

MASTER THESIS YOUTH STUDIES  
FACULTY SOCIAL AND BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCES



**Utrecht University**

## **Goa'j met brommers kiek'n?**

About the use of dialects among adolescents in the province of Overijssel

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*Submission date:* June 12, 2018

*Word count:* 6,886

### Author note

This research is commissioned by the *IJsselacademie*, a knowledge center and production house for regional culture in the province of Overijssel, by order of the local authorities of this province.

## Abstract

**Purpose:** Two studies were conducted to determine which factors and motives influence whether a dialect is spoken, particularly for adolescents in the province of Overijssel. **Methods:** Study 1 consists of a secondary data analysis of Van der Boom's (2018) work. In her study, 355 participants (13-19 years,  $M=15.4$ ) completed a survey about attitude towards dialect and demographic data (i.e. gender, education level and residence). A multiple regression analysis was used to test whether gender, educational level, residence and attitude, i.e. positive attitude and familiar attitude are related to speaking a dialect. Study 2 used six focus group discussions to determine new motives influence whether a dialect is spoken. In total, 74 participants (13–18 years,  $M=15.5$ ) participated in Study 2. **Results:** Study 1 shows that participants with lower education levels, who live in small towns and with higher familiar attitudes towards dialects have a greater chance of speaking a dialect. Furthermore, an interaction shows that the relationship between education and speaking a dialect has a stronger effect among male adolescent than among female adolescents. Study 2 shows that the importance of being intelligible, speaking Standard Dutch in formal situations and negative attitudes towards dialects were motives for participants to not speak a dialect. Speaking in informal situations with parents and friends was a motive for participants to speak a dialect. **Conclusion:** Education level, residence and familiar attitude are related to speaking a dialect. Furthermore, the relationship between education and speaking a dialect has a stronger effect among male adolescents than among female adolescents. Important motives for adolescents to not speak a dialect are the need to be intelligible, formal situations and negative attitudes. Speaking a dialect in informal situations is a motive for adolescents to speak a dialect.

*Keywords:* Dialect; Regional language; Gender; Education level; Residence; Intelligible; Formal situations; Informal situations; Attitude; Dutch adolescents; Overijssel

## Samenvatting

**Doel:** Onder Overijsselse adolescenten zijn twee studies uitgevoerd om te bepalen welke factoren en motieven een invloed hebben op het spreken van een dialect. **Methode:** Studie 1 bestaat uit analyseren van secundaire data verzameld door Van der Boom (2018). In haar studie vulden 355 Overijsselse adolescenten (13-19 jaar,  $M = 15.4$ ) een enquête in over attitudes ten opzichte van dialect en demografische gegevens i.e. sekse, woonplaats en opleidingsniveau. Een regressieanalyse is uitgevoerd om te testen of sekse, woonplaats, opleidingsniveau en attitude, i.e. positieve attitude en vertrouwde attitude een relatie hebben met het spreken van een dialect. Studie 2 bestaat uit het houden van zes focusgroepen onder 74 Overijsselse adolescenten (13-18 jaar,  $M = 15.5$ ) om te onderzoeken welke motieven een invloed hebben op het spreken van een dialect. **Resultaten:** Studie 1 laat zien dat adolescenten met lager opleidingsniveau, die in een dorp wonen en een hoger vertrouwde attitude hebben, een grotere kans hebben op het spreken van een dialect. Een interactie-effect toont aan dat de relatie tussen opleidingsniveau en het spreken van een dialect een sterkere invloed heeft op mannen dan op vrouwen. Studie 2 laat zien dat het belang van verstaanbaar zijn, het standaard Nederlands spreken in formele situaties en een negatieve attitude ten opzichte van dialect belangrijke motieven zijn om geen dialect te spreken. Het spreken van dialect in informele situaties met ouders en vrienden is een motief om wel een dialect te spreken. **Conclusie:** Opleidingsniveau, woonplaats en vertrouwde attitude hebben een relatie met het spreken van een dialect. De relatie tussen opleidingsniveau en het spreken van een dialect heeft een sterkere invloed op mannen dan op vrouwen. Belangrijke motieven om geen dialect te spreken, zijn: verstaanbaar zijn, formele situaties en een negatieve attitude. Dialect spreken in informele situaties is een motief om wel een dialect te spreken.

*Keywords:* Dialect; Sekse; Opleidingsniveau; Woonplaats; Attitude; Verstaanbaar; Formele situaties; Informele situaties; Nederlandse adolescenten; Overijssel

## INTRODUCTION

People use dialects to express their personal and social identities. A dialect is defined as any language variety guided by a set of grammatical, phonetic and lexical features that are shared by a group (Carver, 1987; Oetting & McDonald, 2002). Dialects are important in creating regional identities. Vandekerckhove and Nobels (2010) precisely identify where 53 Flemish adolescents (14 to 16 years) came from through the relative frequencies of dialectal versus standard features in chat messages. Speaking a dialect leads to social commitment and a recognition of a province or region (Cornips, 2016). Furthermore, speaking a dialect plays a role in personal identity (Frijhoff, 2004). Van Oostendorp and Van den Berg (2012) indicate that when individuals identify with a language and/or are proud of their place of origin, they tend to speak a dialect more often. Furthermore, the use of a dialect is regarded as important for individual identity (Van Oostendorp & Van den Berg, 2012).

*Dialect* is what a person speaks as determined by who he or she is. *Register* is what a person speaks as determined by what he or she is doing at the time (Halliday, 1978). The term register refers to a variation of language determined by a situation or context (Solano-Flores, 2006). Goossens (1987) mentions the following rule about registers and dialects: the more the domain gives rise to self-control when speaking, which occurs in formal situations and with highly social individuals, and when people manage the dialect well, the stronger the tendency will be to use standard language instead of a dialect. In contrast, in informal situations, dialects are spoken more often. However, Dutch adolescents only use the standard language in informal situations (Willemyns, Vandenbussche, & Drees, 2010). Furthermore, Standard Dutch becomes more important than a dialect in family settings (Hagen, 1989, p.53). An explanation for this could be the many descriptive studies in the 1970s about the negative consequences of speaking a dialect on academic performance (Batelaan, 1978). However, several studies indicate no difference in academic performance between individuals who speak a dialect and those who use the standard language (Kroon & Vallen, 2004; Yao, Ohinata, & van Ours, 2016).

There are even several benefits of growing up with a dialect and a standard language (i.e. bilingualism). One benefit is increased cultural awareness and the ability to break down national, ethnic and linguistic stereotypes. One motive in second language learning is for individuals to become aware of the cultural differences between individuals who speak different languages (Baker, 2011, p. 120). In addition, growing up bilingual is of educational and academic value. The memorization, analysis and negotiation it requires has led language learning to be regarded as a valuable academic activity (Baker, 2011, p. 120).

However, fewer individuals use dialects. Kraaykamp's (2005) study shows that there has been a decrease in dialect speakers in the Netherlands among all age groups. Moreover, worldwide dialects are threatened with extinction, and where dialects survive, they do so with markedly fewer speakers from one generation to the next (Chambers, 2000). Some explanations for this decrease are changes in mobility, urbanization and literacy (Chambers, 2000).

Furthermore, Dutch adolescents speak dialects less frequently than the older generations do. A survey of dialect speakers (11–91 years) in different parts of the Netherlands (i.e. Zeeland, Brabant and Limburg) shows that younger participants use dialects less than the older participants do (Van de Velde, Van de Wijngaard, Schrier, Swanenberg, & De Tier, 2008). Other studies have also shown similar age effects on dialect use (Driessen, 2005; Driessen & Withagen, 1999).

While fewer individuals, specifically adolescents, speak a dialect, speaking a dialect has several functions and benefits. There seems to be a need to preserve the use of dialects among adolescents. The local authorities of Overijssel have noticed this issue in their province, as there has been a decrease in speakers of Low Saxon, the dialect of Overijssel.

This decrease is shown in Driessen's (2006) study. Between 1995 and 2003, the percentage of parents who spoke Low Saxon decreased from 34% to 15%, and their children's rate of speaking Low Saxon declined from 8% to 2%. However, Bloemhoff (2005) shows different figures for Low Saxon speakers based on data from a telephone sample of the Low Saxon language area, indicating that 1,605,00 of the 3,035,00 inhabitants actively use Low Saxon. A possible explanation for the difference between these studies could be that Driessen's (2006) study sample was younger in age; only 15% of the mothers were older than 40 and roughly 33% of the fathers were older than 40 (Driessen, 2006). Dialect use is favoured among older individuals (Goeman & Jongenburger, 2009). Van der Boom's (2018) study of 355 adolescents (13–19 years) in Overijssel shows that 10.7% of the adolescents indicated speaking a dialect, 43.7% indicated speaking a dialect to some degree and 45.6% indicated not speaking a dialect. In summary, it is unclear how many individuals still use Low Saxon.

Low Saxon is spoken in Overijssel and other areas in the Netherlands, including Groningen, Drenthe, Stellingwerven (Friesland), Achterhoek, Veluwe and Urk (Bloemhoff & Van der Kooi, 2008, p. 54; Driessen, 2005). In fact, Overijssel contains multiple regional variants of Low Saxon (Driessen, 2005), such as Twents, Sallands, Stellingswerfs and Drengs (Nijen Twilhaar, 2003, p. 20). These regional variants of Low Saxon could be explained through the context of the historical backgrounds of the specific regions (Bloemhoff & Van der Kooi, 2008, p. 100).

*Gender, education level, residence and language attitudes in relation to speaking a dialect*

Speaking a dialect is influenced in several ways. Previous studies have explored the relationship between gender and speaking a dialect. Multiple studies show that boys speak dialects more often than girls do (Goeman & Jongenburger, 2009; Ladegaard, 1998, 2000; Van der Boom, 2018; Wilting et al., 2014). Men feel more comfortable using their regional language, and they are prouder of their dialect than women tend to be (Ladegaard, 1998).

There are some theories about these gender differences in the use of dialects. One of is Labov's (1972) status-consciousness model in which women's preferences for standard norms may be explained in terms of the insecurity of their social position, which emphasizes their need to gain prestige through language. Furthermore, Douglas-Cowie's (1978) social ambition theory suggests females have a more negative attitude towards their local community than males do. Therefore, women are more likely to not use their local language or dialect. In addition, women generally have educational and professional ambitions that focus on securing prestigious jobs (Ladegaard, 1998). According to Chambers (1995), this gender difference is related to the greater mobility of women in urban work settings and consequently their greater breadth of social and geographical contacts. However, these theories were described decades ago and include individual social circumstances, but these social circumstances are not studied in this research. So, there is no directly relevant theory.

Education level also influences speaking a dialect. Several studies indicate that individuals in lower social classes speak dialects more often than individuals in higher social classes (Driessen, 2005; Driessen & Withagen, 1999; Goeman & Jongenburger, 2009; Van der Boom, 2018; Wilting, Van Hout, & Swanenberg, 2014). Individuals from families with low-educated parents speak a dialect relatively more often than families with highly educated parents do (Kraaykamp, 2005). On the other hand, highly educated parents have a better knowledge of Standard Dutch and speak it more often (Driessen & Withagen, 1999).

Residence also has an influence on speaking a dialect. Generally, individuals in the countryside are associated with dialect usage (Driessen, 2005; Goeman & Jongenburger, 2009; Kraaykamp, 2005; Van der Boom, 2018). Furthermore, Driessen (2005) indicates that the loss of dialects first occurs in cities.

Additionally, previous research has established that an individual's *attitude* towards dialects has an influence on whether they speak a dialect. In general, language attitudes are beliefs and opinions that individuals hold about different language varieties and the people who speak them (McCullough, Clopper, & Wagner, 2017). Ladegaard (2000) shows that individuals who express more positive attitudes towards local language variants use dialects more often

than individuals who are more reserved, or even negative, in their attitudes towards local variants and those who express more positive attitudes towards standard language. Additionally, a positive attitude may encourage individuals to comprehend the language in question, whereas a negative attitude discourages subjects from trying (Beijering, Gooskens, & Heeringa, 2008, p.11).

Furthermore, data from several studies suggest that comprehension difficulties decrease as familiarity with a speaker of a different dialect or native language increases (Floccia, Goslin, Girard, & Konopczynksi, 2006; Scott & Culter, 1984). Familiarity via increased exposure to a particular accent or dialect has been found to facilitate comprehension (Gass & Varonis, 1984), suggesting that familiarity promotes a listener's willingness to comprehend the message, even when it is not intelligible (Matsuura, Chiba, & Fujieda, 1999).

### *Current study*

This study focuses on adolescents in Overijssel. Do these adolescents speak a regional variant of Low Saxon and why do they speak a regional variant or not? This study investigates the factors and motivates which influence whether a dialect is spoken. The local authorities of Overijssel could use these factors in their plan of promoting dialect among adolescents. There is a need for promoting dialects, because less individuals and in particularly less adolescents use a dialect. If this phenomenon continues, dialects and the functions and benefits of speaking dialects will eventually disappear.

Study 1 is conducted to determine whether gender, education level, residence, attitude and familiarity also influence adolescents in the Overijssel. The aim of Study 1 is to test the relationship between the independent variables gender, education level, residence, attitude (i.e. positive attitude) and familiarity (i.e. familiar attitude) and the dependent variable speaking a dialect. Two hypotheses are formulated. The first tests if gender, education level and residence have a relationship with speaking a dialect. The second tests the relationship between the independent variables positive and familiar attitudes and the dependent variable speaking a dialect.

H1. Male adolescents with lower education levels and who live in small towns are more likely to speak a dialect than female adolescents with higher education levels and who live in cities (see Figure 1).

H2. Adolescents who have highly positive and familiar attitudes towards dialects are more likely to speak a dialect than adolescents who have less positive and familiar attitudes towards speaking a dialect (see Figure 1).

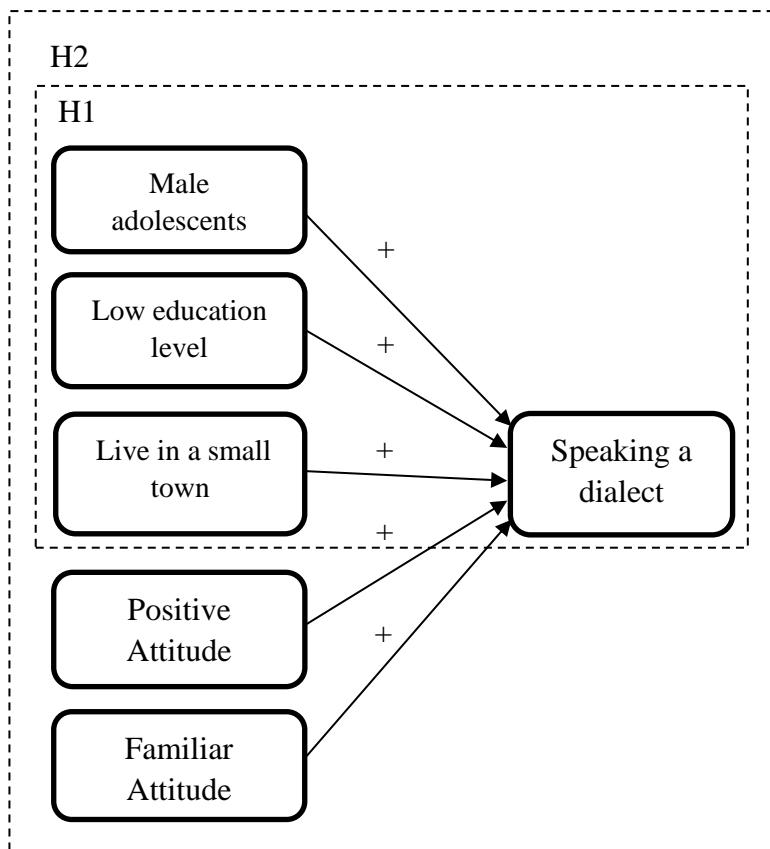


Figure 1. The relationship between different factors and speaking a dialect

Furthermore, regression analyses can determine whether any interacting relations are present. Therefore, is investigated if the three background factors have any two-way interaction effects with each other with regard to speaking a dialect. These interactions have not yet been scientifically researched; nothing is known about how these three factors interact. Therefore, this part of Study 1 has no hypothesis, because it is exploratory in nature.

Besides the factors described in Study 1, Study 2 aims to find new factors and motives that influence whether a dialect is spoken. There has been no detailed investigation of adolescents' motives to speak a dialect or not. This study contributes to a deeper understanding of dialect use among adolescents. This study consists of three different aims. The first is to investigate if adolescents are willing to learn a dialect and if they are aware of the functions of speaking a dialect. The second is to find new factors and motives that influence whether adolescents in Overijssel speak a dialect. The third is to discover the best way to promote dialect use according to the adolescents themselves. This study has no hypothesis, because it is designed to be exploratory and interpretative in nature.

### *Strategy of analysis*

Study 1 consists of a secondary data analysis of Van der Boom's (2018) work, which is performed using IBM SPSS Statistics 24.0. A principal factor analysis is used to investigate whether the nine attitude scales in Van der Boom's (2018) study could be subsumed under a general latent factor—positive vs. negative attitudes towards dialects. Descriptive results are presented according to gender, education level and residence in relation to speaking a dialect. Two multiple regression analyses are performed to test H1 and H2. The background variables are entered together in a multiple regression analyses. The attitude variables were entered together at Step 2 to examine the unique predictive utility of each variable over the background variables. Furthermore, is investigated if there are any two-way interaction effects between the three background variables on the dependent variable speaking a dialect (i.e. education\*gender, education\*residence and gender\*residence).

Study 2 analyses new qualitative data about adolescents' motives to speak a dialect or not, which were gathered through focus group discussions at preparatory secondary vocational schools in Overijssel.

## **STUDY 1**

### **METHODS**

#### **Participants**

Van der Boom's (2018) study had 355 participants (13–19 years,  $M = 15.4$ ), of which 52.4% were men and 47.6% were women. Among these participants, 67.9% had pre-university education, while 32.1% studied preparatory secondary vocational education. Furthermore, 31.9% of participants lived in cities, and 68.1% lived in towns. Of the 355 participants, 10.7% spoke a dialect, 45.6% did not speak a dialect and 43.7% spoke a dialect to some degree.

The participants came from six different high schools in Overijssel. The selection criteria for the high schools were based on region (i.e. two high schools in Salland, two in Twente and two in Kop van Overijssel) as well as the number of inhabitants of the respective locations (i.e. for each region, one school was located in a small town and one was located in a city). A city was defined as having more than 50,000 inhabitants.

#### **Measures**

The questionnaire was designed to measure if participants speak a dialect, participants' attitudes towards dialects and background information (i.e. age, gender, education level, place of birth and current residence).

Below is a description of the newly formed variables, which were used in the multiple regression analyses.

**Speaking a dialect.** A new variable was constructed for Question 2 (Do you speak a dialect?). In Question 2, the answers were first labelled as 1 = ‘Yes’, 2 = ‘No’ and 3 = ‘Some dialect’. In the new variable speaking a dialect, the categories were labelled as 1 = ‘No’, 2 = ‘Some dialect’ and 3 = ‘Yes’.

**Education level.** A new variable was constructed to measure education level. The answer categories vmbo BB, vmbo KB, vmbo TL and mavo were combined as 0 = ‘Low education level’, and the answer categories vwo and vwo+ were combined as 1 = ‘High education level’.

**Residence.** To measure residence, a new variable was constructed. Of all the places the 355 participants listed, only Almelo and Deventer had more than 50,000 inhabitants (the number of inhabitants was based on statistics from CBS). Almelo and Deventer were determined to be cities (1 = ‘City’), and all the other locations were determined to be small towns (0 = ‘Town’). An important note is that, in this study, current residence was analysed, not the participants’ place of birth.

**Attitudes towards dialects.** To measure attitude, new scales were created based on results of a principal factor analysis. The nine attitude scales used in this factor analysis were: important vs. unimportant, cosy vs. uncomfortable, silly vs. intelligent, vulgar vs. civilized, tough vs. soft, ugly vs. beautiful, old-fashioned vs. modern, intimate vs. superficial and serious vs. funny. Participants were asked to respond using these attitude scales after hearing sound fragments either in a dialect or in Standard Dutch using a five-point Likert scale where 5 indicated important, intelligent, cosy, civilized, tough, beautiful, modern, intimate and serious, respectively. On the other side of the scale, 1 indicated unimportant, silly, uncomfortable, vulgar, soft, ugly, old-fashioned, superficial and funny.

The principal factor analysis using oblimin rotation showed the participants’ attitudes towards dialects are grounded in two latent factors (see Table 1). Based on the selection criterion demanding that the eigenvalue of latent factors should be greater than 1, both factors were used in this study (Field, 2013, p.677). The eigenvalue of Factor 1 was 3.54, and the eigenvalue of Factor 2 was 1.40. Both factors together had a cumulative percentage of 61.67%. Factor 1 was labelled positive attitude and Factor 2 was labelled familiar attitude. These factors shared only 8.64% of their variance; this is a weak correlation.

Reliability was calculated using Cronbach's alpha. The reliability analysis of positive attitude, consisting of six items, showed a Cronbach's alpha of 0.82, and familiar attitude, consisting of two items, showed a Cronbach's alpha of 0.62. According to Pallant (2001); the value for Cronbach's alpha must be at least .50 for a scale with a small number of items to be able to judge as reliable. Based on this, positive attitude and familiar attitude were both reliable factors.

The descriptive statistics of these factors, based on a five-point Likert scale, were  $M = 2.62$ ,  $SD = .43$ ,  $\text{max} = 3.83$ ,  $\text{min} = 1.36$  for positive attitude and  $M = 3.10$ ,  $SD = .51$ ,  $\text{max} = 4.86$ ,  $\text{min} = 1.07$  for familiar attitude.

Table 1

*Factor loading positive attitude and familiar attitude*

Items	Factors	
	Positive attitude	Familiar attitude
Silly versus intelligent	.86	
Unimportant versus important	.65	
Ugly versus beautiful	.60	
Funny versus serious	.58	
Vulgar versus civilized	.57	
Old-fashioned versus modern	.53	
Uncomfortable versus cozy		.95
Soft versus though		.49
Eigenvalues	3.54	1.43
% of Variance	44.19	17.83
Cumulative %	44.19	62.02

*Note.* Items with communalities lower than .20 have been excluded. Rotation method: Oblimin rotation.

## RESULTS

### Descriptive Data

Table 2 presents an overview of the descriptive statistics of the three background variables of *speak a dialect*. Overall, a few participants indicated to speak a dialect but many more participants indicated being able to speak a dialect to some degree. As expected, the percentage of dialect speakers was higher for higher educated participants (12.2%) than for female adolescents (6.7%), higher for lower educated participants (18.5%) than for highly

educated participants (5.5%) and higher for participants living in towns (11.5%) than participants living in cities (5.5%). Furthermore, the percentage of non-dialect-speakers was higher for girls (53.7%) than for boys (39.2%), higher for highly educated participants (55.3%) than low educated participants (25.9%) and higher for participants living in cities (61.8%) than participants living in towns (38.7%).

Table 2

*Descriptive statistics of the background variables on speaking a dialect*

	Education level		Gender		Residence	
	Low (N=108)	High (N=237)	Boys (N=181)	Girls (N=164)	Town (N=235)	City (N=110)
	Speaking a dialect %					
No	25.9	55.3	39.2	53.7	38.7	61.8
Some degree of dialect	55.6	39.2	48.6	39.6	49.8	32.7
Yes	18.5	5.5	12.2	6.7	11.5	5.5

## Main results

### *Multiple regression analyses*

An overview of the parameters of the multiple regression analyses are presented in Table 3. This table displays the unstandardized coefficients ( $B$ ), standard errors ( $SE(B)$ ) and beta coefficients ( $\beta$ ). Significant coefficients are marked with signs that are explained at the bottom of the table.

The first multiple regression analysis was used to predict if male adolescents with lower education levels and who live in small towns are more likely to speak a dialect than female adolescents with higher education levels and who live in cities. Residence showed a negative, statistically significant relationship with speaking a dialect ( $\beta = -.21$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $f^2 = .05$ ) (see Table 3). In addition, education level showed a negative, statistically significant relationship with speaking a dialect ( $\beta = -.28$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $f^2 = .06$ ) (see Table 3). These results indicate that adolescents with lower education levels and who live in small towns have a higher chance of speaking a dialect. Interestingly, gender failed to show a statistically significant relation to speaking a dialect.

In the second model, attitudes were added to the equation. This model again shows a negative, statistically significant relationship of residence ( $\beta = -.15$ ,  $p < .010$ ,  $f^2 = .03$ ) and education level ( $\beta = -.31$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $f^2 = .10$ ) on speaking a dialect (see Table 3). As well, familiar

attitude ( $\beta = .19$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $f^2 = .03$ ) has a positive, statistically significant relationship with speaking a dialect (see Table 3). On the contrary, positive attitude failed to show a statistically significant influence on speaking a dialect.

Overall, relatively little was explained by the investigated factors in the regression models. Furthermore, these results show that education level, residence and familiar attitude are related to speaking a dialect.

#### *Interaction effects*

In addition, interaction effects between the background variables and *speaking a dialect* were tested. Only an interaction effect was shown between gender and education level ( $\beta = .34$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $f^2 = .05$ ) (see Table 3). This interaction shows that the relationship between education level and speaking dialect has a stronger effect for male adolescents than for female adolescents (see Figure 2).

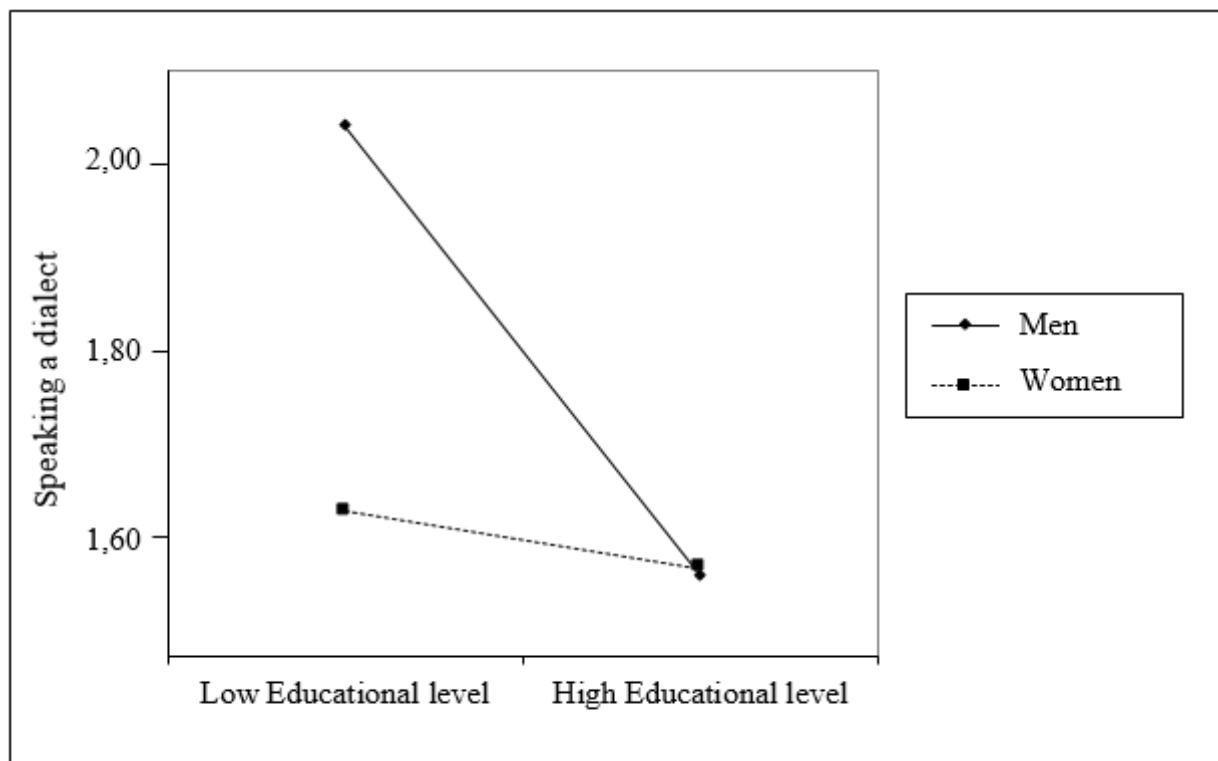


Figure 2. Interaction plot Education level \* Gender.

Table 3

*Multiple Regression Analyses of factors related to Speaking a dialect*

Variable	Model 1 Background variables			Model 2 1 + Attitudes			Model 3 1 + Edu*Gen			Model 4 1 + Edu*Res			Model 5 1 + Gen*Res		
	B	SE (B)	$\beta$	B	SE (B)	$\beta$	B	SE (B)	$\beta$	B	SE (B)	$\beta$	B	SE (B)	$\beta$
Gender (ref.= men)	-.11	.07	-.08	-.11	.07	-.08	-.44	.13	-.34**	-.10	.07	-.08	-.11	.08	-.08
Education level (ref.= low education level)	-.39	.07	-.28**	-.43	.07	-.31**	-.55	.09	-.34**	-.33	.09	-.24**	-.39	.07	-.28**
Residence (ref.= town)	-.29	.07	-.21**	-.21	.07	-.15*	-.30	.07	-.22**	-.16	.13	-.12	-.29	.10	-.21*
Positive Attitude				.09	.08	.06									
Familiar Attitude				.25	.07	.19**									
Interaction effects															
Education level*															
Gender							.46	.15	.34*						
Education level*															
Residence															
Gender*															
Residence															
R-square				.14			.18			.16			.14		.14

\*  $p < .01$ , one-tailed.\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , one-tailed.

## DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to test whether gender, education level, residence, positive attitudes and familiar attitudes influence whether a dialect is spoken. This study indicates that adolescents with lower education levels, who live in small towns and have a high familiar attitude towards speaking a dialect have a higher chance of speaking a dialect than adolescents with higher education levels, who live in cities, and have less familiar attitude towards speaking a dialect. These results are in line with those of previous studies.

Gender failed to show a relationship with speaking a dialect in a model with multiple variables, but in a single model, gender does show a relationship with speaking a dialect. However, the relationship between education and speaking a dialect has a stronger effect for male adolescents than for female adolescents. Douglas-Cowie's (1978) social ambition theory, which was described in the introduction section, could support this finding. This theory posits that women have a more negative attitude towards the local community (i.e. town) and therefore do not use the local dialect. It also could be that men have more positive attitude towards the local community (i.e. town) and thus use the local dialect more often. Further research should investigate theories regarding how gender, education and positive vs. negative attitudes align with speaking a dialect.

Positive attitudes failed to show a unique effect on speaking a dialect in a model with multiple variables. There could have been a mistake in interpreting the attitude scales as negative or positive factors. For example, in Item 7, old-fashioned was considered the negative factor and modern was considered the positive factor. However, old-fashioned could be perceived positively and modern could be perceived negatively. This could explain why positive attitude failed to show an influence on speaking a dialect.

Finally, the investigated factors explained relatively little in the models. This implies that there might be other factors that influence speaking a dialect. This offers a basis for further investigation into other factors that could influence speaking a dialect among adolescents. Therefore, Study 2 was conducted to investigate what motivates Overijssel adolescents to speak a dialect. In addition, this study examines whether adolescents are willing to learn a dialect and what the best option is for promoting dialect use among adolescents, according to adolescents themselves.

## STUDY 2

### METHOD

#### **Participants**

Six focus group discussions were held: two at the Etty Hillesum Lyceum in Deventer, two at the Weardenborch in Holten and two at the Erasmus VMBO in Almelo. In total, there were 74 participants (76.7% male and 23.3% female) with preparatory vocational education (41.7% vmbo Basis, 47.2% vmbo Kader, 11.1% vmbo Theoretic). The average age was 15.5 years ( $SD = .94$ ). Most participants studied at a school in Holten (43.2%), followed by Almelo (39.2%) and Deventer (17.6%). In total, 8.2% of the participants spoke a dialect fluently, 58.9% spoke a dialect to some degree and 32.9% did not speak a dialect. The most-spoken dialect among the participants was Twents (41.1%) followed by Sallands (8.2%).

#### **Measures**

The open structured questions in the focus group discussions were based on the literature described in the introduction. The important factors in this study were pride, regional identity, personal identity and attitude. The first statement was designed to determine whether the participants were willing to learn a dialect. The following three statements were designed to determine if the participants are aware of the functions of speaking a dialect (i.e. regional identity and personal identity). To investigate new motives and factors, the participants were asked why they speak a dialect. Furthermore, one question and two statements were asked to determine the participants' attitudes towards dialects. Finally, one statement was designed to find out if the participants are proud of their dialect. In total, two questions and seven statements were asked. The specific questions and statements are presented in Appendix 1.

After the second focus group discussion, the statements were compiled into a survey, which the participants could fill in to answer whether they agreed, disagreed or were neutral toward the respective statements.

#### **Procedure**

The participants were recruited based on previous contact with staff at the preparatory vocational schools from Study 1. Parental or guardian consent was obtained, since participants under 16 participated in this study. One parent did not give permission for their child to take part in this study, so this participant did not take part in the group discussion.

In every class, the total time of the lesson was 50 minutes. First, an introductory assignment was given to introduce the discussion. The participants had to write down at least three associations that they had when they heard the word 'dialect'. After, the focus group

discussions took place, which took between 25 and 30 minutes and was recorded using two mobile phones. After the discussion, the participants filled in a short survey from another trainee from the IJsselacademie with questions regarding their background information and whether they would use a dialect in the future; this took about 10 minutes. Finally, the participants were given an assignment to describe the best way to promote dialect use, which took about 10 minutes.

### **Data Analysis Plan**

The discussion data were converted to textual transcripts without noncommittal interjections such as ‘Uhh’ and ‘Ah’. The answers to each statement or question in the six focus group discussions were collected in one file, which was used for the coding process.

Coding means categorizing segments of data with a short name that summarizes and accounts for each data segment (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43). The codes were divided into major and minor themes per statement based on the frequency of the argument. Only the major themes per question are presented in the results section. Appendix 2 gives an overview of the major and minor themes of all the questions. All the transcripts were double-coded (intra-coding) to ensure a higher level of reliability (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The original Dutch quotes are presented in the results section. Translations of these quotes to English are presented in Appendix 3.

First, an overview of the survey’s result from the seven statements is presented in the results section. After, the answers per question or statement are presented. At the end of the results section, the results of the promotion assignment are briefly described. All the answers to this assignment are presented in Appendix 4.

## **RESULTS**

### **Descriptive Data**

Table 4 presents the percentage of participants who agreed, disagreed or were neutral toward the seven statements. In addition, the means and standard deviations of the seven statements are shown. The participants were asked to respond using a three-point scale, where 1 = Agree, 2 = Neutral and 3 = Disagree.

Overall, most of the participants did not want to learn to speak a dialect fluently ( $M = 2.37$ ,  $SD = .75$ ), disagreed that everybody should speak Standard Dutch ( $M = 2.26$ ,  $SD = .72$ ), found it acceptable to hear where an individual came from ( $M = 1.24$ ,  $SD = .47$ ), felt comfortable speaking or hearing a dialect ( $M = 1.92$ ,  $SD = .63$ ), disagreed that individuals who speak a dialect appear less intelligent ( $M = 2.20$ ,  $SD = .78$ ) and were proud of their dialects ( $M$

= 1.57, SD = .57). The distribution of the three answer categories in the statement ‘Speaking a dialect is part of my identity’ was almost equal at 31.4%, 37.3% and 31.4%.

Table 4

*Descriptive Statistics of the seven statements*

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Mean	SD
	%				
I would like to learn to speak the dialect fluently	15.7	31.4	52.9	2.37	.75
Everybody should speak Standard Dutch.	15.7	43.1	41.2	2.26	.72
It is alright to hear where you came from with regards to your dialect	78.4	19.6	2.0	1.24	.47
Speaking a dialect is part of my identity	31.4	37.3	31.4	2.00	.80
I feel comfortable when I speak a dialect or when I hear others speak in their dialect	23.5	60.8	15.7	1.92	.63
People who speak with a dialect seem to be less intelligent	21.6	37.3	41.2	2.20	.78
I am proud of my dialect or I will be proud of my dialect if I spoke a dialect.	47.1	49.0	3.9	1.57	.58

*Note.* This table is based from Focus Group Discussion 3 too Focus Group Discussions 6 (N=51).

**Main results**

The statement ‘I would like to learn to speak a dialect fluently’ was presented to the participants to investigate whether they were willing to learn a dialect. The overall response to this question was negative. Most participants did not want to learn a dialect, because they could not come up with a motive to do so or did not see any benefit of learning a dialect:

- “Ik vind het niet leuk om dialect te kunnen spreken, want heel veel mensen spreken het echt niet eens.” (1)
- “Ik zal niet weten waarom en wanneer ik het nodig zou hebben.” (2)
- “Het lijkt me gewoon niets. Ik bedoel kijk, als je nou Twents leert praten en je komt in Groningen of weet ik veel wat. Dan heeft het toch geen nut.” (3)
- “Ja, nou ik hoef het niet, want ik kan het wel verstaan, maar ik hoef het niet.” (4)

Furthermore, a small number of participants noted that speaking a dialect to some degree was already enough to communicate without any problems, so they did not have much reason to speak it fluently:

*“Met een heel klein beetje van het dialect kom je al wel heel ver hoor.” (5)*

*“Ja, ik had ook neutraal. Ik hoef niet vloeiend iets te spreken, als ik het al een beetje spreek.” (6)*

On the other hand, some participants were willing to learn to speak a dialect fluently. Their motive was that they felt a dialect sounds funny or they thought it was funny to speak with a dialect because others cannot understand what an individual is saying in dialect:

*“Ja, ik vind het gewoon grappig klinken.” (7)*

*“Het lijkt me wel grappig om een dialect te spreken. Ook wat hij zei, beetje ouwehoeren met je vrienden, mensen uitschelden, wel uiteindelijk zeggen van sorry ik schold je uit, maar dat je niet door.” (8)*

To investigate whether the participants were aware of the benefits of speaking a dialect, answers to the following statement were requested: ‘Everybody should speak Standard Dutch’. Some participants mentioned that if everybody spoke Standard Dutch, people would understand each other more easily:

*“Het is toch handig als je later een baan bijvoorbeeld hebt en je ergens anders in een andere stad gaat werken dat je gewoon al ABN-standaard. Minder snel sommigen, ja je gebruikt andere woorden soms en mensen hier begrijpen wat je bedoelt.” (9)*

*“Dialect praten mag, dat mag je zelf weten. Maar ABN toch ook, ABN kunnen is toch wel makkelijker.” (10)*

*“Maar het is wel handig als je een beetje ABN spreekt, want als je bijvoorbeeld naar Utrecht, ik noem maar wat, als je daar woont en werkt en je gaat daar plat praten, dan verstaan ze je eigenlijk niet, dus het is wel handig om ja gewoon voor hier is het handig dat je gewoon plat kan bijvoorbeeld, maar voor Utrecht ofzo is gewoon ABN wel handig.” (11)*

*“Ja, aan de ene kant wel zodat we elkaar natuurlijk in het hele land kunnen blijven verstaan.” (12)*

On the other hand, some participants did not mind when individuals spoke in dialects if those individuals were intelligible or if they could also speak Standard Dutch in addition their dialect. Furthermore, they claimed, ‘it would be boring if everyone only spoke Standard Dutch’:

*“Het maakt mij niet zoveel uit als je maar verstaanbaar bent.” (13)*

*“Je moet gewoon ABN kunnen praten, maar als je met een dialect moet praten, kan dat gewoon.” (14)*

*“Je mag best een dialect praten maar je moet ook nou ja je mag moet wel ook wel ABN kunnen.” (15)*

*"Ik vind niet dat het moet, ik vind niet dat er een verplichting is dat iedereen ABN moet praten maar het is wel handig dat je wel eruit komt met je ABN."* (16)

*"Dan wordt het zo saai van. Dan wordt het zo saai, omdat iedereen hetzelfde praat."* (17)

*"Dan zal Nederland best wel saai worden, want iedereen is wel nu anders, iedereen die praat anders, de een heeft een erg accent dan de ander. En als iedereen normaal praat dan is iedereen hetzelfde."* (18)

To determine if the participants were aware of a dialect's function as part of regional identity, they were asked to respond to the following statement: 'It is all right to hear where someone comes from in terms of dialect'. The overall response to this question was positive. Some participants indicated that one's dialect and place of origin are connected:

*"Een dialect laat eigenlijk zien juist waar je vandaan komt, omdat er in zoveel verschillende delen van het land ook zo veel verschillende soorten worden gebruikt. Dus eigenlijk is het bijna onmogelijk om het niet te laten horen via je dialect waar je dan zeg maar redelijk vandaan kom."* (19)

*"Je hoort wel meestal gewoon aan je stem en hoe je praat, waar je vandaan komt."* (20)

Furthermore, some participants mentioned that they were proud of their dialect or their place of birth and, therefore, nobody should be ashamed for their dialect:

*"Omdat ik er ook trots op ben, dus ga ik ook gelijk mee eens, je mag gewoon horen waar je vandaan komt."* (21)

*"De meeste mensen zijn trots op hun dialect en ook gelijk op hun geboorteplaats."* (22)

*"Je hoeft je er niet voor te schamen."* (23)

One participant agreed with the statement, but mentioned that it did not apply to someone who speaks Twents. This participant strongly disliked this dialect:

*"Ja, ik vind, je mag best horen waar je vandaan komt, maar ik heb gewoon een hekel aan Twents, ik vind het gewoon zo lelijk."* (24)

To determine if the participants were aware of a dialect's function as part of an individual's identity, respondents were asked to indicate whether speaking a dialect is a part of someone's identity, about which a variety of perspectives were expressed. Some participants mentioned that speaking a dialect belonged to an individual. Furthermore, a small number of participants indicated that speaking a dialect indicates where an individual comes from:

*“Ja, het hoort als je iemand kent die het wel spreekt dan hoort het gewoon bij je. Het versterkt of iemand die dat niet hoort doen of hij is het verleerd, weet ik veel, dan is het een beetje gek.” (25)*

*“Nou ja het is gewoon waar je vandaan komt, ja dat is ja dat is gewoon.” (26)*

*“Als je bijvoorbeeld, als iemand bijvoorbeeld als ik op vakantie ben, dan als bijvoorbeeld iemand Rotterdams praat ofzo, dan hoor je gelijk dat hij uit Rotterdam komt.” (27)*

*“Ja, weet ik eigenlijk niet. Ik vind het een beetje bij je plaats horen.” (28)*

On the other hand, some participants did not think that speaking a dialect is a part of an individuals' identity. Two participants mentioned that individuals could speak more than one dialect, and for this reason, a dialect is not a part of an individuals' identity. For example, someone could speak Twents but live in Groningen:

*“Ik ben persoonlijk van mening bijvoorbeeld dat dialect niet je identiteit bepaalt. Omdat je ook een menging van verschillende dialecten kan praten en dat dat niet meteen betekent dat je dat ook allemaal bent.” (29)*

Participant: *“Het is gewoon een toeval. En toepassing zeg maar, want ik kan ook gewoon twee dialecten praten en dat zegt niks, vind ik.”* Onderzoeker:

*“Nee, juist omdat je meerdere kan praten, zegt eigenlijk niks over.”*

Participant: *“Nee, eigenlijk helemaal niets. Want ik kan wel Twents gaan praten, maar ik kan dan ook in Groningen wonen zeg maar, zoiets.” (30)*

Furthermore, two participants mentioned that individuals could learn a dialect on their own. According to them, if someone learns a dialect, it is not part of their identity. Speaking a dialect is only part of someone's' identity if they are raised with it:

*“Omdat het niet bij je identiteit hoort, je kan het zelf ook aanleren.” (31)*

*“Mee oneens, want sommige mensen hebben geen dialect, ofzo en dan gaan ze het aanleren en dan vind ik niet echt dat het erbij hoort ofzo. Als je dialect hebt en het past bij je identiteit dan is het gewoon standaard en is het niet aangeleerd.” (32)*

The question ‘Why do you speak a dialect in daily life or not?’ looked into new motives to speak a dialect. Some participants indicated that they speak a dialect because their family or friends also speak a dialect or because they had been brought up speaking a dialect:

*“Ik ben er zo mee opgevoed, ja, we doen het thuis alleen maar.” (33)*

*“Ja, papa en mama praten het daarom praat ik het.” (34)*

*"Stel, je hele vriendengroep praat heel erg Twents, niet iedereen, maar de meesten gaan dan er dan gewoon in mee en die gaan zelf ook Twents praten." (35)*

On the other hand, some participants mentioned that they did not speak a dialect because their family did not speak a dialect or they had never learned to speak a dialect:

*"Thuis praten we ook niet echt met een dialect ... Er is nooit echt een dialect thuis geweest." (36)*

*"Het is me niet aangeleerd om in dialect te praten." (37)*

Furthermore, a few participants mentioned that the decision to speak a dialect depends on the situation, context or person. For example, it is acceptable to speak a dialect to family, but for individuals in public or at work, Standard Dutch is preferred:

*"Ja, bijvoorbeeld thuis of gewoon hier kun je wel gewoon normaal dialect praten, maar in zakenrelaties is dat minder handig." (38)*

Participant: *"Nou, ik vind het als je met mensen, bekende mensen doet van hier wel oké, maar als jij bijvoorbeeld in een winkel staat dan nee. Dan vind ik ook gewoon dat je je netjes moet houden."* Onderzoeker: *"Oké, dus tegen vrienden en familie zou je het wel doen."* Participant: *"Ja, tegen bekenden zeg maar. Die het ook doen, die het wel een beetje kunnen verstaan, maar niet in een winkel ofzo bij mensen die je niet kent."* (39)

To determine the participants' attitudes towards speaking a dialect, they were asked what they thought when they heard someone speaking a dialect. Some participants explained that they cannot understand what individuals say if they speak in a dialect. In addition, one participant found it annoying if someone spoke in dialect (i.e. someone could say something about another person in dialect that the other cannot understand):

*"Ik heb Google vertalen nodig, ik versta er gewoon niets van." (40)*

*"Als ik het niet versta zal ik wel graag willen dat ze het wel in normaal Nederlands vertalen. Ja, al ga ik naar Friesland zoiets, en dan gaat ie naar Nederland of ABN en dan komen ze en dan hoor ik opeens Fries en dan denk ik: nee, ga asjebließt even normaal graag."* (41)

*"Ik vind het soms wel ik heb het soms ook met niet-Nederlands buitenlanders en andere talen maar ook met dialect dat soms gewoon wel vervelend vind als je niet kan horen wat ze precies zeggen, want misschien zeggen ze wel iets over je."* (42)

In addition, a small number of participants referred to the Frisian language. The participants explained that they failed to understand Frisian speakers. Furthermore, they found this dialect annoying or boorish:

Participant: “*Ja, ik vond het Fries alleen irritant.*” Onderzoeker: “*Fries irritant, en voor de rest?*” Participant: “*Voor de rest, ja, gewoon niet zo heel erg.*” (43)

Participant: “*Nee, is gewoon lomp, het is meer onbeschoft dan dat je het begrijpt. Het zijn gewoon allemaal van die rare woorden die je niet begrijpt.*”

Onderzoeker: “*Wat? Het Fries bedoel je?*” Participant: “*Ja, daar versta je gewoon niks van.*” Onderzoeker: “*En wat voel je dan als je iemand dan zo hoort praten in het Fries?*” Participant: “*Dan kan je gewoon niet reageren, want je weet niet waar ze over praten, je weet niet wat ze zeggen.*” (44)

In addition, the statement ‘I feel comfortable when I speak in dialect or when I hear others speak in their dialect’ was given to determine the participants’ attitudes. Some participants were only comfortable with their own dialect; they preferred their dialects to others. Some participants found it normal to hear someone speak in a dialect:

Participant: “*Ja, alleen als het Brabants is.*” Onderzoeker: “*Oké, echt een voorkeur eigenlijk voor je eigen dialect?*” Participant: “*Ja.*” (45)

Onderzoeker: “*Dus zolang het maar je eigen dialect is?*” Participant: “*Ja dat is dan prima.*” (46)

“*Ja, ik vind het heel normaal als mensen met een dialect praten*” (47)

Again, some participants mentioned that speaking a dialect depends on the situation or person. Speaking a dialect is allowed with friends, but at work, individuals needed to be intelligible:

“*Nou, ik bedoel, van als je laat maar zeggen gewoon normaal met een groep vrienden bent en je kan gewoon normaal praten met een dialect is het gewoon makkelijker, maar dat kan bijvoorbeeld als je aan het werk bent en je moet gewoon goed verstaanbaar Nederlands praten, dat is ook weer anders.*” (48)

In addition, other participants indicated that they felt uncomfortable with dialects because they cannot understand them:

“*Ja, meestal is het zo, als ik het niet versta dan voel ik me echt heel, heel erg niet op mijn gemak zeg maar. Dan kan ik wel honderd keer vragen hè wat zeg je nou. Dat is echt nee, dat vind ik niet chill.*” (49)

*“Nja, ik kan zelf geen dialect, dus als je dan met iemand praat die wel een dialect praat, kan je geen normaal gesprek voeren. Dan kan je het dus niet verstaan.” (50)*

Participant X: *“Ja, ik vind dat je gewoon normaal Nederlands tegen elkaar kunt praten ofzo. Dialect is gewoon echt lastig te verstaan.” Participant X1: “Ja, helemaal mee eens.” Onderzoeker: “En daar voel je je ongemakkelijk bij als je het niet kunt verstaan?” Participant X: “Ja dan weet je niet wat een ander zegt.” (51)*

Again, the Frisian language was mentioned. Some participants cannot understand Frisian and therefore they feel uncomfortable when they hear it:

*Onderzoeker: “Oké. Zou iemand zich voor kunnen stellen dat als je iemand niet kan verstaan die in een dialect tegen jouw praat dat je dan een beetje ongemakkelijk van wordt?” Participant: “Ja, heb ik weleens gehad ja. Op vakantie kom je jongen tegen die woont in Friesland ofzo en dan gaat die in het Fries tegen je praten en dan versta ik niet wat het hij zegt.” (52)*

*“Oké, nou laten we zeggen, behalve als iemand Fries gaat praten dan, als iemand fries gaat praten heb ik er een probleem mee.” (53)*

*“Ik voel me niet zo op mijn gemak, als wij het niet verstaan, als iemand Fries praat.” (54)*

The last statement for determining the participants' attitudes was 'People who speak with a dialect appear less intelligent'. Some participants agreed with this statement, because they see individuals who speak dialects as boorish or rude:

*“Nee, maar, wat ik, ik vind niet slecht ofzo, maar ik vind boers wat minder. Maar wat ik denk, dat vind ik minder. Minder intelligenter dan, dan nou zoals we nu praten. Omdat het, wat, het klinkt gewoon, dat vind ik zo klinken, dat vind ik zo MWeh klinken. Dat is, dat klinkt minder. Minder deftig ja, laat ik het zo zeggen.” (55)*

*“Ja, dat vind ik wel. Als je Twents praat word je altijd uitgemaakt voor domme boer ofzo. Er wordt altijd minder intelligent over gedaan en dan als je ABN-praat is het een hele andere professor zeg maar. Wat je dan hoort.” (56)*

Participant: *“Een beetje. Ja, boeren enzo die komen dan zo lomp over enzo.”*

Onderzoeker: *“Een beetje een vooroordeel?” Participant: “Ja, dat, maar het is ook gewoon zo, ik kan er niet zoveel aan doen.” (57)*

*“Het komt zo lomp over of niet.” (58)*

The Frisian language was mentioned; some participants considered it rude and silly:

*“Nou, als je Fries hoort, klinkt gewoon lomp.” (59)*

Participant: “*Ja Fries, ik vind niet dat echt heel overkomt of je heel slim bent ofzo.*” Onderzoeker: “*Als je Fries praat of alleen bij Fries of ook bij andere dialecten?*” Participant: “*Vooral bij Fries.*” (60)

However, a couple of participants did not understand how individuals who speak a dialect could be judged as less intelligent:

“*Omdat een dialect spreken is, sommige mensen vinden dat gewoon fijner. Ik snap niet waarom dat niet intelligent over zou komen.*” (61)

“*Ik vind het gewoon nergens op slaan. Je accent zegt toch niets over hoe intelligent je bent.*” (62)

To determine if the participants were proud of their dialect, the next statement was ‘I am proud of my dialect or I would be proud of my dialect if I spoke a dialect’. The responses here were diverse, but most participants agreed with the statement. Some were proud of their dialect, because they saw it as a part of their identity. Other reasons were that a dialect represents a specific area or history of a country, and speaking a dialect is special:

“*Ja, het is een deel van jezelf.*” (63)

“*Nou ja, ik vind dat je trots moet zijn op hoe je bent, ja daar mag je trots op zijn en je geeft aan bij welke groep je hoort ja dus.*” (64)

“*Ja, omdat je ja het is gewoon een deel van jouw imago om het maar even zo te zeggen. Dat mensen jou zien als je dialect praat.*” (65)

“*Ja, het hoort toch eigenlijk wel thuis in deze plek, ja in Twents, in Twente.*” (66)

“*Dan zal ik er alsnog trots op zijn, want het geeft wel iets mee van mijn geschiedenis. Van mijn herkomstland.*” (67)

“*Het is iets wat niet iedereen heeft. Het is toch iets speciaals.*” (68)

On the other hand, some participants were not proud of their dialect or the use of a dialect, because they did not speak a dialect, did not find dialects to be beautiful or found it important that individuals speak Standard Dutch:

“*Ik heb zo iets van ik spreek zelf geen dialect, dus ik weet niet hoe het zou moeten zijn.*” (69)

“*Omdat ik zelf geen dialect spreek of gewoon heel normaal.*” (70)

Participant: “*Ik vind het echt heel lelijk, als je dat terug hoort ik bedoel dan.*”

Onderzoeker: “*Ja, dus dan zou je er niet trots op zijn.*” Participant: “*Nee.*” (71)

“*Iedereen heeft een dialect lijkt mij. Zolang je maar verstaanbaar bent.*” (72)

“*Omdat ik, zoals ik net ook al zei, het belangrijk dat je gewoon goed Nederlands spreekt. Dat je gewoon verstaanbaar bent.*” (73)

In the final assignment, the participants described what they think is the best way to promote dialect use. The options the adolescents mentioned most often were lessons at elementary school and social media. Another option was teaching dialect through games set in a specific dialect.

## DISCUSSION

The first aim of this study was to investigate if adolescents are willing to learn a dialect and are aware of the functions of speaking a dialect. This study indicates that most participants did not want to learn a dialect. Most saw no benefits in learning a dialect. Remarkably, most participants disagreed that everybody should speak Standard Dutch. Adolescents mentioned that dialect represents a specific area or history of a country, and that speaking a dialect is special. Therefore, even if adolescents do not want to learn a dialect, they also do not want dialects to become extinct.

Furthermore, most of the participants found it acceptable to hear an individual's regional identity, but their responses to the idea that a dialect is a part of an individual's identity were divided. It could be that the participants did not appreciate the importance of personal identity. However, as shown in the introduction, speaking a dialect has several functions, for example is part of one's regional and personal identity and offers several individual benefits. Therefore, to promote the use of dialects among adolescents, it is necessary to make adolescents aware of the functions and benefits of speaking a dialect.

The second aim of this study was to determine why adolescents do or do not speak a dialect. Being intelligible could be a motive for adolescents to not speak a dialect. The participants found it important that individuals are intelligible, and for most, a dialect is associated with being unintelligible. Furthermore, several participants had rather negative attitudes towards dialects. A couple of participants found individuals who speak a dialect to be boorish or rude, or they did not find dialects to be appealing.

In general, the relationship between attitude and intelligibility is weak in experimental settings (Gooskens, 2006; Van Bezooijen & Gooskens, 2007). However, this study seems to suggest this relation, especially regarding the Frisian language, in all the six focus group discussions. The participants had negative attitudes towards the Frisian language because they could not understand Frisian speakers. This is in line with previous studies, wherein the listener experiences difficulty comprehending the speaker's meaning. As a result, the listener may develop negative attitudes towards accented speech or dialects (Cargile, Giles, Ryan, & Bradac, 1994; Lindemann, 2002).

The decision to speak a dialect or not depends on the situation, context or person. This phenomenon was introduced in the introduction as *register*. The participants were able to use prior knowledge to define formal and informal situations. According to the results, dialects are mainly used in informal settings with family and friends. On the other hand, Standard Dutch is used at work or in public. This finding is in line with the literature, which suggests dialects are spoken more often in informal situations (Ferguson, 1959).

The final aim was to discover the best way to promote dialect use among adolescents. The options the adolescents mentioned most often were lessons at elementary school, social media and games. Learning a second language or dialect in elementary school has several advantages; it increases a child's cognitive abilities, enhances achievement in other subjects and is positively correlated with higher test scores (Stewart, 2005). Based on the literature, learning a dialect in elementary school would be a positive option. Furthermore, if the local authorities of Overijssel decide to promote dialects through social media, they must be aware that the use of social media in promotions should be valued for its potential to engage audiences for enhanced communications and its improved capacity to promote programmes, products and services (Neiger et al., 2012). Further research should be undertaken to investigate the best options for promoting dialects among adolescents according to the extant literature.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

The local authorities of Overijssel want to know if they should promote dialects among adolescents as well as which factors or motives they could use in their promotional plan. In general, most adolescents do not want to learn a dialect and most are not aware of the functions of speaking a dialect. Furthermore, important factors that local authorities should consider are education level and residence; adolescents with lower education levels and living in small towns are more likely to speak a dialect than adolescents with higher education levels and living in cities. Furthermore, male adolescents with lower educational levels speaks more often dialect than female adolescents with lower educational levels. However, at higher educational levels the percentages of dialect speakers are almost the same for female and male adolescents. Moreover, important motives for adolescents to not speak a dialect include the importance of being intelligible, formal situations and negative attitudes towards dialects in general. Speaking a dialect in informal situations with parents and friends is a reason for adolescents to speak a dialect. Finally, the best ways of promoting dialect according to the adolescents themselves is at elementary education, social media or games.

## Strengths and Limitations

While quantitative and qualitative research approaches each have their strengths and weaknesses, they can be extremely effective in combination. This study is, in part, quantitative to determine cause and effect relationships between different factors regarding speaking a dialect. The qualitative part of the study, on the other hand, provides an in-depth view of the opinions of adolescents towards speaking a dialect and to find new motives for adolescents to speak a dialect.

Furthermore, Study 1 has a higher external validity than Study 2. In Study 1, higher- and lower-educated adolescents were involved, and this study is representative of Overijssel. In Study 2, only lower-educated adolescents and adolescents from Twente and Salland, and not in Kop van Overijssel, took part. Further research could investigate the opinions of higher-educated adolescents with regard to speaking a dialect.

In addition, the sample sizes in Study 2 negatively influenced its internal validity. Normally, a discussion should consist of six to ten people (Cronin, 2008, p.235). The sizes of the groups depended on the sizes of the classes. In this study, the researcher chose to reach adolescents via high school classes. If a school participated in this research, the requirement was that there must be a full 50-minute lesson for all students in the course. In a couple of classes, the group sizes were too large. The participants all talked at once, and it became noisy. As a result, it was impossible to differentiate the participants. Therefore, it was impossible to determine individual links based on quotes. In a follow-up study, there should be more researchers to lead focus group discussions so the classes could be split up.

'Limitations of focus groups include the tendency for certain types of socially acceptable opinion to emerge, and for certain types of participants to dominate the research process' (Smithson, 2000, p.116). To address this limitation in Study 2, the statements were presented as a survey that participants could respond to when the specific question was asked. Everyone should have been thoughtful about their opinions, and it became easier for the researcher to appoint participants and ask what they had filled in for a question and why.

## Implications

These findings may help others understand why adolescents do or do not speak dialects. However, there are still unanswered questions. For example, what is the best way to promote dialect use among adolescents, according to the literature? Furthermore, the present study suggests further investigations into the factors that influence speaking a dialect, especially positive attitudes.

Overall, this study already provides more insight into the factors and motives that drive adolescents to speak a dialect or not as well as ways promote dialect use according to adolescents. The local authorities of Overijssel and other interested parties could use these factors, motives and promote options in their promotional plan to keep dialects alive among Dutch adolescents.

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### **Appendix 1. Overview of the asked questions and statements in the discussions**

Question	Accountability of the questions:
1. I would like to learn to speak the dialect fluently	To investigate if adolescents are willing to learn a dialect
2. Everybody should speak Standard Dutch.	To investigate whether the adolescents are aware of the benefits of speaking a dialect
3. It is alright to hear where someone comes from in terms of dialect.	To investigate whether adolescents are aware of the fact that speaking a dialect is a part of regional identity (Cornips, 2016; Vandekerckhove & Nobels, 2010).
4. Speaking a dialect is part of my identity.	To investigate whether adolescents are aware of the fact that speaking a dialect is part of personal identity (Edwards, 2009; Frijhoff, 2004).
5. Why do or do not you speak a dialect in daily life?	To investigate new motives and factors why adolescents may or may not speak a dialect in daily life.
6. What do you think when you hear other people speaking in their dialect?	To determine the attitude of young adolescents towards people who speak a dialect
7. I feel comfortable when I speak in dialect or when I hear others speak in their dialect	To investigate whether adolescents feel comfortable speaking a dialect (Ladegaard, 2000).
8. People who speak with a dialect appear less intelligent	To determine the attitude of young adolescents towards people who speak a dialect
9. I am proud of my dialect or I will be proud of my dialect if I speak a dialect	To investigate whether adolescents are aware of the fact that being proud is motive to use a dialect (Ladegaard, 2000).

## Appendix 2. Overview of the major and minor themes per question or statement

### I would like to learn to speak the dialect fluently

	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
<i>Major themes</i>	Dialect sounds funny	To speak a bit dialect is enough It can be confusing to speak multiple dialects	Do not need to No utilize Do not like (to speak) a dialect
<i>Minor themes</i>	Understand what someone says in dialect More fluency, to be able to speak whole sentences Useful for moving away	Different to speak with a dialect Funny to speak with a dialect Over the top to learn to speak a dialect fluently	Rather learn another language Already can speak a dialect Dialect comes automatically

### Everybody should speak Standard Dutch

	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
<i>Major themes</i>	Everyone is Intelligible Register	Useful to be able to speak Standard Dutch Do not mind, as long an individual is intelligible	Need to be able to speak Standard Dutch besides a dialect Would be boring if everybody speaks Standard Dutch
<i>Minor themes</i>			Only Standard Dutch would be annoying Family History Special

### It is alright to hear where someone comes from in terms of dialect

	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
<i>Major themes</i>	Proud of place of birth Do not need to be ashamed for the use of dialect		
<i>Minor themes</i>	Dialect is a part of identity Dialect is a part of region	Own choice to use a dialect Do not like the dialect (Twents)	Do not like the dialect

**Speaking a dialect is part of my identity**

	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
<i>Major themes</i>	Part of identity	Dialect is a small part of identity	An individual could speak multiple dialects
	Part of region		An individual could learn to speak a dialect himself
<i>Minor themes</i>	Normal to speak a dialect	Dialect is a small part of identity	Register
	Parental education	Dialect is more part of region	Not all the people from Twente speaks Twents Determine yourself to use or do not use a dialect

**Why do or do not you speak a dialect?**

	<i>Do speak a dialect</i>	<i>Do not speak a dialect</i>
<i>Major themes</i>	Family	Family
	Friends	Register
	Register	Never learned to speak a dialect
<i>Minor themes</i>	It is nice to have dialects	Individuals who use dialect are not Intelligible
	Easier to speak with dialect	Learn at school to speak Standard Dutch
	Speaking in dialect is contagious	Do not like the dialect (Twents) Clearer to speak Standard Dutch

**What do you think when you hear other people speaking in their dialect?**

	Dialect is not intelligible
	Annoying to not understand other who speak a dialect
	Reversion to Frisian
	Dialect is normal
<i>Minor themes</i>	Own choice to use a dialect
	Funny
	Different
	Special
	Boorish
	Respect individuals who use a dialect
	Do not care how an individual speak

Cannot always understand Standard Dutch

**I feel comfortable when I speak in dialect or when I hear others speak in their dialect**

	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
<i>Major themes</i>	Family		Dialect is not intelligible
	Preference for own dialect		Dialect sounds annoying
	It is normal to speak a dialect		

<i>Minor themes</i>	Feel more comfortable using their dialect than Standard Dutch Understand others who use the same dialect Easier to speak with dialect	Own choice to use a dialect Register Dialect is not intelligible	Aversion Frisian
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**People who speak with a dialect appear less intelligent**

	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
<i>Major themes</i>	Farmers (Twents) Boorish Aversion Frisian (sounds boorish, seems silly)		People who speak a dialect can be intelligent
<i>Minor themes</i>	Cannot have normal conversation Cannot take an individual serious if he speaks a dialect Dialect is less dignified Standard Dutch sounds more intelligent Take a Standard Dutch speaker more seriously	Dialect is normal	Identity Content of words Bilingual Some people prefer to speak with a dialect

**I am proud of my dialect or I will be proud of my dialect if I speak a dialect**

	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
<i>Major themes</i>	Dialect is part identity Dialect is part of region Choose to speak with a dialect	Important to be intelligible Never learned to speak a dialect	
<i>Minor themes</i>	Dialect is part of history country Speaking a dialect is special Belonging to a group	Own choice to use a dialect	Do not like the dialect Find dialect no beautiful Important to be intelligible

### Appendix 3. Dutch quotes translated to English

Num-ber	FGD*	Stu-dent**	Dutch quote	Translation to English
(1)	FGD1	6	"Ik vind het niet leuk om dialect te kunnen spreken, want heel veel mensen spreken het echt niet eens."	"I do not like to be able to speak a dialect, because a lot of people do not speak a dialect."
(2)	FGD3	X	"Ik zal niet weten waarom en wanneer ik het nodig zou hebben."	"I will not know why and when I would need it."
(3)	FGD6	X	"Het lijkt me gewoon niets. Ik bedoel kijk, als je nou Twents leert praten en je komt in Groningen of weet ik veel wat. Dan heeft het toch geen nut."	"It just seems nothing to me. I mean look, if you learn to speak Twents and you go to Groningen or whatever. Then it is not useful anyway."
(4)	FGD2	X	"Ja nou ik hoef het niet, want ik kan het wel verstaan, maar ik hoef het niet."	"Yes, well I do not need it, because I can understand it, but I do not need it."
(5)	FGD1	1	"Met een heel klein beetje van het dialect kom je al wel heel ver hoor."	"With some degree of the dialect, you will go a long way."
(6)	FGD5	4	"Ik hoef niet vloeiend iets te spreken, als ik het al een beetje spreek."	"I do not need to speak it fluently, if I speak it for some degree."
(7)	FGD3	X	"Ja, ik vind het gewoon grappig klinken."	"Yes, I think it just sounds funny."
(8)	FGD4	5	"Het lijkt me wel grappig om een dialect te spreken. Ook wat hij zei, beetje ouwehoeren met je vrienden, mensen uitschelden, wel uiteindelijk zeggen van sorry ik schold je uit, maar dat je niet door."	"I think it would be funny to speak a dialect. Also, what he said, talking about your friends, verbalizing people, eventually saying sorry I scolded you, but you did not notice it."
(9)	FGD3	X	"Het is toch handig als je later een baan bijvoorbeeld hebt en je ergens anders in een andere stad gaat werken dat je gewoon al ABN-standaard. Minder snel sommigen, ja je gebruikt andere woorden soms en mensen hier begrijpen wat je bedoelt."	"It is useful if you have a job later on, for example, and you start working elsewhere, in another city, that you simply have an ABN standard. Less quickly for some, yes you use other words sometimes and people from here understand what you indicate."
(10)	FGD1	X	"Dialect praten mag, dat mag je zelf weten. Maar ABN toch ook, ABN kunnen is toch wel makkelijker."	"Speaking a dialect is all right, it should be your decide. But also, Standard Dutch, able to speak Standard Dutch could be easier anyway."
(11)	FGD3	X	"Maar het is wel handig als je een beetje ABN spreekt, want als je bijvoorbeeld naar Utrecht, ik noem maar wat, als je daar woont en werkt en je gaat daar plat praten, dan verstaan ze je eigenlijk niet. Dus het is wel handig om, ja, gewoon voor hier is het handig dat je gewoon plat kan bijvoorbeeld, maar voor Utrecht of zo is gewoon ABN wel handig."	"But it is useful if you speak Standard Dutch for some degree, because if you go to Utrecht, for example, I just say something, if you live and work there and you go and talk <i>plat</i> , they do not understand you. So, it is useful to, yes, just for here it is useful that you can just <i>plat</i> for example, but for Utrecht or something speaking Standard Dutch is just useful."
(12)	FGD1	X	"Ja, aan de ene kant wel zodat we elkaar natuurlijk in het hele land kunnen blijven verstaan."	"Yes, on the one hand, so that we could understand each other throughout the whole country."

- (13) FGD5 X "Het maakt mij niet zoveel uit als je maar verstaanbaar bent."
- (14) FGD3 X "Je moet gewoon ABN kunnen praten, maar als je met een dialect moet praten kan dat gewoon."
- (15) FGD1 3 "Je mag best een dialect praten maar je moet ook nou ja je mag moet wel ook wel ABN kunnen."
- (16) FGD1 2 "Ik vind niet dat het moet, ik vind niet dat er een verplichting is dat iedereen ABN moet praten maar het is wel handig dat je wel eruit komt met je ABN."
- (17) FGD2 1 "Dan wordt het zo saai van. Dan wordt het zo saai, omdat iedereen hetzelfde praat."
- (18) FGD6 X "Dan zal Nederland best wel saai worden, want iedereen is wel nu anders, iedereen die praat anders, de een heeft een erg accent dan de ander. En als iedereen normaal praat dan is iedereen hetzelfde."
- (19) FGD1 4 "Een dialect laat eigenlijk zien juist waar je vandaan komt, omdat er in zoveel verschillende delen van het land ook zo veel verschillende soorten worden gebruikt. Dus eigenlijk is het bijna onmogelijk om het niet te laten horen via je dialect waar je dan zeg maar redelijk vandaan kom."
- (20) FGD4 4 "Je hoort wel meestal gewoon aan je stem en hoe je praat, waar je vandaan komt."
- (21) FGD6 X "Omdat ik er ook trots op ben, dus ga ik ook gelijk mee eens, je mag gewoon horen waar je vandaan komt."
- (22) FGD4 7 "De meeste mensen zijn trots op hun dialect en ook gelijk op hun geboorteplaats."
- (23) FGD2 X "Je hoeft je er niet voor te schamen."
- (24) FGD5 2 "Ja, ik vind, je mag best horen waar je vandaan komt, maar ik heb gewoon een hekel aan Twents, ik vind het gewoon zo lelijk."
- (25) FGD1 3 "Ja, het hoort, als je iemand kent die het wel spreekt dan hoort het gewoon bij je. Het versterkt of iemand die dat niet hoort doen of hij is het verleerd, weet ik veel, dan is het een beetje gek."
- (26) FGD3 X "Nou ja het is gewoon waar je vandaan komt, ja dat is ja dat is gewoon."
- (27) FGD5 4 "Als je bijvoorbeeld als iemand bijvoorbeeld als ik op vakantie ben,
- "It does not matter to me as well as you are intelligible."
- "You just have to be able to speak Standard Dutch, but if you have to speak a dialect, you just do it."
- "You may speak with a dialect, but you also need to be able to speak Standard Dutch."
- "I do not think I should, I do not think there is a requirement that everyone should talk Standard Dutch, but it's useful that you can help yourself with your Standard Dutch."
- "Then it becomes so boring. Then it becomes boring, because everyone talks the same."
- "Then the Netherlands will be boring, because everyone is different now, everyone who talks differently, the one has a bigger accent than the other. And if everyone talks normally then everybody would be the same."
- "A dialect shows where you come from, because much different types are used in so many different parts of the country. So, in fact, it is almost impossible not to let it be heard regarding to your dialect, where you came from."
- "You usually hear regarding to your voice and how you talk, where you came from."
- "Because I am proud of it, so I similarly agree, you can just hear where you come from."
- "Most people are proud of their dialect and similarly at their birthplace."
- "You do not have to be ashamed of it."
- "Yes, I think, you can hear where you come from, but I just hate Twents, I just think it's so ugly."
- "Yes, it's belongs, if you know someone who speaks it, it just belongs to you. It strengthens someone who does not hear it or he has lost it, I do not know, then it is a little weird."
- "Well, it's just where you come from, yes that's yes, that's just is it."
- "If, for example, if someone, for example when I am on holiday, for

			dan als bijvoorbeeld iemand Rotterdam praat ofzo, dan hoor je gelijk dat hij uit Rotterdam komt."	example when someone speaks Rotterdams or something, you immediately hear that he is from Rotterdam."
(28)	FGD5	X	"Ja, weet ik eigenlijk niet. Ik vind het een beetje bij je plaats horen."	"Yes, I do not really know. I think it belongs a bit to your residence."
(29)	FGD1	2	"Ik ben persoonlijk van mening bijvoorbeeld dat dialect niet je identiteit bepaald. Omdat je ook een menging van verschillende dialecten kan praten en dat dat niet meteen betekent dat je dat ook allemaal bent."	"I personally believe, for example, that dialect does not determine your identity. Because you can also speak a mixture of different dialects and that does not mean that you are all these too."
(30)	FGD6	1	Participant: "Het is gewoon een toeval. En toepassing zeg maar, want ik kan ook gewoon twee dialecten praten en dat zegt niks, vind ik." Onderzoeker: "Nee, juist omdat je meerdere kan praten zegt eigenlijk niks over." Participant: "Nee eigenlijk helemaal niets. Want ik kan wel Twents gaan praten, maar ik kan dan ook in Groningen wonen zeg maar, zoiets."	Participant: "It is just a coincidence. And application just saying, because I can also just talk two dialects and that says nothing, that's my opinion." Researcher: "No, just because you can talk to several dialects, does it not really say anything." Participant: "No, actually nothing at all. Because I can talk Twents, but I can live in Groningen or something like that."
(31)	FGD4	4	"Omdat het niet bij je identiteit hoort, je kan het zelf ook aanleren."	"Because it does not belong to your identity, you can also learn it yourself."
(32)	FGD4	6	"Mee oneens, want sommige mensen hebben geen dialect, ofzo en dan gaan ze het aanleren en dan vind ik niet echt dat het erbij hoort ofzo. Als je dialect hebt en het past bij je identiteit dan is het gewoon standaard en is het niet aangeleerd."	"Disagree, because some people do not have a dialect, or something, and then they learn it and then I do not really think it's belong to them or something. If you have dialect and it fits your identity then it is just standard and it is not learned."
(33)	FGD2	1	"Ik ben er zo mee opgevoed, ja, we doen het thuis alleen maar."	"I have been being raised with it, yes, at home we always do it."
(34)	FGD2	2	"Ja, papa en mama praten het daarom praat ik het."	"Yes, dad and mom speak it, that is why I speak it."
(35)	FGD5	6	"Stel, je hele vriendengroep praat heel erg Twents, niet iedereen, maar de meesten gaan dan er dan gewoon in mee en die gaan zelf ook Twents praten."	"Imagine, your entire group of friends speaks lots of Twents, not everyone, but most of them, then just join in and they will also speak Twents themselves."
(36)	FGD1	3	"Thuis praten we ook niet echt met een dialect. Er is nooit echt een dialect thuis geweest."	"At home, we do not really speak with a dialect. There just has never been a dialect at home."
(37)	FGD4	1	"Het is me niet aangeleerd om in dialect te praten."	"I have not been taught to speak in dialect."
(38)	FGD1	4	"Ja, bijvoorbeeld thuis of gewoon hier kun je wel gewoon normaal dialect praten, maar in zakenrelaties is dat minder handig."	"Yes, for example at home or just here, you can just speak normal dialect, but in business relations that is less practical."
(39)	FGD6	7	Participant: "Nou, ik vind het als je met mensen, bekende mensen doet van hier wel oké, maar als jij bijvoorbeeld in een winkel staat dan nee. Dan vind	Participant: "Well, I think it's okay if you do with people, people you know from here, but if you're in a store, then you cannot. Then I think that you should

			ik ook gewoon dat je je netjes moet houden." Onderzoeker: "Oké dus tegen vrienden en familie zou je het wel doen." Participant: "Ja, tegen bekenden zeg maar. Die het ook doen, die het wel een beetje kunnen verstaan, maar niet in een winkel ofzo bij mensen die je niet kent."	keep it tide and clean." Researcher: "Okay, so to friends and family you would do it." Participants: "Yes, say to acquaintances. Who also do it, who can understand it a for some degree, but not in a store or something with people you do not know."
(40)	FGD6	X	"Ik heb Google vertalen nodig, ik versta er gewoon niets van."	"I need Google translation, I just do not understand anything."
(41)	FGD1	3	"Als ik het niet versta zal ik wel graag willen dat ze het wel in normaal Nederlands vertalen. Ja, al ga ik naar Friesland zoiets, en dan gaat ie naar Nederland of ABN en dan komen ze en dan hoor ik opeens Fries en dan denk ik nee ga asjebließt even normaal graag."	"If I do not understand it, I would like them to translate it into normal Dutch. Yes, even if I go to Friesland or something like that, and then he goes to the Netherlands or Standard Dutch and then they come and then I suddenly hear Fries and then I think no, please just go normally."
(42)	FGD1	1	"Ik vind het soms wel ik heb het soms ook met niet-Nederlands buitenlanders en andere talen maar ook met dialect dat soms gewoon wel vervelend vind als je niet kan horen wat ze precies zeggen, want misschien zeggen ze wel iets over je."	"I sometimes think, it's sometimes also with non-Dutch foreigners and other languages, but also with dialect that sometimes just annoys if you cannot hear what they say, because they might say something about you."
(43)	FGD6	X	Participant: "Ja, ik vond het Fries alleen irritant." Onderzoeker: "Fries irritant, en voor de rest?" Participant: "Voor de rest, ja, gewoon niet zo heel erg."	Participant: "Yes, I only found the language Frisian annoying." Researcher: "Fries annoying, and others?" Participant: "Furthermore, yes, just not that bad."
(44)	FGD3	X	Participant: "Nee, is gewoon lomp, het is meer onbeschoft dan dat je het begrijpt. Het zijn gewoon allemaal van die rare woorden die je niet begrijpt." Onderzoeker: "Wat? Het Fries bedoel je?" Participant: "Ja, daar versta je gewoon niks van." Onderzoeker: "En wat voel je dan als je iemand dan zo hoort praten in het Fries?" Participant: "Dan kan je gewoon niet reageren, want je weet niet waar ze over praten, je weet niet wat ze zeggen."	Participant: "No, it's just rude, it's ruder than you will understand it. It's just all those weird words that you do not understand." Researcher: "What? Frisian do you mean?" Participant: "Yes, you just do not understand that." Researcher: "And what do you feel when you hear someone speak in Frisian?" Participant: "Then you simply cannot respond, because you do not know what they are talking about, you do not know what they say."
(45)	FGD1	3	Participant: "Ja, alleen als het Brabants is." Onderzoeker: "Oké, echt een voorkeur eigenlijk voor je eigen dialect?" Participant: "Ja."	Participant: "Yes, only if it is Brabant." Researcher: "Okay, a preference for your own dialect?" Participant: "Yes."
(46)	FGD3	X	Onderzoeker: "Dus zolang het maar je eigen dialect is?" Participant: "Ja dat is dan prima."	Researcher: "So, as long as it's your own dialect?" Participant: "Yes, that is fine."
(47)	FGD1	2	"Ja, ik vind het heel normaal als mensen met een dialect praten."	"Yes, I find it quite normal when people talk with a dialect."
(48)	FGD6	X	"Nou, ik bedoel, van als je laat maar zeggen gewoon normaal met een groep vrienden bent en je kan gewoon	"Well, I mean, if you just say normal with a group of friends and you can just normally talk with a dialect, it's just

			normaal praten met een dialect is het gewoon makkelijker, maar dat kan bijvoorbeeld als je aan het werk bent en je moet gewoon goed verstaanbaar Nederlands praten, dat is ook weer anders."	easier, but that's for example when you are working and you just have to talk intelligible Dutch, that is also different."
(49)	FGD1	1	"Ja, meestal is het zo, als ik het niet versta dan voel ik me echt heel, heel erg niet op mijn gemak zeg maar. Dan kan ik wel honderd keer vragen hè wat zeg je nou. Dat is echt nee, dat vind ik niet chill."	"Yes, it is usually the case, if I do not understand it then I really feel very, very much not comfortable. Then I can ask a hundred times, what do you say. That is no, I do not like that."
(50)	FGD3	X	"Nja, ik kan zelf geen dialect, dus als je dan met iemand praat die wel een dialect praat kan je geen normaal gesprek voeren. Dan kan je het dus niet verstaan."	"Well, I cannot speak a dialect myself, so if you talk to someone who does speak a dialect you cannot have a normal conversation. Then you thus cannot understand it."
(51)	FGD5	X	Participant X: "Ja ik vind dat je gewoon normaal Nederlands tegen elkaar kunt praten ofzo. Dialect is gewoon echt lastig te verstaan." Participant X1: "Ja, helemaal mee eens." Onderzoeker: "En daar voel je je ongemakkelijk bij als je het niet kunt verstaan?" Participant X: "Ja dan weet je niet wat een ander zegt."	Participant X: "Yes, I think you can just talk Standard Dutch to each other or something. Dialect is just really difficult to understand." Participant X1: "Yes, completely agree." Researcher: "And that makes you feel uncomfortable if you cannot understand it?" Participant X: "Yes, then you do not know what someone else said."
(52)	FGD6	X	Onderzoeker: "Oké. Zou iemand zich voor kunnen stellen dat als je iemand niet kan verstaan die in een dialect tegen jouw praat dat je dan een beetje ongemakkelijk van wordt?" Participant: "Ja, heb ik weleens gehad ja. Op vakantie kom je jongen tegen die woont in Friesland ofzo en dan gaat die in het Fries tegen je praten en dan versta ik niet wat het hij zegt."	Researcher: "Okay. Could anyone imagine that if you cannot understand someone talk to you in a dialect that makes you a little uncomfortable?" Participant: "Yes, I have experienced this. On holiday you meet a boy who lives in Friesland or something like that and then he will talk to you in Frisian and I do not understand what they say."
(53)	FGD1	3	"Oké, nou laten we zeggen, behalve als iemand fries gaat praten dan, als iemand fries gaat praten heb ik er een probleem mee."	"Okay, well let's say, unless someone starts talking Frisian then, if someone starts talking Frisian, I have a problem with that."
(54)	FGD5	X	"Ik voel me niet zo op mijn gemak, als wij het niet verstaan, als iemand fries praat."	"I do not feel comfortable, if we do not understand it, if someone talks Frisian."
(55)	FGD1	3	"Nee maar, wat ik, ik vind niet slecht ofzo, maar ik vind boers wat minder. Maar wat ik denk, dat vind ik minder. Minder intelligenter dan, dan nou zoals we nu praten. Omdat het, wat, het klinkt gewoon, dat vind ik zo klinken, dat vind ik zo mwehh klinken. Dat is, dat klinkt minder. Minder deftig ja, laat ik het zo zeggen."	"No but, what I, I do not think bad or something, but I think boorish are just a little less. But what I think, I deem that less. Less intelligent than, then as we speak now. Because it, what, it just sounds, that sounds like that, I think that sounds mwehh. That is, that sounds less. Less decent yes, let me put it this way."
(56)	FGD2	1	"Ja, dat vind ik wel. Als je Twents praat word je altijd uitgemaakt voor	"Yes, I think so. If you speak Twents you will always be judged for stupid

			domme boer ofzo. Er wordt altijd minder intelligent over gedaan en dan als je ABN-praat is het een hele andere professor zeg maar. Wat je dan hoort."	farmer or something. There is always done less intelligent about and then if you speak Standard Dutch it is a completely different professor. What you will hear."
(57)	FGD1	1	Participant: "Een beetje. Ja, boeren enzo die komen dan zo lomp over enzo." Onderzoeker: "Een beetje een vooroordeel?" Participant: "Ja, dat, maar het is ook gewoon zo, ik kan er niet zoveel aan doen."	Participant: "A little. Yes, farmers and so on they seem to be so rude and so on." Researcher: "A bit of a prejudice?" Participant: "Yes, that, but it's just that, I cannot do much about it."
(58)	FGD2	X	"Het komt zo lomp over of niet."	"It comes across as rude, isn't it?"
(59)	FGD3	X	"Nou, als je fries hoort, klinkt gewoon lomp."	"Well, if you hear Frisian, it just sounds rude."
(60)	FGD5	2	Participant: "Ja, Fries, ik vind niet dat echt heel overkomt of je heel slim bent ofzo." Onderzoeker: "Als je Fries praat of alleen bij Fries of ook bij andere dialecten?" Participant: "Vooral bij Fries."	Participant: "Yes, Frisian, I do not think that really appear to you or that you are very clever or something." Researcher: "If you speak Frisian or only with Frisian or also with other dialects?" Participant: "Especially with the Frisian language."
(61)	FGD1	6	"Omdat een dialect spreken is, sommige mensen vinden dat gewoon fijner. Ik snap niet waarom dat niet intelligent over zou komen."	"Because speaking a dialect, some people just feel better speaking a dialect. I do not understand why that would not come across intelligently."
(62)	FGD5	6	"Ik vind het gewoon nergens op slaan. Je accent zegt toch niets over hoe intelligent je bent."	"It just does not make sense to me. Your accent does not say anything about how intelligent you are."
(63)	FGD1	3	"Ja, het is een deel van jezelf."	"Yes, it is a part of yourself."
(64)	FGD5	8	"Nou ja, ik vind dat je trots moet zijn op hoe je bent, ja daar mag je trots op zijn en je geeft aan bij welke groep je hoort ja dus."	"Well, I think you should be proud of how you are, yes you can be proud of that and you indicate to which group you have yes."
(65)	FGD1	3	"Ja, omdat je ja het is gewoon een deel van jouw imago om het maar even zo te zeggen. Dat mensen jou zien als je dialect praat."	"Yes, because yes, it is just a part of your imago to say it just like that. That people see you when you speak dialect. "
(66)	FGD6	8	"Ja, het hoort toch eigenlijk wel thuis in deze plek, ja in Twents, in Twente."	"Yes, it really belongs in this place, yes in Twents, in Twente."
(67)	FGD1	1	"Dan zal ik er alsnog trots op zijn, want het geeft wel iets mee van mijn geschiedenis. Van mijn herkomstland."	"Then I will still be proud of it, because it indicates something of my history. From my country of origin."
(68)	FGD6	9	"Het is iets wat niet iedereen heeft, het is toch iets speciaals."	"It is something that not everyone has, it is something special."
(69)	FGD3	X	"Ik heb zoets van ik spreek zelf geen dialect, dus ik weet niet hoe het zou moeten zijn."	"I have something like I do not speak a dialect myself, so I do not know what it should be like."
(70)	FGD5	3	"Omdat ik zelf geen dialect spreek of gewoon heel normaal."	"I just do not speak a dialect myself or just very normal."
(71)	FGD6	10	Participant: "Ik vind het echt heel lelijk, als je dat terug hoort ik bedoel dan." Onderzoeker: "Ja, dus dan zou je	Participant: "I think it really is horrible, if you hear that for the second time, I mean." Researcher: "Yes, so you would not be proud of it." Participant: "No."

		er niet trots op zijn." Participant: "Nee."	
(72)	FGD6 X	"Iedereen heeft een dialect lijkt mij. Zolang je maar verstaanbaar bent."	"Everyone seems to have a dialect. As long as you are intelligible."
(73)	FGD1 1	"Omdat ik, zoals ik net ook al zei, het belangrijk dat je gewoon goed Nederlands spreekt. Dat je gewoon verstaanbaar bent."	"Because, as I said just, it is important that you just speak well Standard Dutch. That you are intelligible."

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\*FGD1= Focus group discussion at De Marke in Deventer. FGD2= Focus group discussion at Waerdenborch in Holten. FGD3= Focus group discussion at Waerdenborch in Holten. FGD4= Focus group discussion at De Marke in Holten. FGD5= Focus group discussion at Erasmus in Almelo. FGD6= Focus group discussion at Erasmus in Almelo.

\*\*All participants in every focus discussion group got a number from one till the number of participants. X stands for a quote of participants which cannot determined which participant especially says this quote based on the two recording tapes. If in one quote one or more than one participants have said something, the participants are displayed with X and X1

**Appendix 4. Different options to promote dialect among adolescents, mentioned by the adolescents themselves.**

Options	Number of times mentioned
Dialect as a subject at primary school:	13
Because you grow up with it	1
If you are young, it is easier to learn language	4
Dialect as a subject at high school: *	6
As a subject of choice	1
Part of courses e.g. Standard Dutch	1
Dialect in music	4
Children's books written in dialect	7
Social Media	11
Instagram:	3
Through Commercial Movies	1
Tinder	1
Twitter	1
Facebook:	3
Promotional movies at Facebook	1
Autocorrect in dialect	1
Google	1
Movies	1
YouTube Vloggers in dialect	1
Games:	7
Fornite	1
Battlefields	1
Farming	1
Learning how to talk dialect through games and learning how to deal with dialect	1
Videogame in which you could learn dialect	1
Other options:	
Course in which you learn dialect	2

Commercials	1
Billboards	1
To give a lesson dialect through schools	1
Posters in the neighborhood about dialect	2
Learn dialect after school	1
Let government stimulate it	1
Voice of OV in dialect	1
Twents Keyboard	1
Set up dialect on mobile phones	2
With friends	1

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\*Couple of reasons were meant for not learning a dialect at high school, because then adolescents must make an extra exam, learning a dialect has no use, if schools obligated to learn students a dialect, students get less interest in it and there are already enough languages in high school.