. The city borders closely to Drenthe on the east and Friesland on the north, see figure 3.

As a result, the regional language has influences of Frisian which are still visible (Bloemhoff, 2008b). Steenwijk is very well located and easily accessible to those that wish to travel from the north to the west or south, or vice versa, this because there is a good train connection. In the entire municipality of Steenwijkerland there live 43,350 people (Provincie Overijssel, n.d.) with only 7.2% of foreign immigrants. Linguistically, it is part of the variety called Stellingwerfs (see also figure 1).

1.4 Language in Overijssel
Overijssel is one of the twelve provinces of the Netherlands. Its capital is Zwolle. There are approximately 1.1 million people living in this province that borders the provinces of Friesland, Drenthe, Flevoland, Gelderland and also Germany. Normally, the province is divided into three parts; Twente, Salland and Land van Vollenhove (Provincie Overijssel,
The entire province is part of the Low Saxon language area, but the majority also speaks Dutch. After talking to people from the province, I observed that Dutch was their L1. Bloemhoff (2008a) has divided the provinces in smaller parts to make the distinctions in the varieties clear within the Low Saxon language area. Approximately 1.6 million people are estimated to still speak Low Saxon (Bloemhoff, 2005, p. 78). This is far more than the estimate of approximately 480,000 speakers of Frisian (Hilton & Gooskens, 2013), which has the official recognition from the State as the second official language of the Netherlands (Rijksoverheid, 2010).

Bloemhoff (2005) did research among the people in Overijssel to establish how the regional language was being used in the province. In a questionnaire, twelve questions were asked over the phone and the answers were recorded on a piece of paper. The questions were about the use of the regional language and Dutch in writing, speaking, reading and listening and how often it was being used. The sole purpose of the research was to get a general view of the use of the regional language in the entire province. This made it a quantitative research and not a qualitative one. Only people above the age of 18 were asked and included in the results (in each region a minimum of 275 participants). Bloemhoff (2005, p. 61) found that the younger people get, the less they would use the regional language: from 39.8% use of Low Saxon at home among people of 61 and older to 17.3% among people between 18 and 39. In general, 52.9% claimed to still speak Low Saxon at home in the entire Low Saxon area. In the entire province of Overijssel this is a little higher at 60.9%. Specifically, in the municipality of Steenwijk, called Steenwijkerland, this lies at 49.3% (Bloemhoff, 2005, p. 78). Of no surprise then is that Driessen (2012) found a further decline in his research on the use of regional languages in the Netherlands. He included schoolchildren in his research and their parents. The parents filled in a questionnaire about the language choices they would make and the language choices of their children. Overall, the use of the regional language has been declining (Driessen, 2012, p. 3), but especially the decline in the use of Low Saxon is very obvious and a bit alarming dropping from 34% between a father and mother in 1995 to 15% in 2011. Only 1% of the children would still speak it with their mother, 2% with their father, 1% with their siblings and 1% with their friends (Driessen, 2012, p. 3).

1.5 Unity in diversity

‘’Unity in diversity’’ is the official motto of the European Union (European Union, n.d.) and a motto that can be used in a lot of different settings. It is certainly something that should be
applied more in the situation of Overijssel to make sure that the regional language will be preserved. In Overijssel, Dutch is the main language and the second language is formed by the overarching term of Low Saxon (Bloemhoff, 2005). Examining the numbers and differences between Frisian and Low Saxon when looking at the numbers mentioned earlier, one might wonder why Low Saxon does not have the same recognition as Frisian. Looking closer at the situation it becomes apparent that there is certainly diversity present in the entire area, but there is no unity yet among the Low Saxon areas. All the provinces use their own variety of Low Saxon and insist on keeping those differences in the Low Saxon varieties (Bloemhoff, 2005). This makes it harder to receive the same recognition as Frisian. When examining only the situation in the west of Overijssel, it becomes apparent that almost every city and village there has its own variety of Low Saxon with minor, and major, differences in phonology, morphology and syntax, just the way it was before standard Dutch came to be.

The IJsselacademie, an institute dealing with the language and culture in the province, has provided a general spelling brochure (Bloemhoff-de Bruijn, 2010) to make sure that the people in a specific area of the Low Saxon language area will use the same written language form. Specifically, this brochure is meant for the North-western part of Overijssel, Salland, which is West-Overijssel, and the Eastern part of the Veluwe (Bloemhoff-de Bruijn, 2010, p. 2). Bloemhoff-de Bruijn mentions the importance of having a spelling that is easy to read and learn (p. 2). This means that the spelling is very close to the Dutch spelling. However, in Low Saxon words might be pronounced differently, especially words ending on –en. This ending is nasalized in Low Saxon, but it is still written like the Dutch word. For example, ‘kleren’ [clothing] is spelled ‘kleren’ in Low Saxon instead of ‘kleern’ with the nasalization shown in the spelling. The idea behind the spelling brochure was to make the regional varieties more accessible to non-variety speakers. In a way, the IJsselacademie is trying to create a standard written version of Low Saxon in the West of Overijssel, while still trying to maintain the diversity of the varieties by offering different courses in the area to teach people how the different varieties are used with the standard spelling of Low Saxon in the area that the IJsselacademie created. However, even in this situation the unity is still missing when looking at the practical use of different language varieties by the people that still use the language, especially in writing. An example that I came across while inserting questionnaires send out to people all over the province to create an electronic dictionary of all the different varieties in the province (Woordenboek van Overijssel), is the diphthong ‘ao’ (as in the English word ‘all’). In Twente this sound is written as ‘oa’ and in Frisian as well, but the IJsselacademie
uses ‘ao’ for the West of Overijssel to display the small difference the sound has from the sound in Twente and Friesland. In the spelling of people from the different areas in the West of Overijssel, however, the sound was often written down as ‘oa’ and sometimes the same person would even change between ‘oa’ and ‘ao’ for different words. This is just one example that shows how diverse the language is in Overijssel and how hard it is to create more unity in the spelling among the speakers.
Chapter 2: Language attitude and language change

2.1 Folk Perception

Preston (2002) mentions that oftentimes ‘attitudes towards the languages are tied to the attitudes towards groups of people’ (Preston, 2002, p. 40). Moreover, Preston argues that this has to do with linguistic features of a language. An example could be that German sounds harsh because it has the harsh guttural consonants. Whatever attitude exists towards a group or culture, the same attitude will exist towards the language (Preston, 2002). This is what Preston calls the ‘folk perception’ (Preston, 2002). According to linguists, there is no such thing as a beautiful or ugly language or making mistakes within the languages. Linguists are more focused on analyzing languages and changes that happen within languages. When considering the attitude towards languages then, and the true perception of the folk towards a language, linguists have mostly emphasized what people say about a language. However, as Preston (2002) points out, not much research has been done to what linguistic features play the biggest roles in triggering attitudes.

Studies like the ones by Labov (1966) and Purnell et al. (1999) show some of those linguistic features. In Labov (1966), research was done to the use of ’r’ in words. Labov asked female speakers to record a text in which he inserted words that would contain an ‘r.’ Judges in New York City were then asked what kind of job the person had, rating it from a worker in the higher class towards a worker in the lower class. In general, it was found that the recordings where the ‘r’ was not pronounced all the time, the speaker was classified as being someone from the lower class. In this case then, the linguistic feature ‘r’ would determine the attitude towards a person. In Purnell et al. (1999) there was one experiment wherein 20 speakers were recorded reading the same sentence. Based on that one sentence, approximately 400 students from Stanford university were asked if they knew whether the person was African American, Hispanic American or European-American. Purnell et al. (1999) found that for most cases the speakers were classified correctly in their category. Consequently, this again shows there must be a linguistic feature that triggers the attitude.

However, Preston (2002) argues that the folk perception towards a language plays a bigger role than the linguistic details of a language. Whenever a language is not found to be important, by for example the government, the attitude towards that language will be more negative regardless of its linguistic features (Preston, 2002).
2.2 Regional and minority languages

Much research has been done on the attitude that people have towards regional or minority languages. The study by Gal (1978) is a famous study with a title that says it all: ‘‘Peasant men can’t get wives’’. The language shift to more German is described in this study in a German-Hungarian bilingual town in Austria. This shift especially took place among the women as Hungarian was associated with peasantness and this is not something the women wanted to be associated with. As a result, the women were more likely to marry someone outside their peasant-network which also caused the peasant men to more likely marry someone that was monolingual German. Hence, Hungarian was spoken less and less and from a bilingual area of German and Hungarian it has shifted more to a dominant German-speaking area. The attitude people have towards a language can thus have a strong influence on a shift from one language to another or even the disappearing of a language in a certain region.

In the Netherlands, different studies have been done on the attitude towards regional languages as well. A study by Daan (1987) revealed the attitude of high school children towards the regional variety in an area in the Netherlands called ‘achterhoek’. In the study she let two different people record a text in different accents. When the participants, all high school children between 15 and 18, heard the speakers they would classify the standard Dutch version as the one with the highest occupation while the other accents were classified as people with a lower occupation. Interestingly the children would prefer to be friends with the speakers with accents though above the one speaking standard Dutch. This resembles the study that was done by Hilton and Gooskens (2013) wherein the attitude towards the Frisian language was tested using the matched-guise technique as well as questionnaires. As opposed to the study by Daan (1987), in this study students of universities in five different cities were asked to participate. It was found that, in general, the attitude towards Frisian is more negative than the attitude towards Dutch. This is not new as Ytsma (1995; 2007) and Gorter and Jonkman (1995) found similar results earlier by just using questionnaires. In the twenty years since, despite efforts from the Frisian government to promote Frisian more and use it more in schools, this has not changed much. Hilton and Gooskens (2013) even found that the attitude towards Frisian by Dutch speakers within the province is more negative than Dutch speakers elsewhere and that Dutch is rated more highly within Friesland than elsewhere in the Netherlands.

In Friesland also, a large study was done by Jongbloed-Faber (2014) to find out the attitude for high school children towards Frisian. Approximately 2000 participants all through
Friesland filled in questionnaires, either online or on paper. For eight different word pairs the participants had to rate between one and five how they would rate Frisian where five is very positive and one is very negative. The results show that those that have Frisian as their mother tongue are more positive towards Frisian than those that do not have Frisian as their mother tongue.

In Belgium, in a small town just outside of the Netherlands, Willemyns et al. (2010) found that those that speak the regional language, Limburgs, there are not as positive towards the language anymore. In an interview, 120 people between ages 15 and 45 were asked about their use of Limburgs and if they would raise their children in the language. Also, in Limburg it was found that the younger people get the less they use it and only about 30% of the participants would raise their children in the regional language. Willemyns et al. (2010) is very strong on the implications this might have for the regional language there suggesting that in the future it will hardly be used.

Moreover, interesting results were found by Giesbers (2008). One of her main research questions had to do with the relationship between the use of the regional language and the attitude towards the language. This was done in a very extensive research on the border between the Netherlands and Germany were five places in each country were selected to find participants. By having in-depth interviews with a person from each place more information about the place could be determined and the use of the regional language in the particular place. Then, for the question about the use and attitude of the regional language, a questionnaire was held over the phone. In general, it was found that the Dutch use the regional language more than the Germans do and it would be expected then that the attitude towards the regional language would be more positive among the Dutch. This is also what Berns and Daller (1992) found when they researched the attitude towards the regional language in three age groups who were given different clauses about the regional language where they had to give their opinion on. Berns and Daller (1992) found that the people that were more proficient in the use of the regional language had a more positive attitude towards it. In Giesbers (2008), there was no positive correlation found between the use and attitude of the regional language. The more use of the regional language did not necessarily mean that those people were more positive than those that did not use it as much.

2.3 Language revitalization
That the attitude towards a language is very important was also recognized by UNESCO as
they listed nine factors that affect language revitalization (Drude, 2003). Two of those factors have to do with the attitude towards the language: the attitude of governmental and institutes, the attitude of the community members (Drude, 2003, pp. 13-14).

In an example given by Baker (2011, pp. 78-79), the importance of the attitude is very well illustrated as a language was preserved in this way: on the Isle of Man the language Manx Gaelic exists. At the end of the 19th century more than 12,000 speakers of Manx were found among the population of the Isle of Man. However, in 1872 the Education Act prohibited the use of Manx in schools. As Baker (2011, p. 79) observes, it is a clear message to parents as well that when a language that was first taught at school suddenly is prohibited. Thus, in 1931, there were only 531 speakers of Manx remaining. Then in 1974 the last native speaker of Manx died and so linguists considered Manx to be a dead language. This did not prove to be the case as even in the lowest point there were still 165 second language speakers of Manx recorded. When a renewed desire for an own identity grew, the recorded speakers of Manx started to grow as well and in 2001 there were 1689 speakers of Manx recorded.

This illustrates very well how an attitude towards a language can have both a negative effect, in the case of the ban from schools leading to a ban in the home as well, and a positive effect, the desire for an own identity resulting in the revival of the language. Furthermore, it shows that language preservation does not rely on the government and institutions, such as schools, but on the attitude of the local people in the small regions.

2.4 The matched-guise technique

Most researches on the attitude towards a language focus on a method wherein a questionnaire is used, and also the studies mentioned earlier used a questionnaire. In Hilton and Gooskens (2013) the matched-guise technique was used besides a questionnaire and this was introduced by Lambert et al. (1960). Their idea is that spoken language is a very important feature and that a person listening to someone else will always make certain assumptions. So, rather than asking people what they thought of French or English, Lambert et al. (1960) asked people in Montreal to listen to ten recordings of people reading the same text in French and English. The participants would not know that amongst those readers were actually bilinguals that read the text once in English and once in French. In this way, people will hear the same person and their judgment of the language is solely based on the language and not on anything else.

Lambert et al. (1960) recorded six different males reading the same text that was
originally in French and translated into English. Four of the people that were recorded were bilinguals and they were asked to read the text in both French and English. Another person was asked to only read in French and the last person to only read in English. In total, then, there were ten recordings. Only the reactions to the four bilinguals were tested since that is what Lambert et al. (1960) wanted to find out. The participants, 64 English speaking students and 66 French-speaking students, were asked to rate the speakers on a six-point scale for 14 different traits. It was found that in general the English participants would think more highly of the English recordings. For 7 of the 14 traits there was a significant preference for the English recording while for only one trait (sense of humor) there was a significant preference for the French recordings. For the other six traits there was no significant preference. For the French participants there was an even stronger preference for the English recordings. For 10 of the 14 traits a significant preference for the English recordings was found and for two traits (religiousness and kindness) a significant preference for the French recordings was found.

2.5 Research question and hypotheses

In this thesis, important information will be added to the existing literature. One of the ideas was to built further upon the data by Bloemhoff (2005) where the use of the regional language in the Low Saxon area was determined. There was no data for the younger generation (<18) available, which according to Kirkham and Moore (2013) and Riagáin et al. (2008) is a crucial time for people when it comes to making decisions for the language use in the rest of the life. The research in this thesis had to fill that gap to get a better view of the use of and the attitude towards the regional language in Overijssel. In order to find this out much of the same method as in Hilton and Gooskens (2013) will be used as well as parts of the method, in-depth interview, from Giesbers (2008). In the latter part questions will be used from a study done in Teesside English (Llamas, 2001). Llamas (2001) did research to the dialects in Teesside English and argued that it is important to be able to communicate well with the participants when it comes to researching dialects, because this will result in the participants being more in sync to how they actually feel. That is why Llamas describes her method very extensively in the hope that other researchers into dialects will use the same methods. It has become clear by now that it is difficult to determine the language of Overijssel and thus only one city will be looked at in Overijssel, the city of Steenwijk.

First, a qualitative study will be done into the folk perception on Steenwijk and some traits of the regional language variety in Steenwijk. Second, a quantitative study will be done
into the attitude towards and use of the regional language among the younger generation.

The research questions are:
- what is the folk perception on (the language of) Steenwijk?
- what are stereotypical traits of the regional language of Steenwijk?
- does the younger generation still use the regional language?
- what is the attitude the younger generation (12-18 years) has towards the regional language in Steenwijk?
- what linguistic features play the biggest roles in triggering the attitude of the younger generation towards the regional language?

Based on Preston (2002), it is expected that the attitude towards Steenwijk by the people from Steenwijk is positive as Preston also found that in general people would be positive towards their own region and language. The stereotypical traits have been recorded for the regional language, but this thesis also deals with the differences between what is written down in theory and how it is used in practice. It is expected that this differs based on my observation when talking to the people in Steenwijk. Moreover, it is expected that the attitude towards the regional language is not very positive among the younger generation and that the regional language is still being used, but that it continues to decline among this generation as has already been found in Driessen (2012) and Willemyns et al. (2010). In this thesis, the lexicon will be looked at as a linguistic feature triggering the attitude. It is expected that this will play a role and as a result more can be said about other linguistic features.
Chapter 3: Methodology
In this section, a description of Steenwijks will be given. Then, the method used to get the qualitative data will be set forth. Finally, the method used to get the quantitative data will be given.

3.1 Steenwijks compared with Dutch
Spa (2004) focuses on the phonological, morphological and syntactic differences between Steenwijks and Dutch. Bloemhoff (2008b) and Bloemhoff-de Bruijn (2008) do this as well, but in their work they focus on the overarching Stellingwerfs and West-Overijsseels or Sallands. I will mainly use their descriptions and thus compare Steenwijks with Dutch.

3.1.1 Phonology
In the phonology, considerable differences can be found between Dutch and Steenwijks as Dutch has 13 vowels (Kooij & Van Oostendorp, 2003) while Steenwijks uses 21 different vowels (Spa, 2004), see figure 4:

In figure 4, on the left the vowel system for Dutch is visible and on the right the vowel system for Steenwijks. Steenwijks has the same vowels as in Dutch, but also has a clear distinction between short and long vowels, while in Dutch this difference is less clear (Spa, 2004). Also, Steenwijks has an open back vowel that is not used in Dutch.

This also means that Steenwijks has more diphthongs than Dutch has, see table 2:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>diphthong</th>
<th>which vowels</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ui as in ‘huis’ (house)</td>
<td>œ → j</td>
<td>Dutch, Steenwijks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei/ië as in ‘tijd’ (time)</td>
<td>e → j</td>
<td>Dutch, Steenwijks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au/ou as in ‘koud’ (cold)</td>
<td>o → w</td>
<td>Dutch, Steenwijks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i’j/ië as in ‘vrij’/‘vrije’ (free)</td>
<td>i → j</td>
<td>Steenwijks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uuw as in ‘skaeduw’ (shadow)</td>
<td>y → w</td>
<td>Steenwijks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uj as in ‘bijje’ (shower (rain))</td>
<td>ø → j</td>
<td>Steenwijks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óu as in ‘róu’ (rough)</td>
<td>o → uw</td>
<td>Steenwijks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai as in ‘wai’ (meadow)</td>
<td>ø → j</td>
<td>Steenwijks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Diphthongs in Dutch and Steenwijks. With data from Spa, 2004.

As for the consonants, there are not too many differences between Steenwijks and Dutch. Steenwijks does not use an ‘h’ while Dutch does. Steenwijks uses ‘sk’ instead of ‘sch’ as Dutch does at the beginning of a word and for the fricatives in Steenwijks usually the voiceless variant will be used, so ‘s’, ‘f’ and ‘x’ in places where Dutch would use the voiced variant (‘z’, ‘v’ or ‘g’).

### 3.1.2 Morphology

Morphologically there are some differences as well that will clearly show whether Steenwijks or Dutch is used. Below those differences will be described.

#### 3.1.2.1 Personal pronouns

In table 3 the differences between the personal pronouns in Steenwijks and Dutch are shown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Steenwijks subject</th>
<th>Dutch subject</th>
<th>Steenwijks non-subject</th>
<th>Dutch non-subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>ikke, ik</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>mij</td>
<td>mij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
<td>ieje, ie</td>
<td>jij</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>jou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
<td>i’j, si’j, et/‘t</td>
<td>hij, zij, het</td>
<td>oom, eur, et/‘t</td>
<td>hem, haar, het</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural</td>
<td>wi’j</td>
<td>wij</td>
<td>oons</td>
<td>ons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
<td>jullie</td>
<td>jullie</td>
<td>jullie</td>
<td>jullie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
<td>si’j</td>
<td>zij</td>
<td>eur</td>
<td>hen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Personal pronouns Steenwijks and Dutch, with data from Spa, 2004.

Some of those differences are phonological by nature, like the difference in the 1st person singular for non-subject and 3rd person singular, 1st person plural and 3rd person plural
for subject, but the difference in the 3rd person singular for female non-subject and 3rd person plural for non-subject is completely different with ‘haar’ and ‘hen’ for Dutch versus ‘eur’ for Steenwijks. A considerable difference between the Low Saxon varieties and Dutch for personal pronouns is that the varieties allow enclitics, where a personal pronoun attaches to the preceding word and together with that word forms one word. This is not allowed in Dutch, although it does happen in speech due to assimilation. An example of enclitics, taken from Spa (2004, p. 45):

1. *Ku-j mi’j seggen waer a-j ier unnig kopen kunnen?* (Steenwijks)
   
   Kun je mij zeggen waar je hier honing kunt kopen? (Dutch)

The enclitic words in Steenwijks are underlined.

### 3.1.2.2 Verbs

In Dutch there are strong and weak verbs. Strong verbs will have a vowel change in the 3rd person singular and the past participle. Weak verbs do not have a vowel change. There is some difference between Steenwijks and Dutch when it comes to conjugating the verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Steenwijks present tense</th>
<th>Dutch present tense</th>
<th>Steenwijks past tense</th>
<th>Dutch past tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>ik dreume</td>
<td>ik droom</td>
<td>ik dreumde</td>
<td>ik droomde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
<td>ie dreumen</td>
<td>jij droont</td>
<td>ie dreumden</td>
<td>jij droomde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
<td>i’j/si’j dreumt</td>
<td>hij/zij droont</td>
<td>i’j/si’j dreumde</td>
<td>hij/zij droomde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural</td>
<td>wi’j dreumen</td>
<td>wij dromen</td>
<td>wi’j dreumden</td>
<td>wij droomden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
<td>jullie dreumen</td>
<td>jullie dromen</td>
<td>jullie dreumden</td>
<td>jullie droomden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
<td>si’j dreumen</td>
<td>zij dromen</td>
<td>si’j dreumden</td>
<td>zij droomden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past participle</td>
<td>edreumd</td>
<td>gedroomd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Conjugation of weak verbs in Dutch and Steenwijks for present and past tense.

When examining the present tense the extra –*e* for the 1st person singular stands out as opposed to Dutch whereas the 3rd person singular has the same conjugation as in Dutch. The 2nd person singular in Steenwijks it ends in –*en* as opposed to an ending in –*t* in Dutch. For the plural Steenwijks has the same conjugation as Dutch. For the past tense Steenwijks has the same conjugation as Dutch, except for the 2nd person singular where an extra –*n* is added. The past participle in Steenwijks from Dutch in that it only starts with a ‘schwa’, there is no –*g* in front of it.
Strong verbs in Steenwijks are similar to Dutch in that they have a vowel change in the past tense and the participle. The strong verbs in Steenwijks almost have the same conjugation as the weak verbs do. The difference is that in the present tense a vowel change occurs in the 3rd person singular as well as that there is no suffix for the 3rd person singular, so only the stem remains. For the past tense the conjugation of Steenwijks is: -e, -en, -ø, -en, -en, -en. So no suffix again for the 3rd person singular and further it is conjugated as the present tense in Steenwijks.

3.1.2.3 Other aspects

Just as in Dutch, Steenwijks has three genders: male, female and neuter. Steenwijks uses similar articles as in Dutch, namely ‘de’ for male and female and ‘et’ or ‘t’ for neuter.

The diminutive suffix in Steenwijks is always ‘ien’ as opposed to ‘je’ in Dutch, but just as in Dutch it can differ how the suffix is formed exactly, depending on the consonant that the stem ends on.

For plurals the suffix mostly is –en in both Dutch and Steenwijks. Besides that a suffix with –s is also common. In Steenwijks the suffix –ers also appears occasionally.

3.1.3 Syntax and lexical items

Syntactically, Steenwijks follows the same rules as Dutch does, so there are not too many differences. Spa (2004) and Bloemhoff-de Bruijn (2008) do give a few differences that are present between the Low Saxon varieties and Dutch:

1. Subordinate clauses that start with a short conjunction and/or interrogative pronouns usually have the particle ‘as’ inserted.
2. In Dutch it is possible to have the order of auxiliary verb + past participle (red order) or to have the order of past participle + auxiliary verb (green order). In the Low Saxon varieties there is a preference for the green order.

However, syntactically, more work needs to be done to analyze and write down the specific differences that occur between the varieties and Dutch (Bloemhoff-de Bruijn, 2008, p. 237).

For Steenwijks, Spa (2004, p. 136) gives specific expressions with some lexical items that are only used in those places. The sentences below illustrate them:

S  de ele nacht liggen kraenewaeken (de hele nacht liggen piekeren)
S  óp de karsemarse (op de rug)
S  neet good dege wezen (niet goed wijs zijn)
3.2 Qualitative data
Through attending a few classes of a course of Steenwijks that was being offered by linguists from the IJsselacademie as well as a member from the historical society of Steenwijk I was able to come in contact with a few of the local people. In this course, the focus was on texts from famous writers from Steenwijk from the past. The teachers explained what made a text typical Steenwijks and what was different. The students, twelve in total, of the course were mainly people that had lived in Steenwijk for most of their lives and considered themselves to be Steenwijks. During the course, I was able to ask a few questions and present them with a questionnaire related to some of the questions used in a study to English dialects (Llamas, 2001). I gathered the information from the Sense Relation Network Sheets (Llamas, 2001, pp. 78-81) and the Affiliation Score Index (Llamas, 2001, p. 91) from four participants and the identity questionnaire as explained on pp. 88-89 (Llamas, 2001) from seven people. This did prove to be very helpful in gathering more information on the folk perception on Steenwijk and the language there.

A personal and in-depth interview with the member of the historical society also helped in gathering more background information about Steenwijk and what makes Steenwijks unique. In this case, only the identity questionnaire as described by Llamas (2001, pp. 88-89) was used, translating the questions into Dutch first and applying it to Steenwijk.

3.3 Quantitative data
For the quantitative data I went to a high school in Steenwijk where I was able to go to six different classes: two VWO-classes, two HAVO-classes and two MAVO-classes. This, because I wanted to be able to compare between the three different levels in the Dutch school system and also between ages. One of the high school teachers made sure that I was able to get those six different classes by making contact with the teachers of the different classes that I was able to visit. The students were presented with the matched-guise experiment and a questionnaire. The way the students would score on the matched-guise experiment could then be used as the dependent variable and the information the students provided on the questionnaire, such as school-level or age, could function as the independent variables.

3.4 Subjects

3.4.1 Subjects for qualitative data
Four participants filled in the Sense Relation Network Sheets (Llamas, 2001, pp. 78-81) and
seven people the identity questionnaire (Llamas, 2001, pp. 88-89). The distribution of the groups are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: distribution of participants that filled in the Sense Relation Network Sheets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q7</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: distribution of participants that filled in identity questionnaire.

The letters in front of the numbers of the participants are there to differ between those that filled in the Sense Relation Network Sheets (S) and those that filled in the identity questionnaire (Q). Some participants were born elsewhere, but they have all lived in Steenwijk for more than 20 years, except for the 19-year old, of course, who was born in Steenwijk. Participants S1-S4 were all participants of the course Steenwijk and they were asked to fill in the questionnaire on a piece of paper which three of them did, but S4 handed it in via email. Participants Q1-Q7 were all related to participant S4, who filled in the identity questionnaire as well. All the Q-participants handed their questionnaire in via email.

3.4.2 Subjects for quantitative data

The distribution of the classes that participated is visible in table 7:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Different classes</th>
<th>Number of participants (N)</th>
<th>Mean age</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>M/F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13,68</td>
<td>0,48</td>
<td>13-14</td>
<td>11/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13,58</td>
<td>0,50</td>
<td>13-14</td>
<td>11/13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13,55</td>
<td>0,51</td>
<td>13-14</td>
<td>11/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15,92</td>
<td>0,91</td>
<td>14-19</td>
<td>15/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15,96</td>
<td>0,75</td>
<td>15-18</td>
<td>11/13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15,5</td>
<td>0,59</td>
<td>14-16</td>
<td>13/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>141</strong></td>
<td><strong>14,74</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,28</strong></td>
<td><strong>13-19</strong></td>
<td><strong>72/68</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: distribution of classes of high school in Steenwijk

The letters for the different classes represent the different levels: M is for MAVO which is the lowest level, H is for HAVO which is the middle one, and V is for VWO which is the highest
one. The high school students that go to VWO in the Netherlands are typically the ones going to universities later on. For gender, one participant forgot to fill in his or her gender, so that subject was excluded in analysis showing the differences between males and females. All of the participants reported being proficient in Dutch and they were all tested in a class situation. There was only one 19-year old, one 18-year old and five 17-year olds which are the outliers, but they are still included in all the results. In the high school that I went to, each lesson lasted 50 minutes and the teachers allowed me to take the full lesson to go through the matched-guise experiment and the questionnaire with the participants and after they were finished, and handed in the papers they filled in, I would explain a bit about what Steenwijks is and how they can recognize it. I went to one class on a Thursday (M4), then to four classes on the Friday following that Thursday, and I visited the last class on the Monday following (V2).

3.5 Materials

3.5.1 Materials for qualitative data
The Sense Relation Network Sheets consisted of some questions regarding the background of the participants, then seven multiple choice questions were asked regarding their identity with Steenwijk. Finally, three sheets of words were given in Dutch that had to be translated into Steenwijks. The identity questionnaire consisted of six questions regarding the language and nine questions regarding the area.

The interview with the member of the historical society in Steenwijk, who also was the teacher of the course of Steenwijks, was recorded on a laptop using Adobe Audition 3.0, Mono channel with a 22050 sample rate and 16-bit. All of the questions were asked in Dutch, but the informant was asked to answer in Steenwijks, so that it was possible to gather some data of informal speech in Steenwijks as well as gathering information on the identity of Steenwijk. The information from the questionnaires was received on paper and in word-files on the computer.

3.5.2 Materials for quantitative data
With the information gathered from the participants of the questionnaire and the in-depth interview, in combination with the information from chapter 3 in this thesis, it was possible to create a matched-guise experiment. The goal of the matched-guise experiment was to test the difference in attitude between the regional variety, Steenwijks, and the main variety, Dutch with the high school children. First, I had to create a text that could be read and recorded for
the experiment. In the text features were present that would be typical for the difference between Steenwijks and Dutch. A few typical lexical items from Steenwijks were present, such as the words ‘seins’ (Dutch: soms) and ‘karsemarse’ (Dutch: rug). Words that would have an ‘h’ in Dutch and not in Steenwijks, words with vowels that are different between Dutch and Steenwijks and also some enclitics, that are typical for the regional language in Overijssel as opposed to Dutch where it is not common at all in the written language. The text is available in appendix 1.

Second, after the text was created in Steenwijks and Dutch, the linguist, responsible for regional languages in West-Overijssel, was asked to read the text in both Steenwijks and Dutch. Moreover, she also read the same text in Dutch with lexical items in Steenwijks. This to create another variable to test whether it was perhaps something lexical that would trigger a difference in attitude between the two varieties. Each time the linguist read the text, it was recorded on a speech recorder on a Samsung Galaxy S3 mini. The recording in Steenwijks were checked with someone in Steenwijk to test whether it sounded like someone from Steenwijk and he confirmed that it did.

Besides these three recordings, three other female speakers were asked to read the same text in different languages: English, Frisian and Dutch. All of the translations of the text are available in the appendix. In total, there were nine recordings. All the recordings were made with the same speech recorder on the Samsung Galaxy S3 mini. The recordings were between 26 and 35 seconds. The fragments that were most important for the study were the ones recorded by the person that recorded Steenwijks. In fragment 2, this recording can be found. In fragment 4, the Dutch with Steenwijks lexicon could be found, and fragment 7 was the Dutch recording of the same speaker. It should be noted that in the Dutch recording a little bit of background noise could be heard, but this does not intervene with being able to hear the text correctly.

With these fragments a questionnaire was created using a five-point scale to measure the attitude of the participants. They would see words that were antonyms from each other like ‘modern’ and ‘old-fashioned’ and they would have to classify how the speaker sounded to them. When the person sounded very old-fashioned they would classify it as ‘1’ and when the speaker sounded very modern to them it would be classified as ‘5’. These were the antonyms used, as in Hilton and Gooskens (2013): old-fashioned vs. modern, stupid vs. smart, unattractive vs. attractive, strange vs. normal, unfriendly vs. friendly, poor vs. rich and ugly vs. beautiful. In general, it meant that the higher a score given the more positive that person was.
After each fragment they were also asked to write down if they knew which language they had just heard. Then there was also a questionnaire attached to it to find out some background information about the participants and how much they would use the regional language and with whom. Finally, in the questionnaire, they were asked to translate five lexical items from Steenwijk to Dutch. The entire questionnaire is available in appendix 2.

3.6 Procedure

3.6.1 Procedure for qualitative data

The procedure differed for the different tasks. The S-participants were given the questionnaire on paper with the instruction to read the instructions in the questionnaire carefully and bring it back the following week so that I could collect them. The participants that did fill them in mentioned it took them a long time, and those that did not fill it in from the participants that followed the course of Steenwijk mentioned, among others, that they did not do it because it was too long.

The Q-participants all filled in the questionnaire in their homes and so I was not present to see how long it took them, but looking at the answers, I observed that some took more time to think about the questions than others did.

The informant for the in-depth interview was interviewed in a quiet room of the historical society in Steenwijk. The interview took about 40 minutes. All of the identity questions from Llamas (2001, p. 89) were used, after they were translated into Dutch. I would ask the questions in Dutch, but the informant was asked to reply back in Steenwijk, which he did. Every now and then he would use Dutch, to either make thing clear for me, or because he forgot that he was allowed to talk in Steenwijk.

3.6.2 Procedure for quantitative data

In each class, I was present to let the students listen to the 9 different fragments. Before I would start I would explain in each class that I would let them listen to the 9 different fragments using a five-point scale and would explain how they should fill this in. I also stressed in each class that it is important that they should fill it in themselves and not look at how the neighbor would fill it in. After each fragment, they were allotted some time to rate the speaker on the five-point scale, similar to the study by Hilton and Gooskens (2013). When the students had heard all fragments and answered questions about the fragments, they were asked to fill in a questionnaire regarding their background and use of the regional variety.
There were also some lexical items in Steenwijks for which they had to give the Dutch translation. Regarding this procedure there were not really any differences and it would take between 20 and 25 minutes to finish the experiment and the questionnaire. It was interesting to see the similar reactions of the classes when they would hear the fragments. In general, when they would hear the fragment in Steenwijks they would laugh a bit and when they would hear the Dutch fragment with lexical items in Steenwijks they would be a bit surprised. For most other fragments it would be more quiet and the students would be more indifferent. Each class had its own dynamic and a different teacher which made the lesson after the questionnaire on the regional language a bit different, but in general the procedure of the actual experiment and questionnaire did not seem to be influenced by it.

3.7 Design and analyses

The qualitative data was mostly not scored, so only reactions to the questions will be given. Only the Affiliation Score Index was scored with a range from 1 (weak affiliation with own area) to 3 (strong affiliation with own area). For the quantitative data the main variable is the score given by the participants for the different antonyms. This would range between 1 and 5 and a higher score would mean a more positive attitude. As a result of the different questions that were asked in the questionnaire and the set-up of the matched-guise, it is possible to compare a lot of information. For example, if there is a difference in how the classes would rate Dutch, Steenwijks and Dutch with lexical items. Whether males or females are more positive towards the regional language, the difference between the age groups in how they would rate the different fragments and also the difference between the level of schooling. It is also possible to check whether there is a positive relationship between using the regional language and a positive attitude towards it. Statistical analysis will only be used if there is a significant difference. Since most analyses include the dependent interval variable of score (for all the antonyms) and the independent nominal variable of language with three variables: Dutch, Steenwijks and Dutch with Steenwijks lexicon, mostly the ANOVA will be used.
Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Results from qualitative study

In the Sense Relation Network Sheets, a lot more information was asked for in comparison with the identity questionnaire. First, background information of the participants was asked. Second, their perception (affiliation score index) on their own area was asked about. Third, they had to give the translation into Steenwijk for Dutch words. In the identity questionnaire only questions regarding the language and area of Steenwijk were asked about.

4.1.1 S-participants

First, we will examine the scores for the Affiliation Score Index as given by the four participants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Question 1</th>
<th>Question 2</th>
<th>Question 3</th>
<th>Question 4</th>
<th>Question 5</th>
<th>Question 6</th>
<th>Question 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average:</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.25</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.75</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.25</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Affiliation Score Index of S-participants.

A score of 1 indicates that there is a weak affiliation for that question with the own area, 2 is in between, and 3 is a strong affiliation with the own area.

The other part that could be analyzed was the part where Dutch words were given and the translation in Steenwijk had to be given. There were quite a number of differences between what the translation should be theoretically and what the participants filled in. Some examples:

- ‘hoofd’ (head) theoretically should be ‘eufd’ (without the ‘h’ and a different vowel). One person did fill this in (S4), but other answers were ‘heuf’ and ‘heufd’, an important feature of no ‘h’ was neglected by some of the participants and not only in this word, but also in other ones such as ‘haarfst’ (autumn) and ‘huus’ (house). Those that did use the ‘h’ would also not use it in other words like ‘ond’ (dog), so it is not something they would consistently do.
- ‘onbeschoft’ (rude) theoretically should be ‘onbeskoft’ (with ‘sk’ instead of ‘sch’). One person filled in ‘onbeschoft’, so with ‘sch’ instead of ‘sk’ and he was the only one to do that consistently (S3). The others would use ‘sk’.
- ‘kleintje’ (little one) theoretically should be ‘kleintien’ (with the diminutive suffix ‘ien’), but one person (S3) would fill in ‘kleintie’ and would make that mistake more often with
other words with a diminutive suffix. Interestingly it is the same person that would use ‘sch’ instead of ‘sk’. The other people would not do that.

- ‘kleren’ (clothing) theoretically should be ‘kleren’, so no change even though it does sound different in the regional language because the ‘en’ is nasalized. Two of the four people (S1 and S3) would write down that nasalization and write ‘kleer’n’ and do this with other words that would have a nasalization at the end as well.

- Finally, people gave different translations for the same word. For example for ‘gevangenis’ (prison) they all gave a different word: ‘bak’, ‘bajes’, ‘bik’, ‘gevangenuus.’

The aforementioned examples are only a few of the differences which shows that there is a difference between what the language looks like in theory and how it is used in practice.

4.1.2 Identity questionnaire and in-depth interview

The identity questionnaire only triggered some written reactions by the participants. Regarding the language in Steenwijk the participants overall agreed on most parts. For example, there is a difference between how older and younger people use the language with younger people using it less. In general, the regional language sounds ‘‘familiar’’ to the participants. Yet the description they give mostly for the uniqueness of Steenwijks is the ‘r’. One person could not recognize Steenwijks. Some of the people that did recognize Steenwijks did also mention that Steenwijks or Dutch is not necessarily more beautiful than the other. Apparently, those people share the opinion of linguists that a language is not more beautiful than another but that they are just different. There is not too much consensus on where Steenwijks stops and another regional language starts, as one person would say it goes all the way to Zwolle, while another says that it is really only in Steenwijk, and yet another would say it is spoken in a five km radius of Steenwijk.

Apart from one person, who was more negative, all people were positive about Steenwijk and were very happy to live there or have lived there for its surroundings and the peace and quiet that can be found there. The person that was more negative said that ‘‘the region of Steenwijk is very nice and has made me into what I am today, but the region of Steenwijk has had its day.’’ That person apparently no longer values Steenwijk, but he was the only participant with that opinion.

In the in-depth interview, it became clear that Steenwijk has had a long and rich history. Moreover, in the past, the difference between Steenwijk, as the city, and nearby villages was very large in that the people from Steenwijk would look down at those from the
villages and that those from the villages would not like to interact too much with the people from the city of Steenwijk. When some villages merged together with Steenwijk into one municipality, those from the villages were not too happy with it either, but people seem to accept it more and more now.

The variety of answers helped me to conclude that there does not seem to be a unity in the language per se, but that people do find it important to have that own identity that comes with being a Steenwijker. Furthermore, the people recognize that language is an important determiner of their distinct identity.

4.2 Results of quantitative data

4.2.1 Use of the regional language

For the self-reported use of the regional language the following can be found when looking at the entire group of the 141 participants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of regional language</th>
<th>with parents</th>
<th>with siblings</th>
<th>with friends</th>
<th>at school</th>
<th>at sport club</th>
<th>with grandparents</th>
<th>on Facebook</th>
<th>on WhatsApp</th>
<th>on Twitter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>percentage (N=141)</td>
<td>26.2% (N=37)</td>
<td>17.7% (N=25)</td>
<td>15.6% (N=22)</td>
<td>9.2% (N=13)</td>
<td>12.8% (N=18)</td>
<td>46.1% (N=65)</td>
<td>7.1% (N=10)</td>
<td>31.2% (N=44)</td>
<td>5.7% (N=8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males (N=72)</td>
<td>12.9% (N=18)</td>
<td>5% (N=7)</td>
<td>11.4% (N=16)</td>
<td>7.1% (N=10)</td>
<td>9.3% (N=13)</td>
<td>21.4% (N=30)</td>
<td>4.3% (N=6)</td>
<td>19.3% (N=27)</td>
<td>2.9% (N=4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females (N=68)</td>
<td>13.6% (N=19)</td>
<td>12.9% (N=18)</td>
<td>4.3% (N=6)</td>
<td>2.1% (N=3)</td>
<td>3.6% (N=5)</td>
<td>25% (N=35)</td>
<td>2.9% (N=4)</td>
<td>12.1% (N=17)</td>
<td>2.9% (N=4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Use of regional language.

In parentheses, the number of subjects can be found. In general, approximately 56.3% of all the participants reports to use at least something of the regional language, so either with parents, siblings, friends, grandparents, at school, sport club or on social media. When the percentages are looked at for each class, it looks different:
Use of regional language with parents with siblings with friends at school at sport club with grandparents on Facebook on WhatsApp on Twitter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of regional language</th>
<th>with parents</th>
<th>with siblings</th>
<th>with friends</th>
<th>at school</th>
<th>at sport club</th>
<th>with grandparents</th>
<th>on Facebook</th>
<th>on WhatsApp</th>
<th>on Twitter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M2 (N=22)</td>
<td>31.8% (N=7)</td>
<td>18.2% (N=4)</td>
<td>9.1% (N=2)</td>
<td>4.5% (N=1)</td>
<td>4.5% (N=1)</td>
<td>36.4% (N=8)</td>
<td>9.1% (N=2)</td>
<td>36.4% (N=8)</td>
<td>9.1% (N=2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4 (N=25)</td>
<td>40% (N=10)</td>
<td>32% (N=8)</td>
<td>36% (N=9)</td>
<td>28% (N=7)</td>
<td>28% (N=7)</td>
<td>56% (N=14)</td>
<td>24% (N=6)</td>
<td>60% (N=15)</td>
<td>20% (N=5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2 (N=24)</td>
<td>37.5% (N=9)</td>
<td>25% (N=6)</td>
<td>8.3% (N=2)</td>
<td>4.2% (N=1)</td>
<td>8.3% (N=2)</td>
<td>54.2% (N=13)</td>
<td>4.2% (N=1)</td>
<td>33.3% (N=8)</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4 (N=24)</td>
<td>8.3% (N=2)</td>
<td>8.3% (N=2)</td>
<td>8.3% (N=2)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4.2% (N=1)</td>
<td>33.3% (N=8)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>16.7% (N=4)</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2 (N=22)</td>
<td>27.3% (N=6)</td>
<td>18.2% (N=4)</td>
<td>22.7% (N=5)</td>
<td>13.6% (N=3)</td>
<td>22.7% (N=5)</td>
<td>68.2% (N=15)</td>
<td>4.5% (N=1)</td>
<td>22.7% (N=5)</td>
<td>4.5% (N=1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V4 (N=24)</td>
<td>12.5% (N=3)</td>
<td>4.2% (N=1)</td>
<td>8.3% (N=2)</td>
<td>4.2% (N=1)</td>
<td>8.3% (N=2)</td>
<td>29.2% (N=7)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>16.7% (N=4)</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Use of regional language per class.

Again, the number of subjects is in parentheses. Between classes there is a lot of variety.

4.2.2 Attitude towards the regional language

In this section, the results will be given of the attitude towards Steenwijks in comparison with Dutch and also with the Dutch text with lexical items in Steenwijks:

![Figure 5: Difference in attitude between Steenwijks, Dutch and Lexicon.](image-url)
In figure 5, the diamants represent the attitude towards Steenwijks for the different antonyms. The higher the score the more positive towards Steenwijks. The squares represent the attitude towards Dutch and the trianels the attitude towards Dutch with lexical items. Levene’s test reported a significance for all antonyms (p<0.001, except for friendly when it is p<0.05) except for Smart and Rich, so only for these two the ANOVA can be used. For the other antonyms Welch’s F will be used to report on whether the difference between the groups is significant or not.

There was a significant difference on all antonyms (all with a p < 0.001) except for Friendly (Welch’s F (2, 420) = 0.62, p = 0.54). The Post-Hoc analysis showed that the difference for modern, smart, attractive, normal and beautiful between Steenwijks, Dutch and Dutch with Steenwijks lexicon are all significant with a p < 0.05 and in most cases even smaller than 0.001. However, for friendly there was no significant difference at all between any of the groups and for rich the difference between Steenwijks (M = 2.56, SD = 0.74), and Dutch (M = 3.40, SD = 0.72), or Dutch with Steenwijks lexicon (M = 3.28, SD = 0.78) was significant at p < 0.001. The difference between Dutch and Dutch with Steenwijks lexicon was not significantly different, p = 0.53.

When we look at the difference between males and females, then in general there does not seem to be a major difference in how they would rate the different antonyms except for attractivity when males seem to have a more positive attitude when it comes to attractivity than females do. However, the real difference comes when the difference within the different languages is looked at. For Dutch with Steenwijks lexicon it remains the same that in general there are no major differences between males and females except for attractiveness when males again have the more positive attitude. For Dutch, however, there are no significant differences between males and females and for Steenwijks there are also no significant differences between males and females except for richness. The females have a more positive attitude in this case towards Steenwijks.

For age, in general, no significant differences are found. And when the different fragments are looked at then for Dutch and Dutch with Steenwijks lexicon this is indeed the case, however, for Steenwijks there are significant differences to be found for modern, smart and beautiful. For each of them younger people have a more positive attitude than the older ones, or in other words the students from grade 2 are more positive towards Steenwijks regarding modernity, cleverness and beautifulness of the language than those in grade 4.

When it comes to differences in those that use at least some of the regional language
and those that reported that they do not use anything, in general, there are significant differences for normal, friendly and beautiful. Those that reported to use the regional language are more positive than those that do not use it at all. However, within the attitude towards Dutch there is no significant difference between those that use the regional language and those that do not. For the attitude towards Dutch with Steenwijks lexicon there is only a significant difference in normality. Those that use the regional language find it sounds more normal than those that do not use the regional language. As a result, the major differences are within the attitude towards Steenwijks:

![Figure 6: Line chart of attitude towards regional language by those that do use the regional language and those that do not.](image)

The bars on the left represent those that use the regional language and the bars on the right represent those that do not use the regional language. There is a significant difference for all antonyms, except for rich when there is no significant difference, as regards to the attitude towards Steenwijks. Those that know the regional language are more positive than those that do not use the regional language.

As was already apparent in the use of the regional language, there can be a difference between the different classes and since one of the focuses in this thesis is on the attitude towards the regional language, the differences between the classes on the attitude towards Steenwijks will be shown:
Figure 7: Line charts of attitude towards Steenwijks per class for Modern and Smart.

Figure 8: Line charts of attitude towards Steenwijks per class for Attractive and Normal.

Figure 9: Line charts of attitude towards Steenwijks per class for Friendly and Rich.
Figure 10: line chart of attitude towards Steenwijks per class for Beautiful.

The line charts above show how the classes differ in their attitude towards the regional language. The first bar is always class M2, the second bar M4, the third bar H2, the fourth bar H4, the fifth bar V2 and the last bar V4.
Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Folk perception
In general, people are happy to live in Steenwijk or its surroundings. Also, there is a sense of familiarity when it comes to the own region. In the data from the questionnaires, only one person was negative about the region of Steenwijk, but this had more to do with the fact that the participant was ready for a new challenge than that he did not like the region. He did indicate that he enjoyed growing up in Steenwijk. It is good to observe that, in general, the people seem to be happy to live in Steenwijk and enjoy the surroundings there and the peace and quiet. This positive identity with the city is something that can certainly help to better promote the regional language, since language and identity are closely linked to each other. The findings are also in line with what Preston (2002) had found, namely that, in general, people are positive about the place in which they live. Yet Preston had also shown that the mental map of people in the same place could be different and that seems to be the case for the language in Steenwijk as well as the participants would indicate where the language of Steenwijk would end differently.

Of interest to this research is that some of the participants of the identity questionnaire, and also the informant for the in-depth interview, would explicitly say that a language is not more beautiful than another language. This is also what Preston (2002) stressed. Oftentimes, there seems to be a distinction when it comes to looking at languages between linguists and ‘common’ people. Where linguists speak of a language and within a language different varieties that might consist of different idiolects (Preston, 2002), ‘common’ people might speak of a standard language and dialects and faults within languages. In this case, the folk perception then appears to be in line with how linguists would view the situation.

5.2 Stereotypical traits of regional language in Steenwijk
In section 3.1, it has become clear that there are some stereotypical traits of the regional language in Steenwijk. However, these are all theoretical, although put together from practical examples from the past by Spa (2004). From the practical use of Steenwijks of the present day by the participants in the Sense Relation Network Sheets, it is apparent that the practice is not always matching the theory. This difference between theory and practice could be due to the fact that Steenwijk is a city that borders Friesland and Drenthe very closely and thus has influences from those places. For example, the trait of no ‘h’ seems to be one that is very obvious and not hard to miss when one hears the language often. Yet the influence of the
other languages that one might hear where the ‘h’ is very common then, apparently, can have an effect on the using an ‘h’ in Steenwijks. Another reason could be that a lot of people have the attitude that “streektaal is spreektaal” (regional language is a spoken language) and thus fewer attention will be given to writing the language. The stereotypical traits then, might not be familiar to a person, or the person might not have learned how to write it down. In, for example, Ytsma (2007) it was also found that the writing abilities were less proficient than other abilities and in Ytsma (2007) research was done to the Frisian language. Frisian is a language that is taught in school, so if the writing abilities are still lacking in this case, then it is not surprising that it can happen in Steenwijk, too.

5.3 Use of regional language among younger generation

The younger generation still uses the regional language and that is indeed positive. Especially, when the data in this study are compared with Bloemhoff (2005), where a percentage of 49.3% was found for the use of the regional language in Steenwijkerland. The data in this study are also a lot more positive than the data Driessen (2012) had found. However, it is a bit alarming to see that most of the use of the regional language is with grandparents. If the language transmission mainly has to come from the grandparents, then this would entail that the decline in the use of the regional language will continue. Moreover, each generation uses the regional language less and less and thus, in most cases, the regional language will not be transferred properly as usually the grandparents will not be around all the time to teach the child how to use the regional language. In the example by Baker (2011) on Manx in the Isle of Man, it is apparent that language transmission does not only have to come from the government or institutions, like schools. When the attitude of the local people towards the regional language is positive, they can do a lot themselves to preserve the language.

About how exactly, and in what form, the younger generation uses the regional language nothing can be said as the research done in this thesis only is a starting point to collect data on what is known about the use of the regional language. It could be that most of the children actually do not use Steenwijks, but a different variety, as their grandparents might live somewhere else or perhaps they themselves live just outside of Steenwijk. Perhaps their parents might be born somewhere else where they have learned a different variety or different regional language altogether. Even when the children claim to use a regional language, it is still not clear what they consider a regional language themselves. Perhaps for them just using a word every now and then, that they have heard their grandparents use is speaking the
regional language, or they might consider speaking with another accent already speaking a regional variety.

What is also remarkable, is the huge difference in the self-reported use of the regional language between the different classes. The percentages of the M4-class definitely lift the percentages in general, as they have the highest percentages for all categories, except for the use with grandparents. For example, 13 out of the 141 participants claim to use the regional language at school, but of those 13, 7 come from the M4-class. This causes that there seems to be a difference in how much the different levels still use the regional language with MAVO using it more than HAVO and VWO, but this is mainly due to the difference between M4 and the other classes. Between HAVO and VWO there does not appear to be a significant difference in the use of the regional language. Males and females do not differ too much in their use of the regional language, although males would use it a bit more at school, the sport club and with their friends while females claim to use it a bit more with their siblings and their grandparents. In other words, the males would use the regional language more outside the home, while females would use it more at home.

5.4 Attitude of younger generation towards regional language
When it comes to the attitude of the younger generation towards the regional language, it is very apparent that there is a more negative attitude towards the regional language than to Dutch. However, in how friendly the languages sound there is no difference between Dutch and the regional language. This, however, is a positive development, as it seems to be something that people can identify the regional language with, as still being friendly.

In the attitude towards the regional language, there are no major differences between males and females except that females do find the regional language sound richer than males do. In comparison with Dutch, it is still very negative though. Although the females and males did not report a considerable difference in their use of the regional language, it could be expected that no major differences would then appear in their attitude towards it.

It is interesting that age did seem to influence how positive the regional language would be viewed with those that are younger, class 2 (13-14 years), being more positive regarding the regional language when it comes to modernity, cleverness and beautifulness than their schoolmates from class 4 (15-19 years). Why this is the case, is not clear from the rest of the data, but it could be due to the fact that the older class is closer to going to college or work and thus might find the regional language less and less important. There is a
probability that the older class has been told more often that the regional language does not sound very clever or beautiful or anything which has colored their view on the language, or it could be something completely different.

Nevertheless, the differences between those that use the regional language and those that do not as regards to the attitude towards it is very clear. When the regional language is not used the attitude towards it is a lot more negative than when the regional language is used. This is a clear conclusion, and therefore, it could be beneficial to those institutions that want to preserve and promote the regional language to offer introductory courses in high schools about the regional language to draw attention to it.

5.5 Linguistic features that play a role in triggering attitude

Regarding the linguistic features that play a role in triggering the attitude towards the regional language, this thesis has shown evidence for the lexicon being one of those linguistic features. Between the results for Dutch and Dutch with Steenwijks lexicon, significant differences were found for all antonyms, except for Friendly and Rich. However, all the antonyms, except Friendly, differed significantly from each other between Dutch with Steenwijks lexicon and Steenwijks. This also shows that there must be other linguistic features that play a role in triggering the attitude towards the regional language. Those other linguistic features are described in section 3. It is not determinable to say which linguistic feature would play the biggest role in triggering the attitude, and if they are all equally important. The current research has proven that, when all those linguistic features are put together, creating the variety of Steenwijks, the attitude towards the regional language is more negative than when a mere one linguistic feature is analyzed.
Chapter 6: Conclusion

In conclusion, in this research, important conclusions can be drawn in answer to the research questions in section 2.5. The folk perception on Steenwijk and its language are positive: people are happy with the surroundings of Steenwijk and the peace and quiet that can be found there. There is no clear perception on the language of Steenwijk, but it is described in much detail in section 3. However, a clear difference was found in this thesis between what Steenwijks is, theoretically, and how it is used in practice.

Regarding the use of, and attitude towards, the regional language of the younger generation, the research done in this thesis is important as it shows that the regional language is still being used among the younger generation and with 56.3% this is actually surprisingly high and not too far off from what Bloemhoff (2005) had found for adults. When the use of the regional language with the parents is compared with the data from Bloemhoff (2005) and Driessen (2012) who found that parents speak the regional language less and less with their children, then the results are quite positive with 26.2% of the students reporting to still speak it with their parents. Looking at those numbers there seems to be no further decline happening at the moment in the use of the regional language in Steenwijk. However, the attitude towards the regional language is very negative which is in line with the findings by Gal (1978). Contrary to Gal (1978) though, no differences were found between males and females. Where Giesbers (2008) did not find a difference in a more positive attitude towards the regional language when the regional language was used more. Yet in this research this has been found. Those that reported to use the regional language were in general more positive to the regional language than those that did not use it at all.

This makes it clear that an important initiative that can be taken by institutions and people, dealing with the regional language in the Low Saxon area, is to provide ways in which more children can be exposed to the regional variety as the expectation would be that it will lead to a more positive attitude towards the regional language.

As Bloemhoff (2008a) already noted, it was concluded in 2003 by Vliegenthart that there is no reason why Low Saxon should not be recognized in part III of the European charter for regional and minority languages. Recognition in part III will make it easier to make sure that material will be made available for children and that also teachers and parents can be prepared and instructed to teach the regional variety in all the different places, but at this point it is not clear why recognition has not come yet or when it finally will come.

Furthermore, the research in this thesis has confirmed that linguistic features can
trigger an effect on the attitude towards the regional language. In this research, it was the lexicon that was an influential aspect.

The research in this thesis has helped to clarify some of the open questions regarding the language in Overijssel, but it has also left some questions open that still need to be further investigated. For example: when more participants are asked about their perception on Steenwijk and the language, will it show the same results as in this thesis? The how of the use of the regional language needs to be determined. When the high school students claim to use the regional language is it using the different varieties in their proper form? Or is it perhaps more a mix of different varieties and Dutch, or Dutch with some lexical items from the regional language? Also, how is the use of the regional language and the attitude towards it in other cities within Overijssel, or the entire Low Saxon language area. Steenwijk is on the border of a few different areas. Perhaps a city in the middle of the province is more positive towards the regional language and uses it more, as Bloemhoff (2005) also found that the region around Steenwijk is where the regional language is used less than in other parts of the province. In addition, why is it exactly that there is such a negative attitude towards the regional language? The results in this research have helped to realize that lexicon does play a part as well, but that this is certainly not the main instigator. It probably has more to do with the status that people give to a certain language, but it would be interesting to see whether there are some other linguistic features that contribute to the more negative attitude towards the regional language.
References


Appendices

**Appendix 1: Text used for recordings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>In Steenwijk zijn we heel normaal. Daar kijken we je raar aan als je kaspones hebt. Dan zeggen wij dat je niet goed wijs bent. Doordeweeks wordt er hard gewerkt en soms is er ‘s zaterdags een feestje, want daar houden de Steenwijkers wel van. Maar als je aan het sukkelen bent omdat het te vermoeiend is, zijn de Steenwijkers wel zo verstandig je naar huis te brengen, voordat je achterover op je rug valt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dutch</strong> with lexical items in Steenwijk</td>
<td>In Steenwijk binnen wi’j eel normaal. Daor kieken wi’j oe raer oan as kapsoanes emmen. Dan seggen se da-j neet good dege binnen. Deur de weke wurdt der hurd wurke en no en dan is der sneons in feestje, want dêr hâlde Stienwikers wol fan. Mar a-j an ’t krummelen binnen omdat ’t te ôfmêdzjend is, binne de Steenwijkers wel zo verstaandig oe naar uus te brengen, veurda-j achterover op de karsemarse valen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Steenwijk</strong></td>
<td>Yn Stienwyk binne wy hiel gewoan. Dêr sjogge wy dy nuver oan ast kapsoanes hast. Dan sizze wy datsto net wiis bist. Troch de wike wurdt der hurd wurke en no en dan is der sneons in feestje, want dêr hâlde Stienwikers wol fan. Mar asto oan it slûchjen bist om’t it te ûfmêdzjend is, binne Stienwikers sa ferstannich wol om dy nei hûs te bringen, foardatst efteroer op de rêch falst.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frisian</strong></td>
<td>In Steenwijk we are very normal. There we will give you a weird look when you put on airs. Then we will say to you that you are out of your mind. On weekdays we work very hard and sometimes on Saturdays there is a party, because Steenwijkers do love a party. But when you are struggling because it is too exhausting, the Steenwijkers are wise enough to bring you home before you will fall backwards on your back.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Appendix 2: Questionnaire matched guise 1:**


In het formulier word je gevraagd op een vijfpuntschaal aan te geven in welke mate verschillende
eigenschappen op de verschillende spreeksters of talen van toepassing zijn. Als jij bijvoorbeeld vindt dat de spreekster van een fragment rijk klinkt, dan geef je dat aan met een kruisje in de cirkel die het dichtste bij “rijk” staat op de schaal van “arm” tot “rijk”.

Als jij echter vindt dat de spreker arm klinkt, dan geef je dat aan met een kruisje in de cirkel die het dichtste bij “arm” staat:

Als jij vindt dat de spreekster een beetje rijk of een beetje arm klinkt, dan geef je dat aan met een kruisje in de cirkels tussen de extreme punten, zo:

Indien jij geen mening hebt, dan geef je dat aan met een kruisje in het midden.

**Fragment 1**

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Licht eventueel jouw antwoord toe:

Weet jij welke taal je zojuist hebt gehoord, zo ja, welke?

**Fragment 2**

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Licht eventueel jouw antwoord toe:

Weet jij welke taal je zojuist hebt gehoord, zo ja, welke?

**Fragment 8**

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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wat vindt jij van deze taal?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lelijk</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Licht eventueel jouw antwoord toe:

Weet jij welke taal je zojuist hebt gehoord, zo ja, welke?

**Fragment 9**

Welke indruk maakt de spreekster? Deze spreekster klinkt:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ouderwets</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>dom</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wat vindt jij van deze taal?

lelijk  O  O  O  O  O  mooi

Licht eventueel jouw antwoord toe:

Weet jij welke taal je zojuist hebt gehoord, zo ja, welke?

Vragenlijst

1. Wat is volgens jou de mooiste taal of het mooiste dialect ter wereld?

2. Leeftijd:

3. Geslacht:    Man  Vrouw

4. Studierichting:

5. Geboren (plaats, land):

6. Geboorteplaats ouders:

7. Welke talen heb je (bijvoorbeeld op school) geleerd?

8. Spreek je dialect/streektaal met:
   - ouders;     ja/nee
   - broers/zussen; ja/nee
   - vrienden;   ja/nee
   - op school;  ja/nee
   - op je sportclub; ja/nee
   - grootouders; ja/nee

9. Gebruik je dialect/streektaal ook op:
   Facebook;     ja/nee
   WhatsApp;     ja/nee
   Twitter;      ja/nee

10. Schrijf je wel eens in dialect/streektaal?

11. Lees je wel eens in dialect/streektaal?

12. De volgende woorden komen voor in het Steenwijks. Weet jij de betekenis ervan?
   Stootje:
   Kraenewaeken:
   aarfst:
   möggen:
   gallig: